



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

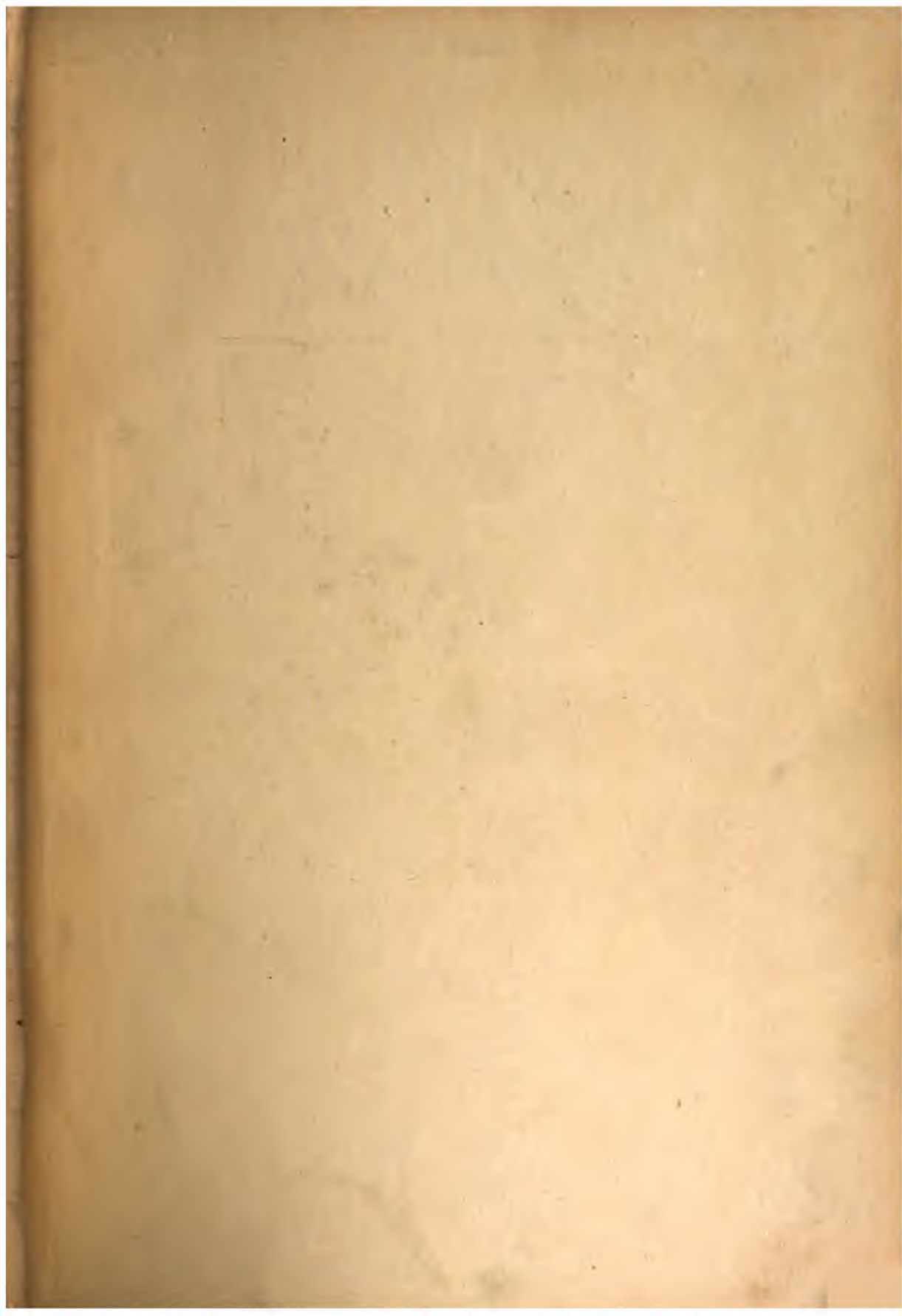
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

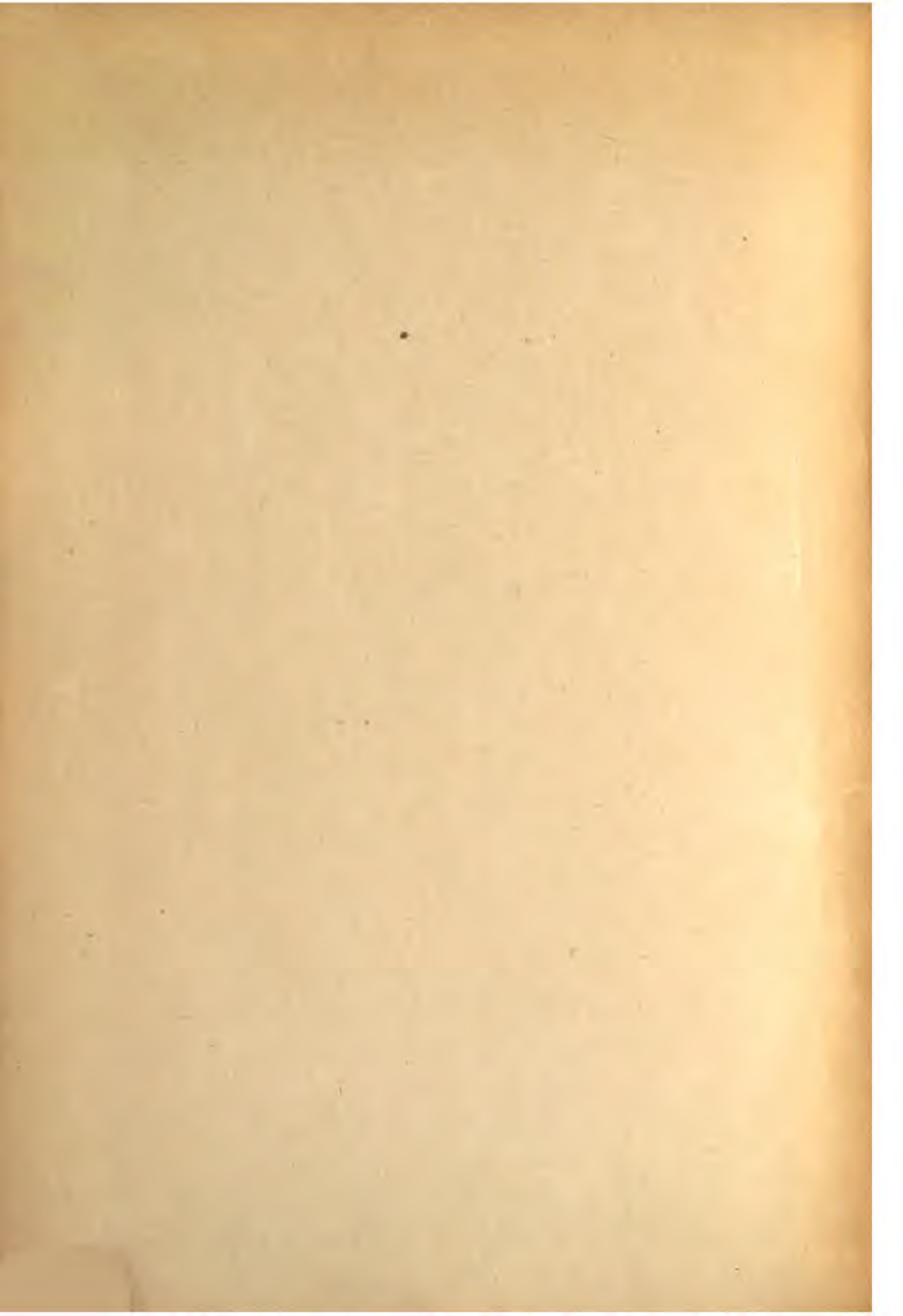
Econ P 10.41

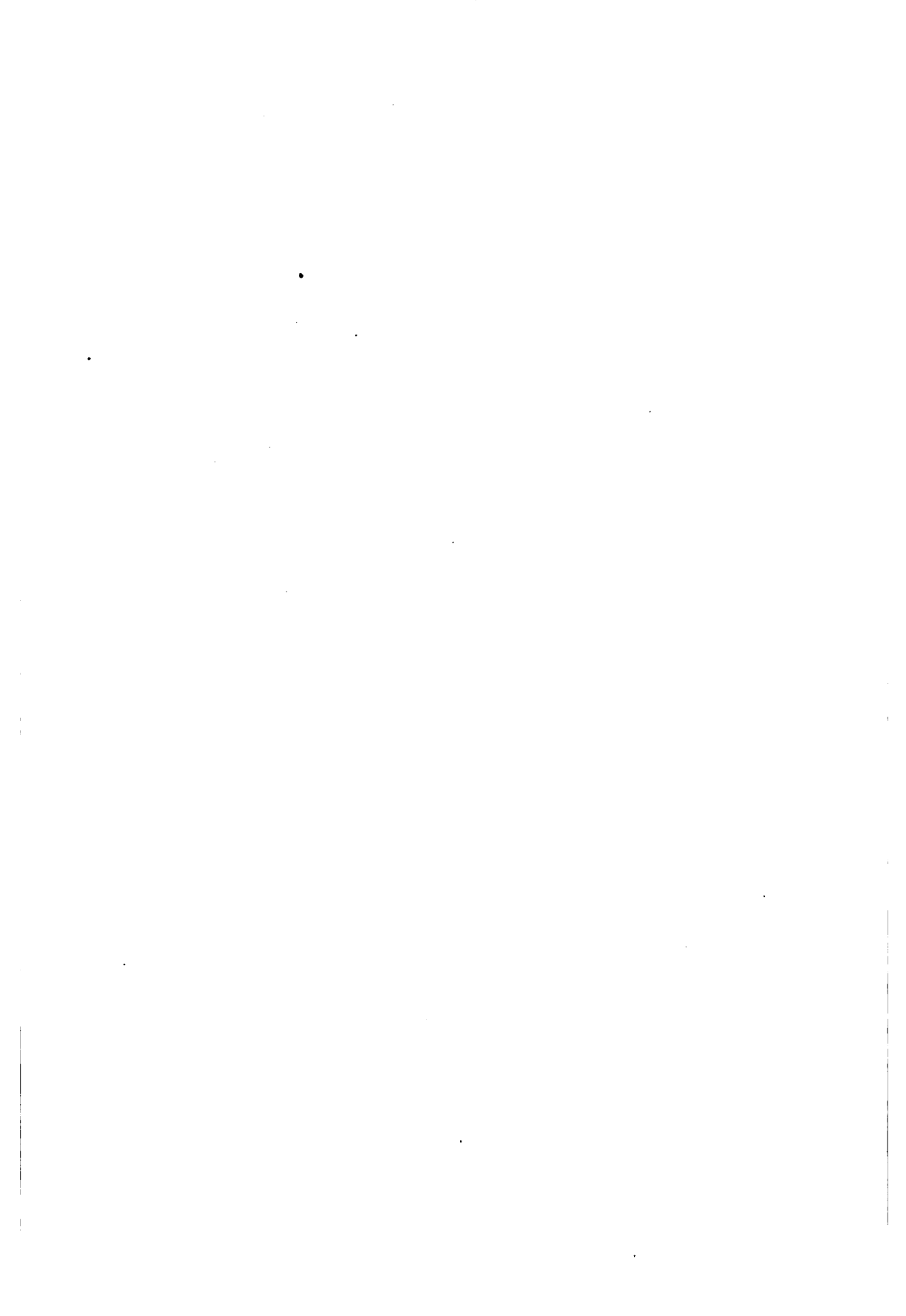
**HARVARD COLLEGE
LIBRARY**



**FROM THE
QUARTERLY JOURNAL
OF ECONOMICS**







PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME XI

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Agents

THE BAKER & TAYLOR COMPANY
NEW YORK

THE CUNNINGHAM, CURTISS & WELCH COMPANY
LOS ANGELES

THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON AND EDINBURGH

THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA
TOKYO, OSAKA, KYOTO, FUKUOKA, SENDAI

THE MISSION BOOK COMPANY
SHANGHAI

KARL W. HIERSEMANN
LEIPZIG

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS

ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

AMERICAN
SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

HELD AT COLUMBUS, OHIO
DECEMBER 27-29, 1916

VOLUME XI

THE SOCIOLOGY OF RURAL LIFE

PUBLISHED FOR THE
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
BY
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS



*Quarterly Journal of
Economics.*

**COPYRIGHT 1917 BY
THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY**

All Rights Reserved

Published March 1917

**Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.**

2227
34

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
COUNTRYSIDE AND NATION. <i>George E. Vincent</i>	I
COUNTRY VERSUS CITY. <i>Warren H. Wilson</i>	12
FOLK DEPLETION AS A CAUSE OF RURAL DECLINE. <i>Edward Alsworth Ross</i>	21
THE NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE. <i>Charles Edward Russell</i>	31
DISCUSSION:	
By Thomas L. Harris	36
John M. Gillette	37
C. J. Galpin	38
Paul L. Vogt	38
Kate Waller Barrett	39
Lucius Moody Bristol	45
THE MIND OF THE FARMER. <i>Ernest R. Groves</i>	47
THE DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL LEADERSHIP. <i>G. Walter Fiske</i>	54
DISCUSSION:	
By Erville B. Woods	70
Max Sylvius Handman	73
Frederick Treudley	74
Myron E. Adams	75
Walter R. Smith	76
George E. Howard	77
Howard Woodhead	78
Mrs. Mary E. Lee	79
Charles D. Bohannon	81
THE LAND PROBLEM AND RURAL WELFARE. <i>Paul L. Vogt</i>	82
DISCUSSION:	
By W. O. Hedrick	94
THE CONSOLIDATED SCHOOL AS A COMMUNITY CENTER. <i>John H. Cook</i>	97
SOCIAL CONTROL: RURAL RELIGION. <i>C. O. Gill</i>	106

	PAGE
CO-OPERATION AND COMMUNITY SPIRIT. <i>A. D. Wilson</i>	113
DISCUSSION:	
By Thomas L. Harris	125
C. J. Galpin	125
John M. Gillette	126
George E. Vincent	126
John Phelan	127
Walter R. Smith	127
J. M. Hanson	128
RURAL SURVEYS. <i>C. W. Thompson</i>	129
THE RESULTS OF SOME RURAL SOCIAL SURVEYS IN IOWA. <i>George H. von Tungeln</i>	134
THE SCOPE AND METHODS OF INSTRUCTION IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY. <i>John M. Gillette</i>	163
THE TEACHING OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY: PARTICULARLY IN THE LAND-GRANT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES. <i>Dwight L. Sanderson</i>	181
DISCUSSION:	
By George H. von Tungeln	208
Cecil C. North	211
Lucius Moody Bristol	211
C. J. Galpin	212
Thomas L. Harris	212
Dwight L. Sanderson	213
John Phelan	213
John M. Gillette	214
MEMBERSHIP STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY FOR 1916	215
STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY FOR 1916	216
CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY	217
MEMBERSHIP LIST OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY FOR 1917	219

Econ P 12-41

Publications

OF THE



American Sociological Society

Volume XI

The Sociology of Rural Life

Managing Editor

SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD

- Countryside and Nation GEORGE E. VINCENT
 Country versus City WARREN H. WILSON
 Folk Depletion as a Cause of Rural Decline . . EDWARD A. ROSS
 The Non-Partisan League CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL
 The Mind of the Farmer ERNEST R. GROVES
 The Development of Rural Leadership . . . G. WALTER FISKE
 The Land Problem and Rural Welfare PAUL L. VOGT
 The Consolidated School as a Community Center JOHN H. COOK
 Social Control: Rural Religion C. O. GILL
 Co-operation and Community Spirit A. D. WILSON
 Rural Surveys C. W. THOMPSON
 The Results of Some Rural Social Surveys in Iowa
 GEORGE H. VON TUNGELN
 The Scope and Methods of Instruction in Rural Sociology
 JOHN M. GILLETTE
 The Teaching of Rural Sociology: Particularly in the Land-Grant
 Colleges and Universities DWIGHT L. SANDERSON

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Organized at Baltimore, December 1905

OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1917

President: GEORGE E. HOWARD, University of Nebraska
First Vice-President: CHARLES H. COOLEY, University of Michigan
Second Vice-President: FRANK W. BLACKMAR, University of Kansas
Secretary-Treasurer: SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, University of Chicago

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(IN ADDITION TO THE OFFICERS)

FORMER PRESIDENTS

FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS, Columbia University
ALBION W. SMALL, University of Chicago
EDWARD A. ROSS, University of Wisconsin
GEORGE E. VINCENT, University of Minnesota

ELECTED

EDWARD C. HAYES, University of Illinois
HOWARD B. WOOLSTON, College of the City of New York
MISS JULIA LATHROP, Federal Children's Bureau
CARL KELSEY, University of Pennsylvania
CECIL C. NORTH, Ohio State University
J. ELBERT CUTLER, Western Reserve University

The last two named are new members of the Executive Committee.

The American Sociological Society was organized at Baltimore in 1905. It is composed of persons interested in the study and correct interpretation of social questions. The Society is not a reform organization, nor does it champion any sect, party, or school of thought. It stands for free discussion, in a scholarly and scientific way, of all shades of thinking on social questions.

Its membership is composed of business men, ministers, lawyers, publicists, journalists, men of affairs, social workers, and students and teachers of all the social sciences in our leading colleges and universities. At present there are over eight hundred members in the Society, and these persons, whether engaged in research, teaching, industry, business, or the investigation of specific problems of social amelioration, find opportunities for the exchange of thought in the annual meetings and through the publications of the Society.

The Society owes its inception to the conviction of its founders and present members that persons interested in the sane, permanent progress of society should have opportunity to meet regularly for the discussion of subjects of common interest. The meetings thus far have proved of great value by furthering the unification of sociological theory, by increasing knowledge of particular problems, and by bringing members of the Society into personal relations with one another.

The purpose of the Society as stated in the constitution is: "The encouragement of sociological research and discussion, and the promotion of intercourse between persons engaged in the scientific study of society."

The membership fee is Three Dollars a year, or Fifty Dollars for Life Membership. Each member will receive a copy of the current publications of the Society. Application blanks, as well as further information concerning the Society, may be obtained from the Secretary, PROFESSOR SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, 58th Street and Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

COUNTRYSIDE AND NATION

PRESIDENT GEORGE E. VINCENT

University of Minnesota, President of the American Sociological Society

The world-war forces upon us the idea, if not the ideal, of nationality. The state becomes a superman demanding sacrifice of all individual and group interests. National power, survival, aggrandizement, are the tests applied to men and to measures. We think, not of persons, but of organizations, armies, hospital services, munition production, transportation control, food conservation, and other regulations of consumption, all dominated by a compelling common purpose. The contrast between these people at war and ourselves disturbs us. We ask uneasily whether we are capable of sacrifice and co-operation on so heroic a scale. Strenuous folk insist that we are slack, self-indulgent, undisciplined, blind to the dangers which menace us, incapable of taking the precautions which prudence dictates. Others less bellicose declare that our battles are to be fought, not in trenches and on the sea, but on farms, in factories, and in counting-houses. These men call us to industrial and commercial preparation for a national campaign in the markets of the world. Still other more idealistic prophets are proclaiming a moral crusade. They tell us that we can fulfil our mission only by exalting justice and righteousness, living virtuous lives, and seeking to make our country an agency of peace and good-will among men. From the conflict of ideals and programs one fact emerges: we are being forced to think nationally, to consider our problems from the standpoint, not chiefly of individual, local, provincial, or class interest, but from that of national unity and welfare. The railway situation gives us a vivid sense of the country as a whole. We shrink from a tariff revision which we fear would again reveal localism and special interest, rampant and unashamed. We have a pathetic hope that a tariff commission might see the nation as a unit. We are

beginning to hold our noses at the thought of the putrescent "pork-barrel."

To most Americans, permeated with individualism and localism, insistence on the national test seems cold, impersonal, hard-hearted. For example, the social sanction for state-supported education is resented. The individual right to an unexacting education at public expense, to admission to professions on easy terms, is vigorously asserted. The career of the man is tangible, human; it arouses sympathy. The possible sacrifice of public welfare is remote, abstract. Little wonder that persons who are impatient with democracy declare that only bitter experience can force upon the people of the United States the national point of view; that they will have a powerful army only in the third or fourth year of a war in which they are getting a sound drubbing; that they will organize transportation, industry, and commerce nationally only under the whip of economic distress; that they will gain moral strength only through trial and suffering. These skeptics are sure that a well-conceived, consistent, and steadily pursued national policy is possible only to a state in which the competent few successfully control the docile many. Those Americans who still have faith in democracy, and are suspicious of the real competence and foresight of the autocratic few, will not acquiesce in a fatalistic policy of drift; they will urge the national point of view with respect to every problem, in the belief that slowly the American mind will lose its intensely personal and local conception of life, and that truly national purposes and policies will be formulated and followed.

No one would question the assertion that the farm and village life of the United States presents a national problem. Yet it is doubtful whether many Americans realize the immense gravity of the question as to how fifty millions are now living in the rural regions, and as to the kind of life which still more millions will live in the future. To be sure, there has been talk and print enough about country life, to say nothing of commissions, conferences, and legislative projects in profusion. Unconsciously the emphasis has been upon the needs of country folk rather than upon the nation's need of them. It is the latter view which must be more

clearly grasped if the farm problem is to be dealt with to some purpose. The personal and group view is natural enough, but this gets its larger meaning from inclusive, national considerations.

The nation is bound to ask questions like these: Is the arable land of the United States being utilized efficiently for the present, and conservatively for the future? Can the nation rely upon food supplies ample for its own needs, with a surplus for the purposes of international commerce? Are producers of agricultural goods receiving sufficient economic returns to stimulate them to high efficiency? Are countryside and village rearing and training promising individuals, of whom many may be wisely drafted into the professions and occupations of the national life? Are enough persons of imagination and ability remaining in the rural districts to furnish local leadership? Do country schools offer opportunities fairly equal to those provided by town and city schools? Are these rural schools adapted to the needs of country life? Is rural life so organized as to give training in the responsibilities of citizenship, and so as to develop a community spirit? Can the farming population be counted upon to contribute to state and federal policies more than a local or class point of view? Is there reason to expect that spiritual and ethical idealism will be maintained and fostered in the open country? What can the governments of state and nation do to increase the efficiency of the rural population in its service to the United States? How can voluntary associations and private organizations be enlisted in this national undertaking? These questions might be condensed into one: Is the open country producing food enough physically to sustain, and personalities and communities of a quality mentally and morally to strengthen, the American nation? These inquiries may hurt the sensibilities of persons who feel the missionary spirit drawing them into the country. They may resent the idea that rural folk are to be exploited for national welfare. The reply is obvious. It is open to the countryside to raise similar questions about urban populations, and about all the organizations of the national life. The national point of view spares no individual, class, or function. Of each it asks: Is the work of the nation being well done or ill?

It is not to be denied that rural life today as a whole is not in a sound and satisfying condition. Other national services, to be sure, are far from efficient, and are being subjected to criticism and reconstruction. The farm problem is, however, entering a serious phase. The nation is beginning to ask how men and women can be induced to carry on country life with more satisfaction to themselves and better service to the whole people. It is absurd to describe the rural population as a group as in any sense degenerate or as constituting a pathological problem. Talk of uplifting the countryside by sending out urban missionaries is at once pharisaical and irritating. In spite of many disquieting tendencies, we rightly regard the rural folk of the United States as essentially sound, vigorous, and capable of serving the nation well, provided only the necessary means of stimulation and reward can be discovered and applied. An omniscient, omnipotent, and benevolent despot could reorganize the nation promptly, put each of us in his proper place, assign tasks, appeal to the requisite motives, and make our common life a marvel of team-play. No wonder that we sometimes long for Plato's philosophers to come and take charge of us. But we should not recognize and accept wisdom so superhuman. We are doomed to grope our way slowly toward a far-off ideal of national co-operation.

Society has its ways of putting people to useful work and keeping them at it. These devices vary with the task, but in the long run and on the average, a social job does not get well and persistently done unless it insures these things: a satisfying economic reward, a sense of mastery over a technique, an occupational pride, congenial comradeship, social esteem and recognition. If our nation hopes to get its farming done efficiently, and to make country life appeal to the imagination of millions of its people, it will have to make sure that at least these stimuli are applied to them. For precisely because these rewards are today inadequate or lacking, farming and country life cause the nation anxiety.

It is not for a sociologist to venture far into the field of rural economics. Land problems, taxation, credits, cost accounting, marketing, co-operative industry, offer complexities too intricate and detailed for the merely speculative mind. But even the social

philosopher perceives that ways of getting a living are fundamental and profoundly affect the entire structure of a given society. Any attempt then to improve country life must take into account its business basis. Until very recently it seems to have been taken for granted that the unit, ownership, and administration of agricultural industry have been finally determined. The farm-institute apostles and extension lecturers have depicted a countryside dotted with farms of moderate size, each subjected to a semi-intensive, diversified culture by its owner, who with his family occupies a modern dwelling, sends his children over good roads to a consolidated, vocationalized school, himself eagerly motoring to "short courses" and indulging his passion for scientific farming. Under this system the farmer acquires a truly American independence, alike apparently of city people and of his own neighborhood; he offers a striking contrast to the urbanite who is wholly, almost abjectly, dependent upon his complicated environment. Of late the rural picture has been modified by the introduction of many co-operative features in which the earlier independence has been almost magically transformed into an idyllic community consciousness. It is needless to say that children reared in this atmosphere display an unswerving loyalty to country life, and an edifying indifference to the lures of the city.

It is a rude awakening from this bucolic dream to be told that as an industry farming pays the average farmer less than day wages; that only increase in land values gives him a delusive sense of prospering from agriculture; that tenancy is increasing disconcertingly even in the best farming regions, such as Iowa and Illinois; that with the approaching occupation of the last of the cheap government lands, opportunities for men without capital will grow rapidly less; that, owing to the character of land tenure, the rural population is increasingly foot-loose and migratory; and that, by reason of these conditions, education, social life, political responsibility, moral standards, and religious sanctions are being alarmingly neglected or undermined. These are summary and possibly extreme assertions. If they are in the main true, they raise this question: When farming ceases to depend on land speculation, and becomes wholly an industry, what will be the method of providing and

controlling the increasing amount of capital which will be required for the proper development of the agricultural resources of the United States? Upon the answer to this question will depend the future, not only of farming as a business, but of rural life as a source of character, ideals, and citizenship.

It is probable that no one uniform type of agricultural industry will be worked out. Adaptations will take place to a variety of conditions of soil, climate, access to markets. It is hard to imagine precisely the same unit of organization in the market-garden area of Long Island, the corn belt of Illinois and Iowa, the wheat sections of Montana and California, the apple valleys of Washington, and the cotton fields of Georgia. Nevertheless, there will develop a prevailing or characteristic method of exploiting the arable land of this country. If the nation is to survive, this method must be efficient and must contribute more than crops to the common welfare. No suspension of the laws of nature, physical and human, is to be counted upon. Even Congress cannot protect the countryside against the consequences of ignoring these processes. To discover and to utilize purposefully the principles of the natural sciences, of economics, and of the other social sciences is the opportunity and duty of statesmanship.

Even when frontier conditions with cheap land and rapidly rising values have passed, the moderate-sized, one-family farm managed by its owner with acquired or hereditary capital will undoubtedly persist. But will it be the prevailing, efficient, dominant type? No; as a small, isolated, producing unit, dependent upon market conditions over which it has no control, this good, old-fashioned farm, managed in the traditional spirit of truculent individualism, is doomed. Its capital is threatened by uneconomic management and by the distribution of inheritances. The remorseless increase of tenancy records the passing of such family farms into the hands of men who possess and conserve capital or the retention of them by persons who have moved to village or town. The isolated individualistic farm cannot provide the conditions which will insure a succession of generations in satisfied possession of the family property. There seems no escape from this dilemma: sons and daughters with limited capacity cannot successfully

manage a farm in this way; children of imagination and ability find no sufficient rewards for undertaking the enterprise. If the country is dependent upon an agricultural industry dominated by the frontier spirit, then the national house has a quaking foundation. Robust, assertive individualism which "paddles its own canoe," "looks out for number one," "minds its own business," and engages even in "log-rolling" reluctantly has had its day. It is moving gradually into town in the persons of retired farmers who oppose the wasteful extravagance of public schools and other collective calls upon the taxpayers.

Is, then, the history of imperial Rome and of pre-revolutionary France to be repeated in the United States? Is agricultural land to pass into the hands of a relatively small number of individuals, firms, and corporations? Is the tenant farmer to become the American type? Already 37 per cent of the farms in this country are rented or worked on shares by the men in immediate charge. How far a slight decline in the percentage of tenancy in the North Atlantic division is due to the purchase of farms for summer homes or to be merged into country estates there is no way of knowing. The high tenancy rate in the cotton belt reflects the familiar facts about the exploitation of the negro farmer by high interest rates, profits on provisions advanced as capital, manipulation of sales, etc. That in the best agricultural states of the upper Mississippi Valley tenancy should be steadily gaining ground is ominous. It may be said that this is a passing phase due to the purchase of land, not for investment, but for speculative purposes. Granted that this be true, when something like stability in values has been reached, how are individuals with little or no capital to become owners of farms? Are they not doomed to be renters or wage-earners if they are to have any part in agricultural industry?

It may be that tenancy is a blessing in disguise. The most obvious effects of it are: losses of soil fertility, under-production, inefficient management, weakening of initiative and responsibility, impairing of community spirit, a consequent undermining of local institutions, and a deterioration of character. There are hopeful people who believe that under wisely drawn leases the soil will be protected, that by profit-sharing and expert supervision production

will be stimulated, and that a kind of sublimated peasantry will come into existence which will add to the old American rural virtues a grateful docility and a respect for the owners of land and their views of the public weal. These regenerated renters are counted upon also to display an aversion to granges, farmers' alliances, leagues, and other sources of unrest! One must be an invincible optimist to have a faith like this. If we are drifting toward a tenant-farmer system, we must face the inevitable consequences. The nation cannot have confidence in a future which includes such a prospect. For this system involves all the disadvantages, with none of the efficiency, of large-scale capitalistic management.

There is another possibility. Why may not the factory system, which has invaded almost every other field, extend itself to agricultural industry? When mining, lumbering, transforming industries, transportation, public utilities, commerce have been put upon a stable basis with minimized returns on investment, capital may seek other resources to develop. The land lies waiting for really efficient exploitation. One can picture an agricultural corporation village in the center of a great estate. Every mechanical appliance is available. Overhead trolleys and grain chutes center in the barns and elevators. Railway spur and motor road link up the farm with the markets. Farm factories utilize spare labor on rainy days and in the off season. Manager and foremen are trained agricultural experts. Every efficiency device is employed. The farm laborers live in company cottages, heated and lighted from a central plant. A school, club-house, common laundry, etc., are provided. Even the eight-hour system might be introduced. Two shifts could meet the situation created by the dairy-cow's refusal to join society in the recognition of the modern labor day. There is no doubt that such a system could be made efficient, if market and labor conditions permitted a sure and adequate return. But for the increased efficiency, the creation of a class of farm wage-earners would be a heavy price to pay. When we are seeking a solution for the labor problem in other industries it would be a misfortune gradually to extend the number of wage-earners until practically all small owners are eliminated. But unless some other plan will secure the same efficiency in production without the

sacrifice of individual initiative and independence, what reason is there to suppose that, given the necessary economic conditions, corporate management will not take over the industry of agriculture?

Is there hope of a substitute which might give the nation efficient agriculture and greater political and social stability? A suggestion comes from Denmark and elsewhere of a co-operatively organized countryside. Here is a plan which seems to combine much of the strength of corporate management with the stimulus, initiative, and character-training that accompany individual ownership. The story of Danish farming and marketing success is an inspiring chapter in the history of industry. The result is not an economic service only; it is a patriotic achievement. The essentials of the plan are familiar: credit associations, long-term amortizing bond issues, co-operative dairies, creameries, power-plants, on the productive side; collecting and shipping facilities and direct selling at home and in foreign countries, on the marketing side. The effects of this general participation in collective enterprises are said to be noteworthy in personal character, political responsibility, social solidarity, and occupational pride and loyalty. Leadership finds full scope for its best abilities, which are challenged by problems of real moment. Country life gains in attractiveness and dignity. Its institutions, educational, recreative, social, religious, flourish. Some of the reasons for this success are clear: homogeneous, stable communities close-knit by family ties and tradition, an intensive agriculture made possible by inexpensive labor and near-by markets, a basis for credit extending over long periods at low interest rates, sturdiness of individual and group character. To these should be added the dogged purpose which grew out of the disasters of 1866 to show the world that a nation may be small in area but great in spirit.

We look a little wistfully across the sea as we think of the average American farming region, with its careless cultivation, its shifting population, too often divided by racial and religious antagonisms, its irresponsible tenancy, its atomistic individualism, its crude, frontier means of education, its social isolation, and its formalistic, devitalized churches. Is there any hope, we ask, of reorganizing rural life in the United States on the model of Denmark? Certainly

there is little chance of transplanting unchanged the institutions of one society to an alien soil. But enough has already been accomplished in American communities to give encouragement. This type of country life adapted to changing American conditions is worth fighting for. It seems to offer the chief, if not the sole, means of escaping the consequences of landlordism and corporate management. In the long run the test here as elsewhere will be that of economic efficiency. Unless the co-operative system can occupy the ground and produce, not only personal character and community solidarity, but copious crops and well-bred cattle, one or both of the other forms of agricultural industry will do the work, achieving economic success at the expense, it is to be feared, of ultimate national solidarity.

The nation may not safely suffer the rural problem to drift. There must be a carefully worked-out purpose and policy. The federal government is adopting a plan of subsidy. The land-grant colleges have long received aid. Agricultural extension funds are now being supplied through these same agencies. Congress is being asked to support several other types of education and experiment. Subsidy without careful control is a serious danger. We are threatened with a pedagogic pork-barrel which will dissipate federal funds. The problem of the countryside is only one of several situations which challenge the attention of the nation. The government at Washington is called upon to assert the national point of view with respect to all of them. A beginning has been made with regard to the reorganization of the farming industry. Rural credits is a much more complicated problem than has been generally supposed, but it is of vital importance. Until recently stress has been laid on production; now marketing is being emphasized. Land tenure is beginning to be recognized as fundamental. We are so used to the idea that there is plenty of land to be had almost for the asking that we come slowly to realize that the laws that have been at work in every other country are becoming manifest here also. With all these duties to perform, the federal government must provide the statesmanship to deal with these questions in a large, imaginative way. There is little hope in a merely industrious, conventional bureaucracy.

But it is not the American way to trust wholly to governmental action. Not only are the United States Department of Agriculture, agricultural colleges and stations, and extension divisions at work upon this problem, but individuals and voluntary associations are enlisted in the cause of the countryside. Farmers' organizations of many kinds are becoming aggressive. Unfortunately group antagonisms are all too manifest. Farmers' clubs and local merchants come into collision; bankers are suspicious of new plans for rural credits; farmers' alliances and leagues are at war with elevator companies and middlemen generally. It is a time to insist upon the national point of view as opposed to that of narrower group interests. There should be no talk of coddling the farmer, or of governmental paternalism, or of outside interference with private business.

What is to be the future of the American countryside? Shall it be peopled by the tenants of a landowning class? Shall it be filled with wage-earners employed by great corporations? Or shall it be preponderantly the home of co-operating individual owners banded together under competent leadership for a satisfying life, and for efficient service to the nation? Who can dogmatically predict? Who doubts which goal should be set up for the American nation?

COUNTRY VERSUS CITY

WARREN H. WILSON

Head of the Department of Country Church Work of the Presbyterian Board of
Home Missions

The population of the cities is now, for the nation as a whole, about equal to that of the country. In 1910, 53 per cent of the people of the United States lived in communities of 2,500 or less. The communities of 2,500 or over, which are called cities, were growing at such a rate then, and have so increased since that time in growth and in proportionate growth, that we may recognize the division of the people between city and country communities as equal. The division of the population at communities of 2,500, while arbitrary, is on the whole satisfactory. It marks the line of social, economic, educational, and religious differences which are vital and fundamental. The basis of this difference is the fact that there are two layers of people in this country, the rural and the urban. The rural are predominantly of the older colonial stock; among them are few of the immigrants of recent years. Irish, German, and Scandinavian immigrants used to go to the country, but Poles, Lithuanians, Slavs, Bulgarians, Serbs, Greeks, Syrians, and Jews do not go to farms in any such numbers as to require notice here. They go to the cities. The cities reflect their character and activities. The farming and the village populations, on the other hand, are strongholds of older American conservatism.

It is contended by some authorities that there is a movement of the country population, not to the cities, but from farm to farm, from farm to village, and from one agricultural state to another. There are some country people moving into the cities, as is demonstrated by the slow growth of cities in the southern states where immigrants are few. But that this cityward migration is relatively small is indicated by the predominantly rural character of these states to which little of the more recent immigration has gone. The cities in the South constitute only a small

part of the entire population, and they exhibit in this fact the lesser inclination of the older Americans to go into city life.

The contrast between city and country is expressed also in certain social habits. The compacted social forms under which people live in the congested cities are unknown in the country. They are not idealized by country people. Farmers live in homesteads far apart from one another. The village residence of some European tillers of the soil has not been translated to this country, though similar conditions appear in Utah.

The masterful and independent character of the American countryman explains his country residence and the lonely homestead in which he lives. Eloquent tribute is paid to this chief motive of country life in Bailey's *The Holy Earth*, p. 37:

As you say, too many people confound farming with that sordid, selfish, money-getting game called "business," whereas the farmer's position is administrative, being in a way a dispenser of the "Mysteries of God," for they are mysteries. Every apple is a mystery, and every potato is a mystery, and every ear of corn is a mystery, and every pound of butter is a mystery, and when a farmer is not able to understand these things he is out of place.

The farmer uses the soil and the rains and the snows and the frosts and the winds and the sun: these are also the implements of the Almighty, the only tools he uses. . . .

Strangely contrasted to this industrial independence of country people is the variety of minds one finds in the city. Every type of mind that is highly specialized, every industrial character, every mechanical gift that is highly rewarded, every business faculty that inclines its possessor to acquire and to use capital goes to the city. Into the city are thus brought the mechanical, the executive, the acquisitive, the musical, the literary, the humorous.

There are left in the country by this very drastic selection the possessors of an entirely different social mind. The characters entering into its make-up are fewer than in the city. The country lacks the variety and is without the original inventive elements of which the city has a surplusage. A somewhat uniform type of mind after a while characterizes country populations that are under city influence. Wilbert L. Anderson has described this severe conformity of country people to one type as a result of the removal of those who have characters of greater variation to the cities. The

effect of this selection is to give the country and city populations an appearance of strong unlikeness each to the other.

Economic forms of the country differ from those of the city, where the joint-stock corporation prevails. Country people cannot endure to work together under joint-stock organization. They have invented in Europe and America, out of the necessity of collective action, a co-operative type of organization based upon the natural partnership of the country neighborhood. Farmers in every land of the earth are said by Sir Horace Plunkett to organize effectively in this form alone, which preserves the individual estate while securing collective action on a basis of personal acquaintance.

The schools of the country are very different from those of the city. The disposition to improve and adapt the city schools, and the degree of that educational progress, are not found in the country, where conservatism affects the school perhaps more than any other institution. The schoolmaster class may have exaggerated the antagonism between city and country because of this retardation of country schools. This class has certainly not belittled it, and the more because the future of the country school is believed to lie in a different direction from that of the city schools. To this the books of Kern, Foght, Carney, Bruère, Eggleston, and Cubberley all testify. The science of agriculture occupies a great place in national education. Professing to be a whole and adequate training for country life, it greatly influences rural thought. The more it is developed as a formal statement of rural knowledge and practice, so much the more does country life differ from city life. The whole influence of the agricultural college and of the state and national departments of agriculture is exerted in the direction of a different society in the country from that in the city.

To this conviction of a dual organization of society further evidence is added by the country church. Between the city church and that in the country there is a wide divergence. So marked is this contrast that one brilliant observer has called the country church a form of "heathen Christianity."

There is a different personnel in the country ministry and different professional habits, especially in the open country churches. There is a strong tendency among country churches to conform

to a common mode and both in liturgy and in relation to social life to resemble one another closely. This occurs, moreover, without abatement of denominational ardor. The same thing may be said of city churches of the protestant sort: they tend to conform to a city type. But city and country church modes are far apart. Two rural churches of different denominations are more like one another than either of them is like a city congregation of its own communion. The country church generally has an absentee minister. Its affairs are treated as of less importance than individual concerns. It is not an approved channel of benevolence as the city church is. And over-churching, especially in villages, seems to be a cherished expression of the rural religious spirit rather than an evil recognized or deplored.

The widest divergence between city and country is a spiritual one; by this I mean a contrast in the general attitude of either population toward life as a whole. The countryman has the attitude of one who produces his own living. The city man is characterized by the recognition that the sources of his income are invisible. That is, country men think of themselves as producers, while dwellers in cities act the part of consumers. It is true that each farmer is now a consumer of other men's goods; but his mental posture—what Professor Carver calls his "make-believe"—is that of a self-sufficing social life. He still sees before his eyes the most of his consumer's goods produced on the land which he owns or rents, and even manufactured on his own premises. This fact gives him an independence of the city and a resulting contempt for city people and antagonism for all urban concerns.

The relation between city and country may be understood in any one of three ways: first, it may be believed—as many do believe upon the evidence we have just mentioned—that rural society and urban have no connection whatever: that the one is independent of the other; or secondly, one may conceivably think of them as antagonistic and competitive—as the title of this paper implies; or thirdly, we may believe that urban society and rural society are closely interrelated, causes of either being found in the other.

The prevailing implication of social opinion among students of urban conditions is of the first of these three; that is, urban social

students write and speak as if the city were self-sufficing. Rural students usually adhere to the second theory, that city and country compete. Their proposals often imply that the prosperity of the country is to be secured only from rural sources by rural leaders, independently or at the expense of the city. It is the contention of this paper that the third opinion is the true one—that city and country are dynamically one. Studies which ignore progress may regard them as separate and complete each in itself; but the consideration of growth and progress discovers sources of change for the city to be in the country, and sources of rural progress in the city.

This is not to say that we are going to "urbanize" the country. So long as farmers persist in living in lonely homesteads, to speak of rural social life as "urban" because of better plumbing or screens on the door of the farm kitchen is simply to confess a poverty of words. But so long as the harvester machinery is made in Chicago and the price of butter is fixed in Elgin and the sale of citrus fruit is made in Los Angeles, just so long will the city be the center of country life. And until typhoid is abolished, the country and the city will require a unified health service.

One reason why we are slow to recognize the interaction of city and country is the fact that we have little knowledge of the dynamic relations of either. We have studied static sociology in city and country, but we in the rural field have only lately begun to study farm management, farm accounting, or the marketing of farm products. We have only the beginnings of a knowledge of rural health; but what we have shows an immediate relation between city and country. The study of suburban life may have surprises in store, as it is on the border-line between city and country. The study of the gentleman farmer's way of life, like that of the suburban community, has yet to be made. But the chief confession we have to make is the fact that there is no history of agriculture. The encyclopedia article is until today the best authority upon the record of country living.

The book by Warren on *Farm Management* introduced a new and influential element into the study of rural social life; for the first time the study of man and of his chief motive has emerged

above the entomologies, agronomies, and animal husbandries which have awaited this master-inquiry.

Perhaps the book by Weld on *Marketing of Farm Products* may be as great a contribution to rural progress. It certainly is a valuable and epochal work. It deals with the processes of production which are carried on in cities; with the marketing of meat, grain, milk, and fruit which cannot profitably or even productively be produced without the factor of city price-fixing, speculation, and manufacturing. Professor Weld's book is a beginning of great promise. It is written from the city point of view, and it is just now of all the greater value for that reason since it constitutes an argument for the social and economic unity of city and country populations. Later studies will show the processes of marketing based upon the farmer's methods of collective action. Powell's and Coulter's books on *Cooperation* have already described the rural aspect of collective production. Complete knowledge of this topic shows the city and country to be one in the processes of production.

Public health is another field in which rural and urban societies meet. Here we have a beginning, not so much in the books published under that title—which but demonstrate our lack of knowledge of rural health conditions—but in the few field surveys made with a view to the measurement of the effect of well-known pathological forces upon rural populations. The house-to-house study of five rural counties of Indiana by Dr. Hurty, health commissioner of the state, exhibited the typical American homestead as a center of ill-health and insanitary neglect. The survey of rural immorality in Green and Clermont counties, Ohio, by Professor Paul L. Vogt, measured the prevalence of venereal diseases among country people. The State Department of Health of Virginia, Dr. Williams, commissioner, has systematically studied the health conditions in Orange and other rural counties. The United States Public Health Service is now making rural surveys. Professor T. D. Wood of Columbia has published in two brief but accurate pamphlets the summaries of these findings, showing the evidence which indicates in the large that the city is the center of dynamic health and pointing to the intolerably bad conditions in the country,

which, being unremedied, affect the health of the whole people. The investigations and the subsequent health campaigns with reference to the mosquito and the hookworm are now chapters of the history of national public health in which the city and the country are equally concerned.

The investigation of rural populations with a view to the measurement of the numbers and proportions of subnormal, defective, idiotic, and insane will be particularly important in this connection. The Committee on Provision for the Feeble-minded has made a beginning in this investigation. When it is completed we shall know whether those who go to the cities from the country are its best breeding stock, and whether generally the country community has a greater or a less proportion of the insane, idiotic, defective, or subnormal than the city.

Our knowledge of the history of agriculture throws light upon this question. In classic literature there are many books upon husbandry, which may be defined as the tillage of the soil in obedience to the demands of organized society. Hesiod's *Works and Days* is a book upon country life as a form of social control, and in this book the ancient poet has much to say of the city. The same may be said of Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, Virgil's *Georgics*, Cato's *De re rustica*, Varro's *Rerum rusticarum* and Columella's cyclopedia of formulas. In all these it appears to the modern reader that the cities are a force in society which imposes obligations upon the man who holds and tills the soil. It is a social, not a legal constraint, therefore it is ethical and idealistic, not legislative. The Book of Deuteronomy has the same value. Its legalistic form does not hide its literary, almost romantic purpose.

The absence of city influence in the Middle Ages corresponds to the decadence of husbandry. There was no advance in this period in the rural social ideals, and there were no cities, though one may be a cause of and probably is a condition of the other. The monks alone were husbandmen and their Latin texts preserve a lifeless formula of agriculture.

By Elizabeth's time the ideals of country life had revived. Indeed, as Samuel Hortlib, the friend of Milton, observes, there must be personal freedom and personal interest before husbandry

can thrive; and the age of the soldier and the monk could not be favorable to country life.

The writings of Walter of Henley, of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, of Walter Harte, and of Henry Horne exhibit in English literature the influence exerted through the cities as organized masses of consumers in the growing ideal of the country. I do not mean that country life has no other factor, or that husbandmen usually love the city. They do not love, but rather hate and decry its influence; but this very antagonism of mind is a tribute to the control and dominance of the city as an organization of consumers.

In American history the growth of cities corresponds to the growth of the organized idealism of husbandry and the specialized education for agriculture. In our time the cities constrain all men to produce ethically. The city organizes its influence through the state and the commonwealth by books, by literature, by newspapers, and through legislative enactments, in such a way as to require from people living in the country that they produce what the community as a whole needs.

Everybody knows how the city governs the great rural industries which center in it. The countryman contributes relatively little by his direct discussion or by his direct proposal in the regulation of the milk trade, of the meat industry, of the speculation in wheat, of the standardization of fruit products, of the storage and shipment of refrigerated products, meat, or fruit. These regulations are usually imposed by the state at the behest of masses of consumers whose centers of influence and authority are in the big cities. These cities themselves are often the organization by which the masses of consumers impose their will upon country producers.

This influence of the city is positive and constructive. It tends to organize country life. For instance, the American farmer has by the demand of the city been obliged to milk his cows at intervals of twelve hours—4:00 A.M. and 4:00 P.M. The farmer in East India is not accustomed to milk the cows at an early hour. A report of co-operative societies in the State of Baroda describes the difficulties encountered by those co-operative societies which handle milk products in that state, in inducing farmers to milk their cows at the intervals which tend toward the highest efficiency.

These co-operative societies might be called ganglia of social control. The nerve centers in this social control, however, are in the big cities in India.

In this country, in some of the states without co-operative societies, the milk business is regulated from the big cities. Anyone who lives in a dairy country realizes that the farmer rises and goes to bed, eats his meals, and regulates the labor of the day and of the year according to the behest which, directly and indirectly, is laid upon him by the market authorities in the big city to which his milk is shipped. The city is thus a factor in making the farmer think. It lays a bondage upon him which organizes his labor and makes him more industrious. The effect of this is seen in the higher proportion of regularly industrious persons in the country populations of states like New York, Pennsylvania, or Ohio, than in the states like North Carolina or Tennessee, in which the proportion of cities is less. The number of idle persons and the number of hours of idleness which prevail among a population in rural Arkansas is much greater than in an Ohio rural population. The reason is that the cities of Ohio have regulated the industrial procedure of the country. They have organized the life of the country, whereas in Arkansas or rural Tennessee, or in the inaccessible mountain region, there is no ethical market standard laid upon the people, and they have not, therefore, the discipline of the city's domination.

The contention of this paper is, first, that the sociology of city and country relations should develop by inductive study rather than by speculation; secondly, that the study of rural versus urban society offers a field of most fruitful study in which we may learn much about the nature of social life in general; and thirdly, that the study of those interrelations which exhibit the city as a center of rural forces and the country as a leverage or a brake upon the social machine will be among the most fruitful of all social investigations in the days before us. In the classroom and seminar in social science this method offers the highest return, and the material thus secured rewards collective study as much as any available for the teacher and the student.

FOLK DEPLETION AS A CAUSE OF RURAL DECLINE

EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS
University of Wisconsin

In September, 1911, I spent a fortnight with a friend on a walking trip in certain parts of New England in order to get terms of comparison for certain studies I was making of the people of the Middle West. The counties I visited were chiefly those which for a long time have been losing population and gaining no new industries. I talked freely with Y.M.C.A. secretaries, school principals and superintendents, clergymen, physicians, heads of state institutions, officials, business men, and other intelligent citizens. The data were not secured for publication, and I now submit them only in the hope that they may throw light on a problem that is presenting itself in those parts of the East and the Middle West which have contributed most heavily to the upbuilding of other commonwealths.

The striking thing I found in these counties was the opinion generally held by thoughtful people that *the community is not up to its former standard*. Whether this is the case or not, the fact that those in the best position to know *think so* is worthy of serious attention.

There is complaint that the young people lack "ginger." A leader in boys' work said that his lads cannot be persuaded to go on a "hike" to mountain or lake on Saturday afternoon in order to camp there overnight. The prospect of a nine-mile walk "scared them out." Twenty might promise, but scarcely half a dozen would show up at the rendezvous. If a "rig" were provided, all were glad to go. The boys in the larger centers were said to be more active in disposition. In the small villages there sometimes is no response to the "Boy Scout" program. A hotel proprietor noticed that, whereas in his youth every boy had some work to do and did

it, now many boys between fifteen and eighteen are irresponsible and worthless, and their parents support them in idleness. The more spirited and ambitious boys keep going away, so that those who remain are rather apathetic. He remarked that the feeling of the young fellows about their baseball games with other towns does not run as high as it did in his boyhood. Some school principals observe that during recess their pupils are content to stand about and talk, chaff, and play tricks on one another instead of taking part in active games. In high school the boys show very little interest in their baseball team and when a match game with another school comes off not over half the boys and one-fifth the girls attend. Few will pay ten cents a month to support their athletic league, although they spend their money freely enough on motion-picture shows.

In a river community in which motor boating is very popular, it has been found impossible to interest the young people in water sports. Their one stimulus to sustained physical exertion is dancing.

A certain Y.M.C.A. secretary said that the boys he works among display normal physical energy, but that the young men over eighteen are noticeably sluggish, owing to the fact that before the age of eighteen most of the more energetic have gone away to the cities. There was much complaint that lads quit school as soon as the law allows, and then, in spite of parental entreaties, loaf about town and go to the bad.

LACK OF INITIATIVE IN YOUNG PEOPLE

I was astonished to learn that quite often it is necessary to show the school children how to play. School men hailing from other states were puzzled by this strange juvenile apathy. Left to themselves, the children stand about, scuffle, or play practical jokes on one another. In some cases, when shown how to play regular games, they respond eagerly and idolize the teacher who has shown them how to play. Clergymen find that if they can get a group of boys to take "hikes" in summer, skate in winter, and engage in regular sports, many of them will eventually become interested in religion and education. The usual complaint is that

the young people are not interested in *anything* worth while, but that they play cards, dance, visit motion-picture shows, and run the streets. School principals say that it is very hard to get work out of pupils, that they have to amuse the pupils in order to get along with them. From their elders they inherit the tradition that the school is a place for fun and that the teacher is their natural enemy, to be foiled if possible. Among the pupils of the high school the corporate spirit is said to be weak. The singing school, debating societies, and lyceums which, two generations ago, played so great a part in the life of the rural young people are no longer heard of. The only collective recreation the young people organize is the dance.

There is general complaint that the rising generation is frivolous, and indifferent to all higher things. "Not a particle of zeal or ambition among the young people either in village or country districts," says a county Y.M.C.A. secretary of wide knowledge. "Those in the church won't do a thing for its institutional life," says a clergyman. "No bottom; nothing to build on," comments a religious worker. A professor in a certain college had been struck by the absence of social enthusiasms among the students. In the entire three hundred there was not one to whom the leadership of a boys' club could be intrusted. Only the "sissy" type of young man offered himself for social service.

THE STATE OF JUVENILE MORALS

In the stagnating counties the problem of the juvenile presents itself in the acutest form in which I have ever known it. There is no provision for the recreative life of young people—no playground, meeting-place or social center. The school playground is merely a bare area, the churches rarely offer anything social or recreative, and the young people seem to have lost the power to use the schoolhouse in the old ways. Said a town official to me, "One of the greatest problems before the American people today is what to do with the young people in the evening." He did not know that in many localities the problem has been met and solved. "Hanging about the streets" is rife and "haunting the pool rooms" is growing. Cigarette smoking is general among the boys and

meets with little or no parental opposition. Sex consciousness arrives early and, in the absence of competing interests, the effects are alarming.

As regards the relations between boys and girls, it would be idle for me to present here such statements as were given to me, for they would be received with a shout of incredulity. However, they are not in the least abnormal or against nature. They are precisely what may be expected under the three conditions of lack of wholesome and innocent recreation, absence of religious influences, and want of parental supervision.

"Talk about the purity of the open country!" said one, "The moral conditions among our country boys and girls are worse than in the lowest tenement house in New York. In the cities the youth has interests, something to take his mind off his instincts. Here life in the isolated farm houses during the winter is apt to be lonely and dreary for young people. Nobody to see, nobody going by. What is more natural than that the boys should get together in the barn and while away the long winter evenings talking obscenity, telling filthy stories, recounting sex exploits, encouraging one another in vileness, perhaps indulging in unnatural practices?" The head of a state institution said that his most sodden and hopeless cases of moral deterioration came from isolated homes among the hills. He believes that 75 per cent of the bad boys and girls who are not mentally deficient could have been saved if they had been provided with proper play and recreation.

PARENTAL INDIFFERENCE

Lament over the inattention or indifference of parents to the morals of their children was universal among those I met. A state Y.M.C.A. officer said to me that among the hundreds of boys in his boys' clubs he had found but two who had been instructed by their parents in matters of sex. In some parts most parents give their daughters no instruction in sex, with the result that the girls may go wrong without the slightest knowledge of the possible consequences. It is said that parents don't pretend to know where their sons and daughters are in the evenings and don't care. They are ignorant of the evil effects of premature sex

life, and have no concern about the conduct of their young people.

The want of public spirit and the absorption of well-to-do people in their private pursuits and pleasures is said to be very marked. In one town a responsible man declared that "eight out of ten business men here contribute nothing to the leadership of the social life of the community. Their wives play bridge, entertain one another, tittle on the sly, and in some cases do worse. Their interest in home, or church, or school is very slight." In another town I was told that men who are prominent or in a position to exert an uplift influence refuse to take a moral stand on any matter for fear of losing their customers or clients, hurting their business relations, or raising their taxes.

CHURCH INERTIA

The clergymen are often alive to the situation and wish to socialize the work of the church so as to make it a positive influence in the lives of the young people, but their deacons and trustees will not allow the building to be used for anything but worship. As a consequence the church is declining in attendance and support and in some communities has come to be a negligible factor. I was told that in the open country people never think of going to church, and many youths have never seen the inside of a sacred edifice. Earnest men in the pulpit and out of it complain that the church does not make itself felt on moral issues such as liquor, divorce, and juvenile vice. They lament that it is not conscious of a mission to the community. Many of the younger clergymen have a social message, but under the circumstances they are quite powerless. Said one clergyman, "The stubborn individualism of the old deacons and elders is breaking the hearts of the earnest pastors up here. The conservative members are killing the church."

THE INTERPRETATION

Some of my informants offered no explanation of these bad tendencies. Some look upon them as the trend of the age, and imagine that the whole American people is going to the dogs.

Others think that people about them have degenerated. The explanation which occurred to me, because the phenomena I noticed do not differ essentially from what may be observed in certain rural parts of a dozen older states, I laid before at least a score of intelligent persons and not one disputed its plausibility.

It seems to me that the root of the trouble is not *folk degeneration* but *folk depletion*. Certain of the counties visited had more rural population eighty years ago than they have today. For three, even four, generations the hemorrhage has been going on. If the emigration to the cities and to the West had carried away just average persons, it could not affect the characteristics of the people; but if those who left were unusual in respect to some native quality, then their leaving would impoverish the people in respect to this quality.

Perhaps the trait most distinctive of those who cut their moorings in order to follow the call of distant opportunity is the *spirit of initiative*. They have it in them to *make a start*, in spite of home ties, the bonds of habit, and the restraints of prudence. Had they not emigrated, their spirit of initiative would have shown itself along other lines. They would have been among the first in the community to change their method of farming, to introduce some new crop, to embark in an untried industry, or to promote some community enterprise. A heavy outflow of this element need not leave the community poorer in physique, or brains, or character, but it does leave it poorer in natural leaders.

This is serious because natural leaders are of the utmost value to society. Not only is it they who launch improvements, but they perform a peculiar service in keeping up to the mark the various institutions which minister to the higher life of the community. The bulk of the people are unable to start or direct those institutions, although they appreciate and support them when once they exist. Often have I seen a depressing slump in the religious, social, and recreative life of a neighborhood, following the moving away of two or three families of initiative. Usually those who insist upon and know how to get good schools, vigorous churches, and abundant means for social enjoyment, are a minority, often a

very small minority. My own observation is that frequently the loss of even the best tenth will cut down by 50 per cent the effective support the community gives to higher interests.

The continual departure of young people who would in time have become leaders results eventually in a visible moral decline of the community. The roads are neglected, which means less social intercourse and a smaller turnout to school and church and public events. School buildings and grounds deteriorate, and the false idea takes root that it pays to hire the cheaper teacher. The church gets into a rut, fails to start up the social and recreative activities which bind the young people to it, and presently ceases to be a force. Frivolity engrosses the young because no one organizes singing schools, literary societies, or debating clubs. Presently a generation has grown up that has missed the uplifting and refining influence of these communal institutions. There is a marked decline in standards of individual and family morality. Many couples become too self-centered to be willing to rear children. It is noticed that people are not up to the level of their forefathers, that they are coarser in their tastes and care less for higher things. Vice and sensuality are not so restrained as of yore. The false opinion goes abroad that the community is "degenerate" and therefore past redemption.

All this may result from the continual abstraction from a normal population of too many of that handful of born leaders which is needed to leaven the social lump.

Let no one imagine that the symptoms of folk depletion are confined to the stagnating counties of New England. This phenomenon has a wider range than most people suspect. The disfranchisement of seventeen hundred citizens of an Ohio rural county for selling their votes lets in a ray on the dry rot of spots that have missed the electrifying touch of railroad or city. The knots of gaping tobacco-chewing loafers that haunt the station platform in some parts of Indiana indicate that the natural pacemakers of that locality have gone to create prosperity elsewhere. In parts of southern Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and even as far west as Missouri there are communities which remind one of fished-out ponds populated chiefly by bullheads and suckers. I have not

come upon the phenomenon, however, in Minnesota, Iowa, or the states farther west.

On the basis of wide studies, Dr. Warren H. Wilson, head of the Church and Country Life Department of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions declares:

Allowing for some exceptions, not too numerous, it may be said that throughout the prosperous and productive farming regions of the United States, which have been settled for fifty years, community life has disappeared. There is no play for the children; there is no recreation for young people; there are no adequate opportunities for acquaintance and marriage for young men and women; there is not a sufficient educational system for the needs of country people, and there is not for the average man or woman born in the country an economic opportunity within reach of his birthplace, such as will satisfy even modest desires. There is not in a weak community that satisfaction of social instinct which makes it "a good place to live in." Time was in New England and New York and Pennsylvania when there was a community to which every farmer belonged with some pleasure and pride. The absence of community life throughout these country regions expresses today what one man calls "the intolerable condition of country life."¹

If this widespread moral sag betokened a degeneration of the people, what an appalling prospect would lie before us! But, as I see it, only rarely is degeneration present. The bulk of the people in these rural counties are essentially like the bulk of Americans of the same stock in any other part of the country. They are normal, not subnormal. Their engrossment in business and pleasure, their indifference to cultural and spiritual interests, their lack of public spirit, are precisely what you would find in most other communities but for the presence of a certain small minority who set strict standards of private conduct, family life, and child upbringing, and persuade the majority that looser standards and practices are "low." It is these who take the lead in communal undertakings, better roads, schools, churches, and organized school life. The children of the rest are enlightened and refined by the influences radiating from such agencies and thus the moral plane of the community rises from generation to generation.

No doubt community decline from folk depletion has been occurring sporadically for thousands of years. If it has remained

¹ *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, V, 174.

for our time to diagnose the disease and its cause, it is because the double attraction of city and frontier, coupled with the influence of schools and newspapers, has depleted our old rural communities with an unprecedented rapidity. But there are indications that ours is not the only country affected with the malady. From England, Italy, and Scandinavia come tales of rural populations retrograding, owing to the loss of their ambitious units by emigration.

The question of remedies for folk depletion brings up nearly the whole problem of the amelioration of country life, and the lines of procedure can only be briefly indicated.

1. The more ambitious young people migrate because they imagine larger opportunities of individual success and social usefulness elsewhere. The only way to retain this precious leaven is to show them satisfying opportunities at home. Either new industries should be introduced, or else they should be led to perceive new possibilities in old industries. Here is the rôle for a strong state agricultural college and experiment station.

2. By traveling exhibits, local demonstration farms, or a state farmers' adviser in every county, the state should provide the eager and capable young people with good reasons for staying on the farm. By serving as object lessons to their less progressive neighbors, their success in improved agriculture and in horticulture will eventually lift the economic plane of the whole community.

3. The rural pastor should be specially trained for his job, and the ministry of a rural church should be looked upon as an honorable life career.

4. The standard of local public education ought to be determined less by the will of the people of the locality and more by the fixed purpose of the people of the whole state.

5. The recreative, social, and civic services of the school ought to be made equal in importance to the giving of instruction to boys and girls.

6. The pay, emoluments, and dignity of the teaching profession ought to be such as to attract into it ambitious, positive, and dominant individuals who, in whatever community they may teach, will of themselves take the lead in stimulating higher interests and in inducing others to aid in supporting these interests.

7. Better school buildings, grounds, and equipment, by the aid they can lend in the economic and moral rehabilitation of the community, would prove to be, not an extravagance, but a profitable investment.

8. At present the subject-matter of instruction in rural schools directs the thoughts and longing of the pupils toward the cities. The curriculum ought to be so modified as to make life in the country hold out to them more of interest and promise.

9. Organization of farmers should be promoted, not only for the improvement of their material conditions, but also to provide opportunities for social enjoyment and to give a leverage for natural leaders among them.

THE NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL
Washington, D.C.

The primary elections in North Dakota on June 27 of this year revealed an entirely new political organization at work in the state on lines equally novel in the whole country. The Farmers' Non-partisan Political League held a state convention at Fargo April 1, when it was little more than a year old. At this convention selections were made from Republicans and Democrats as the men the League desired to fill the state offices. In this sense it might be said that a state ticket was nominated, but none headed with the League's name appeared in the primary balloting. Republicans and Democrats merely went to their respective primaries and voted to nominate the men that the League convention had chosen. As a result these men were nominated in the primaries, receiving large pluralities.

This was not expected by most of the experienced politicians of the state, who were inclined to take a humorous or indifferent view of the League and its activities. It may be said that such a view was not widely prevalent after the primaries had disclosed a very large majority of the farmers of the state compactly organized, with a definite program that they were plainly resolved to carry out, disregarding all other considerations.

At the election in November opposition to the League's selections was concentrated chiefly on its candidates for the supreme court, for it was admitted that the League's choice for governor could not be defeated. He was elected, as a matter of fact, by the largest majority any candidate ever obtained in the state in a contested election, receiving 87,000 votes as against 20,000 for his nearest opponent. With one exception all the other candidates for state offices that had been chosen by the League were elected, including judges of the supreme court and enough candidates for the legislature to insure control.

This puts practically the entire government of the state in the hands of the League, which is committed to a program of social reforms more radical than any state in this Union has undertaken or contemplated. As the state supreme court is now of the same complexion, nothing but the Supreme Court of the United States can interfere with the League's plans.

These include the introduction of the state into business to an extent that, though now very familiar in Europe, is unprecedented in this country. Among these ventures are elevators and flour mills to be erected and operated by the state at terminal points in and out of the state's boundaries, state-owned and state-operated abattoirs or packing houses, state insurance against hail, state loans to farmers and, in effect, state aid to enable the farmers of North Dakota to overcome the disadvantages that, to phrase the matter euphemistically, have made farming unattractive and often unprofitable. The League is, in fact, a revolt of the North Dakota farmer against conditions he has always felt to be intolerable, but against which he had no effective protest. It is not the first time he has revolted, but it is the first time that his insubordination has taken power from the hands of politicians and lawyers and conferred it exclusively upon himself.

As a matter of fact, there is no normal reason why farming in North Dakota should be unattractive and unprofitable. For the raising of wheat the soil of the state is unexcelled anywhere and hardly equaled. The thick, rich, black loam is packed full of valuable salts from centuries of autumnal prairie fires. The climate is not severe, schools are abundant and excellent, the towns are pleasant and modern, the people are of the highest American types, and the many railroad lines furnish enough highways to market. Wheat, the chief product, is the world's first staple requirement, and in anything like a normal year North Dakota raised more than 100,000,000 bushels of it. And yet, although land could be had on easy terms, and first and last there has been an enormous homestead area in the state, farming has been generally unprofitable. In some parts of the state abandoned farms, abandoned because of mortgage foreclosure, were astonish-

ingly common. In one afternoon, on an automobile drive, I have counted as many as seven.

The two main reasons for these conditions were the excessive rates of interest and the small proportion of the actual value of the wheat that the farmer received. Until 1915 the legal contract rate of interest in the state was 12 per cent. It is now 10 per cent nominally and more often 12 in reality. The small price the farmer received for his wheat was due to a combination of causes. Excessive and unreasonable railroad rates and exactions were one; besides these the grain was undergraded; it went through some very strange transformations in the elevators or "mixing houses," and its price was fixed arbitrarily by speculative operations on the Chicago Board of Trade and Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce.

The next result of all this was that while money-lenders, speculators in railroad securities, brokers on the exchanges, elevator owners and commission men were visibly growing rich from the wheat the farmer raised, the farmer that raised it seldom was able to get more from it than a meager existence, and frequently saw all the fruit of his labors swept away in foreclosure proceedings.

A very pertinent illustration of these conditions is furnished by the experiences of this season on North Dakota farms. In all the eastern part of the state the crop was below normal because of too much wet weather. The grain buyers and elevator men took advantage of this to create a new grade of wheat which they called "D Feed." There is no such grade, as a matter of fact, but these gentlemen said it was necessary because the wheat was too poor for ordinary uses and fit only to be fed to stock. It was bought from North Dakota farmers at prices averaging \$653 a car. Subsequently much of it was proved to have gone into flour and as good flour as was made in Minneapolis, but the farmer was compelled under the existing system to accept the price of \$653 a car fixed for him by an arrangement with which he had nothing to do. When this car of wheat reached Minneapolis it was sold for \$992. When it was ground into flour and by-products it wholesaled at \$1,660, and when the North Dakota farmer bought it back in the shape of flour and stock food, he was paying for it at the rate of \$2,107 a car, or three and a half times the price he received for it.

As to the vast frauds that were perpetrated in some of the elevators and mixing houses, amazing facts have been disclosed before investigations by committees of Congress. One elevator in three months made an illegitimate profit of \$83,720 by taking in wheat that had been bought from the farmer as low grades and sending it out as high grades. More than 500,000 bushels that for the farmer had been graded as "No. 4," "No Grade," and "Rejected," came out as "No. 3" or better. Practically all the money thus obtained by these transactions rightfully belonged to the farmer. Senator Macumber has estimated the annual loss to the grain raisers by undergrading alone at \$70,000,000.

Some betterment of these evil conditions was wrought by co-operative elevators, wherever these were genuinely co-operative. There grew up, however, many elevators that were co-operative only in name, and even when they were real and were owned by the farmers, they were merely station elevators at small buying points and could not affect price-making and other operations at terminal points like Duluth and Minneapolis.

To meet this situation, state-owned elevators were advocated—elevators to be erected by the state at terminal points. The proposal was submitted to the voters of the state and carried by a large majority. The legislature failed to take any action. A few years later another referendum was had on the same subject, being expressly mandatory on the legislature. This time the legislature referred to a commission the question of the advisability of a state-owned elevator. The commission took the testimony of men whose interests were against such a project, and then reported that it was unnecessary and unwise; whereupon the legislature gave no more heed to the subject.

It was this contemptuous disregard of the popular will twice expressed that chiefly spread among the farmers a spirit of determined resistance and really produced the League. Many other causes, of course, contributed. There was a very general conviction that the state had been for years in the complete control of the railroad and elevator interests, which, with the banks, worked in close harmony. The legislature always contained a disproportionate number of lawyers and politicians, while the

farmers, although constituting probably two-thirds of the population, were underrepresented. Nothing that would afford real relief to the farmers ever got through such a body; it always perished in committee or elsewhere. It was, of course, obvious that at bottom the farmers themselves were responsible: they had the power at the ballot box and would not exercise it for themselves. The reason for this was familiar enough to every observer. It was under the cloak of partisan fervor that the agents of the corporation got into office and controlled the state's affairs. The voters were either Republicans or Democrats, and they went to the polls and voted for their parties instead of voting for men that would legislate relief for farmers.

To meet this condition the Farmers' Nonpartisan Political League was formed. It meddled with no man's politics; a Republican in the League could be just as much of a Republican as ever; a Democrat could be just as loyal to the memory of Jefferson and Jackson. The League declined to concern itself with contests for any national office. For state offices it chose Republicans and Democrats, secured their nomination on the party tickets, and then asked League members to vote for them.

It is not to be denied that the earlier operations of the League were carried on as covertly as those of a secret society, though, of course, there was very good reason for avoiding publicity. Twenty thousand members had been enrolled before the politicians and corporation attorneys of the state awoke to what was going on. The plan was original and daring. Every man that joined the League paid an initiation fee of \$6, and paid it on faith. At the start the men that created the League were chiefly unknown, and the farmer, having been the victim of more leagues and societies than a professional "joiner" ever knew, was naturally wary and suspicious. For his \$6 he received the promise of a year's subscription to the League's weekly journal when it should be established, a year's subscription to a general magazine published in New York, and a receipt for one year's dues to the League. Nothing was published in any newspaper about these things; there was no printed appeal, but memberships were solicited by traveling organizers that went about in automobiles and talked with farmers

in their barns and door-yards. Several of the organizers were arrested on charges of obtaining money under false pretenses, so strong was the suspicion in some quarters.

The League's weekly newspaper, the *Leader*, was established in September, 1915. It has now a circulation of 65,000 copies, and is one of the recognized agricultural publications of the country. It has a much larger circulation in the state than any other publication. The League has 46,000 members, owns a daily as well as a weekly newspaper, owns 140 automobiles, and is extending its operations to adjacent states.

Its governor and other state officers will be inaugurated the first week in January. The legislative program is prepared and will be passed, and the experiment of the state in business will be made as soon as the necessary laws can be enacted.

One of the remarkable features of the election in which the League triumphed was that its ticket was supported everywhere by organized labor, this being the first conspicuous instance of united political action by the farmers and labor unions.

Another was that while the League candidate for governor, appearing on the Republican ticket, won by a plurality of 67,000 in a total vote of 107,000, the Democrats carried the state for the presidency and the Republicans carried it for United States senator. It appears, therefore, that already partisan ties must have been very greatly loosened in North Dakota.

DISCUSSION¹

PROFESSOR THOMAS L. HARRIS, MIAMI UNIVERSITY

Folk depletion is a cause of rural decline only in certain types of rural communities; and those are, for the most part, the "backward" communities, or "decadent" communities such as are found in certain parts of New England, in southern Ohio, and in similar places. In the great corn and wheat belts of the Middle West there is no serious "folk-depletion." To be sure, certain *types* of unusual capacity, which do not find opportunity for development in the more simple and uniform life of the rural regions, go to the cities. This has long been true and will continue to be true. But we should remember that the cityward drift takes away from the country many of the *less* resourceful and self-reliant people also. Successful farming in the better agricultural

¹This group of discussions refers to the preceding papers by Messrs. Wilson, Ross, and Russell.

regions demands a rather high grade of mentality and aggressiveness. The only way we can accurately speak of "folk-depletion" in these better agricultural districts is that we have an increasingly *uniform* type of people in the country. For purposes of community socialization this fact has its advantages as well as its disadvantages.

PROFESSOR JOHN M. GILLETTE, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA

Were it my initiation into a knowledge of the conditions of rural life in America, the impression gained in listening to Professor Ross's paper would be conducive to pessimism. Perhaps I have not rightly sensed his position, but it appears to me that he has painted rural America in too dark a color. It would appear that he inclines to the belief that agricultural communities are deteriorating, or at least that the inhabitants are. I scarcely think he seriously believes this is true. I am inclined to the belief that rural America, with all its shortcomings, is, on the whole, in a more favorable position than hitherto. Judging on the basis of increase in population, I mean the natural potency of population, the country population far outstrips the urban in size of natural increase rate (see article by present speaker, "A Study in Social Dynamics," etc., *Quart. Publ. Amer. Stat. Soc.*, December, 1916, where rates are determined). And this is true in the divisions having the lowest increase rates, namely in New England, the Pacific, and the Middle Atlantic states. If the country stock is being depleted physically more than the urban stock, the effects should be observed in the rate of natural increase.

Again, I am not at all certain that Professor Ross has assigned the true reason for racial depletion, in so far as there is one. I have lived in various western states to which the flow of population from the country districts of the eastern regions he mentions has gone. I question if the migrants are superior to the people who are left behind. In some cases the more progressive and vigorous may go west; but in many cases the ones who have gone have been squeezed out in the old home situation. At the present time it is not the wealthy and prosperous Iowans and Illinoisans who are settling in the Northwest, but those having more backward pieces of land and the renting class. So far as I am able to see, they are not superior physically or otherwise to the masses of farmers who remain in those states. This does not settle the question, to be sure, but such facts put Professor Ross's theory in question.

Dr. Wilson has referred to my position on the amount of migration of population from rural to urban communities. He believes I am inclined to minimize the amount of the flow. I only want to indicate, however, that the statements he has in mind are those which were made several years ago. In my later publications my conclusions are different and, I believe, more reliable. The fact that I assign to rural migration the second place among the four factors which account for urban increase is an indication of this. According to my

estimate rural migration accounts for 30.7 per cent, while immigration accounts for 41 per cent, of the urban increase of the last decade. Or, during the ten years, somewhere between 3,000,000 and 3,500,000 people left the country for the city. The publication referred to above contains my last calculation in this direction.

PROFESSOR C. J. GALPIN, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Dr. Wilson says in his admirable paper that the present United States census standard for "rural" and "urban" is satisfactory. I rise to question this statement. Is it a satisfactory basis for thinking out the problems of rural sociology? Has it, moreover, real census value as a practical instrument of research?

I suggest, if "rural" and "urban" are retained, that "rural" include the farm population only and "urban" include the clustered groups from the village to the metropolitan center. An alternative classification would group the farm population together, village population together, city population together, under three terms, "rural," "village," "urban." At any rate, I am making a plea for national statistical consideration of the farm population separate from the village population.

Division of labor and employments obtains in American villages, so that the villager is no longer a farmer. Moreover, merchandising and professional methods are being thoroughly urbanized in the small trade centers. Rural economics, besides, limits itself to agricultural economy, broadly speaking; and rural sociology, where it is at present fertile, is centering attention upon the farmer and his family. Whatever final social synthesis of the farmer and his neighbors shall occur, certainly for clear thinking and for accurate social adjustments there must in research and census methods be recognized this separate analysis of the social habits of the farmer and his family. If the term "rural" shall continue to lead us to ambiguous and indecisive judgments respecting the farmer's institutions, some step will need to be taken to revise the census standard. This sociological society might very well make it one of its aims to review critically the census standard of "rural," especially in view of the fact that "rural sociology" is knocking for admission to the circle of sciences.

PROFESSOR PAUL L. VOGT, OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

The fact that the country people are leaving the country for the life of the city is a very strong evidence of their judgment that, taking everything into consideration, life in the city is preferable to country life at the present time. The problem before us now is to develop a life in the country which will be as satisfying economically, socially, and spiritually as the best life to be found in urban communities.

DR. KATE WALLER BARRETT

I listened with profound interest to the discussions of the problems of rural life, from its many angles, during this meeting of the American Sociological Society. To my mind, almost all of the problems presented react with particular force upon the woman in rural life; at the same time it is interesting to note that the woman, as a definite part of the problem, has not been mentioned by any of the speakers.

From my observation I believe that the depletion of the rural population is due more to the dissatisfaction of women with living conditions in the country for them and their families than it is to that of the men. The old adage *Cherchez la femme* is particularly true in this case, and to one familiar with rural life there are many reasons which justify women in their desire to leave the country.

Men, as a rule, have very little respect for the amount of ability that is required in a woman to accomplish her task. Possibly women have just as little respect for the necessary qualities which are demanded of men in fulfilling their vocations, but women are a little more polite in the way in which they express themselves on the subject. Men must be more intelligent in regard to the value of women's contributions and more willing to look upon the investments in the improving of the home, as they are in other departments of farm life, and must consider the standardizing of the home as important as that of other departments of the farm. It is not difficult to find the reason for the exodus of women from the country.

The love of the country is in my blood, having come to me through generations of country-loving ancestors. I still own a piece of the original tract of land which came to my great-great-grandfather, through a colonial grant, from Charles II, my paternal ancestor being a direct descendant of one of Captain John Smith's colony. Ever since those early colonial days every member of my family, whether in the professions or not, has been also a farmer. I was the oldest of eight girls, but in spite of this inherited love of everything pertaining to country life, I cannot remember a time when I had not made up my mind that I would never rear a family in the country. My seven sisters remained in the country, but not one of their children, thirty-four in number, has either married or settled in the country. It would seem that in seeking city life I was only a generation in advance of the exodus of the family from the country. While I have had a city home always, I have had a country home as well, and much of my time and thought have been given to the consideration of rural problems. So convinced am I of the possibility of the development of rural life to a point where it will not demand sacrifice on the part of the individual, that I have spent many years in travel, investigating rural problems in farm lands, as well as in every state in the union, to try to find what is the solution of the problem. I am still in the dark. But in spite of this I am organizing a Farm Industrial Training School for girls, twenty

miles from Washington, D.C., where I can have expert advice from the Department of Agriculture, and where my object is to educate both town and country girls, of their own volition, to seek country homes. I am dubious about the results. The obstacles are so formidable and require so much character and ability to overcome, that unless I can find a group of super-women to make farmers from, or else can produce a social cataclysm which will make drastic changes in the organization of rural life, I fear that most of my pupils will satisfy themselves with suburban homes.

The contributions which women may make to the productivity of the world are minimized everywhere, but it is particularly true of the woman in rural life. I know of no other position where a woman is self-supporting in which she has to work so hard for her board and clothes, and with so little opportunity for advancement or self-expression, as the woman on the farm, where the only income of the family is that derived from labor. The pictures which have been presented here of the well-to-do, well-dressed farmers driving in their automobiles to social centers in the neighborhood, or to market their products, which have been cultivated and garnered with up-to-date methods, as a rule represent the class that either have capital invested in farming or else some addition to their income other than that which is derived from labor. But even in homes represented by this class it is astonishing to find that, while much thought and money have been expended in conducting farm activities with up-to-date methods and machinery, the women are still conducting their activities in practically the same way as their grandmothers did.

The farm magazine expends much effort in trying to make men realize the importance of improvements and conveniences in the dwelling-house, and paints glowing pictures of what may be done with little money in making both the homes and the men more attractive; but alas, the only member of the family who takes pleasure in reading and pondering upon these things is the woman. The man, coming in weary from his arduous day's work, is absorbed in the problems of the morrow, of his crops, and has no inclination to enter into any discussion of the needs of the house. The woman is powerless to accomplish the changes alone.

I heard Irving Bacheller tell an interesting story a few days ago, from his experience. His father owned one of the deserted farms in New England, from which the family had fled when Dr. Bacheller was a boy. After many unsuccessful efforts he at last succeeded in finding an opportunity to visit the farm, of which he had dreamed ever since he was a boy. When he drove up in front of the house a scene of desolation met his view. Broken shrubbery, grass, and weeds grew up beside the porch, which sagged at one corner and upon which sat a helpless specimen of middle-aged man in earth-colored trousers, with straggling hair and whiskers. Without taking the trouble to come out and meet the visitor, he called: "Who be you?" When Irving Bacheller had answered this question and entered the house, he found the desolate appearance even more pronounced. After a cursory view of

the premises they went out upon the porch again and sat down to talk over the future possibilities of the farm. Soon a neighbor, of similar appearance to the host, arrived. Turning to Irving Bacheller, he made this same query: "Who be you?" When he learned that it was Irving Bacheller, the absentee landlord, he turned to him and in a censorious voice said, "You are a long time coming back to the old place. You ought to be ashamed of yourself not to have come sooner. It is a shame the Bachellers left this fine farm; if they had stayed here it would not have looked like it does now."

The man who had spent his life on the farm looked at the farmer and then at Irving Bacheller, and with shrewd Yankee wit replied: "Well, neighbor, I guess you are about right; if Irving Bacheller had stayed on the farm, I guess the farm would have looked better, but he would have looked worse."

This picture is typical of the impression in the minds of many women in the country, who feel that if they remain their families must be sacrificed to the farm, if the farm is going to be a success. They are not willing that this should be; hence, the initiative for leaving the country often originates with the women of the family. If they cannot persuade their husbands to undertake the difficult proposition of supporting the family in the city, they will bend every effort toward getting the girls and boys into some other line of activity than that of farming. The ordinary father of the family living in the country, if he could keep his children with him to assist him in cultivating the farm, would not care to move to the city where the burden of supplying the daily needs of the family is much heavier on the father than it is in the country, where even the smallest child can contribute its "bit" toward lessening the burden of the father. But it is the woman of the family, who recognizes the limitations both in her life and in that of her husband, who is not willing that her boys and girls should meet a like fate. What matters it to her that the quality and supply of food in the country is such as only the wealthy can afford in the city? "Man does not live by bread alone," and she would prefer a box of crackers and a can of tomatoes, if need be, if with it she could have the social and educational advantages which urban living would afford her children.

But the boys and girls do not need this added stimulation to their already awakened desire for city life. The pictures of town life have already fascinated ambitious and self-reliant boys, and the opportunity for becoming a recognized force in the world's work has taken hold of the mind of the girl if she has initiative; or the possibility of the prince waiting for her on the corner when she alights from the train, suit-case in hand, with a velvety blush upon her cheek and the exhilarating ozone of the country clinging to her gown, has obsessed the romantic and unpractical female member of the family. She forgets that the Maud Mullers of pastoral pictures always captivate the princes while they are still in the country, and have a suitable background for their charms, but that the same girl, when transported to the city, makes a very different impression.

The younger generation of women who leave the country and come to the city on their own initiative includes two very distinct classes: first, the ambitious, self-respecting girl who places a certain estimate upon her industrial and personal value, and secondly, the shallow, vain girl who desires to find in outside interests the incentives which should come from within. In the majority of cases both of these types would be better off in the country, provided that too great a sacrifice of personal values was not required from those of the first class. Rural life needs women of initiative and individuality, and if conditions were so adjusted that she could find opportunities for self-expression added to economic independence, woman's values would be doubled to civilization in the country. The strain and drain of competition in city life is heavier on a woman than on a man. Much of woman's peculiar ambition, which is most valuable to civilization, is ruthlessly overlooked or destroyed by it. While it is true that she nobly plays her part in the mart of commerce, her highest and most normal gifts will find the opportunity for their best development in country life rather than in commercial industrialism.

The second type of country girl who goes to the city, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, shortly becomes one of the problems of civilization, for which both city and country are likely to pay. Her thoughtless, careless attitude, which in country surroundings may yield but a modicum of evil results, under city conditions soon degenerates into viciousness, and as long as she lives she will be the most expensive and dangerous unit which society must carry as a "dead weight."

But apart from the arduous labor at home of the farmer's wife, for the old adage, "Man's work will run from sun to sun, but woman's work is never done," is true today on the farm as it was one hundred years ago, there are other limitations to woman's activities in the country which are possibly even more responsible for her dissatisfaction with rural life. The rural delivery brings to her door the most up-to-date information with regard to the activities of women elsewhere, and even if she did not subscribe to magazines, the advertising of today, which is so freely distributed, is so attractive and effective that one cannot be in ignorance of the efficient activity of woman everywhere, which is in the very air we breathe. Farm women learn of the civic activities of women, and of how they are establishing and standardizing the schools, and of the opportunity which is given them to have a part in wielding their influence for better government and the wise expenditure of the taxpayer's money. The rural woman is almost entirely cut off from this phase of modern life, and yet no one feels more keenly than she the necessity of a change in trying to solve the need from her viewpoint. As a rule country politics are chaotic if they are not vicious. The man who is too lazy or inefficient to be a good farmer, is usually the office holder. The county is not considered as a whole and the taxpayer's money is more thoughtlessly spent than in the city.

If men are jealous of women outside of their own place in the city, they seem doubly so in the country, but I believe this arises more from the fact that farmers themselves are not in touch with the political situation, rather than from a positive objection, on their part, toward a woman's participation in political matters. I believe that the extension of the ballot to women will be of the greatest assistance in making the country more desirable to women, and it is interesting to note that in states which have given women the ballot it has almost invariably been the male votes of the rural population which have given the largest returns in the favor of the extension of suffrage to women.

The study of the county as a whole, and of its institutions and the introduction of up-to-date methods of conducting them with a budget system will go a long way toward developing such agencies as are absolutely necessary to a proper rural life. Women have the necessary experience, and, with home life properly organized, should have the leisure to give time and valuable assistance to the solution of these problems.

The opportunities for a variety of interests, so necessary to a well-rounded life, can be had in the country just as well as in the city, and from an economic viewpoint would be of great value. Small co-operative agencies, the stock locally owned, such as co-operative laundries, bakeries, creameries, and even a co-operative store, would not only keep capital at home, but would also develop the business interests of rural men and women, and would more quickly stimulate personal interest than could be done any other way. County activities such as civic leagues, with departments covering the fields particularly applicable to rural life, and co-operating with the county agents of the agricultural department, through the organizations which they have established for boys and girls, have immense possibilities, and the development of them would appeal to the women particularly, holding, as they do, future possibilities for a broader life for the boys and girls. Women recognize in them the opportunities for remaining in the country and there training the children for the larger life which they dream of for them. Even if this dream is never realized by this training the child is better fitted for a continuation of the country life.

The realm of practical life in the country from a decent woman's standpoint is equally hopeless. The two prime necessities for living, water and light, are often lacking in the country. If you wish to speak the last word in condemning a city tenement, you say it has not an adequate water supply. The country home that *has* is a *rara avis*. I do not mean to insinuate that country people are not clean, but the psychological difference between taking a bath and washing is as great as having something to eat and dining. The unnecessary labor and privations which women endure from lack of a convenient water supply are of themselves herculean. Equipment for suitable lighting is almost as inadequate. The primitive tallow dip of our ancestors was not much worse than the smoky kerosene lamp found in most country homes. These deficiencies

can be partly overcome under the most adverse conditions, if the men are properly impressed with the necessity of so doing.

They usually are impressed when they live under conditions that make it impossible for them to get women to do the drudgery for them, as I can testify from the remarkably ingenious methods which are used in railway-construction camps. Temporary in character though they be, they often outrank, in point of hygiene and comfort, homes which women have had to occupy and rear a family in for a hundred years!

Men who have never before given any thought to the equipment of the domestic menage, so long as it was run by women, suddenly discover that masculine strength is too valuable to be ruthlessly wasted, and as if by magic a few empty molasses barrels to catch the rain-water from the roof, with some rude plumbing, or wooden spills fastened together with green wythes, suddenly transform a leafy bower into a kitchen sink or a bathroom. In such temporary establishments even acetylene gas is not unknown, and you never visit a camp where you do not find fine gasoline lamps whose brilliancy and steadiness rival electricity; but who ever heard of a poor farmer's wife having money to buy such a lamp, looked upon as a luxury or an extravagance, rather than a prime necessity?

Water and light must become common possessions of country life before women will be satisfied to rear families in the country if they can help themselves.

The material for leadership among country women is not lacking; they have proved this by the way they have quietly but persistently led the men (almost unconsciously on the part of the men) from the country to the city. They will even more readily lead them back to the country when conditions justify their doing so, for women know that under proper conditions the country is the best place for growing children, and that every child loses something from his life that nothing in the way of after-success can atone for, if he has not spent a large part of his life in the country. One of the good things which has come from the border service of our militia is that many of these soldiers for the first time have lived away from the artificiality of city life and have come in touch with nature and life in primitive forms. The plumber, the carpenter, the salesman, the artist, the lawyer, will all take back to their respective tasks a new inspiration and a vision of their activities as an integral part of the whole scheme of the universe. If the wives of these same men had been similarly impressed, we might have had an exodus of these men to the country permanently, for upon the woman largely depends the selection of the home of the family.

That the material for leadership is not lacking among country women is also shown by the avidity with which they avail themselves of every opportunity which comes to them. All educational, moral, and civic movements in the country depend upon the support of the women, and if it were not for the good spreads which the women provide and serve at the men's gatherings,

I fear the attendance would decrease woefully. For be it known that the chief attraction of educational and social functions is a good meal! Rail at the lack of culinary education as much as you please and decry the frying pan and the lard jar, but the fact remains no one can compete with the rural woman in cooking a feast fit for Lucullus!

It is touching to see how the rural woman, in spite of her starved and undeveloped life, eagerly avails herself of any call which comes to her for service. The fact that she, so long overlooked, is needed, seems to act as a stimulus. The Civil War in our own country, both North and South, illustrated this. No sacrifice was too great, no work too arduous, pain was pleasure because it gave an opportunity for service. The present European war is developing the same conditions, as is proved by the millions upon millions of stitches that have been taken by never-ceasing knitting needles, and the wonderful way in which this old art of knitting, which has almost gone out of fashion, has been standardized, by these rural women to meet the needs of modern warfare. The "Queen Mary Toe" and the "Kitchener Heel" are words as familiar in the allied trenches today as are aeroplanes and caterpillars. The German women have evolved a fashion of knitting, the most up-to-date, labor-saving, efficient method, which has been adopted by the women of the allied countries also, although they name it the "Continental style." Many other instances could be cited to prove that with the least encouragement the rural woman would make valuable contributions to progress.

All this valuable material is at present going to waste because there is no attention paid to its development and no atmosphere created to stimulate its dormant possibilities.

Again I repeat, the rural problem is the problem of the rural woman, and the solving of this problem lies in the hands of the rural man.

PROFESSOR LUCIUS MOODY BRISTOL, WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY

An intimate knowledge of several rural communities in central and southern New York, each very different from all of the others, leads me to question Professor Ross's method of making general and sweeping conclusions concerning whole sections of rural life and the causes underlying present conditions. For example, in one community where I lived for three years, there were a store, a blacksmith shop, a one-room school, a parsonage, and a few scattered houses. The parsonage belonged to two churches, one two and a half miles in one direction, and the other two miles in the opposite direction. Now these two churches were the centers of two different types of intellectual, social, and religious life. The people of one church became greatly interested, one winter, in a singing school and the next winter supported a very successful literary society, neither of which kinds of activity appealed strongly to the people of the other church. In one church the socials were interesting and

profitable; in the other, nothing seemed to take but "snap-and-catch-'em." From one church several of the young people had gone to normal school or college; in the other, none, so far as I know, had gone beyond the district school, except one family that moved in for a little time but soon moved away. Now the difference in these two neighboring communities was not due, apparently, to "depletion" on the part of the one, nor to race-stock degeneration. Nor, again, was it due to immigration. The only difference, so far as I can see, was that in the one community there were a few families who had lived there for years and for some reason had higher ideals of life, and these had leavened the community. Hence it seems to me that what we need is an intensive study of many communities, for only on the basis of such studies can we make generalizations that are of scientific value.

THE MIND OF THE FARMER

ERNEST R. GROVES
New Hampshire College

The difficulty is to find the typical farmer's mind that south, east, and west will be accepted as standard. In our science there is perhaps at present no place where generalization needs to move with greater caution than in the statement of the farmer's psychic characteristics. It is human to crave simplicity, and we are never free from the danger of forcing concrete facts into general statements that do violence to the opposing obstacles.

The mind of the farmer is as varied as the members of the agricultural class are significantly different. And how great are these differences! The wheat farmer of Washington state who receives for his year's crop \$106,000 has little understanding of the life outlook of the New Englander who cultivates his small, rocky hillside farm. The difference is not merely that one does on a small scale what the other does in an immense way. He who knows both men will hardly question that the difference in quantity leads also to differences in quality, and in no respect are the two men more certainly distinguishable than in their mental characteristics.

It appears useless, therefore, to attempt to procure for dissection a typical farmer's mind. In this country at present there is no mind that can be fairly said to represent a group so lacking in substantial unity as the farming class, and any attempt to construct such a mind is bound to fail. This is less true when the class is separated into sections, for the differences between farmers are in no small measure geographical. Indeed, is it not a happy fact that the American farmer is not merely a farmer? Although it complicates a rural problem such as ours, it is fortunate that the individual farmer shares the larger social mind to such a degree as to diminish the intellectual influences born of his occupation.

The method of procedure that gives largest promise of substantial fact is to attempt to uncover some of the fundamental influences that operate upon the psychic life of the farmers of America and to notice, in so far as opportunity permits, what social elements modify the complete working of these influences.

One influence that shows itself in the thinking of farmers of fundamental character is, of course, the occupation of farming itself. In primitive life we not only see the importance of agricultural work for social life but we discover also some of the mental elements involved that make this form of industry socially significant. From the first it called for an investment of self-control, a patience, that nature might be coaxed to yield from her resources a reasonable harvest. We find therefore in primitive agriculture a hazardous undertaking which, nevertheless, lacked any large amount of dramatic appeal.

It is by no means otherwise today. The farmer has to be efficient in a peculiar kind of self-control. He needs to invest labor and foresight in an enterprise that affords to the usual person little opportunity for quick returns, a sense of personal achievement, or the satisfaction of the desire for competitive face-to-face association with other men which is offered in the city. Men who cultivate on a very large scale and men who enjoy unusual social insight as to the significance of their occupation are exceptions to the general run of farmers. In these days of accessible transportation we have a rapid and highly successful selection which largely eliminates from the farming class the type that does not naturally possess the power to be satisfied with the slowly acquired property, impersonal success, and non-dramatic activities of farming. This process which eliminates the more restless and commercially ambitious from the country has, of course, been at work for generations. This has tended, therefore, to a uniformity of mental characteristics, but it has by no means succeeded in producing a homogeneous rural mind. The movement has been somewhat modified by the return of people to the country from the city and by the influence on the country mind of the more restless and adventurous rural people who, for one reason or another, have not migrated. In the far West especially attention has been given

to the rural hostility to, or at least misunderstanding of, city movements which attempt ambitious social advances. It is safe to assume that this attitude of rural people is widespread and is noticeable far west merely because of a greater frankness. The easterner hides his attitude because he has become conscious that it opens him to criticism. This attitude of rural hostility is rooted in the fundamental differences between the thinking of country and of city people, due largely to the process of social selection. This mental difference gives constant opportunity for social friction. If the individuals who live most happily in the city and in the country are contrasted, there is reason to suppose that the mental opposition expresses nervous differences. In one we have the more rapid, more changeable, and more consuming thinker, while the thought of the other is slower, more persistent, and less wasteful of nervous energy.

The work of the average farmer brings him into limited association with his fellows as compared with the city worker. This fact also operates upon him mentally. He has less sense of social variations and less realization of the need of group solidarity. This results in his having less social passion than his city brother, except when he is caught in a periodic outburst of economic discontent expressed in radical agitation, and also in his having a more feeble class-consciousness and a weaker basis for co-operation. This last limitation is one from which the farmer seriously suffers.

The farmer's lack of contact with antagonistic groups because his work keeps him away from the centers where social discontent boils with passion and because it prevents his appreciating class differences makes him a conservative element in our national life, but one always big with the danger of a blind servitude to traditions and archaic social judgments. The thinking of the farmer may be either substantial from his sense of personal sufficiency or backward from his lack of contact. The decision regarding his attitude is made by the influences that enter his life, in addition to those born of his occupation.

At this point, however, it would be serious to forget that some of the larger farming enterprises are carried on so differently that the manager and owner are more like the factory operator than

the usual farmer. To them the problem is labor-saving machinery, efficient management, labor cost, marketing facilities, and competition. They are not especially influenced by the fact that they happen to handle land products rather than manufactured articles.

Much has been made of the farmer's hand-to-hand grapple with a capricious and at times frustrating Nature. This emphasis is deserved, for the farmer is out upon the frontier of human control of natural forces. Even modern science, great as is its service, cannot protect him from the unexpected and the disappointing. Insects and weather sport with his purposes and give his efforts the atmosphere of chance. It is not at all strange, therefore, that the farmer feels drawn to fatalistic interpretations of experience which he carries over to lines of thought other than those connected with his business.

A second important influence that has helped to make the mind of the farmer has been isolation. In times past, without doubt, this has been powerful in its effect upon the mind of the farmer. It is less so now because, as everyone knows, the farmer is protected from isolation by modern inventions. It is necessary to recall, however, that isolation is in relation to one's needs and that we too often neglect the fact that the very relief that has removed from country people the more apparent isolation of physical distance has often intensified the craving for closer and more frequent contact with persons than the country usually permits. Whether isolation as a psychic experience has decreased for many in the country is a matter of doubt. Certainly most minds need the stimulus of human association for both happiness and healthiness, and even yet the minds of farmers disclose the narrowness, suspiciousness, and discontent of place that isolation brings. It makes a difference in social attitude whether the telephone, automobile, and parcel post draw the people nearer together in a common community life or whether they bring the people under the magic of the city's quantitative life and in this way cause rural discontent.

The isolation from the great business centers which has kept farmers from having personally a wide experience with modern business explains in part the suspicious attitude rural people often take into their commercial relations. This has been expressed

in a way one can hardly forget by Tolstoi in his *Resurrection* when his hero, from moral sympathy with land reform, undertakes to give his tenants land under conditions more to their advantage and, much to his surprise, finds them hostile to the plan. They had been too often tricked in the past and felt too little acquainted with business methods to have any confidence in the new plan which claimed benevolent motives. It is only fair to admit that the farmer differs from others of his social rank only in degree and that his experiences in the past appear to him to justify his skeptical attitude. He has at times suffered exploitation; what he does not realize is that this has been made possible by his lack of knowledge of the ways of modern business and by his failure to organize. The farmer is beginning to appreciate the significance of marketing. Unfortunately, he too often carries his suspiciousness, which has resulted from business experiences, into many other lines of action and thinking, and thus robs himself of enthusiasm and social confidence.

A third important element in the making of the farmer's mind may be broadly designated as suggestion. The farmer is like other men in that his mental outlook is largely colored by the suggestions that enter his life.

It is this fact, perhaps, that explains why the farmer's mind does not express more clearly vocational character, for no other source of persistent suggestions has upon most men the influence of the newspaper, and each day, almost everywhere, the daily paper comes to the farmer with its appealing suggestions. Of course the paper represents the urban point of view rather than the rural, but in the deepest sense it may be said to look at life from the human outlook, the way the average man sees things. The newspaper, therefore, feeds the farmer's mind with suggestions and ideas that counteract the influences that specially emphasize the rural environment. It keeps him in contact with thinking and events that are world-wide, and unconsciously permeates his motives, at times giving him urban cravings that keep him from utilizing to the full his social resources in the country. Any attempt to understand rural life that minimizes the common human fellowship which the newspaper offers the farmer is certain

to lead to unfortunate misinterpretation. Mentally the farmer is far from being isolated in his experiences, for he no longer is confined to the world of local ideas as he once was. This constant daily stimulation from the world of business, sports, and public affairs at times awakens his appetite for urban life and makes him restless or encourages his removal to the city or makes him demand as much as possible of the quantitative pleasures and recreations of city life. In a greater degree, however, the paper contents his mental need for contact with life in a more universal way than his particular community allows. The automobile and other modern inventions also serve the farmer, as does the newspaper, by providing mental suggestions from an extended environment.

A very important source of suggestion, as abnormal psychology so clearly demonstrates, at present, is the impressions of childhood. Rural life tends on the whole to intensify the significant events of early life because of the limited amount of exciting experiences received as compared with city life. Parental influence is more important because it suffers less competition. This fact of the meaning of early suggestions appears, without doubt, in various ways and forbids the scientist's assuming that rural thinking is made uniform by universal and unvaried suggestions.

The discontent of rural parents with reference to their environment or occupation, due to their natural urban tendencies or to their failure of success, or the hard conditions of their farm life has some influence in sending rural people to the city. Accidental or incidental suggestion often repeated is especially penetrating in childhood, and no one who knows rural people can fail to notice parents who are prone to such suggestions expressing rural discontent. In the same way suspiciousness or jealousy with reference to particular neighbors or associates leads, when it is often expressed before children, to general suspiciousness or trivial sensitiveness. The emotional obstacles to the get-together spirit—obstacles which vex the rural worker—in no small degree have their origin in suggestions given in childhood.

The country is concerned with another source of suggestion which has more to do with the efficiency of the rural mind than its

content, and that is the matter of sex. Students of rural life apparently give this element less attention than it deserves. As Professor Ross has pointed out in *South of Panama*, for example, the precocious development of sex tends to enfeeble the intellect and to prevent the largest kind of mental capacity. It is unsafe at present to generalize regarding the differences between country and city life in matters of sex, but it is certainly true when rural life is empty of commanding interests and when it is coarsened by low traditions and the presence of defective persons that there is a precocious emphasis of sex. This is expressed both by early marrying and by loose sex relations. It is doubtful whether the commercializing of sex attraction in the city has equal mental significance, for certainly science clearly shows that it is the precocious expression of sex that has largest psychic dangers. In so far as the environment of a rural community tends to bring to early expression the sexual life, we have every reason to suppose that at this point at least the influence of the community is such as to tend toward a comparative mental arrest or a limiting of mental ability, for which the country later suffers socially. Each student of rural life must, from experience and observation, evaluate for himself the significance of this sex precociousness. When sex interests become epidemic and the general tendency is toward precocious sex maturity, the country community is producing for itself men and women of inferior resources as compared with their natural possibilities. Even the supposed social wholesomeness of earlier marrying in the country must be scrutinized with the value of sex sublimation during the formative years clearly in mind.

This paper maintains that, although there are tendencies in rural life that make for characteristic mental attitudes, rural communities differ too greatly and rural and urban people are too closely interrelated to permit the instruction of a distinct American farmer's mind.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL LEADERSHIP

G. WALTER FISKE
Oberlin Graduate School of Theology

When a man begins to use the terms rural, urban, city, town, and country, we always want to know his viewpoint, to discover whether his use of these terms is limited to any provincial usage. A student of mine from Kansas claims the title "city" for any center of five hundred souls. On the other hand, I have known confirmed New Yorkers who considered Hoboken and New Haven rather rural, and even had their suspicions about Philadelphia! My own New England birth and training incline me to favor a rather definite use of the word "town," as well as to inherit some other sectional ideas of the subject; but I trust that ten years in Ohio, and an opportunity to make observations in most other sections except the Pacific slope and the Gulf states, have somewhat broadened my approach to this topic. I believe that it is asserted that California is not a "section" anyway, but, like heaven, a "state of mind." My own feeling is that, although the division line of the census, 2,500 population, is a rather convenient one, it is often inaccurate. Rural and urban are more truly qualitative terms than quantitative; they are partly determined by social psychology, largely by relation to urban tracts, and mainly by the economic factor of dependence upon agriculture, or manufacturing and commercial interests.

I have never heard it suggested that there is any dearth of *latent leadership* in country life. The topic assigned me seems to assume that there is a lack of *developed* leadership, and I believe that this is generally true. The question at once arises: Why should leadership be lacking in the country if most city leaders in business, politics, and religion were country-bred? Opinions on this point vary, but it seems to be undoubted that city people who were country-born furnish fully their share of the urban com-

munity leadership, the percentages suggested running from 50 to 60 per cent. In a casual reference just now to *Who's Who in America*, I notice that out of the first 100 names selected quite at random, 68 were born in the country. Leadership still comes in considerable measure from the country. How long this will continue, with the growth of cities accelerating, no one can say with assurance; but in the nature of things there are some reasons for believing that the more natural environment of the open country and the village will long continue to furnish the city with much of its best leadership material. Certainly so, if what Professor Giddings says is true: "Genius is rarely born in the city. The city owes the great discoveries and immortal creations to those who have lived with nature and with simple folk. The country produces the original ideas and forms the social mind." Professor M. T. Scudder even ventures to offer a definite explanation for the great influence of rural-born leaders in the city: "The fully developed rural mind, the product of its environment, is more original, more versatile, more accurate, more philosophical, more practical, more persevering, than the urban mind. It is a larger, freer mind and dominates tremendously. It is because of this type of farm-bred mind that our leaders have largely come from rural life."¹

If all this is true—even making some allowance for over-emphasis—why should we worry over leadership in rural life? Have all rural leaders gone to the city? If leadership thrives under the open sky, why not let it alone there? Will not rural life develop its own leaders anyway? This was the claim of a keen and successful woman farmer, who told me that she was very weary of rural uplifters and country-life specialists who live in New York City. "If city folks would only let us alone, there would be no rural problem," she testily remarked! Yet the fact remains, as we are all aware, that country life is seriously deficient in two social elements: co-operation and leadership; and these two, though not identical, are inseparable, for it takes the latter to develop the former.

Rural individualism.—It is certainly true that an unsocial streak of *failure in co-operation* runs through all phases of country

¹ *Annals*, March, 1912.

life and weakens all sorts of rural institutions. Dr. Butterfield rightly calls the American farmer a "rampant individualist." He is apt to reveal the fact in all relations of life. With all the gains made by the modern centralized school, rural education is still dispensed generally on the old school-district plan, with niggardly supervisors of no educational vision and with each pupil buying his own textbooks. Roads are repaired likewise by township districts, by very local enterprise, sometimes still with individuals working out their taxes on the roads. Churches are maintained on the retail plan, the minister being hired by the year or even by the week, the churches themselves being altogether too numerous and too small for effectiveness because of selfish insistence upon individual views; mutually competitive, not co-operative. (It is this lack of co-operation which is slowly strangling the country church in innumerable communities where united Christian forces are imperatively demanded.) It is the same story in rural business. Both in production and in distribution farmers are too slowly learning the lesson of working together and reaping the benefits of co-operation, which economizes costs and makes for efficiency and community welfare. Co-operative agreements in business have even been repudiated by farmers under the stress of temptation to personal gain, while rural distrust of banks and organized business is still proverbial, and is not all confined to remote sections.

Socialization and urbanization.—These generalizations do not, of course, hold in the more progressive rural communities. There we find two parallel processes developing rather noticeably, the socializing and the urbanizing of country life. They are similar movements, but not identical. Socialization is a civilizing process in which individuals, by merging their rights, interests, and functions, develop community efficiency through group action. Very naturally this process develops most rapidly in the more favorable city environment; but it is now making progress also in the country against the conservatism and ultra-individualism of rural life.

Meanwhile in all but the most remote rural sections (and even there through the influence of the mail-order catalogues) you may observe the rapid urbanization of country life. I mean by this the spread of the social ideals and customs of the city. To the

extent that these customs and ideals are constructive and adaptable to a wholesome country life, to that extent this urbanization makes for socialization and should be welcomed. Unquestionably this process, hastened by increasing intercommunication, is rapidly making country life and city life more alike, and is extending the limits of suburban life. It is to be hoped that this urbanizing will not destroy the unique social consciousness of rural civilization and make it simply imitative of the city. On the other hand, it is to be hoped that the city may more effectively teach the country the secrets of socialization, so that the social efficiency of urban life may be reproduced in the country. Rural people need to discover how city people work together in compactly organized business corporations; how they adjust, by many mutual concessions, their complicated civic relations, how they co-ordinate sympathy and human needs, and administer a network of social-service agencies, with greater and greater efficiency through perfected organization.

Why this lack of socialization?—I hasten to avoid the suspicion of lack of sympathy with country life by saying that I believe this lack of socialization and co-operation in the country to be due less to selfishness than to lack of social opportunity and practice. In fact, these unsocial tendencies are largely the result of overdeveloped rural strength of character. The pioneer life of the American farmers has developed heroic virtues in their personality which have made them as a class the most self-reliant in history. This self-reliance has been overdeveloped. It has led to self-aggrandizement, jealousy of personal rights, slowness to accept advice, proneness to lawsuits over property, thrifty frugality to a fault, indifference to public opinion, disregard of the opinions of experts. Doing so much of their thinking alone, they do not easily yield to argument. Working with the soil and with things more than with persons, they do not easily respond to leadership. They are likely to view strangers with suspicion because they do not know them; and for the opposite reason often they do not trust their neighbors nor co-operate with them because they do know them. Self-reliance overstressed leads them to distrust any initiative but their own. They refuse to recognize superiority

in others of their own class. Positively, the resulting failure in co-operation explains the jealousies and feuds all too common in rural neighborhoods; and, negatively, it accounts for the lack of social organization and effective leadership. Again let me remind you of my caveat, that I am not speaking of the more progressive rural communities, but of rural life in general. I believe that these generalizations are less true in the West, but most true in the South and the older sections of the North and East, outside of urban tracts.

The difficulty of developing rural leadership.—I am now ready to offer a suggestion in answer to the question: *If country life furnishes so much leadership for the city, why is leadership a problem in the country?* I am confident that there is no dearth of latent leadership in the country. In general, I do not believe it has been depleted by the exodus to the city, though in some places this has been serious. In general, it is mainly the question of *developing* the qualities of the leadership which are *latent* in the finest types of young men and women living in the country.

You will readily grant me that there is much latent leadership in country boys. Some of these boys go to the city, and there under urban stimulus and opportunity this latent initiative develops strongly, and they become vigorously influential personalities. Others of them, equally well endowed, remain in the country, and though they may become successful along individualistic lines and accumulate property, their latent leadership fails to develop. It fails to develop because of certain elements in the rural environment: the lack of sufficient stimulus and challenge, the lack of urgent opportunity for self-expression, possibly because of real social repression, an inhibition of social effort due to the positive disapproval of inhospitable minds. This is why, in so many rural villages, there is a persistent and deep-seated conviction that it is impossible to develop effective leadership for co-operation in community welfare until there have been a few judiciously selected, providential funerals. Hence an utterly stagnant community, socially speaking.

Again let me voice a gentle plea for consideration and charity. Mentally I rate the average rural citizen high, but he is likely to

be *socially awkward*—mainly for lack of social stimulus and practice. The term “social awkwardness” may seem a rather strange one until we consider it in its relations. The country boy is likely to be awkward *physically* because of the overdevelopment of the large muscles and the underdevelopment of the accessory muscles. Hence his very gait sometimes suggests that he is still walking the furrows. He may be awkward also mentally. Though possessing strong mentality and accustomed to do clear thinking, he has lacked variety of stimuli, and still lacks sufficient opportunity for self-expression. He probably thinks more profoundly than his city cousin, but less alertly and rapidly. His social awkwardness is a correlative fact of which he is deeply conscious, and which explains his proverbial bashfulness, especially evident in the presence of city girls accustomed to dancing-school escorts. This in turn acts as a powerful inhibitive and discourages any social prominence. He is socially awkward because of the lack of social practice and adequate self-expression.

What, then, are some of the elements in the rural environment which constitute this social repression to which I referred a moment ago, which inhibits the development of the strong latent leadership in rural personality? In summary I would suggest: lack of the social stimulus which comes from city crowds and city life; lack of sufficient challenge to self-expression, with personal growth under social pressure; lack of variety of social opportunities to challenge variety of personal talent; and lack of adequate training in leadership, acutely felt by conscientious people who would gladly lead in community welfare if they felt they could. Then there is strong positive inhibition by rural conservatism in general; positive repression of ambition by neighborly jealousy (a genial combination of terms!); the deterrent effect of long mutual acquaintance, with its leveling influence, too apt to level down all latent leadership by saying in effect, “Start something if you dare! Show your head as a leader, if you want to lose it!” Such rural social democracy is all too common, and it keeps everybody plodding along in the ruts instead of venturing forth in community leadership. Hence the homespun leader is discounted and emerges from the crowd with great diffidence.

The call for leadership.—In spite of these inherent difficulties in our problem, adequate rural leadership is somehow going to be developed. It cannot go by default, for the need is too urgent and the opportunity too challenging. Often, in this connection, I revert to an eloquent passage in the report of the first Country Life Commission (January, 1909). It is headed "The Call for Leadership."

We must picture to ourselves a new rural social structure, developed from the strong resident forces of the open country; and then we must set at work all the agencies that will tend to bring this about. Most of the new leaders must be farmers who can find, not only a satisfying business career on the farm, but who will throw themselves into the service of upbuilding the community. A new race of teachers is also to appear in the country. A new rural clergy is to be trained. These leaders will see the great underlying problem of country life, and together they will work, each in his own field, for the one goal of a new and permanent rural civilization. Upon the development of this distinctly rural civilization rests ultimately our ability, by methods of farming requiring the highest intelligence, to continue to feed and clothe the hungry nations; to supply the city and metropolis with fresh blood, clean bodies, and clear brains that can endure the strain of modern urban life; and to preserve a race of men in the open country, that, in the future as in the past, will be the stay and strength of the nation in time of war and its guiding and controlling spirit in time of peace.

This paragraph rightly emphasizes the fact that the *farmer* is the natural leader in country life. Yet to a remarkable degree he falls short of his opportunity in leadership. He constitutes 30 per cent of the adult male population of the country engaged in gainful occupations, yet he has remarkably small leadership, for instance, in politics. There are about 70 times as many farmers as lawyers in the land, yet what about their relative influence? Almost 60 per cent of our present Congress are lawyers. Barely 3 per cent are farmers. The 120,000 lawyers in America constitute less than one-half of 1 per cent of the adult male workers. Their representation in Congress is over 120 times as large as it should be, whereas the farmers' representation is but one-tenth of their proportionate share; that is, the lawyer's chance for political leadership, on the basis of our present Congress, is 1,200 times that of the farmer.

This condition, however, is not likely to continue. The farmer is beginning to discover and to wield for himself political leadership. It may or may not seem significant to you that practically every great rural state voted last November for the President who gave rural America the long-postponed rural-credit system, and that this President was elected over the protest of nearly every great urban state in the land. It is also worth noting that the "Farmers' Non-partisan Political League" which campaigned North Dakota last fall with the slogan, "A farmers' government for a farming state," swept the state clean last November, losing but one candidate on the state ticket and electing 81 out of 113 members of the legislature.

An analysis of leadership.—I have taken an unusual proportion of my time in the statement of the problem. I have done so in order to make clear some of the inherent difficulties in country life which adequate rural leadership must overcome. Before offering some specific suggestions in detail may I venture a few generalizations regarding the social function which we call leadership? It is a term that is increasingly used in these days. Its connotation seems simple, but it is seldom clearly defined. Professor Cooley's brief definition of leadership as "personal ascendancy" is excellent as far as it goes. John R. Mott's definition, "Expert service," is perhaps more descriptive than definitive. To me *leadership is personal initiative, unusual efficiency, and executive ability by which an outstanding personality projects his ideals and purposes through group and mass activity.* It involves the development of unusual personal efficiency and social service of the highest potential. Leadership is a fascinating thing, not simply because it is the exercise of power and appeals to selfish ambition, but far more because it means superlative self-expression, the projection of one's best self into life, one's maximum service of his generation. In the very nature of things leadership involves the development of personality, growing under the pressure of responsibility, and its application in expert service of the community.

I do not think leadership is often an endowment. Rather it is an attainment, a conquest through struggle. We talk about "born leaders." We seldom meet them. Leadership is rarely a flash of

genius. It is a growth, a patient development. Like most genius, it is the result of hard work, painstaking preparation, a process of adequate education and discipline, resulting in the progressive outgrowing of one's self into the mental and spiritual stature of efficient leadership. Neither do I conceive of leadership as an abstract entity, or something you can isolate, objectify, and gaze at, quite apart from human usefulness and specific functioning. As I do not accept the old "formal-discipline" theory of education, "mental discipline in general" means little or nothing to me. And just as I cannot believe in "general training of the judgment," for instance, I take little stock in *leadership in general* as a personal asset or endowment. Leadership is revealed only in specific functioning.

✓ However, I think that there are five elemental factors which are always found in some degree in leadership. They seem to me essential in all kinds of worth-while leadership. They are knowledge, power, skill, character, and vision—knowledge, the result of study and instruction, the mastery and correlation of facts; power, the result of personal development, the storing of vital energy in personality; skill, the result of training, power guided by knowledge and made facile through practice; character, the moral element essential in all genuine leadership, the resultant of moral living, "an organized set of good habits of reaction"; and vision, the result of living the climbing life and developing constructive imagination. It is the leader's vision which steadies our confidence in him; for we trust only the leader who can see things whole and in their relations.

Rural life needs the best.—I make no apology for trying to apply these high ideals of leadership to the social needs of country life. Oberlin College was named eighty-three years ago for a great Alsatian community leader and philanthropist, Jean Frédéric Oberlin, who had died seven years before that date after a long career of usefulness. He was an educational prophet anticipating Froebel by forty years in his own specialty. He was perhaps the greatest country pastor in history. He was a community builder, a civilization restorer, whose services won the medal of the Legion of Honor from his king, Louis XVIII. He represented the flower

of eighteenth-century French culture, with the best education the University of Strassburg could afford, and he developed a capacity for leadership in marked degree; but he consecrated this leadership on the obscure altar of country life.

I have little patience with the hoary heresy that the city needs leadership but the country can get along with mediocrity. Yet this has been the general practice of the past two generations in America. It is still largely true in relation to all the professions. Too often the country is merely the colt's pasture for the young minister, teacher, doctor, lawyer, journalist, etc. The goal is the city when apprenticeship is over. Unfortunately this is not ideal for either city or country. For any sort of city social service the best place to do clinical work is in the city itself, or time is wasted. And the obverse is equally true. The ideal rural leadership is a whole-life service, devoted permanently to country life. I realize that at present financial considerations seriously hamper this ideal. The result is that, with our underpaid rural leadership, our underpaid country teachers, ministers, doctors, etc., we are threatened today with a *peasant leadership* in the country, undertrained and inferior in all respects to their comrades in the city. This is what country life is rapidly coming to unless country people realize soon their need of adequately paid and fully trained community leaders. No movement can rise above the level of its leadership. It is trite to say that rural progress is lagging because of inadequately trained community leadership. The broadening of country life and its rising standards put increasing demands upon its leaders which they are often unable to meet. Rural institutions can no longer serve their communities effectively under the leadership of men lacking in the very essentials of leadership. Some country communities of genuine rural culture are demanding now as high-grade personality and training in their leaders as the cities demand, and they naturally refuse to respond to crude or untrained leadership. Our colleges meanwhile are educating thousands of country-bred boys and girls and then lavishly sending them to the cities, where all professions are already foolishly overcrowded. And in saying this I realize fully that the country communities must be willing to furnish a life-chance and a living wage to these bright young

people before they deserve to get them to invest their lives in rural service.

✓ I believe, then, that the first step in developing rural leadership is not the training of the individual, but the training of the rural community. Rural villages must be given higher ideals of leadership and of community spirit before they will appreciate and support the leadership they need. In every state of my acquaintance the *agricultural college* is rising magnificently to its opportunity in this regard, and to such colleges I believe we must look primarily for help. They are probably growing more rapidly than any other institutions in America. They are not only struggling to keep pace with the demands made upon them for technically trained rural leaders, but through their varied extension service and their short courses in the winter they are also making great gains in spreading the gospel of the better country life with higher community ideals.

In very many places this leaven is unquestionably working, lifting rural life to higher levels. Every rural home which catches the new vision becomes a center of social influence making for better days. Every farm conducted on modern lines of scientific agriculture is a demonstration center of great value. To raise the economic level of farm life in the neighborhood is a real gain in itself; but the by-products of such a demonstration are also noteworthy, such as the discovery by the less progressive that there is really a scientific basis underlying farming; that the cost and effort of education are justified by the results; that the expert really knows, and that trained leadership is worth while; in short, that the modern standards of efficiency apply to rural as well as urban life. All this is giving a new dignity to rural life. Farmers are rightly becoming more class-conscious, and farm boys are finding a new interest and a real pride in progressive farming, as they discover the infinite opportunity for technical skill involved in it, making it not a mere matter of blind drudgery and a gamble with the weather, as they had supposed.

By the same method of demonstration (the only method which really convinces country people) community social standards can also be raised, as communities come to know what has actually

been accomplished in other communities that are more progressive, in securing popular co-operation in community enterprises and building up a real socialization.

Volunteer community leadership.—It is difficult to secure or to support professional leaders for rural organizations, and when the right sort are found, they are usually only temporary. It is extremely necessary to develop a volunteer leadership for all local enterprises. This gives latent talents a chance to develop through self-expression in social service, and it secures continuity of leadership and stability of policy. The discovery and training of such local leaders is a matter which has for several years been in the hearts of agricultural college people. They have held innumerable "country-life conferences," summer schools in great variety, and rural ministers' retreats to which all interested in the rural church have been invited. The first of these was probably initiated at the Massachusetts State College at Amherst. The one with the most detailed plan for rural-leadership training seems to have been the Cornell University "School for Leadership in Country Life," which was held in the summers of 1911 to 1914, but was omitted the past two summers because of a radical cut in appropriations by the General Assembly.

A course in leadership training.—The curriculum in this school at Cornell included courses in rural economics, rural sociology, rural ethics, and rural leadership covering three summer periods in each; also courses in rural health and hygiene, rural recreation, special courses on leadership for country girls, and in extension teaching in agriculture. The rural economics work covered, in the three summers, the study of the principles of rural economy, the main fundamental economic factors of modern civilization as they present themselves in agriculture, a survey of rural economic conditions, phases of the economic life of the open country, and their interrelations with other types of industry, with a more advanced course in co-operation, especially adapted to agricultural production and consumption.

Under rural sociology the preliminary course covers principles of sociology as illustrated in rural life and practically applied to rural social conditions. The second course treats of the social

function of rural institutions, the rural home, school, church, Y.M.C.A., grange, farmers' clubs, etc., with discussion of the co-operation and federation of all such voluntary rural social agencies. The more advanced students, under the course topic "Rural Social Engineering," discussed methods of obtaining results from existing social machinery without social friction and waste. Suggestive courses were presented in rural ethics from the viewpoint of social psychology: first, a study of the rural mind, aiming to trace the evolution of the rural character, to demonstrate its distinctness of type, and to explain its peculiarities scientifically; the second-year course, in rural personal ideals, subjected the material of the former course to criticism under ethical standards, pointing out the chief defects and desirable traits of country people, and considered the moral demands of the new era.

Further studies in social psychology were presented in specific courses in rural leadership. I will quote the description in the bulletin:

21. *Principles of Leadership*.—A discussion of the fundamentals which underlie the practical application of leadership to the solution of the social problems in rural communities. The course treats of the personality of the leader, analyzes the real task of leadership, and gives abundant suggestions as to practical methods.

22. *Study of the Individual*.—A study of the effect of inheritance and environment on individual development; the significance of physiological conditions in the development of character and conduct. The course offers an interpretation of personality in terms of leadership. It discusses types of individuals and suggests methods of treatment that are concrete and capable of immediate and practical use.

23. *Social Organization*.—A treatment of the small voluntary group: how the group is formed, its natural history and geography, its standards, goals, and functions, the question of control and discipline, the reasons for group failure and disintegration. This course includes the study of the natural and artificial groups as concrete illustrations of the best methods of group organization, conduct, and leadership

The writer has been enough in touch with this leadership training work at Cornell to know that it has accomplished fairly well its purpose. Though it never enrolled a large number of students, they were quite representative, and its inspiration and instruction were carried far. It brought together scores of forward-looking young

men and women from country communities who were eager to do something to better their environment and to find out how to do it. They brought to the Cornell classrooms the same social-service spirit that may be found daily in our city schools of civics and philanthropy. The classes were rather mixed and ungraded; consequently much of the lecturing shot over the heads of the average student.

It is quite possible that the university environment is not the ideal one for such training of volunteer rural leaders, but I suggest it with some hesitation. It depends, of course, upon the grade of the people who come for training. If any proportion of them are not high-school graduates, a less scholastic background fits them better. Agricultural secondary schools, such as the one at Alfred, New York, would be nearer the grade of such pupils. It is altogether likely, however, that the expense involved in taking such courses will largely defeat their popular success. The method which really reaches rural people is the extension method which finds them where they live. I believe it would be possible to project plans for leadership training *on the county basis*, selecting, not necessarily the county seat as the center for the extension work, but the best consolidated school in the county, if reasonably central. In this reign of "the universal Ford," leaders could gather daily for a few days at slight expense from all over the county. I am not optimistic, however, as to the rapid development of such plans. They will come slowly. I do not believe that our problem of rural socialization will ever be solved finally by outsiders. *Resident forces* must ultimately accomplish it. The farmer himself and his natural leaders must take the burden upon them. The farm-bureau agents now serving over 1,200 counties in the United States have a conspicuous opportunity in this relation if they can only fit themselves to meet it. They are exactly the people who could make the most of such courses as were offered in the Cornell School for Leadership in Country Life. It is evident that no single agency or type of agency will be able to handle this matter successfully. All agencies involved in rural re-direction and in specific service in any field of country life must share the burden. The rural department of the Young Men's

Christian Association, within rather narrow geographical limits, is doing a fundamental and valuable work. Genuine centers of education for rural life, centralized schools with modern teachers and equipment, are rapidly meeting the community need. The new country church, the community-serving church, when you can find it, is making itself useful and respected. The pity of it is that the rural church is too frequently an arrested development, sadly weakened by divisions, inadequately equipped and manned, and lacking any social vision and community program. The right kind of a church, led by the right sort of a minister, has the best possible chance to serve the community and to develop the latent leadership of ambitious, right-minded boys and girls. But to accomplish this, united Christian forces are essential. Sectarianism, that curse of rural Christianity, must be crucified in order to save rural religion. When the day comes that rural Christians are ashamed to be called Methodists or Baptists or Disciples when it prevents their being community Christians, then we shall see more Christian rural communities. There is great hope of the spread of the community-church movement. From Atlantic to Pacific you may find such churches, not simply undenominational union churches with no outside connection and missionary outlet, but a local union of churches as one congregation, having diversity in unity, loyally meeting their several denominational duties abroad, but being an absolute unit in worship and community service at home.

Given this united Christian force instead of a jangle of quarrelsome, competitive sects, and the community can afford a living salary for a whole man, a manly man, for a minister, a man with modern training and with the social vision. And in such a community there is a man's job; it is a real opportunity for community building as well as religious teaching, and they go well together. And not the least of such a country minister's opportunities for usefulness is the training of the latent leadership which he discovers in his young people. I believe that an intelligent effort should be made to enlist and train rural-minded young people for a life-investment in the country and for some sort of community leadership, if they have the capacity for it, rather than to encourage

them to go to the city, where many of them will be social misfits and partial failures. A fair share of country boys and girls must stay in the country, or city and country alike will suffer; and it must not be the survival of the unfit, but the selection of those best fitted for rural success and community service.

There has been such remarkable rural progress in the past generation, and even during the present decade, that we have no reason for pessimism for the future. The rank and file is unquestionably rising; the leadership will surely be forthcoming. Rural social organization has been fortunately simple. I share with Professor Mann, of Cornell, the belief that an era of organization is probably the next stage of the country-life movement. With keen vision he suggests:

The new organizations will largely be farmer made and controlled. It is the stage of organized self-help. It will be marked by an apparently rapid shift from individualism to a social consciousness and sense of copartnership. The welding process is on. Group spirit is accumulating. Farmers as individuals will become less independent; farmers as a class will become more independent. Evidences of personal and group power, large grasp, and achievement will be outstanding. In reality the farmer will be seen coming into his own. Leaders of this awakened rural manhood must be clear-thinking, direct, and of superior intelligence; and their foundations must be laid in a sure understanding of economic and social laws and of folk psychology superimposed on reliable farm knowledge.

After all, we come back to *expert service* as the test of leadership. Perhaps Emerson was dealing in hyperbole when he asserted, "If a man can only make a better mouse-trap than his neighbor, the world will make a beaten track to his door." It simply depends on how sadly the world needed mouse-traps! Nothing is more certain in country life than the fact that proved efficiency wins respect. If a man can raise more corn to the acre than any of his neighbors, or produce more milk or eggs or butter per dollar invested, or restore the fertility of depleted soil, he has proved himself more than a farmer; he is a demonstrator. He will at least have a chance to instruct his humble neighbors, and will be accorded the sincerest flattery of imitation. Automatically he becomes a rural leader through sheer superiority. The same principle holds equally well in the social and religious realm. We need

more men who can demonstrate success, social efficiency, community service in every line. The task, then, is to develop every sort of rural specialist, for the sake of rural progress. Expert service must win its opportunity for leadership, for it deserves it and has won its right to it.

DISCUSSION¹

ERVILLE B. WOODS, DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

Reference has been made in Professor Fiske's paper to the country as the breeding-ground of great men; in this he is at variance with the conclusion reached by Ward, Odin, and others. It may be remarked, however, that the great majority of those who are known to us as the great men of America were born far enough back in the history of the nation to fall in a period when our population was overwhelmingly rural, and hence many of them could hardly have escaped country birth.

The American rural population has been affected, it seems to me, by at least three quite distinct factors: first, a common and distinctive vocation; second, selective migration; and third, the temper and outlook of waxing and waning communities.

With regard to the first of these factors most of us would agree, I presume, that among the circumstances which everywhere characterize the business of farming some of the most salient are: a concern with natural forces rather than with human behavior, a relative isolation in work and in leisure, and a relatively homogeneous social environment presenting little human variety and few extremes of wealth and poverty. This typically bucolic environment everywhere tends to produce a population characterized by lack of facility in co-operation and in social contacts. The farmer does not mingle easily with men of various sorts, because such mingling does not come in his day's work. On the contrary, he is often naïve and often suspicious. While more democratic than the city dweller in face-to-face relations with fellow-men, his experience leaves him unappreciative of those long-range economic and social corollaries of democracy which mean so much in the life of the nation.

The second factor affecting the American rural population has been the probably adverse factor of selective migration, by which the more ambitious and more mobile elements of the population have been drawn to the cities or to the more fertile West. During the past century the older agricultural regions have come successively under the influence of this factor. So constant has been its operation in New Hampshire and Vermont, for example, that in the case of the former state every census from 1850 to 1900 inclusive showed about a third of the natives of the state living at the time of enumeration in

¹ The discussions in this group refer to the preceding papers by Messrs. Groves and Fiske.

some other part of the Union, while from 38 to 42 per cent of the natives of Vermont at each of these six censuses had settled outside the boundaries of the state of their birth. A well-marked process of *social* erosion has worked as relentlessly upon these New England hills as have the forces of flood and rain which shape their physical contour; the remote hill towns have been denuded until only a fraction of their former population remains. The extension of the railroads through the larger valleys at the middle of the last century, and the decline of the birth-rate, putting an end to the duodecimal family of colonial days, account for a ratio of three or four cellar-holes to one inhabited house on many of the back roads.

Depopulation began earliest in New England, but it is no longer peculiar to that section. During the decade preceding the last census three well-marked areas appeared in the rural population map of the United States. The first consisted of that section which has become practically stationary in regard to dwellers in the country. Drawing a line so as to include the states from Minnesota to Missouri and thence eastward through Kentucky and Virginia to the Atlantic, we find a group of 22 states, only 3 of which showed a gain of as much as 10 per cent in rural population, and 6 of which showed an actual decrease. Lying south of this first area is a second great section comprising 11 states stretching from Oklahoma and Texas eastward, each of which has gained from 10 to 30 per cent in rural population with the exception of Oklahoma and Florida, which have gained more than 30 per cent, and Tennessee, which has gained less than 10 per cent. The remainder of the country lying in the Far West consists of 15 states all but 3 of which have gained more than 30 per cent, and 7 of which have gained over 50 per cent in rural population during the decade.

During the last census decade about 19,000 farms in the Middle Atlantic States and 12,000 in the East North Central States have been abandoned, in comparison with about 3,200 in New England. Put in another way, the farm operators east of the Mississippi and north of the Potomac actually decreased about 35,000 during the decade, while in the rest of the country 650,000 new farm operators (owners, tenants, or managers) were enumerated. Such are some of the dimensions, so to speak, of selective migration.

Thus in the course of time those who would have been the natural leaders of the countryside came to be born in the cities or in newer parts to which their energetic parents resort. It must not be forgotten, however, that the least self-reliant individuals of an overpopulated rural community (and there can be no question of the relative overpopulation of some of the older rural communities fifty years ago) also make haste to remove themselves to the city where a single transaction gears their dull wits and ineffective powers into the automatic mechanism of a mill or factory. Thus the casual laborers, the scythe hands, the precarious livers and ne'er-do-wells of the hill farms of New England have done as much to depopulate the rural communities as the more regretted seekers after professional and commercial honors.

The net selective effect of this migration has been undoubtedly to reduce somewhat the power of initiative of the population, but not at all to exhaust the reservoirs of human achievement. For a temperamental predilection for country life, a protective antipathy to city ways, and the inheritance of fertile and well-located farms have served to retain on the land many men of ability and initiative. Although here and there in scattered communities inbreeding from stocks touched with degeneracy has produced a low average, vitally, mentally, and morally, there is still little evidence that with proper incentives the country cannot still produce leadership and a sound and productive community life.

In appraising communities, as in judging individuals, there is grave danger of imputing more to racial deterioration than the facts warrant. Not long since some of our social investigators were for pronouncing from a third to a half of our juvenile delinquents feeble-minded. But the influence of physical defect and of an untoward social environment is coming to be better understood and the emphasis is accordingly being corrected. Is it not probable that the trouble with backward communities is less germinal than psychic, and the remedies called for not merely eugenic, but the application in particular of an economic and psychic tonic?

This leads to the third factor, which I have called the temper and outlook of waxing and waning communities. When a community is filled with the expectation of bigger things and a more numerous population, a feeling of buoyancy comes to prevail. Even when the majority of the people realize little in the way of material benefits from the changes afoot, there is a sort of psychic participation in prosperity which may sometimes even be accepted in lieu of social justice. I conceived a very lively sympathy with this proneness to take a vicarious interest in the life and prosperity of growing places when, not long ago, I chanced to spend a night in a stage-line town in northern New England. Of five churches in the town two are dead and three moribund; there are no church members among the score of families living at the center of the village; the hotel which was formerly maintained stands bleak and empty; the only social institutions whose statistics run into two figures are the cemeteries, of which there are ten or twelve, for the people appear unwilling to be brought together even in death. As I walked along the village street on a cold December morning, I thoroughly agreed with the man who would rather sell shoestrings and lead pencils at the mouth of a roaring alley where the city pours the surging currents of its life before him than thrive on buttermilk and country air in the desolation of a depopulated rural community.

A sort of moral and civic paralysis follows upon habituation to failure, and these communities, having seen themselves lose population and prestige for half a century or more, pass through the stage of self-pity to one of "reconciliation" and complete indifference. Proponents of new ways are met by a universal skepticism and are overborne by the recital of similar attempts which failed in the eighties or nineties. In short, such communities are obsessed by

Send review

the fixed idea "It's no use." A farmer and his family living today on a New York state farm may be racially as fit as the people who first put plowshare to sod in that region, and they may live a 100 per cent more comfortably than the pioneers who preceded them, and yet be marked, and their whole communities with them, with the mental stigmata of defeat. In other words, a perfectly good region inhabited by perfectly good people may become discouraged, despondent, decadent, owing to nothing more serious than the inheritance of obsolete traditions of agriculture and of social relationships, and a long-continued shrinkage of population.

But just as a discouraged and morally decadent individual may come back to life and to achievement through a personal crisis of some sort—the kindling of a new friendship, religious conversion, or the breaking out of war—so a rural community which is given over to reminiscence and lethargy may, by a proper adjustment of its economic life and a proper stimulus to its civic imagination, begin once more to function with as much exhilaration and exuberance as the very immigrants and pioneers themselves.

MAX SYLVIVUS HANDMAN, CHICAGO

In connection with the problem of rural leadership, it has occurred to me that a possible solution might be found in the country school teacher. Because the leader in the rural community must be an expert in matters agricultural, it seems to me that Professor Fiske's hope of finding in the country parson the proper person for the job, is one not likely to be fulfilled. Neither, however, does the school teacher, as he is found today, hold out greater possibilities for success. As long as the country school teacher holds the office with an eye constantly trained on a better position, economic or matrimonial, it is not likely that he or she will take much interest in establishing a system of precepts and examples which will enable the rural community to benefit by his or her leadership. Besides, it has been my experience that the farmer does not respect the school teacher, because he looks upon him as a parasite. Teaching is not work, in his eyes, and it is doubtful if, with that attitude confronting him, the teacher can do much in the community.

This being the case, the following is offered as a suggestion. That in communities where the consolidated school system prevails, there be set aside a parcel of land, the size to be determined by agricultural experts, which land shall be the property of the community and be devoted to school purposes. This land, and a minimum salary, shall be considered remuneration to the school teacher, he to cultivate the land for his own benefit as long as he is teaching school in the particular locality.

The advantages of this plan as I see them are as follows:

1. It will make the farmer respect the school teacher, because he will see in him a worker like himself and will consequently be more likely to listen to his

judgment. He will not feel that the school teacher is an outsider with "highfalutin" theories and notions having absolutely no bearing on the practical problems confronting him.

2. It will enable the school teacher to serve as a distributor of practical information on problems of agriculture, his farm being in the nature of an experimental institution. He will be the meeting-place of scientific conclusion and practical application.

3. He will act as adviser on matters pertaining to rural economics and similar information tending in the direction of improved business methods.

4. He will be the leader of the community in matters of education and social action and, in conjunction with the minister, work out the problems centering around "better living."

The adoption of such a plan tending to do away with the vagrant character of country school teaching and giving it more of a substantial and livelihood character will enable the school teacher to marry and probably select a woman who will take the leadership among the farm women as he does among the men. The advantages of this are obvious.

The important question now is, where are we going to find men to fill such positions? I wish to call your attention to the fact that our agricultural colleges are yearly turning out graduates in increasing numbers, who for one reason or another never settle on the farm. Many of them are found selling cream-separators or soliciting subscriptions for farm papers, both of which activities, while highly desirable, are in the nature of a waste of good material, when indulged in by one who has gone through a course of training in scientific agriculture. These men are available for just such a scheme as I have suggested, and the benefits accruing to them and to the community at large should not be estimated too lightly.

Another question might concern itself with the ways and means of putting such a scheme into execution. On this, I have little to offer aside from the homespun truth that "where there is a will there is a way." The attempt to apply this scheme will develop its own *modus operandi*. The efforts of the government to supply the farming community with teachers and farm agents might be worked into the scheme, as suggested, and the energy and expenditure going into the maintenance and extension of the present system of itinerant farm advisers and agricultural evangelists, might be made subservient to the above-mentioned plan with, it is believed, a total income greater than the one now achieved by the separate working, often at cross-purposes, of these isolated agencies.

PROFESSOR FREDERICK TREUDLEY, OHIO UNIVERSITY

For a number of years it has been my good fortune to be associated in an intimate way with young men and women aggregating now quite a number of thousands. They have come from out the valleys and from off the hills of

southern Ohio, from great towns and cities, from county seats and country waysides, in all parts of this great commonwealth. They represent all sorts and conditions of schools and training, from the worst to the best. What impresses me very powerfully is the fact that in the essential elements of human worth it is difficult to distinguish them, saying these are better than those. As one star differeth from another in glory, so do these. Some by reason of better scholastic training are more efficient from one point of view. Others are more gifted socially, others abound in initiative, while many possess wonderfully fine moral character.

I have come into close personal range, to illustrate, with fully fourscore youth from one of the poorest counties of the state, a county where the poverty of many of the schools is great, and of this number not one ever entered into my presence without bearing with him an atmosphere constituting a sort of benediction, while some of them are on the way to distinction. They seem to me a noble band of youth, richly endowed with all those qualities which make up the real worths of life.

The point I wish to make is that there is going on a marvelous social transformation of the inner life by means of the great instrumentalities now available to the common man, the telephone, the daily press and the automobile. It is a fact of the utmost social distinction that in a county seat thirty miles from Columbus there were parked one day on the fair grounds 8,000 automobiles. The vast increase of college students is another sign.

The thinking of the common man is being done in terms of world-wide, and not of parochial, interests. There is going on a great spiritual uplift, an organization of sentiment in terms of justice, of character, and of good will. The world is speaking and thinking, not so much in terms of formal religion perhaps, as it is in terms of active social service.

It is a fundamental fact that the people are better than they seem to act. The immense development of the vast field of public education and philanthropy, the ever lengthening pay-roll of the great states are eloquent testimonials of the pervasive spread among all classes, dwellers alike in town and country, of the spirit of love which recognizes that all men are brothers and that the only real distinctions are moral ones.

REV. MYRON E. ADAMS, CHICAGO

There are many facts to prove that the efficient and successful farmer develops talents which may become largely useful in the service of the state. His business requires him to conserve natural resources which would be lost without patience, wisdom, and labor.

Some seven years ago in the neighboring state of Michigan there was a prison located at Jackson which was the despair and the disgrace of the state. There had been continuous dishonesty in administration. One warden was

serving a term in the House of Correction. Another was under indictment. The institution was physically, morally, and financially bankrupt. No words could describe the rotten conditions at that time.

In despair the departing governor, discredited on all sides by the failures in his administration, appointed as warden a successful farmer who had been in the legislature. He knew nothing about prisons. He had no experience with criminals. But he had acquired a reputation for courage, honesty, wisdom, and forceful leadership.

In the past seven years he has faced almost inconceivable difficulties. At times they seemed almost too large for any man to overcome. But he did and developed a prison system which is second to none in America.

He started with a disorganized and rebellious mass of prisoners, supervised by men who in some cases proved themselves to be inferior to the men they guarded, housed in unhealthy and obsolete cells, blocks filled with dampness and vermin, working for contractors who amassed all the profits. The prison was turning out men who were worse than those who came in. It cost the state annually more than \$100,000.

At the end of seven years this farmer had developed a finely organized prison, with honest and efficient guards and workers. He had built entirely with prison labor a modern prison dormitory which did away with the solitary unsanitary cell. The industries within the prison walls had been diversified and brought entirely under prison control. But outside the prison walls he had secured over 2,000 acres of land. Each year he had added new dormitories on these farms and sent an increasing number of honor men to work out in the open air until at one time he had approximately 300 men living outside the prison walls. As a result of this development of industries he had made the prison self-supporting, and he paid back annually a considerable sum to his men.

A farmer did this. From frequent personal observations of the development of this work I feel free to say that I question whether anybody except a successful farmer could have secured the results Nathaniel Simpson did from 1910 to 1917 in Michigan State Prison.

PROFESSOR WALTER R. SMITH, KANSAS STATE NORMAL

Dr. Fiske's opening statements regarding the number of city leaders born in the country and particularly his reference to the first hundred names in *Who's Who* leads me to offer a bit of evidence which I recently had occasion to collect. I examined one fourth of the 1915 edition of *Who's Who*—consisting of some 650 pages chosen in 100-page divisions—to see what proportion of our leaders were born in our great cities.

Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore are the older cities which have shown the most consistent and continuous growth. Their proportion

of the total population of the United States was obtained and then compared with the number of persons listed who gave those cities as their place of birth. I found that Boston had contributed four times its proper proportion of names, and Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore just about double their proportion. These facts, while they will bear further investigation and do not of themselves constitute proof, give evidence to the truth of Professor Ward's contention that the center of the greatest opportunity is also the center of the largest proportion of developed greatness.

Moreover, I am satisfied that a detailed examination of the whole edition will show similar results, not only for the other large cities, but for the smaller cities as well. The popular fallacy regarding the superiority of the rural districts in developing great men comes from an oversight of the fact that much the larger percentage of all our people in earlier years were born in the country and that the rural leader in city affairs is more conspicuous than the native born leader.

I wish also to suggest one point with reference to Professor Groves's paper. In getting at the differences between the different types of rural mind Professor Groves seems to use nearly altogether either the historical or the geographical point of view. It appears to me that a better method of approach to rural psychology is to use a horizontal analysis of types based upon the economic methods used and the economic status obtained. According to this method farmers may be divided into three classes—the existence farmer, the home-building farmer, and the business farmer. All these types are found in practically every community. Probably if the divergent attitudes of optimism and pessimism concerning the rural situation shown by the various speakers were analyzed, it would be found that the pessimists had in mind certain communities where the existence farmer predominated, and the optimists had in view other communities where the business farmer predominated. While there are other methods of analysis of types it seems to me that the economic is much the most fundamental in determining mental attitudes and attributes.

PROFESSOR GEORGE E. HOWARD, UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

I wish to accent the importance of the Ward-Odin investigations in determining the relative potential value of rural and urban populations in the production of leaders. These researches tended to prove that a large majority of great men are born in cities, because urban communities provide the cultural, the spiritual, environment needed to foster and make active latent talent. In 1914, the conclusions reached by Ward-Odin were supported and rendered practically certain by Dr. George R. Davies, of the University of North Dakota, in his remarkable *Statistical Study in the Influence of Environment*. This was based upon the history of a very large number of celebrated persons in the United States. The author was able to conduct his investigation by a

method more scientific than that employed by preceding students, through use of the new mathematical device of the biometricians known as the "coefficient of correlation."

At present, in the United States as in France, the city is more favorable to the production of social leadership than is the country. This is so because of the superior opportunities offered by the city. Potentially city dwellers and country dwellers are of equal ability. If many persons born in the country become leaders on going to the city, it is because they *come to the city*, not because they *come from the country*. In the process of socialization the rural community has much to learn from the experience of the urban community.

PROFESSOR HOWARD WOODHEAD, UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

I think it advantageous to strike this iron again while it is still hot. Are these urban and rural differences really fundamental? Must we not deal with the individual and his capacity rather than with classes and groups?

Biological defectiveness is more readily noticed and identified in rural districts than in cities, and, too, the results are probably worse owing to intermarriage. Because we find certain rural communities containing large numbers of defectives, we must not conclude therefore that rural stock is inferior to urban stock. Those left in the country after the cityward migration are by no means necessarily inferior; witness, the great development wrought by improved means of communication and increasing social contacts.

Many of the differences we note between urban and rural communities are really those between successful urban and unsuccessful rural communities. If we will look for such differences we can usually find them *within* each group; e.g., the successful city men and those who do not fit into the economic scheme of things. These differences are not necessarily biological, although this element is always present and must always be given due weight. Improvements in physical, economic, and social conditions of rural communities always bring out latent strength in the people, showing again that a decadent stock is not the cause of all rural retardation.

Leadership and high ideals form a part of development, whether rural or urban. Consider, for example, the materialistic stage of development in urban communities, and the civic stage. Many rural communities have reached the civic stage, and with superior leadership are far in advance of many urban communities.

It seems to me that it is only as rural or urban conditions influence the various factors of development that they are to be considered. We have to deal with *people*, either collectively or distributively; and what affects their development is biologic, or geographic, or economic, or social—not urban nor rural.

MRS. MARY E. LEE, WESTERVILLE, OHIO

"May a plain farmer speak among learned doctors? I come to Columbus today to invite the dean of the College of Agriculture of Ohio State University to instal the officers of Blendon Grange. Blendon Grange team conferred two degrees at State University Grange meeting, with considerable pride to themselves and, I believe, some satisfaction to the University Grange.

Much has been said here about the uplift of the farmer, the new renaissance that is seizing hold of thought and directing it into more spiritual lines and questioning the oft-asserted statement that the great men come from the farm. A minister has just stated that more than 50 per cent of the world's great men come from families of ministers. If this is true, and I am not questioning it, then our farm folks will be glad to know the exact situation and will make stronger endeavor to hold their own. As to uplift work, the farm organizations are constantly busying themselves with plans for uplift and betterment of city-dwellers. And the spiritual awakening which all expect as an aftermath of the war, whether our nation shall actually be engaged in it or not, is as ardently looked for in the country as in the city.

Land-owning has been the foundation of the best aristocracy, and in those old farm communities which were so fortunate as to be the homes of academies in the early part of the last century, there is a choice aristocracy founded on good blood, good breeding, good schools, and thoughtful consideration of the stirring events of the last hundred years.

The crying need of the present century more than any time in the past is for honest and competent adult instruction. In our own state, which adopted one of the most radical, dangerous state constitutions to be found anywhere in the world, in 1912, this need is indeed urgent for both city and country. We have two forms of government, representative, guaranteed to us by the federal Constitution and the Ordinance of 1787, and direct legislation, commonly known as the initiative and referendum, secured by a vote of about one-fourth of the electors in 1912. Despite the outcry for it, there has been but one measure initiated that had serious consideration and that will go before the coming legislature as bill No. 1. It seeks to drive liability insurance companies from the state and to prevent any business of these companies being done here. This is supported by organized labor, and very few outside of labor insurance and employing circles are interested in the measure.

Under this form of legislation political battles are fought. A number of wet and dry elections have been held, so far the results being in favor of the wets. Another prohibition election is forthcoming for 1917. We are also to vote on single tax, presumably in 1917, and we are promised by the proponents of this measure that it will be submitted each year until its adoption is assured.

It is a notable fact that the arguments pro and con for the various measures are more to attract the ear than to convince the judgment, and so far as truth is concerned, one would lose much valuable time in searching for it. Both

sides of the questions submitted evidently believe that "all is fair in love and war" and have paid little attention to facts. The obvious result will be hurt in the forthcoming elections.

Our situation would be ludicrous were it not so perilous. In 1915 the Democrats, as a part of party play, put to referendum two measures passed by the Republican administration—the McDermott decentralizer of the liquor license system and the Sprague redistricting measure, which, if adopted at the polls, would mean an increase of from five to seven protective tariff members of Congress from Ohio. The governor was insistent upon the liquor license decentralizer while his party was not. He forced three meetings of the state central committee before he could get an indorsement of this measure, and then it came in blanket form for his administration and the acts of the legislature. This so infuriated the proponents of the existing license system, which included both parties, that orders were issued all down the line to vote against the redistricting measure also. The decentralizer was defeated by about 110,000 and the redistricting bill by about 51,000 votes. Thus the question whether Ohio should send a protective tariff delegation to Congress was decided by the vote on the question as to whether liquor license commissioners should be appointed by the governor or by local authorities.

The manner of securing the initiative and referendum was equally ludicrous. The rural counties were largely preponderant in the lower Ohio house and these were dry. A local option law was imminent, and the same legislature that enacted this legislation was asked to submit an amendment to provide for direct legislation. Prior to this, advocates of direct legislation had visited labor organizations, the granges, and farmers' institutes, calling attention in eloquent terms to the evils of the legislature and asking as a remedy therefor opportunity for the people to pass directly on measures. Resolutions came pouring down like leaves from Vallambrosa. It was generally understood by those well informed on public affairs that the wet interests were not entirely silent in the campaign. But state grange, which is bone-dry, indorsed direct legislation, and in 1908 a joint resolution for it was introduced in the Senate, passed, and was messaged to the House. Resolutions, petitions, telegrams, and personal letters poured in upon the legislators from the rural counties and every effort was made to get the bill out of committee. In the meantime a letter was sent out by a member of the grange calling attention to the destructive features of the measure. But two state-grange officials dared to utter a word in this trying time. The bill was defeated in 1908 and again in 1910, the farmers being shown that under direct legislation seventeen out of eighty-eight counties would control legislation. In 1911 the legislature submitted a call for a constitutional convention and followed the behests of those seeking direct legislation as well as other interests that had special measures to press, for a non-partisan constitutional convention. As was presaged from the first this convention submitted a dangerous instrument which was adopted by a very small minority of the electors. Be it said to the credit of the country

people, notwithstanding that the rural organizations stood twice for the initiative and referendum that the electors themselves became sufficiently well informed to vote against trading off their heritage for a mess of pottage in the guise of fine eloquence and the intrigues of men seeking petty official position in a voluntary organization. The principal advocates of the initiative and referendum were the wet interests, single-taxers, and labor organizations who had been led to believe that by this means they could secure the single tax and through this instrument tax land out of the hands of private owners.

The appeals to the people were to their better instincts, but their instinct was not fortified by reason. While it is necessary for all states that a high type of citizenship and ripe intelligence prevail if they are to attain their highest development, it is imperatively so in a state where electors must pass on laws. We need to get back to fundamentals as outlined by Alexander Hamilton, by Washington, and by Madison. Adult education is therefore the most important question that can interest the minds and purpose of patriotic citizens, and this education must be based on fundamentals rather than on the fierce fights on certain specific matters. There must be sufficient intelligence on fundamental questions to think rationally and honestly. The press does not supply this nor do the magazines, 75 per cent of whose writers think socialistically. If the American Sociological Society can aid in this, it will have rendered humanity the world over a tremendous blessing.

PROFESSOR CHARLES D. BOHANNON, UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

While I am sure that we have all enjoyed listening to the papers and discussions presented here today, I cannot but feel that in case any time be given to rural social problems at the meeting next year that it would be well, instead of using the full allotment of time for talks and discussions by college teachers of sociology, to have with us some persons who are actively and constantly engaged in country life field work. It seems to me that the remarks of, say, some rural pastor or other community leader who has met and solved some of the problems of rural life would be of considerable value to us, and possibly furnish some valuable criteria with which to reshape some of our theories.

THE LAND PROBLEM AND RURAL WELFARE

PAUL L. VOGT
Ohio State University

When sixty or more years ago advocates of homestead legislation believed that "Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm," there was little thought that, as age of nations goes, the time was already at hand when the United States would have her land problem in common with other nations, both past and present. Then, the land problem was one of getting unexploited land into private hands at little or no cost. So rapidly has the change come that now the problem is one of getting land into operators' hands at any cost. The rumblings of discontent began during the seventies of the past century when Henry George wrote his *Progress and Poverty*. It was continued during the nineties with the populist movement and the demand for free coinage of silver. Changes in production of gold and the rise in prices of farm produce at a time when tenantry had not yet become a national problem quieted for a time the discontent of the farm-owning population. But the shift of farm owners to the villages and the substitution of a tenant class in the more wealthy general farming sections has brought to the front the old discontent in another form and from another group. The landowner is satisfied with the changes taking place. But the successors of the group that during the forties and fifties clamored for free land on which to get a start comparable to that of their predecessors in the older sections of the country, now are demanding that means be devised whereby they, too, may secure a foothold on the land they operate without having to pay a tribute to the descendants of those who arrived on the ground first and who now live in urban communities. The swell of discontent underlying the present demand for rural credit is fundamentally based on the land question. Sooner or later the real problem will be recognized, and then the state must face the task of controlling or

solving that problem in the interest of the common good without regard to vested interests or privilege which may have resulted from traditional influence or social change.

The land problem may be considered from several points of view, among the most important of which are security of title, methods and costs of transfer, permanency of holdings, size of holdings, and the relation of ownership to the operation of the land. It is the purpose of this paper to consider especially certain aspects of the last two of these, i.e., the size of holdings and the relation of ownership to operation.

Centralization of ownership of farm real estate appears to be quite marked in certain sections of the country. A recent bulletin from the University of Texas makes the statement that "half of the farm lands of Texas are included in 2.7 per cent of the farms."¹ Another writer,² whose works have been widely read, mentions the fact that the Texas Land Syndicate No. 3 owns 3,000,000 acres in Texas. The British Land Company owns 300,000 acres in Kansas besides tracts in other states. The Duke of Sutherland owns hundreds of thousands, and Sir Edward Reid controls 1,000,000 acres in Florida. Another syndicate controls 2,000,000 acres in Mississippi. Many other similar statements could be given.

The evidence from the records of the United States Census is that these extremely large holdings in areas of general farming are survivals of an earlier period rather than a recent development. During the past decade the size of farms decreased in every division of the United States except in the East North Central and West North Central, and in these divisions the tendency appears to have been in the direction of increase of medium-sized farms rather than of increase in extremely large holdings. The investigations of students of farm management appear to support the belief that the size of farms in America tends to adapt itself to the type of agriculture followed. With the exception of the semi-arid sections of the West, where dry farming is practiced, economic influences tend toward the increase in the number of medium-sized or small holdings. Accordingly, as the transition from extensive to inten-

¹ *Univ. of Texas Bull.* 39, 1915, p. 148.

² George, *Menace of Privilege*, p. 36.

sive agriculture is continued throughout the United States, the danger of centralization of ownership should become less.

The suggestion has been made that even though individual farms may become smaller, there may be a tendency toward centralization of ownership through purchase of farms widely scattered over a given area. Inquiry of county officials in several parts of the state of Ohio leads to the conclusion that, so far as this part of the country is concerned, no such tendency exists as yet to any marked degree. Consequently the belief may be accepted that in ordinary agricultural areas the problem of size of holdings presents no serious menace, except in those areas where such holdings are a survival of an earlier period.

Investigations made by the United States Bureau of Corporations and other agencies indicate a much more serious problem when centralization of ownership of timber, mineral, or water-power resources is concerned. Without going into detail with regard to centralization of ownership of these resources, it is sufficient to suggest that, if policies of nationalization are adopted for any natural resources, they are justifiable in the case of those which tend to become monopolistic and which appear to be capable of most economical development on a large scale.

Since the facts indicate that, with the exception of timber, mineral, or water-power lands, there is no apparent tendency toward large centralization of ownership of land in the United States; since the results of investigations made by students of farm management lead to the conclusion that the tendency in size of farms is toward the medium-sized or small holding; and since the labor situation in the country is such that the tendency is toward holdings even smaller than those believed by farm-management students to be most economically efficient, the conclusion to be drawn is that the land question is one of ownership in relation to the economic welfare of the people who actually live on the farm rather than one of size of holdings.

It is not within the scope of the present paper to consider the tendencies as to increase or decrease in tenantry. This subject has already been carefully discussed elsewhere, and the facts have been well presented. The problem now to be considered is the

effect of tenantry on the economic and social welfare of the population that actually lives in the country and the resulting effect on the national welfare.

In approaching the problem, however, it should be recalled that in a large part of the United States the percentage of tenantry is still very low. During the past decade tenantry actually decreased in twenty of the states, and in seventeen of them the percentage of tenantry in 1910 was still under twenty. In the South, where, so far as percentage of tenantry is concerned, the problem is most serious, the apparent increase is thought to be rather an indication of the rise of the colored population to a position of relatively higher independence than an evidence of deterioration. The serious problem presents itself in the great Central Valley, the region of diversified farming, where, though as yet many of the states show a relatively low percentage of tenantry, the increase is continuous and appears to be based on causes upon which no legislative or other factors have as yet had any influence.

This steady, even though not rapid, increase in tenantry in the East and North Central divisions, particularly in those parts of the territory where land values are highest, indicates the approach of problems most serious for those who will in the future actually live on the farms. This increase is occurring in a section of the country already fairly well established in its agricultural methods, and represents the coming of a permanent tenantry and absentee landlordism in the richest and most productive agricultural section of the Union. It foreshadows the coming of social and economic problems in which every statesman should take a deep and abiding interest if America is to be kept free from some of the serious problems which have presented themselves to other countries both in the present and in the past.

It has been contended by some optimistic writers that the nominal increase in tenantry is more apparent than real and represents merely an increase in the number of young men who are renting farms as a preliminary to buying. Recent investigations, however, though limited in scope, indicate that in the more established sections the average age of the tenant class is rising, and that from year to year fewer men are crossing the border from

tenantry to ownership. According to data supplied by the United States census for one of the older counties in the state of Ohio, it is shown that over 65 per cent of the tenants were thirty-five years of age or over. Over 35 per cent of them were over forty-five years of age. A study¹ recently made in Iowa indicates that the results for Ohio are typical of other sections of the North Central divisions. There, it is reported, "The age of ownership is about six years later in life than it was twenty-five years ago. Farmers now make their first payment on land at the age of thirty-four, while formerly ownership was obtained at twenty-eight years of age."

Since the fact of increase in tenantry is well established, and since most types of agriculture in the United States appear to be adapted to such increase, an appreciation of the significance of this increase is of the utmost importance. In the study of land tenure in Iowa, mentioned above, the author arrives at the conclusion that increase in tenantry may be coincident with a marked increase in wealth on the part of the tenant class. The author makes the statement that "the prosperity of the farmer is better measured in terms of the wealth he accumulates than in the kind of tenure he follows."

Immediate results should not blind us to what the ultimate effects will be, since it is these ultimate effects which will be of the greatest social and economic significance. The separation of ownership from the operation of farms involves a division of the total income from the land. The rise in land values, regardless of the fact that farm-income investigators show the immediate effect to be a comparatively larger return to tenants than to owners, can only mean that ultimately the share of the income that goes to the landlord will increase through rising rents or will become a permanent burden on the land through the price paid for it by the purchaser. The effect in either case is to give to the landlord an increasing and permanent share in what the land produces, and to give either to the tenant or to the future purchaser an income which appears to correspond closely to what skilled labor receives in the cities. So long as land ownership does not give the owner in the United States a social status, as it does in some foreign countries,

¹Lloyd, "Farm Leases in Iowa," *Iowa Exp. Sta. Bull.* 159, p. 171.

the tendency will be for prospective owners to purchase land either at a price which will yield a rent return corresponding to interest rates on investments elsewhere or a return due to the speculative increase in the value of the land. The outlook for the tenant in America is not encouraging so far as incomes are concerned, even though for the time being they are apparently the principal recipients of the benefits of increases in prices of food products. The advantages due to the farm operator that result from the present tendency toward adjustment of wealth distribution between rural and urban communities tend to go, not to the farmer, but to the farm owner, who may live in the neighboring village or in the city; and the hoped-for increase in economic welfare of the man with the hoe, upon which those material comforts which the farming population has so long lacked and which are recognized as the essential foundation of a satisfying standard of living sufficient to make farm life attractive, is tending to miss the man who deserves it and to pass on to the urban resident. Thus the building of a sound economic foundation for a wholesome rural civilization is being prevented by the increase in tenantry.

Considerable concrete evidence as to the effects of tenantry upon the fertility of the soil and upon farm management is already available. A recent writer in the *Breeders' Gazette*¹ has pointed out that the Chicago market has for the past ten years shown a steady decrease in the percentage of cars of corn grading No. 2 or over and a steady increase in the percentage grading No. 3 or under. A tabulation of farm-management studies in four typical counties in Ohio reveals the fact that for owner-operated farms 75.4 cents per crop acre was spent for fertilizer while for tenant-operated farms the amount was but 54.4 cents. In view of the fact that another tabulation from the same source shows that owner farms had 10.5 cattle units and 18.5 hog units per hundred acres while tenant farms showed but 6.4 cattle units and 13.5 hog units, the conclusion is inevitable that from the point of view both of preserving the fertility of the soil and of the most efficient farm management, the advance of tenantry is disastrous.

¹ *Breeders' Gazette*, July 22, 1915.

In traveling through the various sections of the Upper Mississippi Valley one is impressed on every hand with the evidences of prosperity in the open country. The large, well-kept residences, lawns, good barns, and other buildings lead one to believe that, after all, there is little to fear from the changes in tenure which the census records show. But a closer view of the subject does not give so attractive a picture. It is a matter of common knowledge that in many of these prosperous communities homes that were once the pride of owner operators have begun to show the effects of tenant occupancy, and the evidence is that the future will show these effects much more vividly than they can be observed at the present time. A study of rural housing made by one of the students of the domestic-science department of Ohio State University through personal visitation and through co-operation of fellow-students revealed a most marked difference in the housing conveniences enjoyed by owners and tenants. The results showed that 96 per cent of the tenants' houses were heated with stoves, while but 70 per cent of the owners' houses were so heated; 69.5 per cent of the owners used kerosene for lighting, as against 95 per cent for the tenants; 40.8 per cent of the owners reported had kitchen sinks, while 8.8 per cent of the tenant homes were so supplied; 61.9 per cent of the owners had privies more than 100 feet from the well, while but 28.9 per cent of the tenants had the same condition; and 89 per cent of the owners had the well more than 100 feet from the barn, while but 19 per cent of the tenants had the well thus protected.

It is unnecessary to give further figures as to this condition. There is evidence on every hand that tenants are not as well provided for as owners. Moreover, there do not appear to be any factors in the situation which promise amelioration. The interest of both owner and tenant is to secure larger incomes from the the farm, and neither is interested in providing the best living conditions on the tenant-operated farm. Tenants take less care of owners' houses than they would if they were their own, and owners are slow to make needed improvements for the sake of the tenant. We are still in the period of development of American agriculture when we are using much of the original equipment of American

farms. If the primitive log house or the sod house has been displaced by the more pretentious dwelling, or if the old makeshift barn of pioneer days has been displaced by the red barn so characteristic of the corn belt, these displacements belong still to the period in which farmers were farm owners and homemakers. The time is inevitably coming when present equipment will have passed its usefulness. Then the real significance of the transition from ownership to tenantry will become apparent. Either old tumble-down houses, the ghosts of a former prosperity, inhabited by a low-grade population willing to live in inferior quarters, will survive, or a new type of houses, built for tenants, will appear. Farm owners are not even now providing for their tenants as they would for themselves. Even the United States government has given recognition to the fact that the tenant-housing problem is different from the problem of housing owners by the publication of plans for tenant houses. This public recognition of the existence of the landless type for whom special living quarters must be provided raises serious questions as to what public policy in regard to tenantry should be. Is the effort to adapt ourselves to changes taking place justifiable, or should we frankly recognize that the coming of the tenant house means ultimate social disintegration and the appearance in rural life of a class of citizens who will, regardless of what their native ability may be, occupy a permanently lower plane in economic life and be compelled by their circumstances to maintain a lower standard of living and attempt to correct the unfavorable tendency?

From the point of view of the sociologist, any policy of adaptation to pathological conditions is incorrect. To plan tenant houses is to perpetuate a fundamentally bad condition. The better policy would be to utilize the energies of public agencies in trying to remove the root of the difficulty by removing the causes that have made the appearance of a tenant class in America possible. Urban communities have long been conspicuous examples of the miserable quarters that have been provided for employees by certain manufacturing interests. Mining companies in many parts of the country have contributed their share of housing problems by the type of structure they have deemed good enough for the laboring

man. To the present a high degree of contentment has existed in the rural community so far as relation to property is concerned. But with the advent of distinct and conspicuous differences in housing conditions for the tenant group and the owner group will come rural discontent, and the foundation will be laid in the open country for the spread of those ideals as to property ownership which have characterized the laboring groups in the city; and we may witness a powerful stimulus to the movement for the nationalization of land.

It is impossible to present concrete evidence as to the effect of increase of tenantry upon the improvement of roads, drainage projects, community beautification, rural economic organization, or any of the other developments which go to make a community environment worth while. It is in accord with the evidence as to policies of improvement of tenanted farms by owners to expect no great degree of enthusiasm on the part of an absentee landlord for the expenditure of money for community improvement.

The effect of tenantry upon education has been brought out in a number of studies. In a survey made in southwestern Ohio it was found that but 42.8 per cent of the tenants subscribed for farm papers, while 57.9 per cent of the owners took agricultural journals. In a survey made in Missouri it was found that 10.4 per cent of the owners had a college education, while but 5.1 per cent of the tenants had been so trained. The children of owners and tenants showed a much more marked discrepancy as to education than did the farmers themselves. Of owners' children, 32.7 per cent had completed the district school, while but 12.7 per cent of the tenants' children had done so.

These discrepancies in education are not to be taken as criticisms of the tenant group. They are the result of conditions over which the tenant has little control and which permanently handicap the children of the transient land operator. The social effects of lowered educational efficiency can only be measured in terms of the lowered effectiveness and standards of living of the tenant population.

Increase in tenantry makes more serious the problems of the rural church. In southwestern Ohio it was found that, whereas

41 per cent of the farmers in a given community were tenants, but 22 per cent of the tenants interviewed were church members. The percentage of church membership for the entire adult rural population was about 39. Thus we have strong evidence that the tenant group is not being reached by the church and that the church is moving up and out of the country with the owner population. In the Missouri study noted above the percentage of owners attending church services was 40.7, while the percentage of tenants attending services was but 29.6. Sunday-school attendance showed a similar discrepancy, and of contributions to the support of the church the owners' share was \$11.62 per farm per year while that of the tenants was but \$4.47.

The relation of the tenant problem to social organization is no less marked. The transient tenant has less interest in community affairs and is not to be depended upon to assume leadership in farmers' organizations nor to become an active factor in stimulating community social life. This is true in part because of the antagonism in the country to the leadership of the newcomer, particularly if he is a tenant farmer. The feeling on the part of the tenant that he has no share in the real direction of affairs lessens his interest in social life and increases whatever individualistic and antisocial tendencies he may have.

In the past fifteen or twenty years the Central Valley has witnessed a marked rise in the number of family reunions held in rural districts. The renewed importance of the consciousness of family connections has a close relation to economic changes taking place. During a large part of the past century family connections had little to do with one's social standing, particularly in pioneer communities. People came from all parts of the country to settle the new land, and personal worth went far toward determining the social position of those making up the aggregation. Family consciousness and material success go together. The family reunion has been the occasion of renewed social life, but it has represented a renewal that from the community point of view does not promise the largest social returns.

The growth of the co-operative movement among farmers in Europe has brought to America a realization of the large possibilities

of development of a better agriculture and rural life here through more effective organization. Effective organization has been shown by experience to depend upon intelligence, homogeneity of population, stability, intimate acquaintance, and community of social interests. Increase in tenantry destroys every one of these necessary bases of successful organization, and unless some policy is adopted which will lead to permanency, homogeneity, and stability, the outlook for effective economic organization in America is not good.

The tenant consciousness is not yet marked in any part of the country. Newspaper accounts of organizations of farm tenants in Iowa and in some of the southern states have appeared. In the West the syndicalist movement has taken root among farm laborers, who, according to conventional standards, occupy a still lower status than do the tenants. But beyond these sporadic evidences of class consciousness little is to be found except individual reactions as expressed from time to time in newspaper articles or in personal conference. As conditions become more acute, the probabilities are that the common interests of both the tenant and the farm-laborer groups will seek expression through organization.

The experience of the race appears to justify the private ownership of land by the operator thereof for the reason that such ownership tends to preserve and to improve the property held and to insure its most efficient use for society. If the principle that private ownership of farm lands by the operator is desirable for the social good is accepted, then it follows that constructive measures should be taken by the state while the problem is not yet acute, in order to prevent the rise of either a permanent tenant class or a permanent proletariat in the country. Alleviative policies, such as planning tenant houses or devising tenant contracts, cannot offer a permanent solution of the problem. The tendency toward tenantry can only be controlled by adequate legislation to correct the influences causing the tendency.

The passing of the recent federal rural-credits law is a step in the right direction. But such a law, without accompanying legislation to prevent land speculation, is likely to result in increase in land

values, thus depriving the prospective purchaser of the intended benefits. The passage of a law providing for land-appraisal boards empowered to determine the price at which land should be sold has been suggested. Such legislation has been utilized in foreign countries with success, but it appears that the existence of such boards in America would be ineffective for the reason that, unless they had compulsory power, the owner of the property could not be compelled to dispose of it at any price lower than the one fixed by himself. Land-appraisal boards with compulsory powers would amount practically to land nationalization, a step which America is not yet ready to take.

The most hopeful solution appears to be the control of tenantry through the exercise of the taxing power. If the tax were so adjusted as to give a strong inducement to the prospective absentee landlord to dispose of his land to the prospective tenant, much of the speculative holding of land would be quickly eliminated and prices of land to prospective purchasers would be much more nearly their productive value. The inducement to transfer investment from land to other forms of property would work no great hardship to the owner because under the rural-credit law land-mortgage bonds would be available as well as other types of securities, the absentee ownership of which does not bring such serious difficulties as the absentee ownership of land.

It is not the purpose of the economist or the sociologist to injure anyone through recommending legislation. He believes in social adjustment that will yield the largest measure of the common good. If present tendencies are bringing to the country some of the serious social and economic problems of the city, he is justified in advocating remedies which may appear radical, but which in the long run offer promise of permanent contentment in rural life and which promise the perpetuation of those social and economic institutions which have been demonstrated by the experience of the race to be of the greatest social utility. It is in this spirit that attention is again called to one of the greatest problems awaiting solution in American life. The control of the situation demands state action as well as individual education, and those

who make up the membership of such bodies as those gathered here can exert a powerful influence toward the wise solution of the problem.

DISCUSSION

PROFESSOR W. O. HEDRICK, MICHIGAN AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

The fundamental relations of farming to our national life are borne witness to through the fact that both the aspects of land which Professor Vogt discusses have been the subjects of statistical interest for many years. The public has become interested only recently in the size of businesses generally but since 1890 our census bureau has collected statistics relative to the size of farms. Speaking generally, the public cares not at all whether factories and stores and railroads are rented or are owned by their operators, but it has given much attention to the ownership and rental tenures of land since 1880.

The curious fact is revealed by the last census enumeration (1910) that it is the very large farm which has been notable during the past ten years. The farms of from 500 to 999 acres have had second place in growth of numbers, have exceeded all others in absorbing total farm area, have exceeded all others in enlarging improved acreage per farm, have shown the biggest increase in value of total farm property of any class, were second greatest in increased building valuation, have had greatest increase in machinery valuation and third greatest in livestock increase. The relatively small number of these farms, however, robs this record of much significance in characterizing American farm sizes.

With regard to landlordism and tenantry, the same motive which is relied upon by society to secure effective farm handling that is, "self interest," is the very one which stimulates tenants to rent farms. The farm business requires a combination of several factors—notably land, labor, and equipment—for its best success. The extremely high price of all these elements renders it sometimes necessary that two enterprisers should combine their factors, one furnishing land, the other labor and equipment, and we have, therefore, the landlord and tenant relation. Farm-management studies show almost invariably that tenant farmers make good labor incomes, and no little care should be taken in disturbing a system not adverse to public policy which with all its faults is distinctly profitable to the farmer.

Country-life improvement may indeed be hindered in its co-operative aspect, as Professor Vogt points out, by the presence of the shifting tenant, but an even more fundamental wrong may be done by striking at the productivity of agriculture itself in the attempt to eliminate this sort of farmer. Commonly it is assumed that tenancy is a stepping-stone to ultimate land ownership. The young farmer or the needy farmer may come to own a farm

through a preliminary period spent as a tenant farmer, or he may attain full ownership through the mortgage-indebtedness route. Comparing only the more superficial features of these two methods of reaching the same end and we have the following results. Through having the stimulus to industry which comes from ownership and through directing his business at will, the mortgagor is advantaged, but he is limited in his farm operations through having invested his capital in land. On the other hand, the tenant leaves to the landlord the burden of carrying all the unproductive farm parts, such as buildings, fences, lanes, wood lot, etc. He is further advantaged through putting all his capital into livestock and equipment, thus being enabled to operate to the maximum of profitability. He gains nothing, however, by the appreciation in value of land.

The suppression of tenancy as advocated in the paper which has just been read restricts the young farmer or the impecunious farmer to alternatives which may prove hurtful from the business standpoint. The going in debt for a full-sized farm, as we have seen, is likely to leave the farmer short-handed in the means for the operation of this farm. Another alternative is the little farm—one which he is able to pay for and yet have some means left over—but every study of the little farm has convinced the student of the utter unprofitableness of this style of farming. Farm machinery is standardized in size to the needs of the full-sized farm; a profitable number of labor hours for man or team can be found only upon the full-sized farm. Insufficient variations of enterprises and too high costs in overhead expenses are only a few of the many reasons given for the unprofitableness of the small farm.

The sharing of the expenses of carrying on a farm business between two parties, one furnishing the land factor and the other the labor and equipment, has afforded a successful farm business in the past and still has merits for the future. We find nothing to justify the belief expressed by Professor Vogt that the landlord's share is to grow larger to the disadvantage of the tenant through the income-absorbing power of land. Landlords will doubtless always secure the returns which are possible to them through owning advantageous differentials in land. These differentials tend to become accentuated with the increase in price of farm products, but the means have not yet been shown whereby the landlord may wrest away from the renter any share to which this renter is properly entitled.

Tenancy, it may be said in conclusion, has stood the test of experience. We do not mean by this every tenancy system—absentee landlordism, or rack renting, for example—but good systems have survived. The greatest system of farming in the world measured by the test of endurance is a tenant system. English farming, where all but 4 or 5 per cent are tenants, has given us our leading types of livestock, our best farm practices, such as marling, drainage and rotations and the measure in acres of our customary farm. On the other hand, among the farm-owning peasants of Continental Europe (other than the

extremely recent notion of co-operation) scarcely a single fruitful farm notion has developed. Few farm animals or practices have been originated. Women customarily do the farm work and the peasant himself is frequently unable to speak the language of the country in which he lives. The test of a system of agriculture is the character of its professional representatives, and without doubt the British farmer, though a tenant, ranks high among farmers everywhere. The constantly enlarging growth in numbers of population in this country makes ever-increasing demands upon the output from the farms. This inevitably leads to intensive cultivation with all its expensiveness in land, equipment, and labor. It seems almost unthinkable under these circumstances that a normal tenancy system should not develop here as in England.

THE CONSOLIDATED SCHOOL AS A COMMUNITY CENTER

JOHN H. COOK

Assistant State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Ohio

The ideal rural school touches the life of everyone in the community. Its success is measured in terms of its vitalizing influence on all the people. The extent to which the school fails to make itself the most valuable institution of the community records the measure of its failure. As the most democratic institution of the community it reflects its industries and upholds its ideals. The intellectual, moral, civic, and social ideals inculcated by the school must level the community upward. So important is the education of parents and patrons of the school that this phase of the work must be accomplished by purposeful direct means and not left to indirect agencies. The modern rural school must of necessity be a community center.

The admitted failure of the one-room rural school to fulfil the functions of community uplift does not prophesy the failure of the consolidated or centralized school. The inherent defects of the one-room school which unfit it to serve as a community center are not characteristic of the new plan of organization. The new plan possesses elements of strength not existent in the old. Consequently, the probable success of the consolidated school in this important phase of its work can be estimated only on the basis of its ability to fulfil the requirements essential to the success of any institution as a community center.

The one-room rural school succeeded fairly well as a community center in the pioneer period of rural development, for the conditions of which it was adapted. Since this period, however, while communities have undergone great changes, the one-room rural school has remained essentially the same. The demands upon the community center have increased beyond the ability of the one-room

school to supply. New elements have been added to the problems of community life. Solutions of these problems must take into consideration these new elements. The community center of the present and future must be planned to cope successfully with conditions in communities changed in size, composition, needs, and ideals.

Many of the unifying forces of the community are gradually weakening. Some of the ties that formerly bound together in common purpose the people of a community are destined to continue to weaken and perhaps to disappear. Unless there can be found some bond of common interest that will endure and increase in strength, the true rural community will soon become rare. The community center of the future must secure or establish a community interest whose increasing growth may inspire a community spirit. The growth in the drawing force of this interest must compensate for the decrease in the force of all the others.

That the rural community has undergone an evolution during the last quarter-century is apparent to even a superficial observer. Improved facilities of transportation and communication have had a tendency to extend the boundaries and to lessen many of the binding forces of the community. Economic and industrial changes have also had a disintegrating effect. Business, social, and civic interests are extending at the expense of intensity in local interests. Farm products are being sold in more distant markets and the virtues of more costly farm machinery are being extolled by well-informed salesmen from remote towns and cities. The automobile of the farmer often passes by the cross-roads or village grocery with supplies purchased in the county seat. His wife and daughter frequently purchase their wardrobes in the larger cities. The farmer is investing in town and city stocks and real estate. His associates in business seldom reside in his vicinity. Gradually his financial interest in the community is weakening. The extension of his business relations enlarges his circle of social acquaintances and friends.

Good roads and automobiles have accomplished wonders in the reduction of distances. Among the farmer's intimate friends may be those who live at some distance, whom he visits by automobile

and his wife by telephone. Often the farmer's son buys a farm in a distant part of the county. Frequently his daughter marries a business man of the city instead of the son of a neighbor. His next-door neighbor may be a renter or recent purchaser of land with whom he is little acquainted and with whom he may have few interests in common. Thus, social connections become more widely scattered and interest in home folks less intense.

The rural mail route has made it possible for the farmer to receive his daily copy of the metropolitan newspaper. The latest magazines often find a place on his reading-table. His interests are diverted from local affairs in proportion to the development of his broader intellectual interests.

The farmer and his family will often attend church in the neighboring city where he is likely to find congenial society and well-appointed services. Many times, he will be induced to transfer his membership as his automobile makes the city or town church as convenient of access as the "little brown church in the dale." The farmer is likely to belong to a lodge or two in the same town and his wife may be interested in some social club or religious society in the same place. The presence of quondam neighbors in the town and city and of strange tenants in the community accentuates the tendency to cultivate social interests in the city at the expense of those in the community. Also the attendance of favored children at the city high school adds impetus to this tendency and at the same time forms the beginning of class stratification in the community.

Occasionally there is the grange or other agricultural association which promotes the social, business, and legislative interests of those who belong. But the lack of a suitable building is often an obstacle to the formation of these societies. While as a rule the country church is losing in influence, yet there are a few notable exceptions. But both the agricultural society and the church are limited in influence to a part of the people. For this reason, neither of these institutions meets fully the requirements of a community center.

What elements of strength has the consolidated school which will enable it to supply the social needs of a modern rural com-

munity, enlarged in size with unifying forces weakened? How may the maximum strength of this institution be realized and how used to the best advantage? What reasons, if any, are there for thinking that the consolidated school may succeed as a community center whereas the one-room rural school has failed? We shall attempt a brief answer to these questions.

The community center must be an institution in which the whole community will have a strong, permanent interest. The devotion of the American people to the cause of education and their confidence in the efficacy of the public school render this institution capable of meeting this requirement. While the one-room school calls for apology, the consolidated school is capable of arousing school spirit and school pride. The efficiency of a consolidated school can be made to compare favorably with that of village and town schools. When this is true, the children of the whole community are educated in the home schools and all the parents are interested. If a first-class high school is maintained there is no occasion for a division of interests, as is the case in the one-room plan where the more fortunate parents send their children to foreign high schools. Neither will the wealthier class of the community avoid the local schools, as is often the case when the schools are notably inefficient. Superior schools are regarded as social and financial assets of the communities which maintain them. Under strong and capable leadership the wholesome school sentiment in such communities may develop sufficient strength to neutralize and even to overcome the disintegrating forces of the community.

The consolidated school ministers to the educational needs of a larger community than is served by the one-room school. A minimum number of interested people are essential to an abiding interest in a social community center. The number of patrons in the sub-district school is below this minimum, while the consolidated school may have sufficient numbers to maintain this interest. Many forms of community recreation and activity are made possible by the support of this larger number. Among such activities may be mentioned lecture courses, interscholastic contests, both athletic and intellectual, home-talent plays, farmers'

institutes and extension schools, and other entertainments of various sorts.

Talented leadership is indispensable to success in making an institution a social or community center. There is a dearth of leadership in the one-room school district unit, owing to small numbers and the lack of interest of the natural leaders of the community in the one-room school. For the class from which leaders are recruited is composed partly of those parents who are divided in school interests on account of children attending foreign high schools and partly of those who hold in entire disdain the inferior schools of the community. The functions held in the one-room school are not likely even to secure the patronizing presence of those whose standing and attainments fit them for leadership. Without the hearty co-operation of the natural leaders of a community no institution can be a successful social center.

The consolidated or centralized school offers bountiful opportunity for the extension of mutual acquaintance among the residents of a rural community. Children from distant portions of the township form friendships which tend to create ties of interest in the parents. One resident of a centralized district describes the results of centralization in extending acquaintance thus: "Before the schools were centralized my son seemed to know no one when we rode about the township. Now as we ride about, a boy or girl will yell, 'Hello, Sammy,' or wave greetings from a distance. When I inquire, 'Who is this?' he often gives names entirely unfamiliar to me. Through my son I have become acquainted with many excellent people whom, otherwise, I would have never known." This is a typical experience.

Another beneficent result, permanent in effect, will be the formation of lasting friendships among the citizens of the future. This will more than neutralize the disintegrating forces resulting from changed industrial conditions. Not only does the centralized school offer a wider acquaintanceship than is offered by the one-room school, but in addition a longer period of acquaintance is offered by the consolidated schools. The high school will continue the associations of childhood through the adolescent period. These constructive features of the consolidated school do not exist in the

one-room school or in any other rural institution except the consolidated school.

Another service offered by the consolidated school is of far-reaching effect in the social life of rural communities. Rural folks have long been characterized by bashfulness and the lack of capacity for social enjoyment. This is caused largely by lack of opportunity to play in childhood. Schools should develop the social power of pupils as well as their mental power. Social power, like other powers, can be developed only by its growth through exercise in a favorable environment. In the one-room school, where a child meets with only one or two of his own age and where wholesome play and social enjoyment are lacking, there can be no development of the social power. The habits thus formed are difficult to overcome in after-life; for the social powers of the pupils in such an environment are stunted. The consolidated school offers a wider acquaintance and a higher standard of social behavior. School activities stimulated by a commendable school spirit will establish the habit of co-operation. Thus, the increased social opportunities offered by the consolidated school will lay the foundations of a higher type of social activities in the rural communities of the future, so that the cultured classes of the community will be glad to co-operate in the social uplift of all.

In the consolidated or centralized school there is also a better opportunity to secure constructive leadership from among the teachers. The consolidated school with its high-school department demands better trained and better prepared teachers than does the typical one-room school which is content with a teacher who has a modicum of scholarship, training, and initiative. The college graduate who teaches in the high school and the normal graduate who teaches in the grades offer better material for leadership by reason of their scholarship, their special training, and their social experience.

In the corps of teachers of the consolidated school, there is usually one who has specialized in music and who is capable of teaching and drilling children, so that appropriate music, an essential of all community gatherings, may be furnished by the children of the parents of the community. Under the direction of the

domestic-science teacher the pupils of the school may demonstrate the quality of their work in the culinary art to the satisfaction and pride of parents and friends. The one-room school system is defective in providing capable leadership from among its teachers. The consolidated school need not be handicapped by this defect, as it has opportunity to provide fit material from among its corps of high-class teachers.

Suitable buildings and adequate equipment are necessary for modern community centers. A well-lighted and well-arranged auditorium, a piano, a library and reading-room, a gymnasium for winter functions, and financial backing sufficient for the maintenance of these essentials are needed in a modern community center. A modern consolidated school usually provides the requisites mentioned above. If not, because of the union of financial resources that obtains in a consolidated school district, these things may usually be provided without financial strain. Community meetings held under favorable conditions will secure a larger attendance and greater enjoyment than when held in buildings poorly arranged, badly lighted, and scantily equipped. When meetings with helpful, interesting, and elevating programs are held in a properly equipped building under competent management in connection with an institution in which all are interested, there can be no serious doubt as to the successful future of such efforts.

This hasty analysis of the functions and capabilities of the consolidated school indicates its success as a community center. Reports from a few county superintendents in Ohio prove that the consolidated school is successful as a community center. County superintendents were asked to report the number of community meetings held during the period of consolidation and the number held during a period of the same length immediately prior to centralization. The data given in Table I (p. 104) have been secured from reports sent in.

In one important respect the reports were necessarily incomplete; namely, in that there was no accurate comparison of attendance or no definite information in all reports as to the nature of the programs held. But in several instances the fact was noted that the attendance was extremely small at the so-called community

meetings of the one-room school, while many meetings in the centralized schools had an attendance exceeding 500, and all were much better attended than the meetings held in the one-room schools.

TABLE I

County	No. of Centralized Schools Reported	Meetings Held during the Period of Centralization	Meetings Held in a Period of Same Length Immediately Prior to Centralization
Union.....	5	80	8
Clinton.....	5	59	6
Champaign.....	1	20	0
Pickaway.....	5	127	11
Preble.....	4	34	11
Delaware.....	4	28	0
	24	246	36

There was also apparent quite a difference in the class of entertainments held before and after centralization. Under the one-room plan the meetings were limited to three varieties: special occasions on which programs were given by the pupils, consisting principally of declamations; in a few instances eighth-grade commencements were held, but usually at a church; also a few spelling-bees and box socials were held; while in the centralized schools lecture courses of a high order, musicals, and cantatas by the children, farmers' institutes, and agricultural extension schools, inter-high-school debates and oratorical contests, athletic contests, go-to-school days, agricultural and domestic-science contests, school fairs, and other varieties of entertainment were given. In many instances granges were organized to meet in the centralized school.

The centralized or consolidated school is the twentieth-century solution of the existing rural social and educational problems. The emigration of families to the city has no economic reason; for the cost of living in the city is always higher than on the farm. The chief reason for emigration from the farm is for better educational and social advantages which the centralized school may secure for the community. Modern conditions have added new elements to the educational and social problems of rural

communities, making a twentieth-century solution necessary. Any adequate solution must take into consideration the new elements of the rural problem. The increased difficulties of the modern rural problems must be met by increased efficiency in the institution which promises solution. The centralized or consolidated school not only can be made to offset the destructive forces of the rural community, but is a constructive agency by which life in rural communities can be made permanently satisfying. The efficient rural school of the future, which can be no other than a consolidated or centralized school, can be made so broad in scope as to reach the whole community and so efficient in administration as to meet the laudable desires of rural people for educational and social advantages not much inferior in opportunities for development and enjoyment to those offered in urban communities. Other improvements may be made and will be made as a result of the improvement in school facilities, but centralization or consolidation must first be secured; for every improvement in rural life and education depends either partially or entirely upon the centralization of schools for its permanent success.

SOCIAL CONTROL: RURAL RELIGION

REV. C. O. GILL

Secretary of the Commission on Church and Country Life of the Federal Council of
the Churches of Christ in America

It is of the utmost importance that the country churches of America do their part toward maintaining in the rural districts a progressive civilization comprising men and women of moral, intellectual, and physical vigor. This civilization should consist of a permanent, rather than a transient, population seeking general betterment through improvement of home, community life, and environment rather than individual betterment through migration to the cities. A way must be found to hold in the country its best families and a reasonable proportion of its best individuals. Through co-operative effort there must be established better farming, better business, and better living, including better incomes, better control of money and markets, better home conveniences, better social, recreational, and educational facilities. Large and increasing sums of money will be appropriated by our federal and state governments for the increase of rural activities, but these efforts will not avail unless they are supplemented by improved service and wisely directed effort on the part of the country churches. Not only is the country church the institution which, better than any other, can give religious and moral instruction and inspiration, but it is the only institution which may hope to maintain in every community a trained and educated person who can give his whole time to work for the community welfare.

The character of the rural church and the type of the religion it propagates is of the utmost public concern. For while on the one hand there is no more striking sociological fact than the transformation, conservation, and improvement of rural communities through the ministration of the rural churches, on the other hand there is no greater cause for alarm than the failure of the rural church, as a whole, to perform its task. From being an active,

uplifting force it has, for the most part, become a conserving influence merely. What it is doing cannot be measured by positive advance, but only by the amount of deterioration it helps to prevent, while in some areas it is failing to function as an effective force for righteousness, for propagating a wholesome religion, for the improvement of the moral, intellectual, and social conditions of communities and individuals. Areas may be found where it is failing to dispel ignorance and superstition, to prevent the spread of disease and the production of increasing numbers of degenerates and delinquents.

A striking illustration of the failure of the country church may be found in a certain county in one of the wealthiest of our middle western states. The ministers who live in the county usually remain but a year. They have several churches each and direct their efforts to increasing the membership of the particular churches they serve. They have no intimate relation with the people and exert very little influence upon them. The aim of the typical religious leaders of this county is to stir emotional excitement, which they assume is an evidence of divine action affecting the worshipers. They apparently are not conscious of an ethical end. By the use of music well adapted to the end sought, by adaptation of the voice, sometimes by use of the hypnotic eye, and by the suggestion of emotional experiences to be expected, an excitement is produced which is accepted as a substitute for the more worthy ends of religion. They report additions to the membership of the churches, and even the establishment and building of churches. The so-called evangelist at the end of a period of protracted meetings leaves the locality with no good thing accomplished. He returns the next year, and year after year the same activities are repeated. This has displaced a more wholesome type of church life with disastrous results to the communities.

In the year 1883 there were ninety-six churches in this county. In the following thirty years there were fifteen hundred religious revivals, or an average of fifty each year. During that period there was a decline of no less than five hundred in the membership of the churches, while thirty-four churches were abandoned; the production of corn declined from thirty-four to twenty-eight bushels to

the acre; a larger proportion of the population are infected with tuberculosis than in any similar area in the United States; syphilitic diseases are common over the whole county, while in some communities nearly every family is afflicted with inherited or infectious disease; in some localities there are incestuous relations in families and much inbreeding; there are imbecile children and many feeble-minded and delinquents; politics are corrupt, the selling of votes is common, petty crimes abound, the schools are badly managed and poorly attended, while there is much illiteracy.

The type of religion here described is strongly entrenched in parts of many counties in the state, while its influence through the migration of farm laborers is seriously affecting the religious and social life in some of the more prosperous and progressive counties. In one of these, in an area of sixteen miles long and from seven to eleven miles wide there are three abandoned, but no living, churches. One of the causes of this condition is the fact that the farm laborers, imported by the owners of large tracts of land, have never been made familiar with a normal type of religion. Investigation has disclosed the fact that they come from the regions where the excessively emotional type prevails.

The religious activity here described is of course but one of many kinds, but it serves as an illustration of the fact that the kind of religion to be propagated in the rural communities is a matter of general as well as of local concern. It affects every taxpayer, for the state spends many millions of dollars each year in taking care of delinquents, but not one cent to prevent an increase in their production.

In contrast with the failure of this anachronistic religion are the many instances where communities with exceedingly bad social and moral conditions have been greatly improved through the activities of the church. I have personally observed the moral and social transformation of a rural community resulting directly from church activities. The change was striking, rapid, and enduring. Many an instance could be cited where country churches under the leadership of progressive ministers have revitalized stagnating rural communities. In fact, such work is in progress on a scale rapidly growing larger. During the last ten or fifteen years, here

and there in various parts of the United States, rural pastors working independently of one another and without knowledge of similar work on the part of others have developed a type of church activity which is most effective. Their efforts, for the most part, have resulted from intelligent appreciation of the needs of their parishioners, with whom they are in sympathetic touch, and from an earnest endeavor to meet these needs. In their preaching they have exalted service to the community and have reorganized their churches for such service and have stimulated and assisted the communities to organize themselves to the same end. As a result, movements have been inaugurated for the general improvement of community life. These efforts have resulted in community self-consciousness, better schools and educational facilities, better roads, beautifying the village and its environment, the revival of interest in household economics and general improvement of the home life, the deepening of interest in scientific agriculture, in some instances in the improvement of marketing and general industrial and economic conditions. In at least one community the conditions of land tenantry, through the efforts of the minister, have been materially improved. Thus a deeper appreciation of country life has been created, and the exodus of the best families has been checked. Formerly this type of work was confined to isolated parishes, but the publicity given to it during the past seven years has resulted in bringing it to the attention of a very large proportion of the rural ministry, until now an increasing number of country pastors and churches are endeavoring to carry out similar programs.

This movement in its origin was a theological or religious one. The minister seeking a more adequate expression of his religion than that afforded by traditional church activities found such in the much-needed work of social betterment. It is probable that the theologies of the ministers who have been so eminently successful are not in all respects identical, but certain features are held in common by many of these. Doubtless the Deity of the most effective religion of the present day is a God whose will, purpose, or love is at least a desire to bring every person to his highest possible development. His devotees may and must share this desire in their relation with their fellows. His worshipers, with an

intensity greater than self-interest, must desire to create an environment in which it is possible for men, women, and children to attain their fullest self-realization. Communion with his Deity is therefore found in creating and carrying out a social program, a program based on the needs of various persons and classes of persons in the community. As one of the logical and actual results, a thorough survey and systematic study of local conditions and needs has become a part of the country church program. In one religious denomination the home missionary society requires such to be made by every church under its supervision.

Contact with nature is not enough to preserve the morals and wholesomeness of rural life. The beauty of sky and vastness of stellar space, the wonders of botany and agricultural chemistry are inadequate alone for rural salvation. Whereas the city-dweller is most of the time in contact with highest developed nature, the society of human beings, the dweller in the isolated district is more in contact with the unmoral. No one has greater need of idealistic interpretation of his environment. Suggestion and instruction must enable him to see higher ends toward which the material world evolves.

Under prevailing rural conditions a resident ministry is therefore needed. The minister must have identity of interest with the people he serves. His ministry to be effective must be long. He must be the embodiment of kindness, trained and intelligent, in touch with the outside world, and always from it bringing treasures. He is always adding to his mental equipment and store of useful information. The short course at the agricultural college, the loan libraries, the conferences, and country church literature are for him sources of power and helpfulness. His activities and those he stimulates and promotes will affect the interests of every person. The barrenness of country life will disappear and the exodus to the city will be checked.

The work of the country church is needed as a foundation for co-operation in rural business. Democratic organization on the "one man, one vote" principle for banking, buying, selling, production, and standardization of products can best gain ground after the church shall have prepared the way. To bring this to pass is

to introduce Christian ethics into rural business. It is to substitute co-operation for competition. The members of the community in their business will work together for the common interest instead of against one another. Business when conducted on right principles will, in its turn, profoundly react on all departments of rural life. A rural civilization efficiently trained in altruistic co-operation, not only through moral and religious instruction, but through business life also, will result in the strengthening of rural life and through its influence and through the migration of its surplus population will profoundly influence the business, political, and social life of the cities. Legislation should be enacted in every state making possible democratic co-operation in rural business. A very few states already have enacted such legislation. While the church should not engage extensively in the organization of co-operative enterprises, it has an opportunity to make widely known the ethical principles involved.

But if the church is fully to exert its influence as a factor in determining the future of American rural life it must first solve its own problems of interdenominational co-operation. The need of such co-operation is made manifest by the facts disclosed by a religious survey of the state of Ohio, recently completed by the Commission on Church and Country Life of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America in co-operation with the Ohio Rural Life Association.

This state contains, in its area of 40,000 square miles, some 1,388 townships, of which about 1,350 are included in the survey. Reports are at hand from all but one of these townships. If we exclude the townships in which the population is urban, those in which there are villages of more than 2,500 inhabitants, and those in which are parts of large town or city parishes, there are in the state about 1,200 townships which may be classed as rural. In these townships there are more than 6,000 rural churches and more than a million and three quarters persons. In each of these townships there is an average population of 1,470 persons, while there are five churches, a church to every 286 persons. In most of the communities several churches are trying to do what one church, if left to itself, could do far more effectively. It has been found

that, as a rule, the churches whose membership is less than 100 do not prosper, while the smaller the membership the greater the proportion of the churches which are dying. Yet in rural Ohio it appears that more than four thousand churches have a membership of 100 or less, more than 3,000 a membership of 75 or less, more than 2,000 a membership of 50 or less.

While a reasonable degree of interchurch co-operation should result in the maintenance of a resident pastor in nearly every inhabited township, at the present time the church falls far short of realizing this possibility. In fact, nearly four thousand, or about two-thirds, of the churches in rural Ohio are without resident ministers. In 26 per cent of the townships no church has a resident pastor. More than five thousand of the churches are without the undivided service of a minister. More than 2,200 churches have only one-fourth of a minister's service or less, more than 3,300 have only one-third of a minister's service or less, while more than 700 have no part of a minister's service.

In view of these facts, therefore, it is a matter for congratulation that the leading officials of eleven denominations in the State have formed a Committee of Interchurch Co-operation to assist in the readjustment of church life to community welfare.

It is a fact of no small importance that when the churches of a community have been led to engage heartily in service to the community, it has usually resulted in a greater degree of Christian unity and in some cases union in a federated church.

Not until the program of the churches includes the salvation of the community as well as the salvation of the individual, not until our rural districts have resident ministers, not until rural business has become organized on the co-operative basis, not until interdenominational co-operation has brought about a more effectively organized church, can we be fully assured that the problem of the ages, the conservation of rural life, will first find solution in this land of ours.

CO-OPERATION AND COMMUNITY SPIRIT

A. D. WILSON
University of Minnesota

Co-operation, or the spirit of mutual helpfulness, holds a large place in American life. Not long ago one's feeling of obligation toward his community was illustrated by the old saying, "Live and let live." Today the attitude of men toward one another is better illustrated by a modification of that old saying to "Live and help live." The change of attitude is not due so much to a higher degree of civilization as it is to a growing feeling that each man's welfare is more or less closely bound up in the welfare of the people of his community. This is especially true in agricultural communities, because most of the things that make life worth while in the country can be secured only through co-operation, teamwork, or community effort. The farmer is dependent on his community for schools, roads, means of communication, means of entertainment, markets, sources of supplies, and to a considerable extent even for the value of his property. The realization of these facts has resulted in a very wide discussion of the possibilities, principles, and details of co-operative effort and has brought about a greater degree of organization among farmers than was deemed possible a few years ago.

Importance of the family farm.—One of the institutions in which all America is interested is the family-sized farm. This interest is due partly to the fact that the farm is the source of supply for many of our material needs, but mainly to the general belief that the farm home is one of the main sources from which our best men and women come. It seems highly desirable to maintain, so far as possible, the family-sized farm, with the land owned by the men who work it. It is therefore well that agriculture does not lend itself to the large capitalistic form of organization. It seems extremely difficult to handle large tracts of land under one management, owing

in a large measure to the difficulties met in securing hired labor. There are, however, many advantages in the large farm and many handicaps in the small farm. In the matter of production the moderately small farm—that is, the family-sized farm—does not seem to be so seriously handicapped. But in the question of marketing and securing of supplies there is no doubt that the small farm is at a decided disadvantage.

Dr. Carver has stated the situation as follows:

One thing which threatens the prosperity and even the existence of the small farmer is the handicap under which he finds himself in buying and selling. The big farmer who can buy and sell in large quantities and also employ expert talent in buying and selling and in securing credit has an advantage over the small farmer who must buy and sell in small quantities and give his time and attention mainly to the growing of crops rather than to selling them. Much of the supposed economy of large-scale production, even in merchandising and manufacturing, is found, upon examination, to consist wholly in an advantage in bargaining; that is, in buying and selling. When it comes to the work of growing farm crops, as distinct from selling them and buying raw materials, the one-family farm is the most efficient unit that has yet been found. But the big farmer can beat the individual small farmer in buying and selling. It would seem desirable, from the standpoint of national efficiency, to preserve the small farm as the productive unit, but to organize a number of small farms into larger units for buying and selling. Thus we should have the most efficient units both in producing and in buying and selling.

A knowledge of the difficulties confronting the farmer in his contacts outside of the farm has made many of the agricultural colleges, universities, and the United States Department of Agriculture undertake rather extensive studies in marketing and distribution, to enable them to give the farmer assistance in developing efficient and effective institutions for marketing and distribution.

Sir Horacé Plunkett has said that "public institutions cannot successfully undertake the encouragement of co-operative enterprises, and that if they do they are sure to have their appropriations reduced or at least strenuously opposed by representatives of business interests affected by the co-operative enterprises encouraged."

The Agricultural Department of the University of Minnesota has assumed that it is its function to serve the interests of farmers

in any way that will tend to make farming more profitable or increase the pleasures and comforts of farm life, so long as this can be done without injustice to any other legitimate industry. It has assumed, further, that American society is in favor of progress and the introduction of new machines and institutions that are superior to old machines and institutions, even though the operators of the old machines or institutions may be required to readjust their activities.

The Department recognizes that farmers are confronted by many problems in the production and marketing of farm products, and in the purchase of farm supplies, and that the Department would be decidedly out of balance if it attempted to give assistance in production only, and refused assistance in marketing or in securing supplies. Production is largely an individual farm problem, but marketing and purchasing of supplies are community problems and are accordingly more complicated and difficult than production. Hence the farmer is in greater need of assistance in these community problems than in production. In undertaking this work the Department has realized the difficulties involved and has a fairly well-defined plan of procedure worked out.

Farmers' clubs.—In the first place, local community clubs or farmers' clubs have been encouraged, with the result that there are at present about twelve hundred of these clubs working along lines intended to improve the conditions in the community socially, educationally, and financially. The attitude of the Department toward these clubs is expressed by the following paragraph taken from an Extension bulletin:

We believe in the farmers' club because it develops people. It tends to bring out the best there is in a community, and to get people to act concertedly for their own betterment. It is an ever-ready means of taking up and studying independently any matter of importance to the community. It makes the work of the unscrupulous promoter unprofitable and aids any movement for the real interests of the community. It makes any new movement undertaken the work of all of the people, rather than something to be forced on them by someone from outside. A farmers' club is needed in every community

Social and educational activities of farmers' clubs.—Farmers' clubs usually hold about one meeting each month, so that there are about

1,200 such meetings held in Minnesota each month or about 40 each day. The average club represents about 25 families or about 100 people. The clubs include in their membership men, women, and children. Probably the greatest good that has come from the club work has been along social and educational lines. Neighbors have become better acquainted and consequently have learned to like each other better and to take more interest in community affairs. The clubs have taken up and studied many phases of farming and farm home-making. They have had socials and picnics, have encouraged boys' and girls' clubs, have held fairs, many of them have club yells, club songs, colors, and banners. They have provided their schools with equipment for serving hot lunches to the pupils. They have secured traveling libraries. They have put on plays, entertainments, and pageants. They have been instrumental in securing farmers' institutes and short courses, and have assisted in bringing about the consolidation of schools.

Business activities of farmers' clubs.—In a business way the clubs have organized co-operative creameries, elevators, live stock shipping associations, breeders' and crop producers' associations, also associations for the sale of other products by the carload and for the purchase of supplies in the same way. In fact, we look upon the club movement as the logical forerunner of co-operative effort among farmers. One farmers' club was instrumental in establishing a co-operative laundry in connection with a co-operative creamery. Co-operation to succeed must be based on acquaintance, mutual understanding, and confidence. The local club provides this. Again, successful co-operation follows study and a thorough knowledge of the principles of the enterprise to be undertaken and its adaptability to the needs of the community. The local club provides means for taking up and studying any question of that nature and of finding out whether or not the thing is desirable for the community. We believe that this forms a much safer basis for co-operation than is likely to exist if co-operative enterprises are started in a community by promoters who are interested in fees, commissions, or in making a sale rather than in the welfare of the community.

Attitude of business men.—Making purchases outside of the local community is from the viewpoint of some dealers entirely unpardonable, and naturally such dealers will oppose a farmers' organization of any kind for fear that it will lead to co-operative buying and selling. Other business men, and by far the larger proportion of them, recognize that they have no justification for existence except as they render a real service to the community. These men do not oppose the organization of farmers. But recently an incident in central Minnesota came to our notice where the members of a farmers' club had commenced pooling their orders and buying in large quantities. Their first orders were secured from outside sources. One of the local merchants heard of this and accordingly attended the next club meeting. Most of the club members were acquainted with him and knew him to be a live, keen, business man. He didn't complain about them having purchased supplies from an outside source. He simply told them that he was doing business in the community and hoped to continue to do business if he could be of real service. He stated that he believed he could compete on equal terms with any outside dealers and he asked them when making future purchases to give him an opportunity to figure on the same basis as outside dealers. This appealed to the farmers as a fair proposition, with the result that practically all of their club orders have been purchased through this dealer.

Attitude of farmers.—Farmers quite generally believe in organization, especially the farmers of the Northwest, where most of them belong to one or more successful co-operative enterprises like creameries, elevators, shipping associations, telephone companies, etc. There are two rather distinct schools of co-operation among farmers and both have their adherents. One, the more radical and with decidedly the smaller following, believes in using the same methods in the organization of farmers that are used by the most unscrupulous trust or by the most aggressive labor organization. Farmers of this school assume that practically all of the middlemen are living off the labor of the farmer and that the logical policy to follow is to eliminate all or most of them. The farmers of the other school believe in organization where something can be done more economically or efficiently by teamwork than is being done

at present by individual enterprise. Such farmers recognize that the present dealers in farm products and farm supplies are usually rendering a real service and are entitled to fair remuneration for services rendered. They see in co-operation in many instances simply a better machine for doing the things that are to be done than the type of machine now in use. They hold no enmity toward business men as a class, but if they can see an opportunity of getting a service done more economically or of doing it more economically themselves, they maintain the right to secure the service from the more favorable source.

Attitude of the Department of Agriculture, University of Minnesota.—We have realized that for a public institution to take an active part in co-operative organization would raise more or less opposition both from farmers and from business interests. Our expectations have been realized. The more radical farmers have felt that we were not active enough in bringing about a reorganization of the machinery of distribution, and have freely accused us of being in league with the big interests. The less progressive business men have felt that we were too active in encouraging co-operative movements. We have felt, however, that a public institution that could be absolutely unbiased in its judgment and entirely disinterested could furnish more reliable and constructive information and assistance than could be furnished from any other source. With this in view, we have taken an active part in all sorts of farmers' organizations and feel that the Department has been able to be of real service to all interested in the state through this line of work. Dean Woods, when asked, "Does the Department of Agriculture of the University of Minnesota encourage organization among farmers," answered, "Yes, because organization is as necessary for farmers as it is for merchants, bankers, or any other class of business men." Secretary Houston, in a letter recently written to someone who was criticizing the activity of the Department of Agriculture along the line of co-operative organization, wrote as follows: "It is a legitimate and proper part of the work of this Department, in fact it is its duty, to furnish farmers with information which will enable them to develop greater efficiency in all respects, including the securing of their supplies and

the marketing of their products. We have reached the point where larger crops do not mean necessarily larger net returns to the producer." Hence the Department has given advice and assistance and has encouraged the development of co-operative organizations in the state wherever it has felt sure that such an organization would be of real benefit to the community. We believe in building up the home community and always recommend dealing at home when good service can be secured in that way, but we deem it decidedly inadvisable to follow blindly the custom of patronizing the home dealers without knowing whether or not they are giving proper service for proper charges. We believe that people generally are as much interested in, and are as much benefited by, better methods of distribution as by better methods of farming. We believe in co-operation for efficiency, not for sentiment nor for war. In other words, if a careful study of a proposed enterprise and of the conditions in the community indicate that the institution will be of real service, even though it may temporarily inconvenience some private institution or may mean the elimination of one or more individuals who have been conducting some kind of business, the Department unhesitatingly encourages and assists the organization. But when it appears that some promoter has been in the community and has aroused the people to a desire for co-operation, appealing chiefly to the sentimental side by telling them of the wonders of co-operation and what it has done in other places, without a careful study of its local adaptability, the Department always questions the move and discourages the undertaking until it has been shown that the co-operative enterprise proposed is really needed and will serve a useful purpose. Likewise the Department discourages the undertaking of co-operative enterprises instigated in the spirit of antagonism or class rivalry. We realize that although one can appeal to sentiment or anger and can get people to undertake a thing through these considerations, such organizations are very likely to be harmful and to fail, because sentiment or anger are both likely to lag and neither sentiment nor anger is conducive to the best judgment. Consequently movements started in that spirit may not be wisely planned, and as soon as the sentiment or anger dies out there is nothing left to keep the move-

ment going. Sporadic and uneconomical forms of co-operative enterprises are a damage rather than a benefit to a community.

An efficient co-operative organization.—As a type of an efficient co-operative organization the co-operative live-stock shipping association will serve. These organizations are quite general in our state. We believe that the live-stock shipping association furnishes a better machine for marketing live stock than the one or more local buyers commonly found in a live-stock community. Encouragement of a co-operative live-stock shipping association in a community does not necessarily imply that the local buyer or buyers have been inefficient or dishonest. It simply means the replacing of a rather inefficient machine with a better one—somewhat similar to replacing a self-rake reaper with a self-binder.

A live-stock shipping association is one of the very simplest of co-operative business organizations. No capital nor equipment is required. All that is needed is that a group of farmers agree to ship stock together, adopt a constitution and by-laws, elect a board of directors, and pay a small fee of from 25 cents to \$1. Some associations have no membership fee. The directors hire a manager, place him under bond, and the association is ready for business. Each farmer notifies the manager when he has stock to ship. When a carload or more has been reported, the manager orders cars and notifies each farmer when to bring in his stock. The stock is weighed, marked so that each man's stock can be identified, and shipped. Each lot is weighed at the central market and sold separately, so that each farmer gets exactly what his stock brings, less his share of the shipping charge.

In contrast with this plan the local buyer goes to considerable expense and devotes considerable time to traveling about the country buying stock. After he has been at a man's farm and purchased stock, the stock weighs no more and is no nearer market for the expense incurred, so that whatever expense there is has been wasted. Likewise, under the local-buyer plan, when the stock is brought in to be shipped, the buyer must pay for it. He does not know and no one else knows what the stock will bring the following day on the market. Consequently, he must gamble on the prospective price to the extent of \$1,000 to \$1,500 a carload. He cannot

take this chance for nothing and does not do it. We believe that the co-operative shipping association saves from \$40 up on each car of stock marketed.

A questionable co-operative enterprise.—One of the rather common types of co-operative enterprises, but one that has many more failures than successes to its credit, is the co-operative store. In a bulletin recently issued by the United States Department of Agriculture entitled "A Survey of Typical Co-operative Stores in the United States," the following statement is found: "The figures collected in this survey bring the conclusion that the majority of the co-operative stores established are unsuccessful in achieving their main object—saving on purchases of their members and a reduction of the high cost of living." The reason why the co-operative store has failed more times than it has succeeded is not difficult to understand. The co-operative store, as ordinarily established, has just the same expenses in doing its business as a privately owned store. It has a large stock of goods, it must pay interest, rent, insurance, salaries of clerks and manager, bookkeeping expense, loss on goods, loss on accounts, etc. There are two possibilities of economy in the co-operative store. It may get an efficient manager at a smaller salary or a more efficient manager than the private store. It is not likely to do either of these things and consequently it is not likely to succeed. We do not wish to be understood as opposed to the co-operative-store idea. We assume that the farmer or anyone else has a perfect right to buy anything at any time and place and in any way that he sees fit. But we cannot conscientiously recommend the general establishment of co-operative stores, because they are more likely to fail than to succeed. There are times and places when it is desirable to establish such stores and they quite often serve as a regulator of prices and tend to lower prices in all the other stores.

No quarrel with middlemen.—We believe that it is a mistake to go into a community and complain about, and find fault with, local business men for the purpose of arousing farmers, creating ill feeling, and inducing them to organize from the standpoint of getting even, but we feel that we are doing society as a whole a good turn if, by sound business principles and sound reasoning, we can encourage

a community to establish a co-operative institution that will perform some necessary service for the community more satisfactorily than can be done or is being done through individual effort.

Co-operation and community spirit.—Some of the more conservative business men seem to feel that the development of co-operation among farmers means the downfall of the small town, the dying off of desirable community spirit, and the development of isolated farming communities on the one hand, and large, overcrowded wholesale and mail-order centers on the other. We do not believe that co-operative institutions will ever do a large percentage of the business of a community, because co-operation requires more effort from the individual than do privately conducted business institutions. A reasonable amount of co-operation is highly desirable as a regulator of private business, and it furnishes an excellent demonstration to the community that merchandising is a business that requires special skill and hard work and that the margin of profit is as a rule in reasonable proportion to the service rendered.

Co-operation not detrimental to community development.—We have ample proof that the development of co-operative organizations is not detrimental to the small town or rural community. The towns in Minnesota where co-operation is most general are apparently as progressive, as much alive, and as desirable places in which to live as any other towns of similar size. A few illustrations from our own state will, I think, be sufficient to show that this is the case.

At Northfield, Minnesota, there is a co-operative creamery, a co-operative elevator, a co-operative live stock shipping association, and a most effective live stock breeders' association. There are a dozen or more farmers' clubs in the rural districts surrounding Northfield. There is a good live commercial club in the city of Northfield. Northfield is a prosperous, progressive business town, with good schools, good markets, good stores, and banks well supplied with farmers' deposits. It is one of the chief Holstein centers of the Northwest. Each year in June the community has a get-together picnic promoted by the commercial club, with the farmers' clubs co-operating. On each of these occasions for the last three years every business house in the town has been closed

and farmers, and farm families, and town people have met in a beautiful grove, have had dinner together, have met shoulder to shoulder, have talked over problems of community development, have sung old-time songs together, have said good things about one another, have made plans for the future, and have gone home pleased with their community and each resolved to do his little part in making the community better.

Kiester, Minnesota, is a very small village in one of the well-developed sections of the state. It is surrounded by a good farming community. It has a co-operative creamery, a co-operative elevator, and several farmers' clubs. It has a good live community club, including the farmers in the immediate vicinity and the townspeople. Every year these people devote three or four of their meetings to road work; the men from the country furnish teams and wagons, the men from the town furnish shovels and muscle, and they *practice* instead of talking community betterment by hauling gravel on the roads, either in the country or in the village. The women from town and country furnish a picnic dinner for the workers. After working and eating and doing good together, petty misunderstandings and jealousies are pretty thoroughly forgotten.

Lamberton, Minnesota, a thriving little village surrounded by progressive farmers, like many other communities in the state has built up an institution in the form of a consolidated school within the village limits and with the support of all the farmers in the vicinity. This school is strictly modern in every way—it maintains departments of agriculture, home economics, and manual training, as well as all the high-school branches. Both the farmers and village people are proud of their institution and realize that neither the town people nor the country people could have such an institution had it not been for the spirit of teamwork or mutual helpfulness.

Barnum, Minnesota, is a little village in the cut-over section of northern Minnesota. A few years ago one of the wide-awake business men of the town, a banker and the owner of the local creamery, solicited the support of the farmers in the community in developing a first-class egg market. Some of the local dealers feared that if a good cash market were developed for eggs the

farmers would be inclined to patronize mail-order houses and send their money out of town. These merchants had previously held the trade by taking the eggs from the farmers in exchange for goods. Today this community has the best egg market in the state. They often get from 3 to 12 cents a dozen more for eggs than is paid in other communities. They secure this extra price by delivering a neatly packed, strictly standard, guaranteed product. The local dealers are getting more business than before because the farmers have more to buy with. Both business men and farmers recognize that through this teamwork and group effort they have made themselves better off by several thousand dollars each year than they could be without such co-operation. They now boast of one of the best consolidated schools in the state.

Nine farmers' clubs held a fair at Sleepy Eye, Minnesota, this last fall. Sleepy Eye has a co-operative creamery, a co-operative elevator, a live stock shipping association, and is surrounded by numerous live, active farmers' club. Some of the thrifty business men of that section of the state conceived the idea of a farmers' club fair. They raised money for prizes and provided means for entertainment. Although the exhibits put up by the farmers' club were excellent—far beyond expectations—the most delightful part of the day was when the various clubs took part in a parade, sang their club songs, and gave their club yells, indicating their interest in, and enthusiasm for, their communities. Many of the clubs with from 75 to 160 members appeared in the parade in uniform. The club that won first prize in the parade had each member dressed in a neat, attractive, tasty uniform. The parade was led by a group of little girls who carried flowers and a banner reading, "We carry the flowers." This group was followed by some little boys with jugs and a banner reading, "We carry the water." These were followed by some larger children with dinner pails, and a banner reading, "We furnish the lunch." Then came a group of gardeners with their hoes and a banner reading, "We furnish the vegetables." They were followed by breadmakers, haymakers, horticulturists, milkmaids, corn-huskers, and other groups of men and women, each group carrying implements indicating the part they played in the industry of the community and a banner

indicating what they furnished to the community. The last group in the parade was a group of old men carrying a banner reading, "Everybody works but father." It was inspiring to see the boys and girls, the men and women (young and old), marching together, singing together, yelling together, all enthusiastic for, and interested in, the welfare of their communities.

We believe that if the great problems of readjustment that are always arising with the change of conditions are taken up and studied in the light of economic efficiency and fairness to all and in the spirit expressed by the slogan "Live and help live," there need be little hardship or even ill feeling caused by such changes. Co-operation on the part of all in working out these necessary readjustments is the only hope of community loyalty and solidarity.

DISCUSSION*

PROFESSOR THOMAS L. HARRIS, MIAMI UNIVERSITY

There is not so much a *decline* in the rural church and rural religion as there is a *change*. Professor Lichtenberger yesterday very properly cautioned us about confusing "social change" with "social deterioration." There are at least two reasons for this change in rural religion: First, the older form of religious activity where emotionalism and kindred characteristics were emphasized is losing its hold, and deservedly so, among the increasingly intelligent and practical agricultural people. Secondly, where from 30 to 70 per cent of the land is operated by tenants instead of owners, and where many of these tenants are transient and of a different religious faith from the former land-owners, the old pioneer church is largely abandoned; not that religion or morality, in their essence, have declined, but the *form* of their *expression* has changed.

PROFESSOR C. J. GALPIN, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

At the heart of country life is the farmer and his family. I have been listening to hear from Dr. Gill where the farmer goes to church; but Dr. Gill's paper tells us only of *rural churches*. This seems to be a good example of the ambiguity into which we are drawn by the use of the term "rural." The economic rural problems which make up the bulk of our discussions concern the farmer and farming; and when they concern the middleman, the farmer's relations are made the subject of careful analysis. In a similar manner, I

* The discussions in this group refer to the three preceding papers by Messrs. Cook, Gill, and Wilson.

should like to ask Dr. Gill whether he can give us a general classification of the types of churches which farmers attend, so that we shall know, for example, what percentage of church-going farmers maintain so-called open country churches. I should be interested to know what percentage of the village church is made up of farmers; and whether farmers are entirely absent from city churches. Is it not true that we must follow the farmer to church before we shall know how to solve the rural church problem?

PROFESSOR JOHN M. GILLETTE, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA

I should like to inquire of the gentleman who read the paper on consolidated schools, Mr. Cook, I believe, if he knows of any plan whereby the people of rural communities may be guarded against the mistakes in building and equipment made by the local directors of the schools. Just recently I learned from a man in our state who travels among the rural schools constantly that in many instances consolidated schools are being constructed which are woefully lacking in the room, equipment, toilet facilities, etc., which a modern school should have. He relates that a director showed him through such a building. It had no provision for an auditorium, toilet, gymnasium, or for practical farm and home instruction, containing only four ordinary rooms. The school officer then took him outside and, with great pride, pointed out a great ugly cupola at the top, which he said cost \$500 or \$1,000. Of course that was tragic. No local authorities should have the power to mortgage the future of a community in that way. Is it not possible that the state office of education should furnish plans for buildings which local communities would have to select from, according to their needs?

I should like to ask Mr. Gill if he believes that, in general and on the whole, the rural churches of America have declined and are now doing so. I want to know because I lectured before a body of rural ministers in Kansas some time ago, in which lecture I made the statement that rural churches had suffered a decline. The ministers were rather indignant at the statement and proceeded to poke holes in my speech, stating that the church papers had proved that there had been no such decline, the evidence being that there were more rural churches built than torn down and that the number of churches and ministers in the country was larger than previously. I had not seen the church papers cited, but I was not convinced that my statement was wrong. I could conceive that their data might be right and yet that there might have been retrogression.

PRESIDENT GEORGE E. VINCENT, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Minnesota has a law which requires all plans for school buildings to be passed upon by the commissioner of architecture, who is one of the officers of the State Department of Public Instruction. The law is enforced without

exception. State aid, which plays an important part in the educational system of Minnesota, will not be granted to any school district which fails to comply with the provisions of the building law.

PROFESSOR JOHN PHELAN, MASSACHUSETTS AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

A very important consideration in all legislation, and especially in legislation fixing certain standards of architecture for local public buildings such as rural schools, is to make sure that there is a good working provision in the law for the enforcement of the law. Granted that wisdom in deciding what is right and feasible to require in the way of a building is the first consideration; the second, and one that often does not receive enough attention, is a provision for carrying the law into effect with the least possible friction. Often there is quite a strong objection to the regulation of what people consider local affairs by outside authority. In rural districts law and the enforcement of law is personal. A resort to the law to enforce a building regulation would be a thing which local people would often hesitate to do. The problem has been met in several states by the principle of state aid. The state gives aid provided that certain conditions have been complied with but only after the law has been obeyed and after there has been state inspection or supervision. Wisconsin did a great deal for the equipment of its rural schools by granting as state aid \$150 for equipment. The law has worked well.

PROFESSOR WALTER R. SMITH, KANSAS STATE NORMAL SCHOOL

The three interesting papers under discussion, together with my studies in educational sociology, make clear to me the need of correlating the various rural activities. The consolidated school, the socialized church, and the co-operative business organizations of rural communities are doing much to bring about rural socialization. But there seems to be great need of bringing about a larger spirit of co-operation by which the efforts of all these agencies can be harmonized and made cumulatively effective.

Generally speaking, it will always be found that one of these types of organization is stronger and more effective than the others. It provides the nucleus for social and co-operative effort. Yet no small community can approach an ideal type of organization until the other great factors in community life are associated with the dominant factor. If the school be the leading agency in centralizing community affairs it should seek a definite alliance with the church and business organizations; and the same general co-operation of the other factors should be sought where the church or business organizations are dominant. In other words, the teacher, the preacher, and the civic and economic leader should work hand in hand, each recognizing the important function of the other.

No one of these three factors in rural organization working alone will be able to restore the old type of community solidarity, but working together they may do much to render rural life attractive to all classes and aid in preventing much of the cityward migration which is so threatening to rural healthfulness.

J. M. HANSON, YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO

A good illustration of the plan for church consolidation advocated by the Ohio Rural Life Association is found at Garrettsville, Ohio. Last May there were three churches without pastors. Two of the churches were unable to support a resident pastor and so were supplied by ministers serving other churches. One of the congregations was receiving some home missionary support. It was found that the aggregate amount raised for salaries was about \$1,600 in addition to a parsonage owned by one of the churches. The proposal was made that these churches unite their congregations, but retain their denominational organizations and remain in regular relations with the missionary and other organizations of their respective denominations. After full consideration, agreement was reached that a stated supply be secured for the summer months to try out the plan. After four months' trial it was found that the attendance at both church services and Sunday school had been larger than the aggregate of the separate congregations prior to the union. There was the enthusiasm of numbers and the freedom from financial strain which made spiritual growth possible under the best conditions.

At the expiration of the trial period all were agreed that the plan had worked well and should be continued. Further encouragement was given in the form of two voluntary contributions, one of \$50 and the other of \$25, by two business men, neither one a church member, on condition that the arrangement be continued. It appealed to them as good business sense as well as good religion to conserve the community resources in this way and to make possible a strong resident minister.

Steps were taken to secure a permanent pastor, and there is at this time every reason to expect a successful outcome of the arrangement. The advantage of the plan is that it asks no one to give up special denominational beliefs. There is no chance for a controversy over which church or churches shall give up and merge into another denomination. It is a positive, constructive program that appeals to common-sense, so it offers the best basis for working out practical church unity. The organic union will be taken care of by the second generation—the children who have grown up in the union Sunday school.

RURAL SURVEYS

C. W. THOMPSON

Specialist in Rural Organization, United States Department of Agriculture

This paper will deal briefly with the purposes for which rural surveys are made, the various kinds of such surveys that have been undertaken, the sources of survey information, the important steps involved in the making of a survey, and the co-operation given by the United States Department of Agriculture in such work.

The rural survey may be compared to the inventory taken periodically by the modern merchant. The inventory throws light on the status of the several branches or departments of the merchant's business. The survey reveals the status of the various enterprises that make up the life of the community. The successful merchant is interested in keeping his various kinds of stock moving, for he realizes that stagnation in one branch of his business may offset the profit in other lines and even ruin his business as a whole. The successful community is likewise interested in the proper development of its economic, social, religious, educational, and other enterprises, for it, too, realizes, or should realize, that stagnation and decay in a part of its institutional enterprises may offset progress in other lines and even imperil the life of the community itself.

A rural survey may also be compared to the examination which a physician makes when he endeavors to ascertain the condition of a patient. The physician is interested in noting the manner in which the various organs perform their functions. The director of a survey is interested in determining the actual services rendered by the various institutions under review.

The physician's diagnosis ordinarily implies the study of an abnormal condition for the purpose of determining the proper prophylactic treatment. The rural survey does not necessarily involve the implication that anything is wrong with the community. Its purpose is first of all to find out the facts. The uses to be made of the facts may differ widely.

The data from a survey may be used as the basis for general statements. The purpose may then be regarded as scientific. The data may also be useful in furnishing an object-lesson or demonstration indicative either of wrong methods to be avoided or of successful accomplishment worthy of imitation. The purpose may then be regarded as practical rather than scientific. The data from a given survey may also be used for both of these purposes.

Then there are indirect benefits to be derived from rural surveys not included in the foregoing. The psychological effect of getting people interested in local problems is one result of a survey which should not be overlooked.

Attention will next be directed to the various kinds of rural surveys. Classified according to area covered, surveys may be extensive or localized. The federal census and various state-wide or nation-wide questionnaire inquiries are examples of extensive surveys. Community studies revealing data regarding people and surroundings in a neighborhood, school district, or other restricted area are examples of localized surveys.

Rural surveys may also be classified according to scope, as general and specialized. The general survey covers a wide range of topics as, for example, the federal census, and the localized social and economic surveys of Minnesota, Wisconsin, North Carolina, Virginia, and Alabama.

The specialized survey is limited to a particular line of study. One example is the farm-management survey, as made by the federal Office of Farm Management and by a number of agricultural colleges, especially Cornell, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. Another example is found in market surveys, such as those made by the Office of Markets and Rural Organization and by a number of agricultural colleges. Specialized surveys in rural credits and agricultural insurance have been conducted by the federal Department of Agriculture, and special studies in rural credits have also been carried on in a number of states. Educational surveys constitute an important class of specialized surveys. The federal Bureau of Education and many of the state departments of education have furnished valuable monographs based on special inquiries.

Among familiar local surveys may be cited those in Nassau County, New York; Montgomery County, Maryland; Orange County, North Carolina; and Albemarle County, Virginia. Then there are sanitation or health surveys that pertain either to general health conditions or to a special disease. General sanitary surveys have been made in connection with some of our public schools. The specialized health surveys are well illustrated in the malaria surveys for Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina, and Electric Mills, Mississippi. Notable survey work in matters pertaining to health and sanitation is involved in the activities of the International Health Commission.

Among the more important rural church surveys are the studies by the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ of America, and by the Social Service Department of the Methodist church. In the list of specialized surveys should also be enumerated the recreational surveys, as illustrated in studies by the Russell Sage Foundation.

The information gathered in survey work is ordinarily based partly on existing records and partly on the returns from direct inquiry. Of the existing records no single source is more generally useful than the reports of the federal census. Records kept by the various states are often invaluable, especially the historical records, the geological surveys, and the health, school, and road reports. Then there are important county records of schools and roads, the county health officer's records, county court proceedings, and surveyors' records. No less important is the information available from various voluntary organizations, including religious bodies, fraternal organizations, agricultural societies, and farmers' organizations, and from the records of local banks, stores, and railway stations.

Information based on direct inquiry is obtained either through the questionnaire method or through personal inquiry. Most often, the method used in rural survey work involves one or both of the latter forms of direct study, and requests for assistance in rural survey work usually pertain to the conduct of such questionnaire or personal inquiries.

A word of caution may here be pertinent. The making of surveys is easily overdone. Surely, in deciding upon the wisdom of making a particular survey something more is necessary than the enthusiastic interest of some individual who "would like to make a survey." Not unlike the interest some have acquired in the so-called "organizing of rural communities," the zeal for making rural surveys is much in need of intelligent purpose and guidance.

Assuming that the object of a given study has been clearly and properly defined, brief attention will now be given to the more important steps involved in the making of the survey. Consideration may well be given at the outset to the possibilities of securing the co-operation of persons who have had experience in the making of surveys in other localities, or of state or other centralized agencies. It is especially important to have the hearty co-operation of those within the field of survey, both organizations and individuals. There may be scientific value in studies conducted without the co-operation of those under review, but it is doubtful if any considerable practical value can result unless such co-operation is voluntarily given.

When a questionnaire is sent through the mails, careful explanation should be given regarding the purpose of the study and the use to be made of the information received. In the case of personal inquiry, the assistance of representative local committees and the aid of publicity through the local press and local meetings are necessary. The ideal conditions exist where the people of a given community regard a proposed survey as a means of self-study or self-examination.

Much care is needed in the preparation of the survey blank. Even where existing blanks used in other localities are available, they are frequently ill adapted, in part at least, to a given study. A preliminary try-out of the proposed blank should be made. On the basis of the returns received, corrections can then be made. A second and more extensive try-out may be wise before the final inquiry is attempted, especially where the study covers a large field. In such try-outs, preliminary tabulations are necessary in order to test the usefulness of the questionnaire. Questions that can be answered "yes" or "no" should be used whenever practicable,

and care is needed to get all the "no's" and distinguish carefully from cases where an answer was not obtained. As a general rule, no question should be asked unless the answer can be used. However, some questions may be asked simply as checks on others. A few well-selected questions are better than a large number chosen at random. In the selection of questions much care is needed in order to avoid those to which no significant answers can be obtained, and especially those which may be considered too personal.

Where the study is undertaken through personal inquiry, a number of problems arise in connection with the conduct of the field work. The necessary qualifications of the field agent and the method of travel and of conducting interviews must all be considered. Except in cases where self-assessment may be relied upon to bring out the information wanted, a trained field man is needed whose personal qualities enable him to adapt himself to the given conditions. The successful field agent will adopt a mode of travel in keeping with the customs of the locality and will endeavor to make his interviews as brief and tactful as possible. Such considerations often determine both the value and the extent of the information secured.

Problems also arise in connection with the tabulation of the survey data. There is need of verifying every piece of tabulation work. Then there is need of enough returns to furnish an adequate basis for representative figures. To illustrate, at least twenty-five reports may be needed on which to base a percentage or an average. The federal Census Bureau does not compute a percentage on a basis of less than one hundred. Finally, a proper interpretation of the data often constitutes the most difficult and important part of the survey work. For this purpose the use of charts or diagrams will be found helpful. Whatever the methods used, a personal familiarity with the life of the community under review will be found highly desirable in drawing final conclusions.

The Office of Markets and Rural Organization of the federal Department of Agriculture is in a position to render assistance in the development of questionnaire blanks for rural surveys, in the direction of the field inquiry, and in the tabulation and interpretation of the results. Active co-operation in such matters is now being given and the office is ready to render assistance of this kind wherever practicable.

THE RESULTS OF SOME RURAL SOCIAL SURVEYS IN IOWA¹

PROFESSOR GEORGE H. VON TUNGELN
Iowa State College

The highest achievement to which civilization can aspire is maximum human well-being, and to point the way to this goal is the business of the student and leader of men. In order, therefore, that he may be enabled to set both the danger-signals and the sign-posts along the road civilization must travel, the student, through his science and leadership, must not only find means whereby abnormal and undesirable conditions can be restored to the normal and desirable state, but must also determine means of prevention and invention—prevention of that which would impair human well-being and invention or discovery of that which will increase human weal or human happiness.

It is to the student and leader that society looks for its remedial and preventive suggestions and measures. Society is no longer satisfied to proceed on the hit-or-miss or the put-the-cart-before-the-horse method. It is no longer willing to take the leap into the

¹ AUTHOR'S NOTE.—Since this paper was to be read before an association that is primarily interested in the study of economic problems, the writer has emphasized chiefly economic conditions and such other conditions, which the two surveys revealed, as are rather closely related to these economic conditions. The more purely sociological conditions and information that reveal the social mind of the communities have been purposely omitted. Believing, however, that most economists are mindful of the importance of the rural social mind and rural social conditions, the writer has taken the liberty of adding a few of the questions asked that revealed the social mind, and just a few statements concerning the social life in one of the townships.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This paper was originally prepared to be read before the American Economic Association. Because of its close connection with the subject considered by the American Sociological Society, permission was secured to incorporate it in this volume of *Papers and Proceedings*. The figures cited in this paper appear in Bulletins No. 170 and No. 171, both by the author of this paper, of the Agricultural Experiment Station, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa; No. 170, A Social Survey of Orange Township, Blackhawk Co., No. 171, A Social Survey of Lone Tree Township, Clay Co., Iowa.

dark, but rather persists in emphasizing its belief that in first knowing definitely what conditions now are there may be secured a clearer idea as to what conditions might be, as well as a clue or guide to the realization of what might be. It insists that the next step in the social field is not theorizing, but the gathering and compiling of more facts.

With the advancement of the human race there comes an ever-growing complexity of human relationships and an ever-increasing interdependence of individuals upon each other. This is the day of specialization in work and of generalization in citizenship. That is to say, man as a workman is more and more limiting his activities to a narrower field; he is specializing, while his experience and responsibilities as a citizen of society are constantly expanding. In the day of undifferentiated employments man was most independent, whereas in this day of division of labor within differentiated employments he is most interdependent. Today the same individual, in pursuing his responsibilities as a workman and his duties as a citizen of society, is subjected to experiences which tend to produce in him opposite results. However, it is precisely in meeting this dual experience that he also faces the dual problem of life which all must meet: the problem of getting a living and the problem of living with and among his fellow-men.

In the past the scientist devoted his energies almost entirely to assisting man in his endeavor to meet the first of these two problems, the problem of getting a living. In the past it was probably proper that he should do so, for the possible standard of living and the stage reached by civilization did not for the most part, permit man to divide the day into more than two parts: a time for work and a time for sleep. Today the higher stage reached by civilization makes it possible and a better standard of living demands that the day be divided into three parts: a part for work, a part for sleep, and a part for leisure, recreation, or as it is sometimes spoken of, higher life. This threefold division of the day, together with the specialization of man as a workman and the generalization of man as a citizen, so characteristic of this age, brings into full interplay both of these problems of life that man must meet. The scientist, or investigator, therefore, must be

mindful of both, if he is to be of greatest service to his day and age. In order to enable him to render such service in the most efficacious way, he must first know how men are trying to meet these problems and with what success they are accomplishing their end. Having this information he will probably be in a position to suggest improved lines of action to achieve what is already being done, and also to point out new lines of action to effect other desirable results. To secure this information the student of social problems properly resorts to the social survey, or original investigation.

Such a survey or investigation may be briefly defined as taking an inventory of a community's activities and conditions, or a community stock-taking.

The aim of such a study is twofold: first, to get a true-to-life picture of the community in its every walk of life; and, secondly, to take back to this community this true-to-life picture of itself by disseminating knowledge of this picture among the members of the community, hoping in this way to create a fuller appreciation on the part of the members of the community of its desirable features, because they are better known, and creating at the same time a more active determination on the part of the members of the same community to eliminate its undesirable features, because they too have come to be better known and have been brought out into a bolder relief across the plane of that community's well-being. From this it is at once obvious that the purpose of the social survey is not "to show up," but "to build up," a community.

The method of study and the scope or field to be covered by the student in making a social survey must be determined by the object he has in view in making the investigation. If his study is to be intensive and specific, or a study that involves very definite and detailed information, rather than extensive and aiming at generalizations only, he must of necessity attempt to cover only limited areas in individual studies. This must be done for the reason that regions where the same conditions are likely to prevail with somewhat of the same degree of regularity and intensiveness are limited in area. A study, therefore, that is to reveal community characteristics in detail must be limited by community

boundaries. It is not always possible to determine absolutely where the community boundaries are, but to neglect them entirely will mean that such an intensive study does not very accurately reveal the conditions of either the entire area covered or any part thereof, and cannot therefore serve as the best possible guide for advancing the interests of the area included in the study. In order to secure this detailed information the investigator will find it necessary to interview either personally, or through his trained assistants, each family that resides in the territory covered by his study, in order that he may secure the information at the source and at first-hand. Having interviewed all the families in this way, he should then check up the information thus secured in every way that is available to him, in order to eliminate, as far as possible, exaggerations, misrepresentations, and omissions in his data.

It is this type of survey that this paper deals with in the presentation of the facts that we are to consider presently.

If the study is to be of the extensive type, if only general information is sought, or if the student wishes to know only what the general tendencies are, and is not looking for very clearly defined lines of demarkation, then a much larger area may be included in his study, and he need not always personally interview each family which resides within the region covered by his study. Often several well-informed persons of that or near-by regions can, between them, give him the information he desires. Such a study is, of course, chiefly intended to furnish the investigator with some desired information often without any particular thought of what seems to me to be the greater function of such research, namely, serving as a guide to the people of the region studied to the end of enlarging their own welfare. An intensive study may serve then as a very definite guide to the people of the region studied, and also offer helpful suggestions to other communities as to how they might best go about improving their conditions. Since no two communities are identical, it cannot be a complete guide to such other communities, for the obvious reason that it is not an exact revelation of their conditions. In the case of the extensive study not a great deal may be expected of it in either of

these services, because its revelations are not specific enough to suggest clear-cut programs of procedure to achieve either of these ends.

The value of a survey is very largely determined by the accuracy of the data collected. The best way to secure most accurate data, I believe, is to put the work of collecting them on such a basis that the people of the community will give one the data asked for voluntarily and without hesitation. It is human nature to feel that one is important, and if, therefore, you seek the honest co-operation of others, the surest way to get it is to give them an opportunity to play an important part in the scheme and allow them to take to themselves considerable credit for having played their part. This is the method that I pursue in the work we are doing in Iowa. That is to say, I first consult with the county agent, if there is one, and a few of the leading men and women of the community as to the purpose of such a study and the co-operation they think could be secured in carrying on a piece of research of this kind in their locality. If these persons think the time is ripe for work of this kind in their locality, I make a trip to the community and put the proposition before the people at some public meeting, usually several months before we are ready to begin the work in the field. After this meeting the proposition is left with them to be talked over pro and con for some time before a final decision is reached as to whether or not the study is to be made. In passing, I might say that such a proposition may well be considered at some community meeting, such as are usually to be found in most communities today. It has been considered on such programs in Iowa.

If the community votes to have the study made a survey committee is appointed, composed wholly of members of the community, which is to serve as a sort of advisory council to my assistants and myself when we enter the field to collect the data. Any question that may arise about the work is referred to this committee or some member thereof. This same committee also talk up the proposition to any who may be somewhat inclined to oppose the work or who they think may hesitate to give us the data asked for in our house-to-house canvass. I see to it that this

committee is representative of all chief interests, creeds, etc., found in the community.

Along this same line, I emphasize in all of my conferences with the people of the community or representatives thereof that this is their work and not ours, that we merely stand ready to make the study for them. In this way they take a just pride in it, because they feel that they are a long step ahead of the community that will not co-operate in making a study of itself, or that has not yet been asked to do so. In keeping the work on this plane, I have found that the people of the community who have once voted to study themselves in this way will gladly submit themselves for sociological clinic work, because they feel that in this way they will learn to know their virtues better, and, what is no less important, find a way to heal their own sores.

While in the field, both my assistants and I live right with the people. This has the advantage of putting us in close and intimate touch with the people we are studying. In this way we learn much about the social mind of the people which one would not get in any other way. It is the one way in which they will "loosen up to you," as the saying goes.

By following this method I have every reason to believe that one can with equal frankness and boldness emphasize the desirable and undesirable features which the data reveal concerning the community, and have the community use both to its own self-improvement rather than become indignant at the undesirable revelations. My reason for believing this lies chiefly in the fact that in both communities which we have studied, to date, many of the most influential members of each community repeatedly said to me, in substance, *Make a careful study of our conditions, do not spare us in any way; we want to know both our credits and our debits.* It is at once apparent that communities of this type have come to believe that, if for the individual the height of wisdom is to know himself, the same must be true for the community also. If the work can be placed and kept on such a footing, I contend that high achievement may be expected of it. Communities that do things on such a basis are operating under a moral pride that has been harnessed up to carry out a civic need.

Before taking up the details of the studies we have made in Iowa, I must make a few explanations concerning the regions studied. A criticism that may at first be leveled against the work is that we studied communities that are above the average of our state rather than those on a low level in general well-being. That being the case it can scarcely be expected that our work will help the communities studied as it might had we chosen a type of communities less advanced. My answer to such a criticism would be: first, that no community is so nearly perfect that it cannot profit greatly by a study of itself; and, secondly, and this is the chief answer, that it is not easy to make a study, successfully, where many searching and even personal questions are asked, in the more backward communities. Such communities have not yet awakened from a lethargy of self-conceit or self-satisfaction to such an extent that they can be led to appreciate that a study of this kind is intended for something greater than "showing up a community." From communities that are still in such a clam stage one cannot hope to secure much information except of a very general type, such as an investigator could secure by observation, or information that is very much exaggerated. They are not ready to study themselves. But by studying a few of the more advanced communities first, we hope to be able to go from the top down to these less advanced communities, by being able to take to them, on black and white, what has already been accomplished by other communities. If the accomplishments of other communities can be brought to them in unmistakable terms, we believe that they will begin to talk of their own conditions, compare themselves with others, and when this is once well under way solutions will also be forthcoming in these localities.

A second criticism that might be raised against the work is that the areas covered and the number of people involved in each study are too small to warrant drawing hard and fast conclusions as to the conditions to be found throughout the state generally. To this I would reply: first, that our work in Iowa, as in most regions, is still in its incipiency; and, secondly, that we do not wish to be understood as concluding from these studies that they reveal conditions generally for the entire state, for we feel quite certain

that they do not, but that, on the contrary, other communities differ from these communities just as these differ from each other. All that we wish to contend is that these studies do reveal conditions in their respective localities, and that to know conditions in other localities similar studies must of necessity be made. Of course, no one would propose a study like this of every township in the state, but enough fairly representative townships, or communities, should be studied in different parts of the state to give us a fairly representative cross-section of conditions generally, so as to serve as a scientifically practical basis for constructive work.

The scope of this paper includes two civil townships, both in the northern half of the state, one in Blackhawk County, known as Orange Township, and the other in Clay County, known as Lone Tree Township. Orange Township is a strictly rural township containing no incorporated village or town, while Lone Tree has one small incorporated village of 472 persons. The village population and the land within the incorporation were not included in our study. Orange Township is also not of regular size. The conditions in Orange Township are possibly a little above the rural average for the county, while the conditions in Lone Tree Township are more nearly average for the county. Both townships are mixed farming regions, that is, both grain- and stock-growing regions. The chief crops grown are corn, oats, and hay.

In both of these studies I have listed as owner, unless otherwise stated, both those farmers who own all the land they operate and those who have a part interest in the land they operate. In case of the latter all happen to own one-half interest. Then I have listed as tenants, unless otherwise stated, all farmers who rent all the land they operate and also those who own some land, but rent the farms they live on and operate. In case of the latter a few farmers operate the land they own in addition to the land they rent, but as the average holding of this entire group of tenant farmers is much smaller than the farms they rent and live on, it seemed fairer to class them as tenants, especially since some of the holdings of this class lie outside of the state. Furthermore, only a small proportion of the entire number of farmers are included in the part-owner group and the group of tenants that own some

land in addition to the farms they rent and live on, as will be observed from the figures given below.

The number of farms, as that term is to be understood in this paper, means the number of farms that have residences on them.

Hereafter these regions will be referred to as Orange Township and Lone Tree Township, respectively.

POPULATION AND CONJUGAL CONDITIONS

The 1910 Federal Census, Supplement for Iowa, gives the state of Iowa a population density of 40 persons per square mile. For the rural state it is 27.8 persons per square mile. Blackhawk County has a rural density of 23.3 and Clay County 17.3. The 1915 census of Iowa,¹ classing as rural those who do not live in incorporated places, gives Blackhawk County a rural density of 20.8 and Clay 15.1. The 1915 census of Iowa also gives Orange Township a population of 780 and Lone Tree Township, exclusive of the incorporated village of Everly, 405. The density of population for Orange Township is 23.56 persons per square mile, and for the rural part of Lone Tree Township it is 13.47 persons.

Our data, so far as they pertain to the population, were a study on the family basis. In this was included all members of the family now living, whether they were living in the township or not. There are also some duplications, arising from cases where parents and children now comprise different families, but both living in the township. On this basis we found the population, including hired help but excluding all other persons living with the farmers' families, to be 802 in Orange Township and 482 in Lone Tree Township.

COUNTRY OF BIRTH

Of the owner-operators of Orange Township 85 were born in the United States, 1 in Germany, and 1 in Canada.² Of the wives 78 were born in the United States and one in Canada.³ Of the tenants 53 were born in the United States, 1 in Ireland, 1 in Sweden,

¹ P. xxiv.

² This includes one case of joint operators and 2 women operators.

³ Five owners have no wives.

and 2 in Denmark.¹ Of the tenants' wives 44 were born in the United States, 2 in Denmark, 1 in Poland, 1 in Canada, 1 in Ireland and 1 in Sweden.²

Of the owner-operators in Lone Tree Township 19 were born in the United States and 11 in Germany.³ Eighteen operators' wives were born in the United States, 9 in Germany, and 1 in Ireland. The country of birth for the tenants is as follows: United States 30, Germany 19, Denmark 4, France 1, Sweden 1, and Canada 1. Tenants' wives gave as their country of birth: United States 31, Germany 12, Denmark 4, and Sweden 2.⁴

Of the 84 male owner-operators in Orange Township all but 5 are married, while of the 55⁵ tenant men all but 7 are married.

In the other township 28 of the 29 male owners⁶ are married, and 48 of the 55 male tenants are married.

The average age, at the time of marriage, of tenants in Orange Township was found to be three months more than that of all landowners, at the time of their marriage. The age for tenants was twenty-five years and seven months.

In Lone Tree Township the comparative age was three years less. The average age of tenants at the time of marriage in this township was twenty-four years and nine months.

The average size of the owner-operator's family in Orange Township is $5\frac{3}{4}$ persons and for tenants it is $3\frac{2}{3}$ persons, while the corresponding figures in Lone Tree Township are $6\frac{1}{2}$ and $4\frac{1}{2}$.

NOTE.—As noted from the foregoing figures the population in both townships is, for the most part, native-born. In both townships, however, the population is largely of German descent, in Orange Township largely Pennsylvania German. These people are commonly known as Dunkards. Those among them that belong to a church are members either of the Church of the Brethren or of the First Brethren Church. In the other township there is quite a large German-Lutheran element.

¹ This includes one case of joint tenants and 1 woman tenant.

² This includes 2 housekeepers who are either sister or mother of tenant, while 7 tenants have no wives.

³ One of these operators is a woman and one has no wife.

⁴ Seven tenants have no wives.

⁵ This lists the joint-tenants as one.

⁶ One owner-operator is a woman.

HOW GENERALLY DO FARMERS' DAUGHTERS MARRY FARMERS AND HOW GENERALLY DO FARMERS' SONS STAY ON THE FARM?

The number of children in Orange Township twenty years old or older is 104: 54 males and 50 females. Of the males $76\frac{8}{7}$ per cent and of the females 84 per cent are now on the farm or stated that they expected to go back to the farm. Twenty-eight of the 50 females are married. Twenty-one of these, or 75 per cent, are married to farmers.

In Lone Tree Township there were 81 children twenty years of age or over; 47 of these are males and 34 females. Thirty-seven of the males, or $79\frac{7}{7}$ per cent, and 28 females, or $82\frac{6}{7}$ per cent, are now on the farm, or stated that they expected to go back to the farm. Of the 34 females 21 are married. Of the females married 15, or $71\frac{3}{4}$ per cent, are married to farmers.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

If all the farms in Orange Township that are less than 10 acres in size are disregarded, the average size of farm in the township is 157.2 acres, that operated by owner 150.1 acres, and that operated by tenant 167.8 acres.

The largest land holding in Orange Township is 734 acres, in Lone Tree 892 acres. The smallest farm in Orange Township is $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, the smallest in Lone Tree is 80 acres. The largest tract operated by one man in Orange Township is 480 acres, in Lone Tree 652 acres. In both cases the farm is operated by the owner.

DISTANCE FROM TRADING CENTER

The average distance to the family's chief trading center is 4.5 miles in Orange Township and 2.4 miles in Lone Tree Township.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TENANTS AND LANDLORDS

Twenty-three of the tenants of Orange Township are either sons or sons-in-law of their landlords. Two others are first cousins of their landlord and one is a second cousin of his landlord. This makes a total of 26 tenants, or almost 50 per cent, who are related to their landlords.

The relationship between tenants and landlords in Lone Tree Township runs as follows: 1 brother, 2 brothers-in-law, 10 sons

or sons-in-law, and 1 nephew, or a total of 14 tenants, or 25 per cent, who are closely related to their landlords.

TENANTS EXPECT TO BECOME LANDOWNERS

Of the tenants in Orange Township who do not now own land 71.7 per cent stated that they expected to become landowners. Of these 50 per cent¹ expect to become owners through purchase, or through purchase and inheritance, and 21.7 per cent by inheritance only.

The comparative figures from Lone Tree Township are: 77 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; 56 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent;² and 20 $\frac{5}{8}$ per cent.

From Tables I and II it will be observed that in both townships the largest landholders are men who are both landlords and owner-operators, that is, men who own two or more farms, one of which is operated by the owner while the others are rented. The second largest landholders are the retired-farmer landlords. Table III shows the comparative ages of these landholders.

RISE IN LAND VALUES

In Orange Township 6,935.66 acres, in 48 tracts, changed hands in the five-year period, August, 1910—August, 1915. These 48 original tracts were divided into 60 parts at the time of sale. In most cases where the tracts were divided the parts were added to other farms. The average selling-price per acre for this land by years, for both improved farms and unimproved farms, that is, farms with buildings and farms without buildings, runs as follows: 1910, \$156; 1911, \$163; 1912, \$164; 1913, \$178; 1914, \$188; 1915, \$200. Twenty-five tracts were sold in 1913, 1914, and 1915 up to August 30.

In Lone Tree Township we ascertained how many farms had been purchased in the ten-year period 1906-15 inclusive, the purchase-price per acre and present value per acre, as stated by the owner or tenant on the farm. During this period 31 farms were purchased, a total of 6,174.5 acres, or only 436.5 acres less than the present holdings of the land-owning operators. Eight of these

¹ Only a few of these men expected both to purchase and to inherit land.

TABLE I
ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

FARMWIFE RESIDENCES	OPERATED BY OWNERS		OPERATED BY TENANTS		AVERAGE SIZE OF FARM OPERATED BY OWNER	AVERAGE SIZE OF FARM OPERATED BY TENANT	AVERAGE SIZE OF FARM OPERATED BY ONE-HALF OWNER		AVERAGE SIZE OF FARM RENTED BY TENANT, AND HOLDINGS OF TENANT ALSO OPERATED BY HIM					
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent			Acres	Acres	No.	Acres	No.	Acres	No.	Acres
Orange Township	86	60.56	56	39.44	148.5	139.8*	161.9†	6	152	6	85.8	6	61.6	
1915: 142								4‡		4‡	167.7			
Lone Tree Township	30	35.29	55	64.71	226.3	253.7	211.4	1	240	2	270.0	2	140	
1916: 85								5§		5§	236.6			
Blackhawk County	1,418	62.8	839¶	36.6										
1900: 2,257||														
1910: 1,248||			920¶	41.9	156.0**									
1915: 2,071††	1,152	55.6	919	44.37	158.89	158.81	158.97							
Clay County	953	56.6	731¶	42.5										
1900: 1,684||			702¶	45.2	201.4**									
1910: 1,668||	900	54.3	825	49.97	203.2	203.175	203.177							
1915: 1,951††	826	50.03												
State	147,305	64.4	79,736††	34.9	135.9									
1900: 228,622||			82,115††	37.8	156.3									
1910: 217,044||	133,003	61.3	82,007	41.0	164.0	144.2	194.6							
1915: 199,755††	117,748§§	59.0												

*This includes the one-half owner farms also.

†This includes the tenant-holder farms of the last column also.

‡Three of the 4 of this group of tenants own 185 acres outside of the township, which they do not operate, while the other man owns 160 within the township, which is rented while he himself rents a 240-acre farm. The average size of the farm rented by these 10 tenants is 120.6 acres and average holdings 72.5 acres.

§These men own 572 acres outside of the township, or an average of 114.4 acres, which they do not operate themselves.

¶Taken from 1910 Federal Census, Supplement for Iowa, p. 659.

‡Managers have been added in with tenants here.

§Federal Census, 1910, Supplement for Iowa, pp. 648-50.

††Taken from 1915 Census for Iowa, pp. 641-45. Here it must be remembered that this census omits all farms that contain less than 10 acres.

‡‡Exclusive of farms operated by managers. §§1915 Census of Iowa, p. cvv.

men did not state a present price on their land, 23 did. The average cost price for these 23, involving 4,494.5 acres, was \$103.82 per acre, and the present value put upon these farms was \$207.26

TABLE II

	Orange Town- ship	Lone Tree Town- ship
Number of landlords*	55†	54†
Number of landlords still farming	12	12
Number of landlords still farming in township	5†	8†
Average holdings (acres) of these landlords in township	241	571.5
Number of landlords retired	22	19
Number retired on farm in township	8	2
Number retired landlords who once lived on farm in town- ship	15	12
Average holdings (acres) of retired landlords in township	168.9	251.34

*Landlords engaged in business or some profession are not listed in following columns.
†One man has three farms, two of which are rented.

per acre. Of these 23 farms, 3 were purchased in 1906, 3 in 1907, 3 in 1908, none in 1909, 3 in 1910, 3 in 1911, 1 in 1912, 5 in 1913, 1 in 1914, and 1 in 1915, or an average of 5.91 years

TABLE III

	ORANGE TOWNSHIP		LONE TREE TOWNSHIP	
	Years	Months	Years	Months
Average age of owner-operators	50	.....	47	9
Average age of tenants	34	2	35	2
Average age of landlords	53	9	52	2½
Average age of landlords still farming	45	9	45	.....
Average age of retired landlords	58	9	59	10
Average time owner-operators have been farm- ing	21	11	24	1
On present farm	10	11	14	2
Average time tenants have been farming	10	5	8	4
On present farm	5	8	4	2

since date of purchase. Just how closely this rise in land values corresponds to the general rise in prices the writer did not stop to consider.

HIRED HELP

In Orange Township 37 tenants have 47 hired men and 11 tenants have 1 hired woman each. Twenty-four landowners have 36 hired men and 8 landowners have 9 hired women.

Twenty-four tenants in Lone Tree Township were found to have 24 hired men and 3 tenants had 1 hired woman each. Eleven of the landowners had 1 hired man each, and one landowner had 1 hired woman.

PERIOD OF OWNERSHIP

Farm has been in the possession of the family in Orange Township 19½ years, in Lone Tree Township, based on 56, out of a possible 85, definite replies, 15½ years.

PATRONAGE OF MAIL-ORDER HOUSES AND PEDDLERS

In Orange Township, 58+ per cent of the owner-operators and 76+ per cent of tenants buy from mail-order houses. In the other township 80 per cent of owner operators and 83+ percent of the tenants buy from the same source. In both townships, however, the owner-operators' purchases per family amount to one and one-third times as much as that of the tenants.¹ In both townships the number of families that buy from peddlers and the amounts so spent are too small to be of any real significance, the actual number of families in both townships which buy from peddlers being 16 and the total amount so spent per year being \$99.

ORGANIZATIONS

ORANGE TOWNSHIP

Owners.—Thirty-one owners belong, on an average, to 2½ farmers' organizations; 30 owners' wives belong, on an average, to 1½ women's organizations. Twenty-five owners carry life insurance; 1 owner's wife carries life insurance. One owner belongs to a lodge;² no owner's wife belongs to a lodge.

¹ The writer, basing his belief on various sources of information that he has secured in recent years, is of the opinion that rural people are little, if any, better patrons of mail-order houses than is the entire population. This is especially true if the persons living in one town but who trade in another are listed as mail-order house patrons, and it is right that they should, from the standpoint of the local community.

² The Dunkards do not believe in lodges of any kind.

Tenants.—Thirteen tenants belong on an average, to $2\frac{2}{3}$ farmers' organizations; 18 tenants' wives belong on an average to $1\frac{1}{3}$ women's organizations. Twenty-five tenants carry life insurance; 2 tenants' wives carry life insurance. Eleven tenants belong to some lodge; 4 tenants' wives belong to some lodge.

LONE TREE TOWNSHIP

Owners.—Fifteen owners belong on an average to $1\frac{1}{3}$ farmers' organizations; 9 owners' wives belong on an average to $1\frac{1}{3}$ women's organizations. Seven owners carry life insurance; no owners' wives carry life insurance. Six owners belong to some lodge; 4 owners' wives belong to some lodge.

Tenants.—Twenty-five tenants belong on an average to $1\frac{1}{3}$ farmers' organizations; 11 tenants' wives belong on an average to 1 women's organization. Twenty-one tenants carry life insurance; 1 tenant's wife carries life insurance. Seven tenants belong to some lodge; 1 tenant's wife belongs to a lodge.

NOTE.—The chief farmers' organizations in Orange Township are: Co-operative Creamery; Co-operative Cow-testing Association; Co-operative Egg Marketing Association; Co-operative Threshing Companies; Farmers' Telephone Company. In Lone Tree Township the chief farmers' organizations are: Co-operative Threshing Companies; Farmers' Telephone Company.

The foregoing figures indicate that the average education of adults in Orange Township is high. The following figures seem to indicate that there is a still greater tendency in this direction among the young people of the township. Iowa is said to have something over 22 persons out of every thousand of its population in high school.¹ In this township there were in 1914, 32 persons in high school. Twenty-eight of these young people were in high school for their first, second, or third year, and for only 4 was this the fourth year. A very large proportion of these young people stated that they expected to complete the four-year high-school course. Thus the fact that so few completed their fourth year in 1914 indicates that there is a rapidly growing tendency for young

¹ 1915-16 Iowa Accredited High Schools, Bulletin No. 5, State Board of Education. Exact figure 22.4.

TABLE IV
MODERN CONVENIENCES IN HOME*

TOWN- SHIP	TOTAL NO. HOUSES	SIZE OF HOME IN ROOMS	RUNNING WATER	INDOOR CISTERN AND PUMP	BATHS	INDOOR TOILET	ELECTRIC LIGHTS	GAS LIGHTS	POWER WASHER	ELECTRIC OR GAS IRON	CARPET SWEEPER	VACUUM CLEANER	FURNACE, HOT WATER, OR STEAM HEAT	TELEPHONE	REFRIGERATOR	GAS COOKSTOVE	OIL COOKSTOVE	PLUMB	OTHER MECHANICAL INSTRUMENTS	SLEEPING PORCH	AUTOMOBILE	CONVENIENCES ABOUT THE BARN																											
																						MANURE SPREADER	GRAIN ELEVATOR	GAS ENGINE	Silo																								
Orange	142	8½	57	†	47	34	16	47	68	36	76	75	72	132	55	29	47	80	†	†	45	75½	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†							
Lone Tree	85	7½	14	5	15½	15	5	13	34	14	20	24	18	74	7	5	39	18	43	9	49¶	68	30	45	13																								

* Fiske, *The Challenge of the Country*, p. 258, footnote: "95.2 per cent of the 300,000 rural homes in Ohio last year (1917) had no bathtubs." Orange Township has 33 per cent, and Lone Tree, 17.6 per cent.
 † MacDougall, *Rural Life in Canada*, p. 128. "The Agricultural Survey of 1910 found that in Prince Edward Island 97 per cent of the farm houses obtain water from wells outside the house. All carry the water by hand. In Nova Scotia only 2 per cent of the farm houses have water piped to the house. In New Brunswick 95 per cent obtain water from wells and springs. In English-speaking Quebec 92 per cent carry water by hand. These conditions are general."
 ‡ Orange Township has over one-half as many bathtubs as cars, three fewer modern heating systems, over one-half as many sleeping porches, four-fifths as many homes with running water, and one-half as many indoor toilets. Lone Tree Township has three and one-fourth times as many cars as bathtubs, twice as many grain elevators, three times as many gas engines, and four and one-half times as many manure spreaders.
 ¶ Iowa has one car to a little better than every 43 persons, and Orange Township has one to a little more than 10 persons, and Lone Tree a car to a little more than 8 persons.

¶This was not ascertained in this township.
 ‡Twenty-five of these are owned by tenants.
 §This includes one shower bath.
 ||Of these 11 are organs, 0 violins, 4 accordions, 7 horns, 2 guitars, 1 mandolin, 1 Victrola, and 8 phonographs.
 ¶Twenty-four of these are owned by tenants.

TABLE Vc

21 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER	NUMBER WHO ATTENDED COMMON OR GRAMMAR SCHOOL ONLY								NUMBER WHO ATTENDED HIGH OR PREPARATORY SCHOOL ONLY					NUMBER WHO ATTENDED COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY				TOTAL NUMBER WHO ATTENDED		
	4 Yrs. or Less	5 Yrs.	6 Yrs.	7 Yrs.	8 Yrs.	1 Yr.	2 Yrs.	3 Yrs.	4 Yrs.	1 Yr.	2 Yrs.	3 Yrs.	4 Yrs.	1 Yr.	2 Yrs.	3 Yrs.	4 Yrs.	Com. or Gram. Only	High or Prep. Only	College
Township, County, or State																				
Orange Township:																				
Owners'.....		3	2	7	42	2	1													
Owners' wives†.....		2	2	10	38	1	2													
Tenants'.....	2	1	1	3	22	1	4													
Tenants' wives‡.....	1	1		2	22	1	1													
Lone Tree Township																				
Owners'.....																				
Owners' wives||.....																				
Tenants'.....	1																			
Tenants' wives¶.....	1																			
Blackhawk County**																				
Males.....	1,136	373	1,280	1,397	8,103	342	708	642	1,019	845	612	296	619	12,199	12,199	2,711	2,372			
Females.....	446	280	935	962	7,339	499	786	874	1,598	910	717	339	505	9,952	9,952	3,757	2,471			
Clay County***																				
Males.....	187	107	311	310	2,576	109	128	78	191	171	92	58	118	3,491	3,491	506	439			
Females.....	62	63	170	213	2,234	120	160	109	317	146	92	64	55	2,742	2,742	706	357			
State**																				
Males.....	50,053	23,570	53,128	55,097	378,028	15,056	22,736	14,340	30,769	23,340	16,366	8,165	19,165	559,876	559,876	82,901	67,036			
Females.....	39,300	16,255	42,891	45,901	342,732	16,472	27,159	20,772	56,296	21,249	16,869	7,042	12,546	478,199	478,199	120,099	57,706			

See footnotes following Table Vb.

TABLE Vb
(This Table Is a Summary of Table Va)

POLITICAL UNIT	TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS IN FAMILIES OR OVER	NUMBER WHO ATTENDED			PERCENTAGE WHO ATTENDED		
		Common or Grammar School Only	High or Preparatory School Only	College or University	Common or Grammar School Only	High or Preparatory School Only	College or University
Orange Township							
Males.....	142	80	17	45	56.3	12.0	31.7
Females.....	130	81	16	33	62.3	12.3	25.4
Lone Tree Township							
Males.....	85††	64	13	8	75.3	15.3	9.4
Females.....	76	63	11	2	82.9	14.5	2.6
Blackhawk County							
Males.....	17,450	.....	.....	.....	69.9	15.5	13.6
Females.....	16,257	.....	.....	.....	61.3	23.1	15.2
Clay County							
Males.....	4,457	.....	.....	.....	78.3	11.4	9.8
Females.....	3,818	.....	.....	.....	71.8	18.5	9.5
State of Iowa							
Males.....	720,134	.....	.....	.....	77.7	11.5	9.3
Females.....	663,247	.....	.....	.....	72.09	18.19	8.7

Note—These footnotes refer to Tables Va and Vb.
 *These figures include operator's family of a man, and 2 cases where the operator is a woman.
 †Five owners have no wives.
 ‡These figures include 1 woman and 2 cases of 2 tenants to a farm.
 §Seven tenants have no wives.
 || One owner has no wife.
 ¶Seven tenants have no wives.
 **Figures taken from 1915 census of Iowa.
 ††This includes one woman operator.

TABLE VI
EDUCATION OF HIRED HELP

TOWNSHIP	TOTAL HIRED HELP	NO. WHO ATTENDED COMMON OR GRAMMAR SCHOOL ONLY					NO. WHO ATTENDED HIGH OR PREPARATORY SCHOOL ONLY				NO. WHO ATTENDED COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY			
		4 Yrs. or Less	5 Yrs.	6 Yrs.	7 Yrs.	8 Yrs.	1 Yr.	2 Yrs.	3 Yrs.	4 Yrs.	1 Yr.	2 Yrs.	3 Yrs.	4 Yrs.
Orange	Men: 83*	3	2	7	2	36	1	6	2	1	3	2	0	5†
	Women: 20	0	1	1	1	13	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Lone Tree	Men: 35‡	0	0	0	0	18	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Women: 4	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total, 142	3	3	8	3	71	2	6	2	2	6	2	0	6

*In 12 cases not ascertained.
 †One man is a university graduate.
 ‡In 16 cases not ascertained.

people in this township to carry their school work beyond the grade school. Eight persons were in college or university.

In 1916 the township completed its consolidated grade school, with a high school attached. This consolidates 10 one-room schools. The bonds voted for the erection of the building were sold at a premium of \$915.

The teachers who taught the one-room schools for the year 1915-16 had an average teaching experience of $6\frac{1}{2}$ years. The average teaching experience of the rural teachers in the Central West is less than one-half as long, our State Superintendents of Public Instruction tell us.

ORANGE TOWNSHIP

On November 1, 1915, only 3 children in the township who had not completed the eighth-grade school work were not enrolled in some one of the 8 open district schools of the township.¹ Each of the eight teachers had had some college training.

ATTITUDE ON CONSOLIDATION

The township voted on consolidation while we were in the township collecting data. This was the second time the proposition was voted on. Consolidation was given a majority at this election, but it is interesting to note the line-up of tenants and owner-operators as revealed to us in collecting data on this proposition. Forty-one tenants favored consolidation, 11 opposed it, and 4 were neutral. Fifty-four owners favored it, 12 opposed it, 7 were neutral, and 13 noncommittal.²

TOWNSHIP LITERARY SOCIETY

In this township there is also what is known as the Township Literary Society. This meets in what is now used as the township hall, formerly a church home of a denomination that has ceased to maintain itself in the township. This hall is located

¹ Two of the 10 schools of the township were not opened in 1915-16. The children of these districts were transported to one of the other schools. There were too few children to warrant opening these schools.

² Here the joint owners and joint tenants are listed as one, since in each case they took the same position.

TABLE VII
HOME LIBRARIES*

ORANGE TOWNSHIP

Sixty-nine owners' homes have 7,355 volumes, or an average of 106.6 volumes, in their libraries. Fifty-six tenant homes contain 5,342 volumes, or an average of 95.4 volumes per home.

LONE TREE TOWNSHIP

Twenty-two owners' homes have 1,913 volumes, or an average of 86.9 volumes per home. Twenty-four tenant homes have 1,872 volumes, or an average of 77.5 volumes per home.

PAPERS AND MAGAZINES

ORANGE TOWNSHIP

Owners†	{	76 homes reported	96 daily papers.
		70 " " "	225 weekly papers and magazines.
		58 " " "	58 monthly " " "
		65 " " "	182 farm papers.‡
Tenants†	{	56 homes reported	74 daily papers.
		56 " " "	168 weekly papers and magazines.
		47 " " "	110 monthly " " "
		54 " " "	145 farm papers.‡

LONE TREE TOWNSHIP

Owners†	{	27 homes reported	48 daily papers.
		28 " " "	91 weekly papers and magazines.
		22 " " "	63 monthly " " "
		26 " " "	72 farm papers.‡
Tenants†	{	48 homes reported	54 daily papers.
		46 " " "	111 weekly papers and magazines.
		34 " " "	86 monthly " " "
		37 " " "	72 farm papers.‡

*No library of 8 books or less was listed

†In all cases where number of homes does not correspond to number of homes of this group in the township, it means that all other homes received no paper or magazine of this kind. There was no home without any, of some kind, however.

‡In all cases the farm papers have been added in with the first three classes; the total number of papers corresponds, therefore, to the sum of the first three lists.

TABLE VIII
MORTALITY STATISTICS

Total number of deaths in all families in the township were as follows: Orange Township, 25 males, 24 females; Lone Tree Township, 10 males, 14 females.

near the center of the township. The society meets every Friday night during the fall, winter, and spring months of the year. To this society belong most of the young people of the township, several of the hired men and women, and some of the farmers and their wives. Of the farmers and farmers' wives group, 10 men and their wives are tenants, and 19 men and 16 women are owners or owners' wives.

CHURCH AND SUNDAY-SCHOOL MEMBERSHIP AND CONTRIBUTIONS

ORANGE TOWNSHIP

Contributions.—Sixty-three owners' families contribute \$3,371, or an average of \$53.50 each, to church support, 2 additional men contribute their services free of charge; 55 owners' families contribute \$681.50, or an average of \$12.39 each, to Sunday school; and 44 owners' families contribute \$1,632, or an average of \$37.09 each, to other benevolences.

Fifty-five tenant families contribute \$1,367, or an average of \$24.86 each, to churches; 30 tenant families contribute \$242.20, or an average of \$8.07 each, to Sunday school; 35 tenant families contribute \$810, or an average of \$23.14 each, to other benevolences.

LONE TREE TOWNSHIP

Contributions.—Twenty-three owners' families contribute \$1,118.66, or an average of \$48.64 per family per year, to the church;¹ 7 families contribute \$86, or an average of \$12.28 each, to Sunday school; and 2 families contribute \$26, or an average of \$13 each, for other benevolences.

Thirty tenant families contribute \$532.87, or an average of \$17.77 each, to the church; 7 families contribute \$52.96, or an average of \$9.57 each, to the support of Sunday school; and 2 families contribute \$65, or an average of \$32.50 each, for other benevolences.

NOTE: From all the foregoing figures it will be observed that the tenants make a splendid showing for themselves, contrary to a quite popular opinion.

¹ If one family that tithes be omitted here, the average for the remaining families is \$19.03.

TABLE IX
 CHURCH DENOMINATION OF OWNERS, TENANTS AND WIVES
 ORANGE TOWNSHIP

Owners' homes, 86: 5 owners' homes have no wives; 2 owners' homes have no husbands; 62 owners' wives and women owners belong to church as indicated; 54 owners belong to church as indicated.

	Women	Men
Catholic.....	6	7
Church of Brethren.....	37	34
Presbyterian.....	1	2
Methodist Episcopal.....	9	3
Progressive Brethren.....	5	5
Baptist.....	3	1
Lutheran.....	1	1
United Brethren.....	0	1
Total.....	62	54

Tenant homes, 56, including 1 hired manager; 7 tenant homes have no wives; 1 tenant home has no husband; 47 tenants' wives and 49 tenants belong to church as indicated.

	Women	Men
Catholic.....	6	5
Church of Brethren.....	23	22
Presbyterian.....	0	3
Methodist Episcopal.....	4	5
Progressive Brethren.....	5	4
Baptist.....	4	5
Lutheran.....	2	2
Evangelical.....	1	2
Nameless Church.....	1	1
Christian.....	1	0
Total.....	47	49

	Women	Men
Total church membership.....	109	103
Total number on farms in township...	130*	142†

*This includes 2 owners and 1 tenant.
 †This includes 3 farms of 2 men each.

NOTE.—Tenants and tenants' wives make a better church membership showing than do the owner operators and their wives.

TABLE X

LONE TREE TOWNSHIP

Owners' homes, 30: 1 owner's home has no wife; 1 owner's home has no husband; 21 owners* belong to church as indicated; 23 owners' wives and women owners belong to church as indicated.

	Women	Men
Lutheran	7	7
Evangelical Lutheran	1	1
German Lutheran	5	5
Catholic	5	4
Christian	1	1
Methodist Episcopal	3	2
Danish Lutheran	1	1
	23	21

Tenant homes 55: 7 tenant homes have no wives; 26 tenants and 28 tenants' wives belong to church as indicated.

	Women	Men
Lutheran	5	6
Methodist Episcopal	7	2
Seventh Day Adventist	2	2
Catholic	4	5
Danish Lutheran	3	3
German Lutheran	5	6
Friends Church	1	1
Evangelical Lutheran	1	1
	28	26

	Women	Men
Total church membership	51	47
Total number on farms in township . .	77*	84

*This includes one woman owner-operator.

NOTE.—Here the owner-operators and their wives make a better church membership showing than do the tenants and their wives.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND THE SOCIAL MIND

THE SOCIAL MIND

It is not within the time limit of this paper to consider the data collected that reveal the social mind of the people in these townships. Only a few of the more important questions asked each farmer in this connection can be cited. Many remarks made by the farmers' wives and children were recorded along with those of the farmers. By far the greater majority of these remarks clearly indicate the feeling and thought of the person making them, and are not merely passing remarks or remarks that mean nothing. From a sociological standpoint this part of the survey is probably the most important.

TABLE XI

SUNDAY-SCHOOL MEMBERSHIP

ORANGE TOWNSHIP

Fifty-two owners and 53 owners' wives belong to Sunday school; while twenty-eight tenant men, and 33 tenants' wives belong to Sunday school.

LONE TREE TOWNSHIP

Two owners and two owners' wives belong to Sunday school; while six tenant men and six tenants' wives belong to Sunday school.

The more important questions asked were: (1) Do the farmer and his wife take any part in their children's games? What are the results? (2) Are the children encouraged to join clubs and societies of various kinds in the community? (3) Are the children given any holidays or half-holidays, which they can count as their own, other than Sunday and the regular holidays? How often? How do they spend this time? Does it make any difference in their attitude toward work? What? (4) Is there any attempt made to attach the children to the farm by giving them something that is to be their own, and giving them a part in planning the work of the farm, etc.? (5) What in your opinion is the chief cause which leads boys and girls from the farm? (6) Have you any suggestions to offer as to how this can be overcome to such an extent that a proper proportion of the most promising and enterprising young people will stay on the farm? (7) To what extent

TABLE XII
CHURCH MEMBERSHIP OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN*

	No. of Children in These Families†	No. of Children Ten Years Old or over	No. of Children Ten Years Old or over Not Church Members	No. of Children Fifteen Years Old or over	No. of Children Fifteen Years Old or over Not Church Members	No. of Children Twenty Years Old or over	No. of Children Twenty Years Old or over Not Church Members
Families in which both parents, or living parent belong, to church:							
Orange Township, 89.....	321	202	22	143	7	94	4
Lone Tree Township, 43.....	181	120	15	95	12	62	7
Families in which neither parent is member of church:							
Orange Township, 15.....	59	32	32	14	14	4	4
Lone Tree Township, 21.....	53	19	19	13	13	5	5
Families in which father is not a member but mother is:							
Orange Township, 14.....	39	29	17	12	7	4	4
Lone Tree Township, 7.....	19	14	10	14	10	10	6
Families in which mother is not a member but father is:							
Orange Township, 1.....	3	3	0	2	0	0	0
Lone Tree Township, 2.....	11	8	8	2	2	0	0
Families in which there is no wife:							
Orange Township, 3.....	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Lone Tree Township, 1.....	9	8	0	7	0	5	0
Families in which there is no husband:							
Orange Township, 1.....	4	4	4	2	2	2	2
Lone Tree Township, 1.....	9	9	0	9	0	9	0

*Families that have no children are here omitted. In Orange Township there are 10 such families, and in Lone Tree Township 10 such families.
†This includes all children in the farmers' families. Some of these do not now live in the township, and some appear in the parent column.

do families visit with each other on Sundays and other days of the week? (8) What do you consider the greatest need of the church today in order that it may: (a) interest and help young people in their own spiritual uplift and (b) have its widest influence in the community generally? (9) Number of picnics, contests, celebrations, fairs, socials, parties, games, etc., that were held in the community last year, which the family attended, or if not all the family, the persons who did.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Under this caption the remarks will be limited to conditions in Orange Township.

Social life in this township is a splendid example of what life on the farm can be made to be by the people on the farm. This community is not dependent upon the "movies" and other things of the near-by town for its recreation and amusement. The people of the community never get too busy for a full-day or half-day picnic or community gathering, or for some social event at some neighbor's home, the township hall or the church. They have learned that there is a time for work and a time for play, and that more play often means more work also. In other words, they have learned that men and women, boys and girls, who enjoy life are more likely to enjoy work also than those who get little joy out of living. It is a community where everybody plays when play is the program. Men are then merely grown-up boys and women are merely grown-up girls. They have "things doing," as modern slang puts it, and they do things.

Two illustrations must suffice here. Early each fall the community gives a banquet at which the newcomers, especially the unmarried hired men and women, are guests. At this banquet these newcomers are made to feel that they are no longer to be considered strangers in the community. The other illustration is that of two Sunday-school classes. The two largest Sunday-school classes in the only Sunday school in the township are classes one of which is composed of the unmarried women in the township and the other of the unmarried men in the township. These two classes always participate in a friendly rivalry to outclass each

other in numbers. At least once a year each of these classes entertains the other. Early in the summer of 1915, the girls' class treated the men's class to an automobile trip over the county one late afternoon and evening. At the end of the return trip refreshments were served. But the most remarkable thing about the affair was the fact that the Sunday-school superintendent stated on the previous Sunday that on the given day "all hired men and grown-up boys would, without further notice, be 'let off' from work early on that afternoon and meet at the church." That they were "let off" was evident from the fact that there were seventeen cars in the procession that afternoon and evening.

It has no doubt been observed that the writer has made few deductions and drawn few conclusions throughout his paper. But he now wishes to leave this conclusion with you: that if his study of Orange Township especially does nothing else it will have been amply justified in that it is an answer to the dual question, What can rural communities do to increase their own human well-being, and How can they do it? by bringing the message of how one community *has* done it, and *is* doing it.

THE SCOPE AND METHODS OF INSTRUCTION IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY

JOHN M. GILLETTE
University of North Dakota

THE TITLE "RURAL SOCIOLOGY"

In the vernacular, it has been said of rural sociology, "There ain't no such animal." It is asserted that there is but one sociology, and that is the general science of sociology. Without assigning too much importance to the discussion of whether or not the title "rural sociology" is a misnomer, let us consider it briefly.

It appears likely that publicists and instructors in our higher institutions of learning have adopted the title to denote a sociological approach to the study of rural affairs. I apprehend that in their minds the title appeared to be a valid descriptive phrase of a much-needed division of labor. The situation was not dissimilar to that among primitive peoples when persons are denoted initially by descriptive names. A few years ago, while making an investigation among the Dakota Sioux Indians, I discovered that the Indians referred to me as "the man in gray," because of the color of my clothes. An acquaintance was known as "The Elk," his stature and physique suggesting running ability. The government storekeeper was dubbed "whang leather," his skin having the appearance of parchment. Practically every male Indian bore a descriptive name. There was Black Bull, Sitting Bull, Blue Jacket, White Eagle, Shoot Holy, Little Soldier, and so on. We remember Spencer's treatment of the origin of names and the emphasis he places on descriptive beginnings. All this suggests that rural social study is only in its primitive stage, and that in its maturity it may adopt a title which is more formal and less descriptive than that of rural sociology.

According to usage governing names, the title rural sociology is supported by an extended sanction. In the field of psychology,

besides general psychology there is comparative psychology, abnormal psychology, experimental psychology, physiological psychology. Well-known works testify to their usage. The various kinds of history are denominated as ancient, mediaeval, modern, Grecian, Roman, German, French, English, etc., *ad infinitum*. Chemistry is designated as organic, inorganic, applied, theoretical, agricultural, analytical, metallurgical, pharmaceutical, physical, and sanitary chemistry. The variations in biology are alluded to as structural, systematic, plant, and animal biology. Similar findings appear relative to other domains of study. These facts indicate nothing more than that conventional usage sanctions such titles as general sociology, applied sociology, rural sociology, criminal sociology, inductive sociology, and other descriptive titles. It proves nothing relative to the scientific accuracy of such appellations. But it gives those who desire to employ such titles the gratifying sense of traveling in a large and good company.

The suggestion that there is some scientific justification for employing the title rural sociology may prove entertaining, and I shall indicate the trend of my thoughts in making this suggestion. I think that we have not gone far enough in any of the social sciences to assert that we have a single, unitary economics, sociology, ethics, ethnology, or other social science. The only single and unitary social science of any description that we possess exists as an intellectual projection. Such a single and unitary science is the ideal science which all social scientists think should be striven for and ultimately realized, forsooth, but which is not yet attained. Practically all of the sciences which deal with life are undergoing that prolongation of infancy which is characteristic of higher mammals and of the human species in particular. What sociology, economics, or statistics will be when they have passed out of their period of adolescence, no one can predict. Sociology, like its compeers, is in a state of becoming, with great expectations, but with a minimum of demonstrable principles.

It may not appear strange some time in the future if, instead of having a single science of sociology, we should have several recognized sciences of sociology. If society is a resultant of the

interactions between the various human interests, conditioned by external determining factors, since the associational fabrics resulting from differently proportioned interests and conditions will inevitably be dissimilar, may there not be several kinds of societies instead of one and, therefore, several sociologies? At least, may it not be that the most attainable object will prove to be the development of distinct sociologies built on national or regional bases?

In the same manner and for like reasons it is evident that the sociology of primitive life is not that of civilization. A scientific explanation of savage society is no more competent to parade as a scientific explanation of matured society than the psychology of infancy is sufficient to exhibit the workings of the adult mind. In each case fundamental factors are missing in the earlier stage, certain essential interests have not appeared, the determining conditions exercise qualitatively different influences on the activities, and the resultant organisms or organizations are dissimilar.

What is seen to differentiate primitive sociology from that of developed society in a commensurate manner demarks rural from urban communities. There is a dissimilar reaction of interests, because interests meet in disproportionate amounts. The impact of physical conditions is unmediated in the one case and mediated in the other. The crust of custom is more restrictive here than there. The distribution of population exercises a qualifying influence. The consequent associational fact is something different.

If by sociology is always meant a rigidly scientific attempt to account for group phenomena, and if, further, the attempt must be dissociated from utilitarian motives, then the title "rural sociology" is incompetent to express the scientific import of sociological studies of rural communities. But, for the same reasons, there are few treatises which may be called sociologies, and the newer works bearing that name are especially ineligible because they deal so largely with the solution of practical problems. If to treat rural life quite largely as a set of problems to be solved is unscientific, rural sociology at present cannot qualify for the scientific class. It arose out of a growing demand for the application of rational intelligence to the conditions obtaining in country districts, and its initial spirit and motive was thereby necessarily

rendered practical and utilitarian. The great business of rural sociology is, and perhaps ever will be, the attainment of a sympathetic understanding of the life of farming communities and the application to them of rational principles of social endeavor. But general sociology, at its best, is but a wrought-out structure of intellectual problems, and if rural sociology pursues its mission of understanding and solving in a rational manner the issues of rural life, it will become scientific, but will differ essentially from sociology in general by reason of its more restricted and immediate sphere. Its first imperative is to understand rural communities in terms of their conditions. Its next imperative is to formulate right ways of action. We may think of rural sociology as that branch of sociology which systematically studies rural communities to discover their conditions and tendencies, and to formulate principles of progress.

THE SCOPE OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Rural sociology, by reason of its very nature, is obliged to regard agricultural phenomena in their collective bearing or community aspect. Sociology necessarily is impregnated with considerations of organicity. The sociologist is a diagnostician who views all parts and functions of society in relation to the total organism and who considers defects of functions as symptomatic of general ill-health. Like the modern physician who prescribes a regimen instead of prescribing for symptoms in order to reconstruct the patient's vitality, the sociologist is likely to see the system behind all social ills. The highest category of the phases of society for the sociologist is that of progress. All social phenomena are interesting objects of study and their treatment may be necessary as causality foundations. But those which relate to the determination of progress, which manifest in what manner the estate of the mass of men may be improved and how a more balanced functioning of society at large may be secured, are regarded as the most worthy of attention.

The rural sociologist has his task laid out for him, his viewpoint and direction of interest established, and his method of interpretation prescribed by the procedure of the more general

sociological discipline. The implications which determine the scope of his operations are therein involved. As the general sociologist regards society at large, so he must view the rural sector of society. As the general sociologist seeks to catch all social phenomena in his synthetic net, so the rural sociologist must leave out of sight no influential factor in country life. And as the general sociologist finds his crowning function in developing the principles of progress, so the rural sociologist's endeavor must be to point all considerations with the thought of improvement.

Because the keynote in the effort of the rural sociologist is socialization, there is nothing let down before him in the rural net which he may consider unclean. Every affair that conditions and determines the community or which, by reason of its influence through the instrumentality of the community, conditions and determines rural individuals and institutions must be studied and evaluated. The scope of rural sociology, therefore, is coextensive with rural social phenomena and their determining conditions. Individuals, institutions, organizations, the rural mind in its individual and social character, the interaction of these factors with each other and with the physical conditions, constitute the substantial content and scope of rural sociology.

It is fitting that attention be given to the relation of rural sociology to other disciplines devoted to considerations of agricultural communities. Rural economics, rural education, rural religion, rural recreation, etc., are subjects which have been given much attention and developed into more or less distinct disciplines. Without raising the question of the relative value of these developing fields, it is safe to say there is slight, and should be no, interference between them and rural sociology. It is the office of each interest to select and correlate its content according to its dominating motive. The purpose set gives to each undertaking its scope and task. Whereas all lines of investigation may consider pretty much the same data, since the dominating purposes in the premises are characteristically divergent, there is small reason for conflict or interference.

The rural sociologist may consider geographical conditions, but not as the geographer would consider and array them. The

former selects only those geographical facts useful to his purpose, accepts the conclusions of geographers relative to them, and seeks to discover their bearing in shaping and determining rural communities and societal affairs. Rural sociology may consider the economic conditions and relations of rural life, but the treatment should be syncopated. It accepts the findings of the economist, has no economic investigative function, no direct interest in the details of production, marketing, credits, as such. But it does have an imperative duty to ascertain the bearing of these matters on rural welfare in its various phases and to arrive at an evaluation of them as agencies in the determination of vital conditions.

The office of rural sociology should be clearly conceived and demarked. That office, it is seen, cannot be exercised by any other discipline, when there is a clear judgment of the appropriate division of labor between the various rural disciplines and of their interrelations. The ideal rural sociology will evaluate geographic conditions, economic factors, the school, the church, and the various other important agencies. It will pronounce on the worth of social factors in view of what they should accomplish, suggest modifications in behalf of social efficiency, and propose the establishment of needed but lacking devices. It will seek to determine what is normal life for rural communities and to measure all factors by their contributive value thereto. Its function, after the facts are known, is interpretative, evaluating, synthetic.

We have thus far observed, in a general way, what the sweep of rural sociology is to be. It is now pertinent to inquire in what way the discussion has touched the item of instruction in rural sociology.

In the determination of the scope of a given discipline are involved also, by implication, the maximum limits within which the instruction in that discipline must occur. So far, therefore, as the question regarding the scope of instruction in rural sociology is pertinent, it may be said that, to the degree to which the preceding discussion of the scope of the subject is valid, the scope of instruction has been determined.

This general discussion of the scope of rural sociology may raise the suspicion that something essential has been omitted.

The situation may appear analogous to that in which the philosopher bounds his discipline, philosophy, by the confines of the universe and asserts that philosophy has as its function the examination of all phenomena and the interpretation of those phenomena relative to their significance for the problem of existence. None, save the philosopher, perhaps, would have other than a hazy conception of the field of philosophy. Should the layman then desire to philosophize legitimately, he would be troubled to discern the place of beginning, the crucial points of attack, and whether what he developed through his philosophizing was truly philosophy or within the domain of some lesser synthetic discipline. It may be regarded, therefore, as a legitimate part of this discussion to make somewhat explicit, relative to the scope of rural sociology, what has hitherto appeared to be implicit. In view of this requirement I shall now proceed to indicate and demark the chief centers of attack and points of emphasis in rural sociology. The treatment must necessarily be brief, the indications symptomatic, and the reasons largely assumed to be apparent. I disclaim any responsibility for the similarity between the inventory and Homer's famous catalogue of ships.

The first point of attack concerns rural responses to physical conditions. Variations in temperature, soil, and precipitation are, to a great extent, responsible for differentiating the United States into distinct agricultural regions by reason of the differences in crop responses. Crop responses, in turn, largely decide the forms of agriculture, stock-raising, dairying, large and small farming, and the density of population. Climatic conditions, the crop response, the forms of agriculture, and the density of population are strong determinants of the forms and extent of sociability and the amount of leisure. Climatic conditions and crop responses are also influential in directing the flow of immigration and the establishment of immigrant communities. While not immediately responsible for what rural life becomes, geographic factors have a large share in shaping them and are the ultimate conditioning factors.

Perhaps the second center of consideration is that of population. The amount of the national, as well as of the rural, population is

determined by the land. The density of population rests on access to the land and involves attention to land ownership. The problem of tenancy may be considered here or under production. National and race elements in the population are significant for unity, co-operation, and progress. Distribution and density give rise to problems of isolation and co-operation. Gains and losses of population may denote a healthy or a morbid state and have import for nation and locality. Attention to the amount and causes of losses is imperative. Rates of natural increase of rural inhabitants are symptomatic of physical and social conditions. Proportions of age and sex hint at the productive efficiency and the marital state of rural peoples.

A third center of interest is that of production, production in the economic sense. Rural sociology is interested in certain phases of production only as they condition the various fundamental activities of rural communities. It does not regard wealth production as an end in itself, but as an essential foundation of a larger existence. Hence, it must inquire in what way such factors as the following have a determining influence among rural populations: per capita and per family production; extensive and intensive farming; capitalistic or large farming versus farming by small owners; farm ownership; farm tenancy; conditions of labor; marketing; rural credit. Closely related topics are taxation, the various forms of insurance, including accident insurance, and savings-account systems. The possibility of securing a better adjustment relative to many of these factors is worthy of study.

A fourth point of attack is communication. Roads, systems of road construction, local, state, and national systems of regulation, rural mail delivery, telephones, rural parcel post, interurban lines, automobiles, every means by which social activities are transacted and furthered, demand attention in the ratio of their importance. The creation of means of communication appears to lie near the heart of the evolution of society. Good roads and quickened transit may introduce a new rural society. But there is also a reverse side to the shield which must be regarded. With their power to quicken the community pulse, these agencies

likewise possess a tremendous thrusting power toward urban life. It is conceivable that some sort of deruralization may be the outcome of improved communication.

A fifth center of interest is that of health. I do not stop to argue that rural health conditions have social import. That is conceded. These questions arise: How does health in the country where the facts are not so well known compare with that in the city where the facts are better known? To what unsanitary conditions are rural diseases due? What are effective and valid remedial measures? What devices and agencies are best adapted to reach the rural mind, respecting health and sanitation?

A sixth important consideration concerns neighborhood institutions and organizations. Perhaps the rural home and the family demand more attention than we have accorded them. The domestic institution in the country has its own peculiar problems. Some of the domestic concerns needing investigation and discussion are: the family system of control, whether patriarchal or modern; the home atmosphere and facilities for home satisfactions; woman's work, hours of labor, and the facilities for carrying on the work; her leisure and opportunities for recreation, association, and culture; rural child labor, perhaps the largest aspect of national child labor; the ethical basis of the participation of women and children in the agricultural process; educational, recreational, and associational facilities and privileges of country children.

The various neighborhood institutions and organizations of the country, as the community framework and the agencies of prosecuting the essential activities, deserve careful study. Those organizations which deal with economic production exclusively should be considered under production to the degree that they are seen to influence societal activities generally. Their societal phases as such may find a place here at discretion. Relative to the institutions of long standing, the church and the school, we must inquire relative to each: Is it an efficient institution, when judged in the light of the community function it should perform? This supposes that we know what each of these agencies should accomplish. We apprehend this to the degree that we have

arrived at a competent judgment as to the demands society at large and the local community make upon them. Upon the basis of this judgment, the investigator may proceed to formulate a program for school and church, which, if executed, will transform them into more serviceable agencies of community life.

Certain notable agencies and organizations have appeared in the rural affairs of our nation during relatively recent years. In the list may be mentioned granges, unions, societies of equity, co-operative buying and marketing organizations, institutes, farmers' clubs, non-partisan leagues, and recreation associations. The function of the rural sociologist is to evaluate their usefulness for social progress, to denote their limitations, to suggest needed modifications and how greater efficiency may be secured. It is also his function to make an inventory of the social resources of country communities and to reveal how the social capital may be increased.

A seventh significant line of study is the pathological social conditions of country life. The phrase is objectionable, but it covers important facts, such as poverty, pauperism, insanity, feeble-mindedness, and criminality. While in some particulars the country appears to better advantage than urban groups, in no case is it within the limit of complete safety. Rural populations are exceedingly behindhand in giving serious attention to the scientific and preventive methods of handling these menacing phenomena. As in many other fields of investigation and study of rural conditions, there is a dearth of reliable information relative to the frequency of occurrence and the provocative factors of these features. Real statesmanlike insight into devising appropriate and effective laws and instruments for exercising a safe control and the gradual reduction or complete elimination of these backward classes is sorely demanded. Extreme pauperism may be infrequent, the social evil as a local institution may scarcely exist, and all the insane may have been placed in hospitals; but a sane method of dealing with juvenile delinquency and of reaching the multitudes of epileptics and feeble-minded scattered among rural populations who are menacing the future by unrestricted procreation are among the most pressing imperatives.

An eighth center of interest is the psychology of the rural social mind. As a scientific curio the rural mind may be interesting to the highest degree. But its scientific understanding is more worthy because any approach to rural betterment and progress must be founded upon it. The psychological interpretation of that great urbanward movement, which sweeps from 300,000 to 400,000 persons a year from country to city, should prove most significant and fruitful. It is desirable also that the rural mind be studied to discover its avenues of appeal, for all steps in rural progress are conditioned by an educational program of presentation and discussion. In order that rural advance shall take place, it is likewise requisite that the social mind of country neighborhoods be inoculated with the germs of aspiration and expectation of better things. The means and methods of reaching the rural intelligence which are specifically adapted to its characteristics must be discovered and developed.

The ninth group of considerations deal with semi-rural and town-country communities and their problems. The situation in towns and villages of less than 2,500 inhabitants, such groups of population being usually included with rural groups, is decidedly distinct from that prevailing in the open country. A study of conditions peculiar to these groups, the deficits existing, the effect of these on the developing youth, especially, and their correctives would appear to be worthy of the highest consideration. The town-country communities, the small town together with its surrounding agricultural district, present some specially interesting problems. There needs to be attention given to the possibility and methods of developing a larger and more vital co-operation between the two sides of such neighborhoods.

Tenth, some attention should be devoted to the relation of country to city. Since the influence of country upon city appears to be directly less than that of city upon country, it is appropriate for the rural sociologist to draw this group of considerations within his survey. The characteristic differences between the two types of community, their advantages and disadvantages for purposes of complete living, and their reactions upon each other would constitute some of the germane and more important inquiries.

Eleventh, it will probably be agreed that instruction in rural sociology should include matters pertinent to making investigations and surveys. If any advance is to take place among agricultural peoples there must first occur an adequate inventory of conditions obtaining among such populations. It is quite unreasonable to expect development along right lines without adequate knowledge. The training and equipment of a leadership which is able to rise to the importance of its task is a part of the function to be exercised by departments and courses which deal with the social situation. In the preparation of such a leadership what could prove more provocative of ultimate advance in rural life than a development of the ability to investigate, to survey, and to interpret the results with a view to securing the introduction of an improved social system?

Having made this brief but necessarily tedious survey of the more important centers of interest in rural sociology, I confess to a consciousness of the inadequacy of the treatment. The details have been slurred, and only a few of the typically important ones have been mentioned. Perhaps the reader will desire to add to the list of the main centers of interest. To this I do not object, since my list is not intended to be exhaustive. My purpose has been only to make a syncopated survey in order that something of the nature of the contents involved within the scope of rural sociology may be discerned.

METHODS OF INSTRUCTION

It is not intended that a consideration of the methods of instruction pertinent to rural sociology shall involve a discussion of pedagogical principles and the various forms of class presentation. That knowledge of psychology and of the human mind essential to the best presentation of a given material to the intellectual apprehension of students will be presupposed.

Our point of departure in discussing this portion of the subject may be taken from this question: Is there anything in the nature of rural sociology to differentiate its methods of instruction from those of the older social science disciplines?

Perhaps the first thing that occurs to us in reply to this question relates to the concrete nature of rural sociology. The field is represented as that of a series or set of problems. But rural sociology differs from general sociology or the principles of economics only in that the latter disciplines, as sets of problems, are only somewhat further removed from concrete situations than is rural sociology. Every science, general or applied, is constituted of a series of intellectual problems. The principles of the applied science are borrowed from the more general science and put to use as regulative principles in the treatment of the applied field. They are assumed and do not have to be worked out anew. But the generalizations, inferences, and conclusions, drawn in the case of each center of interest or special problem of the applied science, emanate from the immediate field of concrete facts. The general science consists of higher generalizations and a larger body of more remote or ultimate principles. Not all of the methods of instruction available in the applied science are appropriate to the general science.

There is little to indicate that the methods of instruction applicable to rural sociology are distinguished from those employed in the other applied social sciences. Is it possible to mention one method employed by rural sociology or conceived as being pertinent, which has not been used in the work of instruction relative to charities, criminology, sociology of urban communities, and so on? Since nothing new in method suggests itself, we are forced to conclude that rural sociology employs and should employ the available methods developed in the other applied fields of social science.

This is likely to contradict the first thought relative to methods of instruction in rural sociology. Relatively speaking, rural sociology has burst upon us as something strange and new. Here is the great rural field seemingly quite different from urban society; it is a strange field in that its facts have not been ascertained as have those of urban communities and have not been systematized as have those, therefore there must be in this vast domain of social phenomena a place for new methods of instruction. In a field that is just being discovered, where nearly everything is to be

learned, the multitudes of investigations required and the new zeal engendered, as well as the actual demands, make for laboratory methods. Out of this new situation has, I think, quite naturally arisen the anticipation in some quarters that instruction shall proceed according to new devices.

To make the discussion of this phase of the subject somewhat more complete, let me sketch the more important methods of instruction found profitable in this field. First, I do not doubt that the presentation of the outline and principles of rural sociology as a whole and of the various problems of rural society will, and should, proceed according to the long-used methods of text or lectures, or a discreet use of both. Whether text or lecture or both will be employed will depend on the outlook of the instructor, the time he has to accomplish the work, and the availability of profitable texts. Personally, in this as in other subjects, I believe that students receive the greatest value from the use of a text as the basis of discussion, supplemented by lectures on the part of the instructor. I am inclined to think that the exclusive employment of the lecture system is one of the distinct curses of collegiate education. Perhaps I am biased by my seven years' experience as a student in graduate work in various institutions of the United States.

I am assuming that along with the class instruction will go a due amount of collateral reading. But that reading should be carefully selected by the instructor. There is much material in the literature of rural life that is empty. I conceive that miscellaneous references would prove a waste of the student's time. I also assume that a large amount of free discussion will occur during the class hour. My experience with students inclines me to think that they receive the largest profit from this free but well-directed discussion. I have been surprised to learn that my most alert graduate students believe that they get the most out of our work when the course of instruction is given in an informal manner.

Next in importance to the text and lecture work, I would place the study of rural surveys. Our guesses as to conditions in rural life have run far ahead of the findings of surveys, so that when the

surveys have come we have been prepared in a measure against the shock of their revelations. It is not because of their discoveries of new things that they are to be highly rated, but because of their confirmatory character and their vivid portrayal of the actuality in many little neighborhoods. The student can visualize the small community. His mind can grasp its outline and details. To him it is something that stands for rural life. This big outline which the instructor has presented is overwhelming and remote. Here is the reality. Here is another such reality. Here another. Through these concrete expressions of the rural neighborhood, the student is able to grasp the significance and fill in the outlines of the larger aspects of rural life.

Much of the instruction in law schools is given by way of the case method. The student is given his case. From a study of it he makes his findings, including the essential facts in the case, the principles of law involved, and the decision based on those principles. In a true sense the survey is representative of a case, and using surveys as a part of instruction is using the case method. Each community surveyed is on trial. The survey presents the facts as evidence in the case. The interpretation of the facts is based on principles of the social sciences. The conclusions represent the decision. The study of surveys enables the student to comprehend rural communities as such, to know the principles of interpretation involved, and to conceive devices whereby the deficiencies of rural life may be rectified.

The question of the employment of field work by the student as a part of the instruction in rural sociology is worthy of discussion. On the one hand, the making of investigations and the carrying on of survey work have the merit of putting the student in touch with living situations and of stimulating in him a high degree of interest. On the other hand, investigations and surveys are difficult to make, they require maturity, they involve a large investment of time, and the field of effort is likely to be far removed from the institution where the instruction takes place. As a matter of fact there are relatively few institutions in the United States which extensively and seriously employ their students, as a part of the course of instruction, in investigative and survey work.

For both theoretical and practical reasons—and by practical reasons I mean my experience—I will say there are two classes of students with whom the survey and investigative work may be used to advantage, namely, graduate students, and those mature students in various institutions who will live in country regions. The former are competent to do the work and the latter should have a training to execute tasks which they are likely to be called on to perform. For other classes of students, whether or not these forms of field work will be undertaken as a part of instruction in rural sociology should be decided upon the determination of the question: Will the interest in the subject on the part of the student that such work provokes be sufficient to remunerate him for his great expenditure of time?

Before becoming aware that a paper by Mr. Dwight Sanderson was being prepared, in connection with the rural sociology work at the University of Chicago, and that it would soon appear in the *American Journal of Sociology*, I undertook a limited investigation of the status of rural sociology in the institutions of the nation. I addressed questions to twelve, each, of universities, state agricultural colleges, and normal schools, the questions being somewhat different for each set of institutions. However, since, through the kindness of Professor Bedford and Mr. Sanderson, I have been privileged to examine the contents of Mr. Sanderson's forthcoming paper, I refrain from presenting my results, save in the cases which refer to methods of instruction.

I received replies from twelve universities, four of which do not give instruction in rural sociology. Seven of the eight indicated that a text is used in the work of instruction, while eight employ the lecture method. To what extent the two methods are combined it is impossible to say. Relative to field work as a part of instruction five replies indicated that investigation is employed, and six use the survey to a limited extent. To the question regarding what method of instruction had been found the most profitable, practically all replies sanctioned the use of text, lecture, readings, and both kinds of field work.

Eight replies were received from the twelve agricultural colleges addressed. The answers indicated that six give instruction by

text, six by lecture, and five mentioned the use of reading and the preparation of papers. The study of surveys which have been made was emphasized in one reply. Six replies indicated that instruction is being given by making survey work a part of the course, and one of these denoted a limited use of the survey, while but one institution requires or employs investigative work, and that in a very restricted manner. As to what has been found the most useful method of instruction, the replies indicate the following institutional status: text, 6; lecture, 2; readings, 5; discussion, 2. In this connection methods of instruction included under field work receive no mention.

Of the twelve normal schools which replied to my questions, two give instruction in rural sociology only during three weeks. Nine of the normals indicate that a text is used with classes, two employ the lecture method exclusively, and one seems to make free discussion the larger factor in instruction. In the case of the latter institution, the reply states that the man who instructs by text or by lecture is a "dead one." Relative to making use of field work in giving instruction, two normals reply unreservedly, yes; five indicate a limited use; five, no use, but two of these indicate a belief in it. One instructor in a southern state reports that he spends three days a week among rural communities, "helping them to organize and stay organized" and that an annual rural conference is held at his institution in which community building and the marketing of farm products receive emphasis.

I received a reply from the instructor in the rural-school department of the state normal school at Cheney, Washington, which deserves quoting because it gives evidence of how profitable rural sociology may be made. Mr. Craig says:

Four years ago, when the work was elective, we had about fifteen students out of some four hundred electing it, and yet we found that practically every graduate who went out to teach before graduation went to the rural schools. So we made it a required subject for all who enter the Junior year and also for all who take out the undergraduate certificate. This made it a straight semester's work following Junior psychology. The course at once ranked in importance with all other subjects in the educational course and was greatly

strengthened. We now have some three hundred students taking the full semester's work. Since we have extended the course I am in a position to know that we have raised the standard of work being done in our rural schools more than 100 per cent. Even for those who go to the city schools the course in rural life is very popular.

The results from this limited questionnaire study are unimportant, save as they are symptomatic of the way the wind is blowing relative to the methods of instruction now being employed in the field of rural sociology among the nearly one hundred institutions where rural sociology is taught.

THE TEACHING OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY: PARTICULARLY IN THE LAND-GRANT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES¹

DWIGHT L. SANDERSON
University of Chicago

1. *Introductory.*—The most notable feature of the work of President Roosevelt's Country Life Commission² consisted in its forcing the attention of the American public to the supreme importance of the social problems of the open country. The colleges of agriculture and the United States Department of Agriculture had already begun campaigns of agricultural extension, and the commission's report indicated the need of a still more comprehensive national program of extension work, which was taken up by these institutions and finally realized in the Smith-Lever act of May 8, 1914. As a result of these extension activities the agricultural-college faculties have had occasion to learn, through their larger contact with the farmers, that their problems are economic and social as well as technical. Consequently there has been a rapid increase in the interest in rural sociology and agricultural economics, and courses in these subjects have been introduced into the curricula of most of these institutions within the past few years. This attitude upon the part of the agricultural colleges was well exemplified by a remark of President Benjamin Ide Wheeler in his address of welcome to the Association of Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations assembled at Berkeley, California, last August. "Our business," he said, "is ultimately a sociological business. Considerations of soil technology but scratch the surface. What we are busied with here is trying to find out how to adjust this soil to the use of the families."³

¹This article was distributed at the meeting in printed form and was discussed. It appeared in the January issue of the *American Journal of Sociology*.—EDITOR.

²*Report of the Country Life Commission* (Sturgis & Walton Co., 1911), p. 29.

³*Proc. 29th Ann. Conv. Am. Assoc. Agr. Coll. and Exp. Stations*, p. 19.

Our educational leaders have also awakened to a realization of the problems of the rural school until it has come to have the center of the stage at educational conventions. Many normal schools have introduced departments of rural education, and systems of county high-school training courses for rural teachers have been established in several states. Furthermore, there has been a very definite shift toward a social standard for evaluating educational aims and methods.¹ As a result of these factors the normal schools have also become interested in the problems of agricultural economics and rural sociology.

Finally, church leaders have awakened to the fact that the future of the rural church must rest upon a more social religion, and home mission boards have been busy in investigating rural social conditions in relation to the life of the church. The country minister is becoming interested in rural social and economic problems.

In view of the rapid increase in the interest in these subjects, and preparatory to further work in them, it has seemed to the writer that it might be worth while to make a study of the teaching of rural sociology at the present time, as well as of its history and tendencies. The following questionnaire was therefore prepared and sent to all the land-grant colleges and state universities and to such other colleges as were known to be giving instruction in the subject. In all about 90 institutions were addressed. Replies were received from 57 institutions, 44 of which taught some form of rural sociology and 13 of which did not. A number of the correspondents were sufficiently interested in the investigation to give quite detailed replies to the questions and in several cases to furnish complete outlines of the courses given. To all of these the writer wishes to express his appreciation of their courtesy.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR A SURVEY OF THE TEACHING OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

1. Name of institution.
2. Department of _____ head of department.
3. What courses are offered in rural sociology? (Please give the following data for each course.)
 - a) Name and number.
 - b) Hours per week, number of weeks, and credits per term.

¹ See John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, particularly p. 138.

- c) Name of instructor of course.
 - d) Does instructor give part time to any other work?
 - e) Is this course required or elective?
 - f) In what class are most of the students in this course?
 - g) Is any practice or field work, such as surveys, reports of investigations, etc., required, and if so, of what nature?
 - h) In what year was this—or a similar—course first given?
 - i) If you have in printed or duplicated form any outline of the topics covered in the course, or indicating the text used or reading required, a copy will be appreciated.
4. What is the relation of your courses in rural sociology to—
- a) General elementary sociology?
 - b) Elementary political economy?
 - c) Rural economics?
 - d) Education?
- (I.e., are any of these prerequisites or required in the same group of studies; are they taught in the same or a separate department; in the same or a different college?)
5. Please give your definition of rural sociology.
6. What, in your judgment, should be the contents of an elementary course in rural sociology adapted to the needs of agricultural students? Please indicate general topics.
7. In your opinion should the elementary courses in rural sociology and rural economics require general elementary sociology and political economy as prerequisites or should the elements of each subject be given from the agricultural viewpoint in one course covering both the general and rural phases of each subject?
8. In your opinion should the elementary courses in rural sociology and rural economics be given separately as distinct sciences or should there be one course in rural social science (possibly running through a year, and conceivably with different instructors for different semesters) built upon the thought of their interrelation?
9. If your institution offers no work in rural sociology, is any immediately contemplated?
10. Do you offer graduate work in rural sociology leading to advanced degrees?
11. Please send a catalogue of your institution or circular covering the work of your department.
12. What other colleges or normal schools in your state are giving courses in rural sociology? Please give name and address of instructor, if known.
13. May I quote your answers above? None will be quoted without permission.
14. Name and address of person or persons answering above.

2. *Where taught.*—From the replies received indicating the many sorts of institutions which are teaching the subject, it became

evident that only by an examination of the catalogues of a large number could any fair estimate be made of the extent to which rural sociology is now taught. The files of college and normal-school catalogues in the University of Chicago Library were therefore examined. In this search only those for the last two years were used, and no institutions were counted which did not give work of collegiate grade in economics or sociology, or both. Obviously the selection was somewhat arbitrary, and undoubtedly some institutions have escaped, but it is believed that the number examined is sufficient to make the general conclusions fairly accurate and of some value.

Table I shows the number of institutions teaching rural sociology by states and classes of institutions. It shows that 64 per cent of the 48 land-grant colleges, 45 per cent of the 20 state universities—separate from land-grant colleges—32 per cent of the 91 normal schools, and 9 per cent of 301 other colleges and universities, or 21 per cent of the total 460 institutions examined, are teaching rural sociology. It is obvious that in sparsely settled states like Arizona, Montana, and New Mexico there is but little demand for rural sociology, but it seems odd that agricultural states like Nebraska and South Carolina do not have a single institution teaching this subject. It is also interesting to note that the subject finds but little appreciation in the curricula of eastern institutions. Thus of the 148 institutions in the 15 states of the Atlantic seaboard but 21, or 13 per cent, give instruction in rural sociology, and most of these are land-grant colleges, for of the 94 private colleges and universities in these states only 4, Harvard University (and Radcliffe College), Teachers College of Columbia University, Syracuse University, and Adelphi College, give courses. Table II gives a list of the institutions found giving some sort of instruction in rural sociology.¹

Undoubtedly some of the courses announced in catalogues may not as yet have been given, but even so they indicate the appreciation of the subject. Out of 14 institutions replying that they

¹ Doubtless some institutions have been missed, as the course in rural sociology is often given in some department other than that in which it might be expected to be given.

offered no rural sociology, 6 intend to introduce a course within the next year or two.

3. *Historical.*—The late Professor C. R. Henderson seems to have been the first to offer a course on rural social life in this country. In the announcements of the Department of Sociology of the University of Chicago for 1894-95 there appeared:

31. Social Conditions in American Rural Life. Some problems of amelioration, presented by life on American farms and in villages, will be considered. M. First Term. Winter Quarter. Associate Professor Henderson.

The *Quarterly Calendar* (III, No. 4) shows that 16 students were registered in the first class. From that time until two or three years before his death Professor Henderson gave the course almost every summer, though the name was changed to "Rural Communities." Professor Henderson also seems to have been the first to call the attention of sociologists to the importance of this field. In discussing "The Scope of Social Technology" in 1901 he called attention to the rural community, and after referring to the economico-political studies of rural problems made in Germany, he said:

When men of science once apprehend the vastness of this neglected field, they will bring to it the same acumen, patience, and method which have won worthy triumphs in the production of wealth. Granting that the economic basis must be laid firmly, may we not now insist that a part of scientific labor be drafted off into other fields of research? We actually have more and better books on breeding cattle and marketing corn than on forming citizens or organizing culture. Is it not worth while to attempt a social technology of the rural community? And would not even a failure in the attempt be worthy of respect?¹

In the fall of 1902 Kenyon L. Butterfield was made instructor in rural sociology at the University of Michigan and gave his first course in that subject. In 1903 Mr. Butterfield called attention to the importance of the study of the social sciences by agricultural students in an article entitled, "An Untilled Field in American Agricultural Education,"² in which he defined rural social science and outlined its content. In 1904, as president of the

¹ *American Journal of Sociology*, VI (January, 1901), 476.

² *Popular Science Monthly*, LXIII (1903), 257-61.

TABLE I
INSTITUTIONS TEACHING RURAL SOCIOLOGY, BY STATES AND CLASSES OF INSTITUTIONS

State	Land-Grant College or University	With Rural Sociology	Separate State University	With Rural Sociology	Normal Schools	With Rural Sociology	Colleges and Universities	With Rural Sociology	Total All Institutions	With Rural Sociology
Alabama	C	0	1	0	2	1	6	0	10	1
Arizona	U	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	3	0
Arkansas	U	0	0	0	1	1	3	0	5	1
California	U	0	0	0	2	0	7	1	10	1
Colorado	U	0	1	0	2	1	2	0	6	1
Connecticut	C	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	5	0
District of Columbia	U	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	0
Florida	U	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	4	1
Georgia	U	1	0	0	2	1	5	0	8	2
Idaho	U	1	0	0	2	2	1	0	5	3
Illinois	U	1	0	0	6	1	25	5	32	7
Indiana	U	0	1	1	4	0	11	2	17	3
Iowa	U	1	1	1	1	1	16	1	19	4
Kansas	C	1	1	1	1	0	14	2	17	4
Kentucky	U	1	1	1	2	1	8	1	11	3
Louisiana	U	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	3	1
Maine	U	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	1
Maryland	U	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	1
Massachusetts	C	1	0	0	5	0	13	1	19	2
Michigan	U	1	1	1	3	2	7	1	12	5
Minnesota	U	1	1	0	3	0	5	0	9	1
Mississippi	U	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	4	1
Missouri	U	1	0	0	4	3	11	1	16	5
Montana	U	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	3	0
Nebraska	U	0	0	0	2	0	8	0	11	0
New Hampshire	U	1	0	0	2	1	1	0	4	2
New Jersey	C	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	5	0
New Mexico	C	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	3	0

New York.....	D	I	.....	3	0	21	3	25	4
Nevada.....	D	I	.....	.....	I	.....	.....	I	I
North Carolina.....	C	O	I	I	I	5	0	8	2
North Dakota.....	C	I	I	4	0	2	I	8	3
Ohio.....	D	I	.....	2	2	28	3	31	6
Oklahoma.....	C	I	I	5	5	3	0	10	7
Oregon.....	C	I	O	.....	I	4	I	6	2
Pennsylvania.....	C	O	O	5	I	22	0	20	I
Rhode Island.....	C	I	.....	.....	.....	I	0	2	I
South Carolina.....	C	O	.....	.....	.....	4	0	0	0
South Dakota.....	C	I	I	4	0	5	0	11	2
Tennessee.....	D	I	.....	2	2	10	2	13	5
Texas.....	C	I	.....	2	0	7	I	11	2
Utah.....	C	I	I	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2
Virginia.....	C	O	I	2	2	6	0	10	2
Vermont.....	D	I	.....	.....	.....	2	0	3	I
Washington.....	C	I	.....	I	I	4	2	7	4
West Virginia.....	D	I	.....	3	0	3	0	7	I
Wisconsin.....	D	I	.....	5	0	7	I	13	2
Wyoming.....	D	I	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	I	I
Total.....	48	31 (64 per cent)	20	9 (45 per cent)	91	301	29 (9 per cent)	460	99 (21 per cent)

TABLE II
LIST OF INSTITUTIONS TEACHING RURAL SOCIOLOGY

State	Land-Grant College or State University	Colleges and Universities	Normal Schools
Alabama			State Normal School, Troy
Arizona			State Normal School, Conway
Arkansas			State Normal School, Gunnibson
California		University of Southern California	
Colorado			
Connecticut			
Florida			State Normal School, Athens
Georgia	University—State College of Agriculture		State Normal School, Albion
Idaho	University		State Normal School, Lewiston
Illinois	University		State Normal University
Indiana	University	University of Chicago	
Iowa	University	Eureka College	
Kansas	State College	Illinois Wesleyan University	
Kentucky	University	Lombard College	
Louisiana	Agricultural College	Butler College	
Maine	University	Manchester College	
Maryland	State College of Agriculture	Simpson College	State Teachers' College
Massachusetts	Agricultural College		
Michigan	University	College of Emporia	
Minnesota	Agricultural College	Ottowa University	State Normal School, Bowling Green
Mississippi	University	Berea College	State Normal School, Natchitoches
Missouri	University	Harvard University (Radcliffe College)	
		Olivet College	
		William Jewell College	Central State Normal School, Mt. Pleasant
			Western State Normal School, Kalama ^{zoo}
			1st District State Normal School, Kirksville
			4th District State Normal School, Springfield
			5th District State Normal School, Marysville

New Hampshire.....	State College	Syracuse University	State Normal School, Keene
New York.....	Cornell University	Adelphi College	
Nevada.....	University	Teachers College, Columbia University	East Carolina Teachers' Training School
North Carolina.....	University		
North Dakota.....	Agricultural College	Baldwin-Wallace College	Bowling Green State Normal School
Ohio.....	University	Defiance College	Kent State Normal School
Oklahoma.....	University	Miami University	
	Agricultural and Mechanical College	Ohio Wesleyan University	Northeastern State Normal School, Tahlequah
Oregon.....	Agricultural College		Southwestern State Normal School, Weatherford
Pennsylvania.....	State College	Pacific University	Central State Normal School, Edmond
Rhode Island.....	University		East Central State Normal School, Ada
South Dakota.....	State College of Agriculture		Southeastern State Normal School, Durant
Tennessee.....	University	George Peabody College	Millersville State Normal School
	Agricultural and Mechanical College	Lincoln Memorial University	West Tennessee State Normal School, Memphis
Texas.....	University	Southwestern University	Middle Tennessee State Normal School, Murfreesboro
Utah.....	Agricultural College		
Virginia.....	University	College of Puget Sound	State Female Normal School, Farmville
Vermont.....	State College	Whitman College	State Normal School, Harrisonburg
Washington.....	University	Lawrence College	State Normal School, Bellingham
West Virginia.....	University		
Wisconsin.....	University		
Wyoming.....	University		

Rhode Island College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, he gave the first course in rural sociology given in any of the land-grant colleges. In an address before the American Association of Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations in 1905 he again pointed out the importance of the social sciences in agricultural education:

. . . the social sciences, in their relation to the rural problem particularly, must receive a consideration commensurate with the importance of the industrial and political and social phases of the farm question. . . . If we examine our agricultural course from this standpoint, we shall have to admit that it has the flaw common to most industrial courses. It is too technical. It is not truly vocational. It does not present the social viewpoint. It does not stimulate the student to social activity. It does not give him a foundation for intelligent social service when he shall go to the farm. He should study agricultural economics and rural sociology both because rural society needs leaders and because in the arming of the man the knowledge of society's problems is just as vital as either expert information or personal culture.¹

In 1907 President Butterfield, in his *Chapters on Rural Progress*, further expanded this thought and gave specific outlines for courses in agricultural economics and in rural sociology.

Writing two years later (1909) concerning the "Scope and Work of Colleges of Agriculture," Professor L. H. Bailey summarized the "Economic and Social Subjects," as follows:

These subjects are practically untouched, although the terms "rural economics" and "rural sociology" are coming into the curricula of the colleges of agriculture. . . . These subjects are in many ways the most important that fall to the field of a college of agriculture. Economic and social questions are proper subjects to be taught in a college of agriculture, so far as they bear on rural questions. . . . Rural economics is as logically a part of an agricultural curriculum as is agricultural chemistry. . . . The entire effort of a college of agriculture is devoted to the elevation of country living; that is, it eventuates into social and economic studies.²

In 1902 Mr. Frank L. Tolman, in his paper on "The Study of Sociology in Institutions of Learning in the United States,"³ found the "sociology of the rural group" taught only at the University of Chicago, though it was given incidental treatment in courses at

¹ *Popular Science Monthly*, LXVII (1905), 357, 360.

² *Cyclopedia of Agriculture*, IV, 437.

³ *American Journal of Sociology*, III, 90.

Trinity College, Connecticut, the University of Illinois, Iowa College, the University of Michigan, Columbia University, the University of Wooster, and the University of Wisconsin, as reported by them.

Among the replies received 36 have stated definitely when the course was first given at those institutions. By years these may be summarized as follows: 1894-95, University of Chicago; 1902, University of Michigan; 1904-5, Rhode Island College and Cornell University; 1906-7, University of Missouri and Massachusetts Agricultural College; 1908-9, University of North Dakota; 1910-11, 2 institutions; 1911-12, 2; 1912-13, 4; 1913-14, 5; 1914-15, 8; 1915-16, 6; 1916-17, 2 (announced). It seems safe to infer that probably not over a dozen institutions were teaching rural sociology prior to 1910, and that fully half of those now offering courses have established them within the past three years.

4. *Content of course.*—a) Name: The name of a course is not necessarily a safe index of its content, and yet it often does have a considerable significance by way of indicating the instructor's concept of the course. Out of 68 colleges and universities listed (excluding normal schools), 37, or 60 per cent, used the term "Rural Sociology." From the diverse content of the course, as discussed below, it seems that this term has preference simply because it is concise; or may it not be because it sounds more "scientific"? To indicate the wide diversity of titles used it may be stated that the other 32 institutions have 22 different names. These have been grouped under closely related names, as follows: "Rural Sociology and Economics," 2; "Rural Economics" (including social life), 2; "Rural Social Problems," 8; "Rural Communities," 10; "Rural Social Development," 3; "Rural Life," 3; "Rural Society," "Country Life Movement," "Principles of Rural Life and Education," "Social Science," and "Economic and Social Status of Rural Communities," 1 each. It is significant to note that some of the institutions which have the oldest and largest departments of sociology do not use the term "Rural Sociology." Thus the universities of Illinois and Michigan prefer "The Social Problems of Rural Communities"; the University of Iowa and Harvard use "Rural Social Development"; Wisconsin uses "Rural

Life"; the University of Chicago, "Rural Communities"; and Teachers College, Columbia, "The Rural Community."

b) Definition: Many of the correspondents failed to give any reply to question 5, asking for a definition of the subject, some stating that their definitions were changing so frequently that they hardly seemed worthy of statement. One of the workers who has done most in this field replied, "We have not yet defined rural sociology." Most of the definitions indicate that the subject is distinctly a part of applied sociology or social technology.¹ Thus Professor Paul L. Vogt, of Ohio State University, replies:

Rural sociology is the study of the forces and conditions of rural life as a basis for constructive action in developing and maintaining a scientifically efficient civilization in the country.

Professor John Phelan, of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, says:

Rural sociology is a study of the social forces and factors operating in rural life, with a view to its more adequate organization.

Professor L. L. Bernard, of the University of Missouri:

The study of the forces and activities—institutional and non-institutional—which are concerned with the evolution, organization, and improvement of rural life.

Professor A. S. Harding, of the South Dakota Agricultural College:

Rural sociology is concerned with the evolution, present status, and suggested betterment of rural social institutions.

Professor George H. von Tungeln, Iowa State College:

Rural sociology is a study of men living together in the country, and of forces and factors which are acted upon by men and which react upon them in their relation with one another.

¹ Cf. E. G. Nourse, "What is Agricultural Economics?" *Journal of Political Economy*, XXIV (April, 1916), 378, footnote: "This ["a practical program of rural betterment"—*supra*, 378] in turn shades off into rural sociology (whatever that is). And, as in the case of social economics in general, it runs ambitiously toward ethical criticism and evaluation."

Professor Ernest Burnham, of the Western State Normal School, Kalamazoo, Michigan, introduces a new note by calling attention to the rural-urban relation:

Rural sociology is the science of the reciprocal relations of human beings living in rural communities. It also considers the reciprocal relations of rural and urban communities.

The two following emphasize the study of the group. Professor E. L. Holton, of the Kansas Agricultural College, says:

As we teach it, it is a study of institutions and groups or community life in the open country.

And Professor E. C. Branson, of the University of North Carolina, says:

A study of the group actions and reactions of human nature under country conditions.

Professor Newell L. Sims, of the University of Florida, says:

In general it is applied sociology; specifically, a study of rural conditions in the light of the knowledge of society with a view to discovering and suggesting ways of improving them.

The philanthropic idea seems to crop out in the definition of Professor G. Coray, of the University of Utah:

Exposition of the social problems of rural life with suggestions for home and neighborhood amelioration.

On the other hand, three correspondents have very clearly indicated their denial of there being a science of rural sociology, which view is evidently approved by many who have not replied to this question, from the fact that they have discarded the name "Rural Sociology," as indicated above. Thus Professor E. C. Hayes, of the University of Illinois, says: "Never use the expression [rural sociology]. Sociology is sociology; wherever studied the principles are the same."

Professor Charles D. Bohannon, of the University of Kentucky, replies:

In the sense in which the word "sociology" is commonly used I doubt very much if it is strictly accurate to speak of a Rural Sociology; that is, the principles of social and psychic development of individuals and of groups are funda-

mentally the same whether that development takes place in town or country, the different qualities and degrees of development being due to the differences in physical and social environment. Therefore it has seemed to me that Rural Sociology was a misnomer for the work as I gave it here, and I have, therefore, accordingly changed it to Rural Social Problems.

Dr. W. S. Thompson, of the University of Michigan, also says:

It does not seem to me that there is a peculiar kind of sociology which may be called rural sociology. This is the reason I have called the course the Social Problems of Rural Life rather than Rural Sociology.

Finally, it is interesting to compare the definition which President Butterfield gave in his *Chapters in Rural Progress* (1907):

Rural social science is the application of the principles of the social sciences, especially of economics and sociology, to the problems that confront the American farmer [p. 219].

Comment upon the foregoing definitions seems superfluous, but the writer merely wishes to state that the term "rural sociology" in the present article is used merely as a matter of convenience, as doubtless is the case with much of its present usage, without any implied position pro or con as to the validity of a rural sociology as a science.

c) Content: Of the replies received, only 14 gave any very full answer to question 3i asking for an outline of the course given. However, those outlines received are representative and seem to be fairly typical of different methods of presentation as judged by the descriptions of other courses given in the catalogue. The courses seem to group themselves into two main classes, those organized on a systematic or scientific basis and those organized upon the basis of a consideration of important topics or problems. A skeleton outline of a few of the systematic courses will best indicate their nature.

MASSACHUSETTS AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, PROFESSOR JOHN PHELAN

ELEMENTS OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

I. Introduction.

1. Definition.
2. Statement of relationships to other sciences.
3. The social problems of rural life (a brief statement).

- II. The rural social status.
 - 1. The social background of rural life in the United States.
 - 2. The social condition of the rural people.
 - 3. The rural mind (social psychology).
 - 4. Sociological aspects of some current agricultural questions.
- III. Rural institutions.
 - 1. The home.
 - 2. The church.
 - 3. The school.
 - 4. The community.
- IV. Rural social organization.
 - 1. Need of organization.
 - 2. History of development.
 - 3. Community, county, state, and national aspects of organization.
- V. Rural social service.
 - 1. Opportunities.
 - 2. History of development.
 - 3. Restatement of problems of rural life.
 - 4. Leadership, resident and non-resident.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, PROFESSOR PAUL L. VOGT

RURAL COMMUNITY LIFE

- I. Introduction.

Definition. Statement of problems. Rural community contrasted with urban.
- II. Conditions essential for a healthful social life in a rural community. [Normative.]
- III. Existing conditions. Movement of population; economic conditions; rural health; rural morality; rural social life; farm labor.
- IV. Improvement of rural life. [Considered under institutions, agencies, and methods.]

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, PROFESSOR SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD

RURAL COMMUNITIES

- I. Introduction. Principles of social technology, etc.
- II. The social technology of rural communities.
- III. Geographical and biological factors in rural life.
- IV. Transportation and communication.
- V. The business side of farming.
- VI. Economic and social surveys.

- VII. The farm home.
- VIII. Rural religion.
- IX. Rural education.
- X. Rural recreation.
- XI. Charities and corrections.
- XII. Social control.
- XIII. Summary and conclusion.

NEW HAMPSHIRE COLLEGE, PROFESSOR E. R. GROVES

RURAL AND COMMUNITY SOCIOLOGY

A study of the social significance, conditions, and resources of American country life with the purpose of developing community leadership.

A. Rural ethnology and sociology. Land basis of society, origin of primitive agriculture, animal and plant life as factors in human progress, modern agriculture and population, migration, immigration, and city drift.

B. Rural social psychology. Imitation and city influence, suggestibility, conflict, discussion, public opinion, and community pride.

C. Rural social pathology. Dependents, defectives, and delinquents in their relation to the country community, problem of rural police protection, moral problems of the rural community.

D. Rural progress. Survey making, communication, community advertising, associations and clubs, rural education, wider use of rural schoolhouses, rural school gardens, community competition, fairs, recreation, the rural church, and welfare work.

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA, PROFESSOR JEROME DOWD

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Definition. | 7. Intellectual life. |
| 2. Problems. | 8. Aesthetic life. |
| 3. Health and sanitation. | 9. Social life. |
| 4. Family life. | 10. Manners and ceremonies. |
| 5. Political life. | 11. Charities and corrections. |
| 6. Religious life. | |

WESTERN STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, KALAMAZOO, MICH., PROFESSOR
ERNEST BURNHAM

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

- A. Definitions.
- B. Present rural conditions: population; economic status; civic earnestness; educational status; religious life.

- C. Problems of progress.
 - 1. Conservation of population.
 - 2. Economic stability and satisfaction.
 - 3. Sensitizing the civic conscience.
 - 4. Educational capitalization of each generation.
 - 5. Fundamental necessity of religion as a sanction.
- D. The ideal.
 - 1. Integration.
 - 2. Unification and consciously co-operative progress.

Professor Burnham writes, "Rural sociology is here given from a civic rather than an industrial point of view."

Judging from the replies received and from catalogue announcements, a much larger number of institutions have organized the course on the topical or problem basis. There is a clear distinction between a topical and a problem organization when it is considered from a pedagogical standpoint, but the replies received do not enable one to distinguish between them in most cases, and they are therefore considered together. Of these the outline of the course at the University of Missouri, as given by Professor L. L. Bernard, is fairly typical.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, PROFESSOR L. L. BERNARD

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

1. Introduction—the problem.
2. The movement of rural population.
3. The physical background—typical communities.
4. The psychic background—the rural mind.
5. The development of country life.
6. Scientific methods and rural life.
7. Rural co-operation.
8. Social aspects of rural labor, ownership, tenancy.
9. The rural family and the home.
10. Communication and transportation in the country.
11. Rural health and sanitation—safeguards and conveniences.
12. Rural health and sanitation—prevention and control.
13. Rural morality.
14. Rural recreation.
15. The rural social center.
16. The rural church—religion and rural life.
17. The rural church—combining forces for efficiency.
18. The rural church—as rural leader.

19. Rural clubs and related organizations.
20. The rural school—its social function.
21. The rural school—its vocational relations.
22. The rural school—consolidation and efficiency.
23. Rural extension as an educational and socializing agency.
24. The rural library.
25. The rural press and literature.
26. Local government and the rural community.
27. Rural charities and corrections.
28. Immigrants and negroes in the rural community.
29. Rural leadership.
30. The rural social survey.

The replies to question 6 usually refer simply to the course as given at the specific institutions, replying to the questionnaire, but several of them take very definite positions as to the content of the course for an agricultural student. Thus Professor G. N. Lauman, of the New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University, says:

With the emphasis that is laid on the purely technical agricultural studies the agricultural student has neither the time nor the preparation to go deeply into the general economic and social features of rural life. We cannot expect him to have had fundamental courses in both economics and sociology, and therefore to give him the fundamentals of rural life we give him a three-hour elective course, covering what is known of the fundamentals, and leave the speculative discussion and heaping up of details to the specializing student who is compelled to get into the general fields of economics and sociology.

Professor E. C. Hayes, of the University of Illinois, writes:

No attempt to make this a *science*.

1. Primary aim to get students to apprehend what are the *values* to be sought in life rural or urban, as distinguished from all *means* promoting ends.
2. Secondary aim to have them understand the nature and importance of those *group expectations* that are to a community what a standard of living is to an individual, save that they refer to far more than economic expenditure.
3. Items in the content of developed group expectation in the rural community.
4. Distinctive characteristics of the rural community, to be taken advantage of or to be overcome or offset.
5. Correlation between rural and urban life in various particulars.
6. Specific social activities that may promote rural life, and how to organize and conduct them.
7. Students prepare papers on 25 special topics, which are discussed.

Professor E. C. Branson, of the University of North Carolina, who has been one of the most successful teachers in arousing interest in this field, refers to the "Report on the Teaching of the Social Studies in Secondary Schools," which forms part of the report of the National Education Association Commission on Secondary Education, and is now being published as a bulletin of the United States Bureau of Education, as embodying his point of view. Professor Branson's work with the "Georgia Club"¹ and the "Home-County Club Studies"² in North Carolina are so well known as hardly to need comment. Professor Branson writes, "My fundamental idea is a *direct* assault upon the problems themselves." Possibly his method might be characterized as one of locality or community study.

Professor Howard W. Odum, of the Peabody School of Education, University of Georgia, has also developed the problem method of community study and has issued an excellent syllabus³ for his classes. Professor Odum gives a list of seven problems under each of twenty general headings covering rural social problems. The student is also required to list a half-dozen additional topics worthy of study under each heading. Concerning this method he makes the following statement in the Introductory Note:

The principle underlying the program of community study is based upon two larger considerations: First, progress is necessarily preceded by and is based upon results of diligent study and research, whether it be in invention, industry, commerce, education, or other aspects of social welfare; second, it may be assumed that the earnest student of education and social problems, or the efficient citizen, proposes to become a part of the progress of his generation by enlisting his or her services as an aid to determining or enacting steps of social progress. It should follow, then, that reasonable efforts will be advantageous in the development of individual energies and ability; in the improvement of community welfare; in contributing to the sum total of knowledge, and in magnifying proper methods of study and the spirit of social service.

¹ E. C. Branson, "The Georgia Club, at the State Normal School, Athens, Georgia, for the Study of Rural Sociology," *U.S. Bureau of Education Bulletin*, 1913, No. 23. Whole Number 533.

² E. C. Branson, "Syllabus of Home-County Club Studies," *University of North Carolina Record*, September, 1914, No. 121. Extension Ser. No. 9.

³ Howard W. Odum, "Practical Community Studies," *Bulletin of the University of Georgia*, XIV, No. 8c.

That there is no place here for the mere "fad" of research and that sacrifice and sustained efforts are necessary requirements will need no conventional proof.

One of the correspondents also points out that the topical method has the advantage of adapting itself to local needs, for the topics that might be of particular value or interest in the South might not be so in New England, or vice versa.

That elementary courses of theoretical science should be required of students who are not taking technical curricula involving the application of those sciences has in recent years been challenged upon pedagogical grounds.¹ In view of the fact that in many agricultural curricula no social science is required and that in but 6 of them is either sociology or political economy required as a prerequisite for the course in rural sociology, the answers to question 7 are of peculiar interest. Of 30 land-grant colleges and universities replying specifically to this question, 18 favor elementary courses as prerequisite to rural sociology and economics, or in a few cases an option between elementary sociology and economics, though only 6 of them actually *do* have such prerequisites. One replied, "desirable, but impracticable"; another, "desirable if practicable"; another, "desirable but not necessary"; and a fourth, "helpful." Only 2 land-grant colleges and 3 separate state universities favored the idea of a single course covering both the general and the rural phases of economics or sociology presented from the agricultural viewpoint.

Professor George H. von Tungeln expressed the usual view in his reply:

General elementary courses should precede, because of the need of a broad foundation on which to interpret the rural conditions.

On the other hand, Professor L. L. Bernard well describes the actual situation when he says:

I think it preferable that courses in sociology and economics should precede rural sociology and rural economics respectively, but I think that any such rigid or general requirement is impracticable under present conditions, for it would mean that those students who need the course most, especially those in agriculture, education, and journalism, would be prevented from taking it

¹ John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, pp. 334-35.

except in occasional instances. Our requirement of elementary sociology as prerequisite for education and journalism students has much this effect, but not so much as would be noticed if required in agriculture. Nor do I think that an elementary course in rural sociology is such prerequisite to a reasonably clear understanding of the subject.

There has also been a difference of opinion as to the advisability of separating the sociological and economic phases of rural social science as in other special fields of social science. Question 8 was designed to elicit opinion upon this matter. Of 31 replies, 21 favor separate courses and 10 favor a single course, though only 2 of the 10 are actually giving but a single course covering rural sociology and economics.¹ The quotation above from Professor Lauman bears directly on this question. Of the 48 land-grant colleges, 24 offer both rural sociology and rural economics, 12 offer one or the other, and 12 offer neither. Furthermore, in practically half of these institutions the two subjects are taught by separate departments.

In reply to question 3g, 29 correspondents gave definite information concerning whether the course required investigation or field work. Of these, 13 require more or less personal investigation, survey work, reports on special topics, etc. Six require only term papers or reports which may be the result of library work. Ten have no such requirements, as far as stated. Tennessee has required the survey of the home county by means of the census reports, similar to the work in Georgia and North Carolina. It is quite evident that those institutions in which the course is best organized are coming to require as much personal investigation of particular problems or communities as is feasible.

5. *Administrative features.*—a) Departmental Relations: Questions 2 and 4 were designed to ascertain what departments teach rural sociology and to which of the social sciences it is most intimately connected in departmental organization. In 17 cases out of 42 furnishing necessary data, rural sociology is taught in the same department as economics and general sociology. Of these 17 departments, 11 are "Economics and Sociology" and 3 are

¹ See E. G. Nourse, "What Is Agricultural Economics?" *Journal of Political Economy*, XXIV (April, 1916), 363-81.

"History and Economics." In 10 cases it is taught in the department of sociology. In 4 cases the department is one of rural economics and sociology, and in 3 others it is the department of economics, which also includes rural economics, but not general sociology. In 6 cases (including Teachers College, Columbia University) it is taught in a department which also teaches agricultural education or rural education. The Massachusetts Agricultural College has the only separate department of rural sociology, but it is organized with the departments of rural education and rural economics in a division of rural social science.

b) Time: Of 69 colleges and universities, 3 give but a one-hour course in rural sociology, 30 give a two-hour course, and 35 give three hours. The University of North Carolina gives a three-hour course extending through two semesters, being the only one found giving over three hours.¹

c) Requirements: Rural sociology (as such) is a required course for agricultural students at only 2 institutions—the Massachusetts Agricultural College and the University of Florida. At the Kansas Agricultural College it is optional, a choice being permitted between it and rural economics. At the University of Vermont a course in rural economics and sociology is required. The subject of rural economics seems to be required of agricultural students at 14 land-grant colleges.

In this connection it is interesting to note the requirements in the social sciences in the agricultural curricula of those land-grant colleges offering rural sociology. Of these 31 institutions, 16 require an average of four hours of political economy; 10 require an average of three hours of agricultural economics, though only 4 of these require any other political economy; 4 require an average of three and a half hours of elementary sociology; 2 require a course in "agricultural industry," two or three hours; and 1 requires industrial history, three hours, while 3 have no requirements. This does not take into account any history requirements, which, however, are rather meager.

¹In these figures term-hours have been reduced to semester-hours, five term-hours being classed with three semester-hours though the actual time is one-third hour more.

Considering the social-science requirements, exclusive of history, at all of the 48 land-grant colleges, it was found that they averaged 5.2 semester-hours: 7 have none, 11 require three hours, 12 require six hours, and the remainder lie between the minimum and a maximum of twelve hours.¹

The course in rural sociology is usually taken by upperclass or graduate students, though at the Massachusetts Agricultural College it is required of Sophomores, and the University of Kentucky reports a majority of Sophomore students.

In this connection should be noted a course which is required of all agricultural Freshmen at the University of Illinois, given by Dean Davenport and others. This is called "Country Life Problems" and is a one-hour course of the first semester open only to agricultural Freshmen. It consists of "problems of the farm; duties of citizenship; social, economic, and educational work in rural communities," and is evidently designed to open the eyes of the incoming agricultural students to the importance of these problems.

d) Instructor's Work: Only at the Massachusetts Agricultural College and the University of Wisconsin were instructors reported as giving their full time to this subject. However, at several other institutions the full time of the instructor is given to some two of the rural social sciences. Thus at Ohio State University and the University of North Carolina full time is given to rural economics and sociology, at the University of Kentucky to agricultural economics and education, and at the Kansas Agricultural College to rural education and rural sociology. Several institutions have men giving full time to agricultural economics. Several institutions are now developing extension work in the field of rural organization, and as this increases there will be a larger number of instructors giving full time to teaching and extension work in this field.²

6. *Advanced and graduate courses.*—Only 5 colleges offer more than a single course in rural sociology, not counting those cases

¹ See also C. A. Dunniway, "Economic Science in Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges," *Proc. 29th Ann. Conv. Am. Assoc. Agr. Coll. and Exp. Stations*, p. 94.

² See W. D. Hurd, "Shall Extension Service Include the Social, Recreational, and Educational Improvement of Rural and Urban Districts?" *ibid.*, p. 232.

in which a course is duplicated in the summer school. The University of Kentucky offers a seminar in "Special Problems of Rural Life" for two hours throughout the year. The Washington State College also offers a "research course" of five hours. The University of Wisconsin offers a graduate course of two hours in "Rural Social Development." The Oregon Agricultural College offers a rather unique course of three hours to upperclass men, entitled "The Literature and Exposition of Rural Life," which seems to combine a study of the prose and poetry of rural life and their sociological and economic meaning. Teachers College, Columbia University, offers two full courses as a "Practicum in Rural Social Surveys."

The Massachusetts Agricultural College, under the inspiration of President Butterfield, remains the only institution which has endeavored to furnish a complete series of courses in rural sociology for those wishing to take it as a major subject. It seems worth while to quote its announcement of elective courses, the required course having already been discussed (pp. 454 f.).

ELECTIVE COURSES¹

50. 1. *Social condition of rural people.*—For Juniors, Seniors may elect.

(A) The Rural Status: Composition of the rural population, nature, extent, and causes of diseases and accidents, health agencies of control; extent and causes of rural delinquency and dependency, conditions of temperance, of sexual morality and family integrity; child labor, women's work and position; standard of living, size of family; cultural ideals; community consciousness and activity; standards of business conduct and of political ethics.

(B) Rural Social Psychology: Characteristics of the rural mind, character of hereditary and environmental influence; nature and effect of face-to-face groups; fashion, conventionality, custom, character of discussion and of public opinion. 3 class hours. Credit 3. Professor Phelan.

51. 2. *Rural government.*—For Juniors, Seniors may elect. A general survey of the development of rural government in the United States; origin of the New England town, its influence upon the West, advantages, development of efficiency, county government, the influence of the farmer in legislation, good-roads movement, credit, facilities, taxation, boards of agriculture,

¹ Heavy-faced type indicates the term in which the course is given.

Numbering of Courses:

1 to 25 inclusive Freshmen	50 to 74 inclusive Juniors
25 to 49 " Sophomores	75 to 99 " Seniors

agricultural colleges, and experiment stations in relation to rural welfare; national government; a general survey of political organizations and movements among farmers in the United States and foreign countries and their influence in shaping legislation; relation of the Department of Agriculture, postal system, the various national commissions and agencies to rural welfare. Lectures, readings, written exercises on assigned topics. 3 class hours. Credit 3. Professor Phelan.

52. 3. *Rural organization*.—For Juniors, Seniors may elect. A study of the organized agencies by which rural communities carry on their various forms of associated life, particularly a study of the ways by which the domestic, economic, cultural, religious, and political institutions contribute to rural betterment; principles underlying leadership, qualifications of the paid leader and the lay leader; the field of rural social service, national, state, and local, preparation and opportunity for service; rural community building, a study of organized ways and means by which aid is given local communities. 3 class hours. Credit 3. President Butterfield.

75. 1 and 3. *Farmers' organizations*.—For Seniors, Juniors may elect. The history, purposes, and achievements of the Grange, the Farmers' Union, farmers' clubs, village improvement associations, boys' clubs, etc.; the method, scope, and history of local, state, and national associations formed about some farm product, their influence in forming class consciousness and in shaping agrarian legislation; need of federation. Lectures, readings, and essays on assigned topics. 3 class hours. Credit 3. Professor Phelan.

76. 1. *Field work in rural sociology*.—For Seniors, Juniors may elect. This course is designed to meet the needs of students who wish to do some constructive work in rural social service while still in college. The work will be carried on in co-operation with the various college agencies engaged in rural service. Any project for which credit in this course is to be asked must first have the approval of the head of the department. Prerequisites, Rural Sociology 27 and 52. From 2 to 6 laboratory hours, credit 1 to 3. Professor Phelan.

77. 2. *Rural social surveys*.—For Seniors, Juniors may elect. A careful study of the theory and function of statistics, the limitations and difficulties in the use of statistics, the interpretation of statistical data, various methods of graphic representation; a study of surveys, kinds, and use, method of gaining information, the basis for conclusions, value of information gained. Text and lectures. 3 class hours. Credit 3. Professor Phelan.

78. 3. *Rural and business law*.—For Seniors, Juniors may elect. The work of this course will cover such points as land titles, public roads, rights incident to ownership of live stock, contracts, commercial paper, and distinctions between personal and real property. Text, written exercises, lectures, and class discussions. 5 class hours. Credit 5. Professor Hart.

79. 1. *Seminar*. Credit 1 to 3. Professor Phelan.

80. 2. *Seminar*.

81. 3. *Seminar*.

Only 13 institutions out of 32 giving definite replies to question 10 state that they offer graduate work for the Master's degree. Only Harvard and the Massachusetts Agricultural College specifically mention that a Doctor's degree may be taken in this field, but doubtless most of the universities with well-organized departments in sociology would permit specialization in rural sociology by candidates for the Doctor's degree.

7. *Normal schools.*—The number and geographical distribution of the normal schools teaching rural sociology, as shown in Tables I and II, seem significant. In 20 of the 30 normal schools reported, the course is required of students in the rural-school course or of those working for a rural-teacher's certificate. In the states of Alabama, Oklahoma, Missouri, Nebraska, and Idaho the state authorities prescribing the courses of the normal schools have made it a required subject for rural teachers in the normal schools of those states. Evidently President Butterfield's standard—"Every [rural] teacher should have some knowledge of rural sociology. The normal schools should make this subject a required subject in the course especially for country teachers"¹—is being accepted. Indeed, the state of Nebraska has gone so far as to include "rural sociology" in its statute (chap. 232, Laws 1915) which fixes the requirements for the rural-teacher's course for its state normal schools.

Furthermore, there is a considerable amount of rural sociology which is being taught by the normal schools under the heads of educational sociology or rural education. Indeed, the curricula of some of the normal schools is fairly shot through with the rural-life idea. To give any adequate idea of the status of the subject in the normal schools a separate and more exhaustive study would be necessary.²

However, in passing, it is interesting to note the difference of attitude in regard to the work in rural sociology at two normal schools in the same state. One of these makes the subject one of

¹ *Chapters in Rural Progress*, p. 134.

² See Frederick R. Clow, "Sociology in Normal Schools," *American Journal of Sociology*, XVI, 253-65; John A. Keith, "The Place and Scope of Sociology in the Normal School," *Proceedings Nat. Ed. Assoc.*, 1915, p. 764.

the leading features of its curriculum, has a rural-sociology club, makes it a large feature of a monthly bulletin for rural teachers, and has made a national reputation by its work for the rural school and rural community. The instructor at the other institution in the same state replies:

The rural certificate is issued to persons who have completed a three-year high-school course, including certain subjects, rural sociology being one of those specified. The work is not very satisfactory because [?] of the immaturity of the students. I doubt whether you are particularly interested in this kind of "rural sociology," as it is not sociology. The college students of the normal schools do not teach in the country; they are only faintly interested in the country's problems, and it seems hardly worth while to require them to study rural sociology. They are required to take a brief course in general sociology.

In reply to question 5, asking for a definition, this instructor writes, "I have none. I should say the course as given here might well be termed a 'nuisance.'" One wonders whether the college-grade students at this institution receive as much benefit from their general sociology as do those in the secondary rural-certificate course from their rural sociology—whether it be sociology or not—at the other institution. Undoubtedly rural social problems will continue to receive increased attention at all normal schools and schools having normal training courses for rural teachers.

8. *Conclusion.*—Rural sociology seems to be the last field of social science to demonstrate that those phases of our human affairs which are most common and intimate are the last to engage our attention as objects of scientific study with a view to their more rational control. It also seems significant that the interest in, and the demand for, rural sociology have come because of its general appreciation upon the part of those who are closest to the country folk. With one or two notable exceptions it has not originated with the colleges or universities, for most of them have but tardily introduced the subject into their curricula in answer to the interest in rural social problems aroused by country-life conferences, farmers' institutes, granges, teachers' institutes, educational and religious conventions, farmers' clubs, agricultural extension schools, etc. The interest in the subject is genuine, for, though originally inspired by a few prophets of the rural awakening, it now

engages the keenest interest, not only of all progressive leaders in country life, but of increasing numbers of the people on the land.

It seems unnecessary to attempt to twist any conclusions from the data presented; the facts may better speak for themselves. The returns do, however, seem to raise certain very fundamental questions as to the best organization of courses of instruction in the social problems of rural life, so that they may best meet the needs of the average college student who does not expect to specialize in this field. The educational principles involved are those by which all college teaching must be judged, but their application to rural sociology seems to warrant further experimentation. It may well be questioned whether we now have, or possibly whether we ever shall have, a body of knowledge which may be termed the "principles of rural sociology"; but it is certain that we are rapidly accumulating a considerable definite knowledge concerning rural social problems and their solution, and that our people are vitally interested in them as never before. The boys' agricultural clubs have a motto, "Learn to do by doing." Probably we shall learn how to teach rural sociology in much the same way.

DISCUSSION¹

PROFESSOR GEORGE H. VON TUNGELN, IOWA STATE COLLEGE

It is my understanding that in a discussion the speaker is under no special obligation to relate to each other the comments and suggestions he makes.

Dr. Thompson's paper is so clear-cut in its definition of the rural survey and in its description of the kinds, scope, method, and purpose of survey work that little is left for discussion on the subject, unless one goes beyond the scope of his paper. In commenting on this fact to several members of the Society this morning, a number suggested that I tell the members and friends of the Society my method of conducting rural surveys in Iowa.²

Dr. Thompson stated that "the ideal conditions exist where the people of a given community regard a proposed survey as a means of self-study or self-examination." In our work we have achieved this ideal in a very large measure.

¹ The discussions in this group refer to the preceding papers by Messrs. Thompson, von Tungeln, Gillette, and Sanderson.

² A description of this method appears in Professor von Tungeln's paper, *supra*, pp. 138, 139.

Dr. Thompson's suggestions that "the successful field agent will adopt a mode of travel in keeping with the customs of the locality," and so on, are significant. These things may seem trivial and small, but the man who attempts survey work and disregards them will learn ere he achieves much that it was in neglecting these seemingly little things that his big mistakes lay. A man who fits in with rural people can get their information, the man who doesn't cannot, for the most part. They are not twofaced, and for that reason do not appreciate too great a contrast between themselves and the man who is trying to use them as an information bureau.

The importance of one other statement in Dr. Thompson's paper I wish to emphasize. It is his word of caution that "the making of surveys is easily overdone."

There seems to be a human contagion which makes far too many incapables feel that they can and should engage in every new endeavor that may be set up. So in the survey idea we are facing the danger of having far too many incapables getting overenthused with the idea of making surveys and thus defeating the real purpose of the survey work. Dr. Thompson, I think, may be rightly spoken of as one of the pioneers in rural survey work, of certain lines at least, and in that we found him blazing out the way in this much-needed field of rural investigation, but we now find him quite as properly holding the brakes to keep this eminently scientific and practical work from being hopelessly crippled through its being attempted in communities not yet ready for it, without a definite purpose, without a clear-cut method of procedure, and by persons non-fitted to do the work.

As to Professor Gillette's paper I will not insult your intelligence by trying to point out its many strong features, for you have already noted those. There are, however, three points in the paper upon which I should like to offer brief comments:

First, I am not quite sure but that Professor Gillette has devoted more time than is warranted to the defense of the title "Rural Sociology," and has thereby suggested, in part at least, a defense for the study of rural sociology itself.

Why should we worry much about the title? If some institutions and teachers wish to designate this study by some other title, let them do so. They will do it anyway. It is done in other fields. For example, the older books in economics bore the words, "Political Economy," as at least a part of their label. A little later some man chose to label his contribution to this science as "Economics," "Outlines of Economics," "Principles of Economics," or something on that fashion. We seldom hear the term "Political Economy" any more. Why, that term is so ancient that when I asked a class of Senior home economics students last year to state briefly the relation of sociology to each of the other social sciences, almost one-third of a class of 100 students stated both its relation to economics and to political economy. Unnecessary disfigurations of titles that produce such a confusion are to be deplored, of

course, but the disfiguration will come in spite of all preachment against it, so long as men refuse to accept established titles for no better reason than that the same did not originate with them.

That the study of rural sociology needs no defense is obvious to all who need to be taken into consideration in the matter. One need but remember that one-half of our population is still properly classed as rural, and that all men are face to face with two fundamental problems, the problem of getting a living and the problem of living with and among their fellow-men, the latter falling especially within the field of sociology, to convince one's self that there is a field of rural sociology.

I am in favor, therefore, of not wasting energy in the defense of either the title or the study of our field, but rather of getting into the work at once, and in full force. Let us spend our energies in doing the work that is to be found in this large field and thus build up a defense of the same, if such is needed, with our accomplishments rather than with our words. Here as elsewhere, "Actions speak louder than words."

Second, I do not believe that the definition of rural sociology, viz.: "We may think of rural sociology as that branch of sociology which systematically studies rural communities to discover their deficiencies when measured by normal standards and their destructive tendencies with a view to suggesting correctives," is inclusive enough to include the scope of rural sociology as later outlined in the paper. The scope of the study as outlined seems to go beyond, and I believe rightly so, a mere study of "deficiencies . . . and their destructive tendencies." In other words, forces and factors which produce, conserve, and improve "normal standards" are also studied, and it is proper that they are.

Third, we will doubtless all agree with Professor Gillette that there "should be no interference between them [the other rural disciplines] and rural sociology." We may properly understand him to include in the term "interference" unnecessary overlapping also, I believe. The student of rural sociology must be mindful of the interrelation between his field and all of these other fields that deal with our rural population in some form or fashion. To attempt to teach his subject out of its proper relation to these, or wholly dissociated from them, would be as unfortunate as to disregard the outer limits of his field so as to include the whole of these other rural disciplines. Neither would be teaching rural sociology.

In this connection it occurs to me that Professor Gillette is slightly in danger of transgressing or overlapping on the fields of rural economics and farm management somewhat, judging from what he includes under the eleven "chief centers of attack and points of emphasis in rural sociology," especially in case of the "third of these centers of interest" or attack. This danger may only be apparent, however, suggested entirely by what is stated in the paper under this caption, while the same does not occur in the writer's treatment of the subject in the classroom. That is to say, perhaps the Professor

does not get into these fields as far as his paper would lead one to believe that he does.

Attempts have often been made to laugh the sociologist out of court on the charge that his subject is so very general that it is still in the nebulous state, and therefore must not be taken seriously at the present stage of the game. If the rural sociologist meets the issue of these would-be critics by neither overlooking major or minor essentials in his field, nor by overlapping other fields, he will do much to give his subject a scientific-practical reality that is inferior to no other discipline which aims at human well-being.

PROFESSOR CECIL C. NORTH, OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

There has been brought out in the paper by Dr. Thompson and the discussion by Professor von Tugeln what seems to me a very important point in the whole matter of community surveys. From the standpoint of the purpose involved there are two distinct approaches to the survey method. The kind of survey that Professor von Tugeln has been discussing is a part of a general program of community organization and betterment. The survey in such cases is a legitimate and desirable method of promoting community welfare, but it should be considered as incidental in such cases to this wider program. As such it is essentially a piece of community propaganda. There is another kind of survey which starts from a distinctly different point of view. Its essential purpose is, not the immediate promotion of community betterment, but the discovery of data which may serve as the basis for scientific generalization. It does not call so much for community co-operation as does the other type of survey, and its immediate object is the discovery of scientific fact rather than the promotion of community organization.

There is abundant evidence of the need for more of this kind of survey work. In some of the papers presented during the last few days it has been evident that we lack a sufficient basis of fact for any scientific generalization concerning many phases of rural life. If rural sociology is to be worthy of a place among other scientific pursuits, it must be based on a larger body of scientifically ascertained data than we now have. Much of our generalization, at present, concerning rural life is nothing more than speculation. The survey which is concerned primarily with the gathering of such data is a particularly desirable method of approach, but to make it valuable to this end it must be planned with thorough scientific accuracy and carried out by persons with thorough scientific training.

PROFESSOR LUCIUS MOODY BRISTOL, WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY

Two elements in connection with rural surveys have not been mentioned which seem to be worthy of notice. The first is the historic introduction to the survey, showing the antecedents of the present inhabitants, and conditions

and events in the past which throw light on present conditions. The second is the fact that there is often waste of effort in duplicating work that has already been done, or in failing to make use of special surveys that have already been carried on. I want to emphasize, also, the point made by Dr. von Tungeln, that it is important to secure the co-operation of the community, for sometimes it is only from close touch with community life that one can get clues to social conditions that should be studied and brought to light. With the community behind a survey and experts at the head of it, we are able to secure results that are of both scientific and practical value.

PROFESSOR C. J. GALPIN, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

It is a distinct service that Professor Gillette has rendered us today in staking out the metes and bounds of rural sociology. We shall all thank him, I am sure, for justifying the subject of rural social science in the curriculum and justifying the use of the term "rural sociology" in our catalogues.

I rise to suggest that until there are observant students in fields adjoining ours, it may be necessary for the rural social student to overstep the bounds of rural sociology, as defined by Professor Gillette, in the interest of rural progress. Some problems of the farm home which properly belong to home economics may very well engage the rural sociologist, where no voice has been raised in behalf of the fatigued farm wife. In states where rural education is not alive to the social relations of the schools, it may fall to the rural sociologist to institute methods of survey, on the level of the pupils in the country school and in the high school, applicable to whole counties. It may even be necessary to lead the way in showing high-school principals the rural relations of high schools.

Into the adjoining field of political science, it may be necessary for the rural sociologist to enter as a champion for some thoroughgoing research study in rural local government or in the farmer's use of local government for social purposes. Very likely at our colleges and universities the rural sociologist will be stepping upon somebody's toes for a decade. I wish simply to take this opportunity to encourage our younger men to poach on these adjoining domains until ordered out by some responsible party who will adequately look after the interests of the farmer.

PROFESSOR THOMAS L. HARRIS, MIAMI UNIVERSITY

One method, in addition to those mentioned by previous speakers, which I have used with success, is the following: Invite into the classroom to speak to students certain men and women who are more or less of experts in some one phase of rural work. People whom I have found glad to co-operate with me in this way are: leading farmers, rural ministers, rural-school superintendents and high-school teachers of agriculture, editors of rural newspapers, and rural

bankers. Of course, one must use care and discrimination in the selection of these people, but we should not fail to utilize the possibilities for information and inspiration that are found among many of these progressive and capable leaders in country life.

MR. DWIGHT L. SANDERSON, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

From the standpoint of the college curriculum, particularly that of the agricultural college, and of the needs of the college student, it seems to me that it makes little difference what we call our presentation of rural social problems. It is important, however, that the student be introduced to a consideration of rural social problems in a concrete manner. In this connection I wish to call attention to the report of the Committee on Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Education Association.¹ I believe that the methods advocated in this report are equally applicable to the introductory course in rural social problems. When such work is given in the rural high schools, a different sort of course in the college will be possible and desirable, but even there the same pedagogical principles may possibly be carried further with profit. What the college student needs is not prerequisite courses in political economy and general sociology and then a scientific presentation of rural sociology, but an introduction to rural social problems considered as a whole, from the standpoint of social science as a unit. This will form the basis for later specialization, if desired, in rural economics or rural sociology or rural political science, etc., but the majority of students will not so specialize. On the other hand, an introductory course on rural social problems, with no prerequisites, may serve to socialize the whole curriculum if the student is given the right attitudes, and may result in his pursuing more work in the social sciences or in his seeing the human values in the technical subjects studied and in giving real meaning to them. The agricultural curriculum needs such socialization.

PROFESSOR JOHN PHELAN, MASSACHUSETTS AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

There are a great many social facts that we might call the "intangible product" of a survey that cannot be written down in figures. I think Professor Von Tungeln's emphasis upon the by-products of survey work is particularly happy, especially at this time when there is so much interest in survey work and survey methods. Indeed, I am inclined to think that as survey work is developed, more and more importance will attach to that information which is given, not as an answer to a direct question, but in friendly, intimate conversation. In my own experience much of the most valuable material has

¹ *The Social Studies in Secondary Education*, Bulletin [U.S.] Bureau of Education, 1916, No. 28. Compiled by Arthur William Dunn.

been secured in this way. I think that there are two errors into which we are in danger of falling at this time: first, the error of thinking that the intimate, inner facts of social life may be written wholly in terms of mathematics; second, that a social survey is a relatively simple task. In the whole field of survey work I know of no task which calls for more judgment in the collection of facts and wisdom in interpretation than a thoroughgoing social survey.

PROFESSOR JOHN M. GILLETTE, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA

Replying to Professor von Tungeln's criticism of certain points contained in my paper, I desire to say, first, that it seems to me he missed the import of the first portion of the paper. I was not interested in defending the right of rural sociology to exist or to a place in our curricula but was concerned with defending the right of the specific title, "Rural Sociology," to use and recognition. This appears to me to be demanded at this time, since the paper of Mr. Dwight Sanderson, to be published as part of these proceedings, indicates that there are those who question the legitimacy of the title and that some have dropped the use of the title and adopted some other. I think it is worth while, therefore, to show that usage among sciences generally, at least, sanctions the employment of the phrase "Rural Sociology" as an appropriate descriptive title.

Secondly, with regard to his statement that my index of problems or centers of interest to be treated is too broad relative to the economic in particular, and that rural sociologists should not interfere with the domain of the economists, I have to say that again I thought I had carefully guarded against this interpretation when I indicated that the rural sociologist is not interested in the details of rural economics, as such, and that he touches economic matters only as they are seen to condition community life and welfare. I would say that the rural sociologist not only may, but must, consider the item of wealth and wealth production. No class of scientists has a monopoly of such considerations. I have little patience with the position or inclination which would assign to the sociologist a dim, mystical sector of society dubbed, "social," and with the admonition to tread narrowly lest he encroach on someone else's domains. It is the organizing interest which decides what the content of a given science shall be. The rural sociologist cannot refrain from considering all and every condition, economic or otherwise, which is seen to have a fundamental determining influence on rural life and rural community welfare.

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

MEMBERSHIP STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR 1916

Members in 1915.....	751
Members resigning.....	65
Members deceased.....	5
Members dropped.....	<u>109</u>
Total lost.....	<u>179</u>
Members renewing for 1916.....	572
New members for 1916.....	<u>236</u>
Total membership for 1916.....	808

ANALYSIS OF THE MEMBERSHIP BY DATE OF JOINING

1912-16

Joined	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916
Prior to 1910....	141	133	124	114	106
1910.....	47	44	37	33	31
1911.....	114	94	75	67	61
1912.....	101	72	53	38	37
1913.....		278	182	129	99
1914.....			108	70	53
1915.....				300	185
1916.....					236
Total.....	403	621	579	751	808

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES
FOR THE YEAR, DECEMBER 17, 1915, TO DECEMBER 20, 1916

Receipts

I.	Balance on Hand, December 17, 1915.....	\$1,063.45
II.	Dues from Members—	
	a) For 1915.....	6.00
	b) For 1916.....	1,578.47
	c) For 1917.....	572.43
III.	Refunds and Rebates—	
	a) Copies of <i>Journal</i> returned, 1915.....	0.83
	b) Copies of <i>Journal</i> returned, 1916.....	1.25
	c) Refund for overcharge.....	0.25
	d) Refund of unexpended part of appropriation for August meeting, 1915.....	3.25
IV.	Miscellaneous Income—	
	a) Exchange paid by members.....	11.05
	b) Royalties on publications.....	200.25
	c) Interest on bond (\$500.00 at 6 per cent).....	30.00
	d) Petty cash fund returned to general cash.....	20.00
	Total receipts.....	\$3,587.23

Expenditures

I.	Publication Expenses—	
	a) <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> for 1916.....	\$1,013.73
	b) <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> for 1915.....	2.29
	c) <i>Papers and Proceedings</i> , Vol. X.....	523.40
	d) Reports of August meeting, 1915.....	37.90
II.	Expenses of the Executive Office—	
	a) Clerical and stenographic aid.....	279.70
	b) Campaigns for new members.....	132.94
	c) Secretary's expenses to Washington meeting.....	90.70
	d) Postage.....	91.70
	e) Printing.....	60.94
	f) Office equipment.....	58.65
	g) Stationery.....	41.46
	h) Exchange.....	17.55
	i) Advertising.....	8.40
	j) Insurance on <i>Papers and Proceedings</i>	1.45
	k) Refund of membership receipts for 1916.....	8.05
	l) Mailing report of American Association University Professors.....	32.95
	m) Mailing report of August meeting, 1915.....	20.00
	n) Miscellaneous office expense.....	20.79
III.	Expenses of the President's office—	
	a) Stenographic aid for President Ross in 1915.....	25.00
	Total expenditures.....	\$2,467.60
	Balance on hand*.....	\$1,119.63

* The Society has \$500.00 invested in a bond, which is not included in this balance.

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE

I have audited the accounts of the American Sociological Society, and hereby certify that in my opinion the foregoing statement of cash receipts and disbursements correctly sets forth the financial transactions of the Society from December 17, 1915, to December 20, 1916.

(Signed) GLENN G. MUNN

Instructor in Accounting, University of Chicago

Dated, December 21, 1916

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ARTICLE I—NAME

This society shall be known as the American Sociological Society.

ARTICLE II—OBJECTS

The objects of this society shall be the encouragement of sociological research and discussion, and the promotion of intercourse between persons engaged in the scientific study of society.

ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP

Any person may become a member of this society upon payment of Three Dollars, and may continue such by paying thereafter annually a fee of Three Dollars.

By a single payment of Fifty Dollars any person may become a life member of the society.

Each member is entitled to a copy of the current publications of the society.

ARTICLE IV—OFFICERS

The officers of this society shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer—elected at each annual meeting—and an Executive Committee consisting of the officers above mentioned *ex officio*, together with six elected members whose terms of office shall be three years; except that of those chosen at the first election two shall serve for but one year and two for two years.

The offices of Secretary and of Treasurer may be filled by the same person.

ARTICLE V—ELECTION OF OFFICERS

All officers shall be elected only after nomination by a special committee of the society appointed by the Executive Committee; except that the officers for the first year shall be nominated by a committee of three, to be appointed by the chairman of the meeting at which this constitution is adopted.

All officers shall be elected by a majority vote of the members of the society present at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI—DUTIES OF OFFICERS

The President of the society shall preside at all meetings of the society and of the Executive Committee, and shall perform such other duties as the Executive Committee may assign to him. In his absence his duties shall devolve,

successively, upon the Vice-Presidents in the order of their election, upon the Secretary, and upon the Treasurer.

The Secretary shall keep the records of the society, and perform such other duties as the Executive Committee may assign to him.

The Treasurer shall receive and have the custody of the funds of the society, subject to the rules of the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee shall have charge of the general interests of the society, shall call regular and special meetings of the society, appropriate money, appoint committees and their chairmen, with suitable powers, and in general possess the governing power in the society, except as otherwise specifically provided in this constitution. The Executive Committee shall have power to fill vacancies in its membership occasioned by death, resignation, or failure to elect, such appointees to hold office until the next annual election.

Five members shall constitute a quorum of the Executive Committee, and a majority vote of those members in attendance shall control its decisions.

ARTICLE VII—RESOLUTIONS

All resolutions to which objection is made shall be referred to the Executive Committee for its approval before submission to the vote of the society.

ARTICLE VIII—AMENDMENTS

Amendments to this constitution shall be proposed by the Executive Committee and adopted by a majority vote of the members present at any regular or special meeting of the society.

AMENDMENT I

(Adopted in 1914)

The Executive Committee shall appoint each year a Managing Editor for the annual volume of *Papers and Proceedings*. It shall be his duty to collect, edit, and arrange the material for the *Papers and Proceedings* of the annual meeting.

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

MEMBERSHIP LIST FOR THE YEAR 1917

(Numbers in parentheses indicate year of joining)

- Abbott, Edith, Hull-House, 800 S. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. (1916)
Adams, James F., Apartment 33, 516 W. 169th St., New York, N.Y. (1915)
Adams, Myron E., 5517 University Ave., Chicago, Ill. (1917)
Adams, Samuel B., 205 Gaston St. E., Savannah, Ga. (1915)
Addams, Jane, Hull-House, 800 S. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. (Prior to 1910)
Ainsworth, Harry, Moline, Ill. (1915)
Albright, Raymond W., 740 Langdon St., Madison, Wis. (1917)
Allaben, M. C., Room 710, 156 5th Ave., New York, N.Y. (1910)
Allen, Benjamin Franklin, Lincoln Institute, Jefferson City, Mo. (1915)
Alling, Mortimer H., Box 1232, Providence, R.I. (1910)
Andrews, John B., American Association for Labor Legislation, 131 E. 23d St., New York, N.Y. (1916)
Anthony, Katharine, 36 Grove St., New York, N.Y. (1917)
Armstrong, Samuel Treat, Hillbourne Farms, Katonah, N.Y. (1915)
Athey, Mrs. C. N., 100 S. Patterson Park Ave., Baltimore, Md. (1911)
Atkins, Simon G., Slater Normal School, Winston-Salem, N.C. (1917)
Atkinson, Alfred, Montana State College, Bozeman, Mont. (1916)
Austin, Charles Burgess, 419 W. 119th St., New York, N.Y. (1915)
Avery, Samuel P., 61 Woodland St., Hartford, Conn. (1915)
Babcock, Albert, Box 85, Providence, R.I. (1914)
Babson, Roger W., 31 Abbott Road, Wellesley Hills, Mass. (1915)
Badanes, Saul, 565 Madison St., Brooklyn, N.Y. (1914)
Bailey, George, 5007 Brooklyn Ave., Seattle, Wash. (1916)
Baker, Alfred L., 141 La Salle St., Chicago, Ill. (1913)
Baker, O. E., 3614 Newark St. N.W., Washington, D.C. (1912)
Balch, Emily, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. (1911)
Baldwin, Simeon E., New Haven, Conn. (1913)
Ballard, Lloyd Vernor, 915 Park Ave., Beloit, Wis. (1915)
Barber, Louise, 51 Otter St., Oshkosh, Wis. (1917)
Barlow, Burt E., Coldwater, Mich. (1911)
Barnes, A., 109 Waverly Place, New York, N.Y. (1917)
Barnes, Harry E., 45 Trowbridge St., Cambridge, Mass. (1915)
Barrett, Kate Waller, Alexandria, Va. (1917)
Barstow, George Eames, Barstow, Tex. (1915)
Batten, S. Z., 1701 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. (Prior to 1910)
Beach, Walter G., University Station, Seattle, Wash. (Prior to 1910)
Beck, Edward J., 94 S. Liberty St., Delaware, Ohio. (1915)
Bedford, Scott E. W., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (1912)
Beer, William, Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans, La. (1915)
Belcher, Alice E., Milwaukee-Downer College, Milwaukee, Wis. (1915)
Bell, Finley F., Legislative Reference Bureau, Springfield, Ill. (1916)
Bellamy, George A., Hiram House, 2723 Orange Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. (1916)
Bellamy, Raymond, Clark University, Worcester, Mass. (1915)
Beller, William F., 51 E. 123d St., New York, N.Y. (1913)

- Bemies, Charles Otis, McClellandtown, Pa. (1915)
 Bengtson, Caroline, 1201 E. 60th St., Chicago, Ill. (1913)
 Benton, Andrew A., 79 Wall St., New York, N.Y. (1913)
 Berger, Carl H., 619 N. Lake St., Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Berger, Julius, 3099 Broadway, New York, N. Y. (1916)
 Berger, Victor L., 980 1st St., Milwaukee, Wis. (1915)
 Berks, Lothar von, care of German Savings Bank, 157 4th Ave., New York, N.Y. (1916)
 Bernard, L. L., 1610 University Ave., Columbia, Mo. (Prior to 1910)
 Bernheimer, Charles S., Hebrew Educational Society, Hopkinson and Sutter Aves., Brooklyn, N.Y. (1910)
 Bettman, Alfred, 1514 First National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio. (1916)
 Beyle, Herman C., 909 8th St. S., Fargo, N.D. (1917)
 Bidgood, Lee, 706 17th Ave., Tuscaloosa, Ala. (1915)
 Binder, Rudolph M., New York University, Washington Square, New York, N.Y. (1910)
 Binnewies, W. G., Fairmount College, Wichita, Kan. (1916)
 Bittner, W. S., 411 S. Fess Ave., Bloomington, Ind. (1912)
 Bixby, W. H., 735 Southern Bldg., Washington, D.C. (1915)
 Bizzell, William B., A. and M. College, College Station, Tex. (1912)
 Black, John D., 309 Brooks St., Madison, Wis. (1916)
 Blackmar, F. W., University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. (Prior to 1910)
 Blackstone, E. O., 2765 W St., Lincoln, Neb. (1917)
 Blagden, Edward S., 114 E. 84th St., New York, N.Y. (Prior to 1910)
 Bodenhafer, W. B., Lawrence, Kan. (1916)
 Bogardus, Emory S., 1133 W. 41st St., Los Angeles, Cal. (1913)
 Bond, Jesse H., University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho. (1916)
 Bonney, Ethelind M., 1213 S. California St., Stockton, Cal. (1915)
 Bossard, James H. S., 1311 Hamilton St., Allentown, Pa. (1913)
 Bostwick, Arthur E., St. Louis Public Library, St. Louis, Mo. (1912)
 Bowerman, George F., Public Library, Washington, D.C. (1911)
 Bowman, C. A., Albright College, Myerstown, Pa. (1913)
 Boyd, Mabel, 61 5th Ave., New York, N.Y. (1916)
 Brackett, Jeffry R., 18 Somerset St., Boston, Mass. (Prior to 1910)
 Brandenburg, Earl W., 147 4th St., Milwaukee, Wis. (1915)
 Bridge, Norman, 718 W. Adams St., Los Angeles, Cal. (1911)
 Bristol, Lucius Moody, Morgantown, W.Va. (1914)
 Bronk, Mitchell, 562 Congress St., Troy, N.Y. (1915)
 Brookins, Medora C., 415 N. Park St., Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Brooks, John Graham, 8 Francis Ave., Cambridge, Mass. (1914)
 Brown, Herbert J., Box 108, Portland, Me. (1915)
 Brown, Neil W., 145 Iota Court, Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Brunner, Edmund De S., 225 N. 10th St., Easton, Pa. (1916)
 Brye, E. S., 1207 W. Johnson St., Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Buchanan, James, 800 W. 33d St., Richmond, Va. (1917)
 Bucher, Herman, Hollis, Long Island, N.Y. (1916)
 Bucklin, Harold Stephen, 76 Olive St., Pawtucket, R.I. (1917)
 Bullock, Charles E., Canton, Pa. (1911)
 Burdette, Mrs. Robert J., 891 Orange Grove Blvd., Pasadena, Cal. (1913)
 Burgess, E. W., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (1912)
 Burns, Frank J., 3647 Lyndale Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn. (1917)
 Burt, Henry F., 250 17th Ave. N., Minneapolis, Minn. (1917)
 Bushee, Frederick A., University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. (Prior to 1910)

- Bushnell, C. J., Forest Grove, Ore. (1910)
 Butterfield, Kenyon L., Amherst, Mass. (Prior to 1910)
 Button, G. L., Room 31, Second National Bank Bldg., Red Bank, N.J. (1917)
 Byrne, Mary Gertrude, 1432 8th St., New Orleans, La. (1913)
 Campbell, Walter J., Y.M.C.A. College, Springfield, Mass. (1915)
 Canis, Edward N., Route A-2, Box 372-A, Indianapolis, Ind. (1910)
 Cape, Emily Palmer, 56 W. 45th St., New York, N.Y. (Prior to 1910)
 Capen, Edward W., 146 Sargeant St., Hartford, Conn. (Prior to 1910)
 Carlson, Robert Clarence, 113 S. Oxford St., Brooklyn, N.Y. (1916)
 Carpenter, Allan, Lester, Colo. (1916)
 Carpenter, O. F., Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Carpenter, S. J., 8 W. 40th St., New York, N.Y. (1915)
 Carroll, J. Murray, 143 Wood St., Lewiston, Me. (1915)
 Carstens, C. C., 43 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. (Prior to 1910)
 Carter, James, Lincoln University, Pa. (Prior to 1910)
 Carver, Thomas N., 7 Kirkland Ave., Cambridge, Mass. (Prior to 1910)
 Case, Clarence M., 325 N. 8th St., Oskaloosa, Ia. (1915)
 Case, Mills E., 236 6th Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. (Prior to 1910)
 Chaney, Lucian W., Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. (1915)
 Chapin, F. Stuart, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (1910)
 Childs, Edward P., 609 N. Lake St., Madison, Wis. (1916)
 Clark, David Taggart, Williamstown, Mass. (1915)
 Clark, Earle, Russell Sage Foundation, 130 E. 22d St., New York, N.Y. (1912)
 Clark, Robert Fry, Pacific University, Forest Grove, Ore. (1912)
 Clarke, Edwin Leavitt, Box 207, Clinton, N.Y. (1913)
 Clarke, Ford Stillman, 33 S. Main St., Alfred, N.Y. (1917)
 Clarkson, J. Leeds, 5628 Whitby Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. (1917)
 Cleland, John Scott, Carroll College, Waukesha, Wis. (1917)
 Clow, Frederick R., Oshkosh, Wis. (Prior to 1910)
 Cochran, T. E., Columbia College, Lake City, Fla. (1916)
 Coffman, H. C., 5315 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill. (1917)
 Cohen, Joseph E., 1827 N. Marshall St., Philadelphia, Pa. (1915)
 Colbert, Roy J., 1724 Washington St., Toledo, Ohio. (1915)
 Cole, William I., Wheaton College, Norton, Mass. (1917)
 Collin, Henry P., 98 E. Chicago St., Coldwater, Mich. (1915)
 Cone, Clarence N., 11 E. Rich St., Columbus, Ohio. (1917)
 Cooley, Charles H., 703 Forest Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich. (Prior to 1910)
 Coolidge, Ellen H., 81 Marlboro St., Boston, Mass. (1913)
 Coray, G., University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah. (1916)
 Corbett, Virginia H., 426 Garfield St., Fort Collins, Colo. (1917)
 Cordell, H. W., 53 Middle Divinity Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (1917)
 Cotterman, Harold F., 245 W. 122d St., New York, N.Y. (1916)
 Cowper, Mrs. Mary O. Thompson, 1540 New Hampshire St., Lawrence, Kan. (1915)
 Crafer, T. W. B., 674 Durkee St., Appleton, Wis. (1913)
 Crafts, Wilbur F., 206 Pennsylvania Ave. S.E., Washington, D.C. (1917)
 Craig, Wallace, University of Maine, Orono, Me. (1913)
 Crampton, H. E., Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. (1911)
 Cromwell, Mary E., 1815 13th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. (1916)
 Cross, William T., 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago, Ill. (1911)

- Cutler, J. E., Adelbert College, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. (Prior to 1910)
- Cutler, U. Waldo, 63 Lancaster St., Worcester, Mass. (1911)
- Dadisman, A. J., Morgantown, W.Va. (1917)
- Dalke, Diedrich L., Rockport, Mo. (1916)
- Daniel, J. W. W., Wesleyan Female College, Macon, Ga. (1915)
- Davies, G. R., University, N.D. (1915)
- Davis, Edward H., Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind. (Prior to 1910)
- Davis, Mrs. John N., Dwight Foster Public Library, Fort Atkinson, Wis. (1915)
- Davis, Michael M., Jr., 58 Shepard St., Cambridge, Mass. (Prior to 1910)
- Davis, Otto W., 1120 N. Vincent Ave., Minneapolis, Minn. (1913)
- Day, Jane, 512 W. 123d St., New York, N.Y. (1915)
- Dealey, G. B., care of *The News*, Dallas, Tex. (1915)
- Dealey, James Q., Brown University, Providence, R.I. (Prior to 1910)
- Debs, Eugene V., Terre Haute, Ind. (1916)
- DeNise, Carrie Louise, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Ia. (1917)
- Dennison, Henry S., Dennison Mfg. Co., Framingham, Mass. (1914)
- Devine, Edward T., 607 Kent Hall, 116th St. & Amsterdam Ave., New York, N.Y. (Prior to 1910)
- Dewell, James S., Missouri Valley, Ia. (1913)
- Dewey, F. A., 12 Charles St., New York, N.Y. (1913)
- Dewey, Melvil, Lake Placid Club, N.Y. (1915)
- Dice, C. A., 506 Seminary St., Rockford, Ill. (1916)
- Dietz, Dora, 1035 Superior Ave., Middletown, Ohio. (1917)
- Dimock, George E., Elizabeth, N.J. (1913)
- Doheny, E. L., Jr., Chester Place, Los Angeles, Cal. (1916)
- Dornheim, Henry G., 126 E. Fishers Ave., Olney, Philadelphia, Pa. (1916)
- Doten, C. W., American Statistical Association, 491 Boylston St., Boston, Mass. (1915)
- Dow, G. S., Olivet College, Olivet, Mich. (1915)
- Dowd, Jerome, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla. (Prior to 1910)
- Drew, Dwight C., 268 Grove St., Melrose, Mass. (1917)
- Driel, Gertrude R. Van, 3967 Drexel Blvd., Chicago, Ill. (1915)
- DuBois, Charles G., 195 Broadway, New York, N.Y. (1915)
- Dudley, Albert W., 6303 N. 11th St., Philadelphia, Pa. (1916)
- Duke, Emma, Children's Bureau, Washington, D.C. (1917)
- Dummer, Mrs. W. F., 679 Lincoln Park Blvd., Chicago, Ill. (1910)
- Duncan, Kenneth, Canton Christian College, Canton, China. (1915)
- Dunham, Inez D., 4617 Central Ave., Los Angeles, Cal. (1916)
- Dutton, Samuel T., Walworth Ave., Hartsdale, N.Y. (1913)
- Earp, E. L., Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N.J. (Prior to 1910)
- Eastman, Sidney Corning, Kenilworth, Ill. (1915)
- Eaton, Allen B., Boise, Idaho. (1915)
- Eaves, Lucile, 176 Huntington Ave., Boston, Mass. (1910)
- Eddy, Sarah J., Bristol Ferry, R. I. (1915)
- Edmonds, Franklin S., 614 Franklin Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa. (1913)
- Edson, D. L., Columbia, Mo. (1917)
- Edwards, Lyford P., 139 South Divinity Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (1917)
- Egartner, Z. T., North Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (1916)
- Elkus, Abram I., 111 Broadway, New York, N.Y. (1915)
- Ellwood, Charles A., 407 College Ave., Columbia, Mo. (Prior to 1910)

- Elmer, M. C., University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. (1912)
 Elmore, Wilber T., Hamilton, N.Y. (1917)
 Emerson, Elliot S., 395 Broadway, Cambridge, Mass. (1913)
 Esson, Victor E., 436 N. Frances St., Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Estabrook, Arthur F., 15 State St., Boston, Mass. (1913)
 Evans, Ira Hobart, Austin, Tex. (1913)
 Everett, Earl A., 316 N. 28th St., Lincoln, Neb. (1917)
 Ewing, C. O., 225 Lake Lawn Place, Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Ewing, James Rees, McKendree College, Lebanon, Ill. (1916)
 Eyerly, Elmer Kendall, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, S.D. (1911)
 Fairchild, H. P., 185 St. Ronan St., New Haven, Conn. (1911)
 Fairchild, Milton, National Institution for Moral Instruction, 3730 McKinley St., Washington, D.C. (1916)
 Farnam, H. W., 43 Hillhouse Ave., New Haven, Conn. (Prior to 1910)
 Farnum, Mrs. P. E., 122 E. 82d St., New York, N.Y. (1916)
 Faust, Charles J., Box 25, Rochester, Minn. (1911)
 Fehlandt, August F., Ripon, Wis. (1913)
 Felton, Ralph A., Roselle, N.J. (1915)
 Ferris, Woodbridge N., 515 Elm St., Big Rapids, Mich. (1915)
 Feuerlicht, Morris M., 3034 Washington Blvd., Indianapolis, Ind. (1913)
 Field, James A., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (Prior to 1910)
 Fieser, James L., 151 Brighton Road, Columbus, Ohio. (Prior to 1910)
 Fife, Ray, 211 W. 11th Ave., Columbus, Ohio. (1917)
 Fischer, E. G., East Lansing, Mich. (1910)
 Fisher, Clarence C., 3101 College Ave., Beaver Falls, Pa. (1916)
 Fisher, Irving, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (Prior to 1910)
 Fisk, D. M., 1516 College Ave., Topeka, Kan. (1911)
 Fiske, G. Walter, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. (1916)
 Fiske, H., 1 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. (Prior to 1910)
 Fitz, Emma J., 65 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. (1915)
 Foley, Roy William, Colgate University, Hamilton, N.Y. (1912)
 Follett, Mary P., 5 Otis Place, Boston, Mass. (1915)
 Folsom, Joseph Kirk, 912 S. 16th St., Newark, N.J. (1915)
 Fonkalsrud, Alfred O., 1333 75th St., Brooklyn, N.Y. (1917)
 Forbes, C. B., 23 Trowbridge Road, Worcester, Mass. (1912)
 Foster, Solomon, 90 Treacy Ave., Newark, N.J. (1911)
 Fox, Hugh F., 50 Union Square, New York, N.Y. (1910)
 Frank, Glenn, Madison Square Hotel, New York, N.Y. (1917)
 Frankfurter, Felix, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass. (1915)
 Freer, H. H., Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Ia. (1912)
 Friend, Mrs. Joseph E., 1807 Palmer Ave., New Orleans, La. (1916)
 Frost, Alvah G., 20 Clermont Ave., Port Chester, N.Y. (1917)
 Fuller, Frederic Henry, 277 Brook St., Providence, R.I. (1914)
 Fullerton, Dorothy J., 606 N. Frances St., Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Furth, Jacob, 5243 Waterman Ave., St. Louis, Mo. (1913)
 Gardner, C. S., Norton Hall, Louisville, Ky. (1911)
 Garner, Mrs. Della B., College Station, Tex. (1917)
 Garnett, W. E., 1910 Madison St., Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Garrett, Garet, care of *New York Tribune*, Mills Bldg., 15 Broad St., New York, N.Y. (1916)
 Garst, Julius, 29 Oread St., Worcester, Mass. (1911)
 Gary, Frank E. H., 10 Tremont St., Boston, Mass. (1915)
 Gavisk, Francis H., 126 W. Georgia St., Indianapolis, Ind. (1916)

- Gehlke, C. E., Adelbert College, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. (1912)
- Geisse, W. F. G., R.F.D. No. 2, Great Barrington, Mass. (1911)
- George, W. H., Divinity Hall, Cambridge, Mass. (Prior to 1910)
- Gerin, Leon, Coaticooke, Quebec, Canada. (1910)
- Gibbs, Harold Leslie, St. Stephen's College, Annandale, N.Y. (1917)
- Giddings, Franklin H., Columbia University, New York, N.Y. (Prior to 1910)
- Gilbert, Richard H., 111 E. Front St., Berwick, Pa. (1915)
- Gilkeson, Rebecca Baxter, Ward Belmont School, Nashville, Tenn. (1915)
- Gillette, John M., University, N.D. (1911)
- Gillin, J. L., 209 Highland Ave., Madison, Wis. (Prior to 1910)
- Gilman, Charlotte P., 627 W. 136th St., New York, N.Y. (Prior to 1910)
- Gilman, F. Louise, 153 E. Erie St., Chicago, Ill. (1917)
- Gilmore, Nettie C., 1519 U St., Lincoln, Neb. (1917)
- Giltner, Emmett E., 418 W. 118th St., New York, N.Y. (1911)
- Glenn, John M., 136 E. 19th St., New York, N.Y. (Prior to 1910)
- Godard, George S., State Library, Hartford, Conn. (1913)
- Gompers, Samuel, Ouray Bldg., Washington, D.C. (1914)
- Good, S. P., 415 N. Murray St., Madison, Wis. (1917)
- Gottschall, Robert J., Pennsburg, Pa. (1915)
- Gove, George, 317 W. 95th St., New York, N.Y. (1915)
- Gram, J. P., 148 W. 120th St., New York, N.Y. (1913)
- Granbery, John C., 916 Walnut St., Georgetown, Tex. (1915)
- Graves, Wm. C., Pontiac, Ill. (1915)
- Gray, Edith Scott, 30 Green Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (1915)
- Gray, R. S., Commonwealth Club, 153 Kearney St., San Francisco, Cal. (1911)
- Green, Eleanor B., 14 John St., Providence, R.I. (1914)
- Greenfield, Russell S., 711 Langdon St., Madison, Wis. (1917)
- Gregg, Wells K., 562 Reed St., Milwaukee, Wis. (1915)
- Grossman, Louis, 528 Camden Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. (1911)
- Groves, E. R., New Hampshire College, Durham, N.H. (1912)
- Hackbusch, Florentine, Sterling Mines, Sterlington, N.Y. (1917)
- Hagerty, James E., Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. (Prior to 1910)
- Hahne, E. H., Dakota Wesleyan University, Mitchell, S.D. (1916)
- Hale, Robert L., Hamilton Hall, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. (1912)
- Hall, A. B., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (1913)
- Hall, John Oscar, Willamette University, Salem, Ore. (1913)
- Hamilton, James H., Greensburg, Ind. (1917)
- Hammon, Louise, 515 N. Lake St., Madison, Wis. (1917)
- Handman, Max S., 5430 Cornell Ave., Chicago, Ill. (1916)
- Hankins, Frank H., Clark College, Worcester, Mass. (1910)
- Hanson, J. M., Youngstown, Ohio. (1915)
- Harriman, Edward A., 800 Second National Bank Bldg., New Haven, Conn. (1915)
- Harris, Gibson W., Trinity Rectory, Ossining, N.Y. (1916)
- Harris, Thomas L., 310 E. Church St., Oxford, Ohio. (1911)
- Harris, W. A., Penn Bldg., Erie, Pa. (1913)
- Harrison, S. J., Benton City, Wash. (1915)
- Harward, George N., Box 204, Frostburg, Md. (1916)
- Haskins, Theresa H., 299 Sherman St., Brooklyn, N.Y. (1917)
- Havemeyer, Loomis, 90 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. (1912)

- Hawley, Lauretta K., Public Welfare Association, City Bldg., Henderson, Ky. (1917)
- Hawthorn, H. B., Castana, Ia. (1917)
- Hayes, E. C., 915 W. Nevada St., Urbana, Ill. (Prior to 1910)
- Haynes, Fred Emory, State Historical Society, Iowa City, Ia. (1916)
- Hays, Samuel H., 310 Boise City National Bank Bldg., Boise, Idaho. (1915)
- Heard, Mrs. Dwight B., Casa Blanca, Phoenix, Ariz. (1915)
- Hebard, Grace Raymond, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyo. (1914)
- Hebberd, Charles, 428 W. 18th St., Spokane, Wash. (1915)
- Heffner, W. C., 3312 Woodland Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. (Prior to 1910)
- Helleberg, Victor E., 1725 Mississippi St., Lawrence, Kan. (Prior to 1910)
- Henry, Edna G., 1414 Broadway, Indianapolis, Ind. (1914)
- Herron, Stella, 1933 Elysian Fields, New Orleans, La. (1913)
- Heublin, C. M., 524 State St., Madison, Wis. (1917)
- Hewes, Amy, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. (1910)
- Hickey, D. T., 350 Federal Bldg., Chicago, Ill. (1916)
- Hiester, A. V., Franklin & Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. (Prior to 1910)
- Hildreth, Philo C., Parsons College, Fairfield, Ia. (1912)
- Hill, Fred B., Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. (1916)
- Hill, Robert T., Union College, Schenectady, N.Y. (1910)
- Hiller, E. T., ———. (1915)
- Hintzman, W. F., 37 S. Mills St., Madison, Wis. (1916)
- Hitchcock, J. E., Oberlin, Ohio. (Prior to 1910)
- Hoben, Allan, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (1915)
- Hodgson, Caspar W., Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y. (1916)
- Hodgson, Roberta, 1121 University Ave., Madison, Wis. (1917)
- Hogg, William C., Carter Bldg., Houston, Tex. (1915)
- Hollingshead, George G., 216 3d St., Jersey City, N.J. (1916)
- Holmes, George K., 1323 Irving St., Washington, D.C. (Prior to 1910)
- Holmes, Roy H., Hillsdale, Mich. (1913)
- Holt, Lt. Col. L. H., West Point, N.Y. (1913)
- Hompe, Marjorie, Box 33, Lake Forest, Ill. (1916)
- Hooker, George E., 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago, Ill. (1916)
- Hoover, H. D., Carthage, Ill. (Prior to 1910)
- Hopkins, Louis J., Winnetka, Ill. (1913)
- Horner, M. B., Juniata College, Huntingdon, Pa. (1916)
- Hosford, George Lewis, Box 615, Wichita, Kan. (1913)
- House, J. T., State Normal School, Wayne, Neb. (1911)
- Hoverstad, T. A., Soo Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn. (1913)
- Howard, Bertha J., 1106 Willard St., Ann Arbor, Mich. (1917)
- Howard, George E., 1528 K St., Lincoln, Neb. (Prior to 1910)
- Howat, William F., 832 Hohman St., Hammond, Ind. (1911)
- Howerth, I. W., 1421 Scenic Ave., Berkeley, Cal. (1911)
- Huang, F. H., 311 N. Murray St., Madison, Wis. (1916)
- Hubbard, William P., Elm Grove, Wheeling, W.Va. (1915)
- Hubbell, George A., Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tenn. (Prior to 1910)
- Humpe, Helen, 1634 A St., Lincoln, Neb. (1917)
- Huston, Charles A., Law School, Stanford University, Cal. (1913)
- Ingen, Philip Van, 125 E. 71st St., New York, N.Y. (1911)
- Ingersoll, Charles H., 315 4th Ave., New York, N.Y. (1915)
- Ingersoll, Raymond V., 149 S. Oxford St., Brooklyn, N.Y. (1916)
- Irving, Bertha A., 102 Henderson Ave., New Brighton, N.Y. (1913)

- Israel, Henry, 124 E. 28th St., New York, N.Y. (1911)
 Jackson, S. Trevena, 219 Market St., Paterson, N.J. (1915)
 Janzen, C. C., 8 North Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (1916)
 Jenkins, W. E., Indiana University Library, Bloomington, Ind. (1917)
 Jenks, Albert E., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. (1913)
 Jennings, Samuel, Perry, Mich. (1914)
 Jensen, Jens, Steinway Hall, Chicago, Ill. (1915)
 Jensen, Jens P., 1724 Como Ave. S.E., Minneapolis, Minn. (1916)
 Jeremiah, J., 117 W. 58th St., New York, N.Y. (1916)
 Johnson, Axel, Omaha Agency, Macy, Neb. (1911)
 Johnson, Charles H., State Board of Charities, Albany, N.Y. (1917)
 Johnson, Harriet E., 32 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass. (1913)
 Johnson, Marcia Pratt, 1007 Park Ave., Utica, N.Y. (1917)
 Johnston, W. Dawson, St. Paul Public Library, St. Paul, Minn. (1915)
 Jones, Cheney C., 402 Chamber of Commerce, Cleveland, Ohio. (1917)
 Jones, S. Paul, 512 Wisconsin Ave., Waukesha, Wis. (1917)
 Jones, Thomas Jesse, U.S. Bureau of Education, Washington, D.C. (Prior to 1910)
 Jordan, Thomas Guy, Lexington, Miss. (1917)
 Joseph, Isaac, 1827 E. 82d St., Cleveland, Ohio. (1913)
 Judell, M. F., 711 Langdon St., Madison, Wis. (1916)
 Kaufman, Imogene Hope, 1241 N. Guilford St., Huntington, Ind. (1916)
 Keefe, Harry L., Walthill, Neb. (1915)
 Kehew, Mrs. M. M., 292 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass. (Prior to 1910)
 Keller, A. G., 55 Huntington St., New Haven, Conn. (Prior to 1910)
 Kellogg, Angie L., Bryn Mawr, Pa. (1917)
 Kelly, Charles P., 156 E. 5th St., Erie, Pa. (1912)
 Kelsey, Carl, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (Prior to 1910)
 Kerby, Wm. J., Catholic University, Washington, D.C. (1912)
 Kiekhoefer, William, 27 South Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (1913)
 King, Lyndon M., care of Northrup King & Co., Minneapolis, Minn. (1915)
 Kingsbury, Susan M., 219 Roberts Road, Bryn Mawr, Pa. (1917)
 Kirk, William, University of Rochester, Rochester, N.Y. (1917)
 Kittredge, Mabel Hyde, 62 Washington Square South, New York, N.Y. (1917)
 Klee, Max, 1340 E. 48th St., Chicago, Ill. (1913)
 Kleihege, George W., 1201 New Jersey St., Lawrence, Kan. (1916)
 Kneeland, George Jackson, 105 W. 40th St., New York, N.Y. (1917)
 Knight, Howard Roscoe, Box 63, Mineola, Long Island, N.Y. (1915)
 Knight, M. M., 35 Beaver St., Worcester, Mass. (1917)
 Kolb, John Harrison, University Farm, St. Paul, Minn. (1917)
 Kolls, Mrs. Gladys Grimm, 103 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. (1914)
 Korab, Frank Harrison, Lambert, Mont. (1916)
 Kramer, Frank H., 317 W. Union St., West Chester, Pa. (1917)
 Krebs, Henry J., Newport, Del. (1915)
 Krueger, J. F., 934 S. 4th St., Atchison, Kan. (1917)
 Kuh, Sydney, 30 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. (1917)
 Kulp, Daniel Harrison, II, Shanghai Baptist College, Shanghai, China. (1914)
 Kursheedt, M. A., 302 Broadway, New York, N.Y. (1911)
 Laidman, Charles S., 5467 University Ave., Chicago, Ill. (1915)
 Lamb, B. F., care of W. L. Radcliffe, Muncey Bldg., Washington, D.C. (1917)

- Lantis, L. O., 175 Chittenden Ave., Columbus, Ohio. (1916)
 Lathrop, Julia C., Children's Bureau, Washington, D.C. (1915)
 Lauder, Frank, 803 Long Bldg., Kansas City, Mo. (1913)
 Laufer, Berthold, Field Museum, Chicago, Ill. (1913)
 Lautner, J. E., Marquette, Mich. (1914)
 Lawson, Victor F., 1500 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Ill. (1915)
 Leach, Floyd S., 416 Fort Washington Ave., New York, N.Y. (1917)
 Leavell, R. H., Extension Department, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. (1914)
 Lee, Guy C., 172 W. High St., Carlisle, Pa. (Prior to 1910)
 Lee, Ivy L., 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y. (1915)
 Lefavour, Henry, 3 Brimmer St., Boston, Mass. (Prior to 1910)
 Leonard, D. A., Concordia College, Moorhead, Minn. (1917)
 Lewis, E. St. Elmo, 98 McLean Ave., Highland Park, Wayne County, Mich. (1915)
 Lewisohn, Sam A., 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y. (1915)
 Lichtenberger, J. P., Logan Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (Prior to 1910)
 Liebers, Fred A., 633 N. 26th St., Lincoln, Neb. (1917)
 Lies, Eugene T., 437 Keystone Ave., River Forest, Ill. (Prior to 1910)
 Lindsay, Samuel M., Columbia University, New York, N.Y. (Prior to 1910)
 Lindsey, Edward, National Bank Bldg., Warren, Pa. (1911)
 Lindsley, Henry D., Dallas, Tex. (1917)
 Linfield, F. B., 719 S. 3d Ave., Bozeman, Mont. (1917)
 Lipschutz, H. S., 211 N. Murray St., Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Loeber, Maud, 2315 Carondelet St., New Orleans, La. (1916)
 Logan, Joseph C., 701 Gould Bldg., Atlanta, Ga. (1917)
 Loring, A. P., 40 State St., Boston, Mass. (1915)
 Lovejoy, Owen R., 105 E. 22d St., New York, N.Y. (1916)
 Lowber, James W., 1706 Brazos St., Austin, Tex. (1911)
 Lowden, Frank, Oregon, Ill. (1915)
 Lowrie, S. Gale, 3411 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. (1915)
 Luce, Robert, 8 Bosworth St., Boston, Mass. (1915)
 Luehring, F. W., Princeton, N.J. (Prior to 1910)
 Lull, Herbert G., Kansas State Normal, Emporia, Kan. (1915)
 Lumley, F. E., College of Missions, Indianapolis, Ind. (1913)
 Lundeen, Ernest W., Station A, Lincoln, Neb. (1917)
 McBride, Anna Christine, Low Bldg., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. (1914)
 MacClean, E. A., Room 2401, 16 Dey St., New York, N.Y. (Prior to 1910)
 McClean, H. J., 1403 Elm St., Long Beach, Cal. (1916)
 McClelland, George Hamilton, 201 Wilbraham Road, Springfield, Mass. (1915)
 McConnell, Francis J., 964 Logan St., Denver, Colo. (1910)
 McCoy, J. P., 644 N. Frances St., Madison, Wis. (1916)
 McCracken, H. L., Hastings College, Hastings, Neb. (1917)
 McDevitt, Philip R., Bishop's House, Harrisburg, Pa. (1911)
 McDowell, Mary E., 4630 Gross Ave., Chicago, Ill. (Prior to 1910)
 MacFarland, Charles S., Room 613, 105 E. 22d St., New York, N.Y. (1912)
 McGregor, Tracy W., 239 Brush St., Detroit, Mich. (1913)
 MacIver, Robert Morrison, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. (1916)
 McKelway, Alexander Jeffrey, 2071 Park Road, Washington, D.C. (1917)

- McKenzie, F. A., Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn. (Prior to 1910)
 McKinlock, George A., 320 S. 5th Ave., Chicago, Ill. (1915)
 McKinney, Margaret E., 401 1st St., Fairmont, W.Va. (1917)
 MacLean, Annie Marion, Hotel St. George, Blackstone Ave. and 60th St., Chicago, Ill. (Prior to 1910)
 MacVeagh, Franklin, 2829 16th St., Washington, D.C. (1913)
 Mackey, Ebenezer, 314 Hamilton Ave., Trenton, N.J. (1913)
 Mackey, Walter C., 222 Monona Ave., Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Macy, V. Everit, 68 Broad St., New York, N.Y. (1911)
 Madeira, Lucy, 1330 19th St., Washington, D.C. (1911)
 Magnusson, P. Magnus, State Normal School, St. Cloud, Minn. (1915)
 Mangold, George B., 4002 Lexington Ave., St. Louis, Mo. (1916)
 Mann, A. R., Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. (1916)
 Marquis, Eva M., Board of Public Welfare, Kansas City, Mo. (1916)
 Marrs, R. M., 608 N. 15th St., Lincoln, Neb. (1917)
 Marshall, Agnes M., 541 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, N.Y. (1917)
 Marston, Edwin S., Box 72, Florham Park, N.J. (1915)
 Mason, Jarvis W., Oakwood Ave. and Hawthorne Terrace, Corcoran Manor, Mt. Vernon, N.Y. (1915)
 Mason, J. Leonard, Board of Recreation, 587 City Hall, Philadelphia, Pa. (1915)
 Mather, Samuel, Western Reserve Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio. (1915)
 Maxson, C. H., Bishop College, Marshall, Tex. (1914)
 Maymon, Thomas B., 55 Eddy St., Providence, R. I. (1914)
 Mead, Daniel W., 120 Gorham St., Madison, Wis. (1915)
 Mehl, Paul, 29 E. Dayton St., Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Meloy, Luella P., Pennsylvania College for Women, Pittsburgh, Pa. (1914)
 Melvin, Floyd J., 348 New York Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. (1917)
 Mertens, Muriel, 75 West St., Northampton, Mass. (1917)
 Mez, John, 407 W. 117th St., New York, N.Y. (1915)
 Miller, G. R., State Teachers College, Greeley, Colo. (1910)
 Miller, H. A., 151 N. Professor St., Oberlin, Ohio. (Prior to 1910)
 Mitchell, Harry W., State Hospital, Warren, Pa. (1913)
 Mitchell, J. Gifford, Jr., Stuyvesant, Columbia County, N.Y. (1917)
 Mohr, Lewis, 349 W. Illinois St., Chicago, Ill. (1911)
 Moncrief, J. W., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (1913)
 Monroe, Paul, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. (Prior to 1910)
 Moon, S. Dabney, Charlottesville, Va. (1917)
 Morris, Meade M., 722 W. Johnson St., Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Morrison, H. C., Department of Public Instruction, Concord, N.H. (1916)
 Morrow, Verle, 705 N. Sheridan Road, Waukegan, Ill. (1916)
 Morse, Edwin F., 708 Langdon St., Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Mounts, Lewis H., 1507 Broad St., Hartford, Conn. (1916)
 Munsell, Mrs. A. H., Chestnut Hill, Mass. (1915)
 Nasmyth, George W., 264 Adams St., Milton, Mass. (1916)
 Naumburg, Mrs. Elsa H., 142 W. 77th St., New York, N.Y. (1913)
 Nealley, E. M., R.F.D. No. 1, Santa Ana, Cal. (1911)
 Nearing, Scott, Toledo University, Toledo, Ohio. (1915)
 Neill, Charles P., 616 Woodward Bldg., Washington, D.C. (Prior to 1910)
 Neustadt, Richard M., 386 E. Market St., Akron, Ohio. (1916)
 Newell, Jane I., Smith College, Northampton, Mass. (1916)
 Newman, Stephen M., Howard University, Washington, D.C. (1910)
 Newson, Vida, 814 Franklin St., Columbus, Ind. (1915)

- Nichols, C. A., Georgetown, Tex. (Prior to 1910)
 Nicklaus, Frank E., Friendly House, Mansfield, Ohio. (1917)
 Nieman, L. W., care of *Milwaukee Journal*, Milwaukee, Wis. (1915)
 Nissley, Katharine Fox, 51 Henshaw Ave., Northampton, Mass. (1917)
 North, Cecil C., 2612 Indianola Ave., Columbus, Ohio. (Prior to 1910)
 Northcott, C. H., 269 W. 118th St., New York, N.Y. (1917)
 Northcutt, Clarence L., 5509 Blackstone Ave., Chicago, Ill. (1916)
 Nystrom, Paul H., 1790 Broadway, New York, N.Y. (Prior to 1910)
 O'Connor, J. J., Jr., Mellon Institute, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. (1912)
 Oldham, Margaret A., Gillett House, Northampton, Mass. (1917)
 O'Reilly, Margaret E., 631 Langdon St., Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Orr, Ernest A., 3941 N. 30th St., Tacoma, Wash. (1917)
 Osborne, Thomas M., Auburn, N.Y. (1915)
 O'Shea, Harriet, 140 Langdon St., Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Pace, Homer St. Clair, 30 Church St., New York, N.Y. (1915)
 Paden, Thomas H., New Concord, Ohio. (1917)
 Page, Edward D., Oakland, Bergen County, N.J. (1911)
 Park, Robert E., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (1914)
 Parker, Arthur C., Education Bldg., Albany, N.Y. (1913)
 Parmelee, Maurice, 115 W. 43d St., New York, N.Y. (Prior to 1910)
 Parrish, C. H., 807 6th St., Louisville, Ky. (1914)
 Parsons, Edward S., Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colo. (1914)
 Parsons, Mrs. Elsie Clews, 115 E. 72d St., New York, N.Y. (Prior to 1910)
 Paterson, Robert G., 91 E. Deshler Ave., Columbus, Ohio. (1917)
 Patten, Frank C., Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Tex. (1915)
 Patten, Simon N., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (Prior to 1910)
 Patterson, Gaylard H., 260 Mooreland Ave., Carlisle, Pa. (1914)
 Pattison, Francis Wayland, Box 216, East Northfield, Mass. (1915)
 Payne, E. George, 5111 Vernon Ave., St. Louis, Mo. (1916)
 Perky, Scott H., 361 Waverly Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. (1914)
 Peskind, A., 13035 Euclid Ave., East Cleveland, Ohio. (1913)
 Peterson, Conrad, 625 St. Paul St., St. Peter, Minn. (1914)
 Phelan, John, Massachusetts Agricultural College, Amherst, Mass. (1917)
 Phillips, Robert, 428 Cross St., Ann Arbor, Mich. (1917)
 Pierce, Walter C., 136 West Union St., Jacksonville, Fla. (1915)
 Plaisted, Elizabeth, 126 E. 19th St., New York, N.Y. (1913)
 Poland, Earl W., R.F.D. No. 2, Hamilton, Ill. (1912)
 Potter, Blanche, 410 Park Ave., New York, N.Y. (1916)
 Pound, Roscoe, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass. (Prior to 1910)
 Powell, Hannah B. Clark, 5227 Blackstone Ave., Chicago, Ill. (Prior to 1910)
 Powlison, Charles F., 70 5th Ave., New York, N.Y. (1916)
 Price, Theodore H., 15 Wall St., New York, N.Y. (1915)
 Putnam, Bertha Haven, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. (1915)
 Ranck, Samuel H., Public Library, Grand Rapids, Mich. (1915)
 Randall, J. Harvey, Bacone College, Bacone, Okla. (1913)
 Randolph, E. D., 1717 11th Ave., Greeley, Colo. (1916)
 Randolph, E. F., 1654 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. (1911)
 Rantoul, Mrs. Lois B., 101 Forest Hill St., Jamaica Plain, Mass. (1914)
 Rath, James A., Box 514, Honolulu, Hawaii. (1910)
 Redstone, Edward H., Social Law Library, Boston, Mass. (1914)

- Reeve, Sidney A., St. Marks Apartments, Staten Island, N.Y. (1916)
 Reinemund, J. A., Box 95, Muscatine, Ia. (1912)
 Rettew, Pierce, 266 Briggs St., Harrisburg, Pa. (1917)
 Reuter, E. B., 822 E. 56th St., Chicago, Ill. (1915)
 Reynolds, James Bronson, 151 Central Park West, New York, N.Y. (1915)
 Rhoades, Mabel C., Wells College, Aurora, N.Y. (1912)
 Rich, Wesley Everett, 10 College Place, Middletown, Conn. (1915)
 Richter, Irwin E., 821 First National Bank Bldg., San Francisco, Cal. (1913)
 Rietbrock, Dorothy, 819 Irving Place, Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Riley, Morgan T., 628 W. 114th St., New York, N.Y. (1912)
 Riley, Thomas J., 447 Rugby Road, Flatbush, Brooklyn, N.Y. (Prior to 1910)
 Robbins, Jane E., care of League for the Hard of Hearing, 35 W. 39th St., New York, N.Y. (1916)
 Roberts, Frank H. H., New Mexico Normal University, East Las Vegas, N.M. (1913)
 Robinson, G. Wilsie, 937 Rialto Bldg., Kansas City, Mo. (1915)
 Rockey, Carroll J., 402 Irving Ave., Minneapolis, Minn. (1913)
 Roeder, Herbert J., 174 E. 95th St., New York, N.Y. (1916)
 Rogers, Edgar M., Trinity Episcopal Church, Everett, Wash. (1917)
 Rogers, Margaret G., 617 State St., Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Rom, Roy George, 977 2d St., Milwaukee, Wis. (1917)
 Romer, John C., 557 N. 16th St., Lincoln, Neb. (1917)
 Ross, Edward A., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (Prior to 1910)
 Ross, Frank A., Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. (1915)
 Ross, J. Elliott, 401 W. 21st St., Austin, Tex. (1917)
 Rueckert, Frederick, 7 Marlborough Ave., Providence, R.I. (1914)
 Sachs, R. L., Box 25, Madison Square Sta., New York, N.Y. (Prior to 1910)
 Sanderson, Dwight L., 1109 E. 54th Place, Chicago, Ill. (1916)
 Sanderson, Edward F., 125 Remsen St., Brooklyn, N.Y. (1915)
 Sawtelle, Donald W., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Sawyer, Wilda A., 220 N. Brooks St., Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Schattschneider, Elmer, Y.M.C.A., Butler, Pa. (1912)
 Schenck, Harold W., 30 Church St., Nutley, N.J. (1916)
 Schively, Mary Alice, 318 Winona Ave., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa. (1916)
 Schmidt, George A., 145 Iota Court, Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Schofield, Leah, 806 S. 11th St., Lincoln, Neb. (1917)
 Schultz, H. D., 825 Chandler St., Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Scroggs, William O., Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La. (1911)
 Seligman, E. R. A., 324 W. 86th St., New York, N.Y. (Prior to 1910)
 Seliskar, John, St. Paul Seminary, Groveland Park, St. Paul, Minn. (1911)
 Sharkey, Edith L., 1232 Hood Ave., Chicago, Ill. (1915)
 Sharpless, Helen, care of Haverford College Library, Haverford, Pa. (1917)
 Sheldon, A. E., Nebraska Legislative Reference Bureau, Lincoln, Neb. (1913)
 Shenton, H. N., Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. (1912)
 Sherfey, Ruth Carter, 321 Belden Ave., Chicago, Ill. (1917)
 Shirer, H. H., 1010 Hartman Bldg., Columbus, Ohio. (1917)
 Shollenberger, Helen O., 5822 Springfield Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. (1917)
 Short, William Harrison, 339 S. 10th Ave., Mt. Vernon, N.Y. (1917)
 Siedenburgh, Frederic, 617 Ashland Block, Clark and Randolph Sts., Chicago, Ill. (1913)
 Simons, Sarah E., 1528 Corcoran St., Washington, D.C. (Prior to 1910)
 Simpson, Joshua Baker, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va. (1913)

- Sims, Newell L., 409 E. Lassiter St., Gainesville, Fla. (1910)
 Sinks, Albert E., Box 635, Wheeling, W.Va. (1917)
 Skoss, Solomon L., 1450 Knox Court, Denver, Colo. (1915)
 Small, Albion W., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (Prior to 1910)
 Smith, Alice M., 511 Warburton Bldg., Tacoma, Wash. (1911)
 Smith, C. Henry, Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio. (1914)
 Smith, Franklin O., University of Montana, Missoula, Mont. (1917)
 Smith, Frederick M., Box 255, Independence, Mo. (1913)
 Smith, Ignatius, 411 E. 68th St., New York, N.Y. (1917)
 Smith, James B., California, Pa. (1915)
 Smith, L. Emory, Hermanville, Miss. (1915)
 Smith, Walter R., 422 W. 8th St., Emporia, Kan. (1913)
 Smith, Wilberforce W., 151 N. Fairview Ave., Decatur, Ill. (1911)
 Smith, William, Williams, Colusa County, Cal. (1916)
 Snedden, David, Teachers College, W. 120th St., New York, N.Y. (Prior to 1910)
 Snell, Hazel F., 3318 Randolph St., Lincoln, Neb. (1917)
 Snelling, Charles M., University of Georgia, Athens, Ga. (1916)
 Snow, Alpheus Henry, 2013 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. (1915)
 Snyder, G. J., 55 S. Maple Ave., Ridgewood, N.J. (1915)
 Souther, Susie, 1331 F St., Lincoln, Neb. (1917)
 Spaeth, J. Duncan, Princeton, N.J. (1916)
 Spalding, S. M., 1006 Security Bldg., Los Angeles, Cal. (1915)
 Speerstra, Ruth, 435 N. Warren St., Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Spencer, Mrs. Anna Garlin, 669 Alden St., Meadville, Pa. (Prior to 1910)
 Spencer, W. L., 220 Court St., Bowling Green, Ohio. (1917)
 Splawn, W. M. W., Belton, Tex. (1916)
 Stahl, John Meloy, 6063 Harper Ave., Chicago, Ill. (1915)
 Stapleford, F. N., 12 Howland Ave., Toronto, Ontario, Canada. (1917)
 Stearns, Eleanor E., Clarke House, Northampton, Mass. (1917)
 Stebbins, Lucy Ward, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1913)
 Steiner, B. C., Enoch Pratt Library, Baltimore, Md. (1911)
 Steiner, Edward A., Grinnell, Ia. (1917)
 Steiner, Jesse F., 5724 Maryland Ave., Chicago, Ill. (1915)
 Sternheim, Emanuel, Sioux City, Ia. (1913)
 Stevens, James G., University Club, Urbana, Ill. (1915)
 Stevens, Mrs. Jennie E., 246 Greenwich Ave., Greenwich, Conn. (1917)
 Stevenson, Idabelle, 1321 Washington St., Wilmington, Del. (1917)
 Stewart, Anna, 852 W. 35th Place, Los Angeles, Cal. (1914)
 Stires, Ernest M., 3 W. 53d St., New York, N.Y. (1916)
 Stokes, J. G. Phelps, 100 William St., New York, N.Y. (1917)
 Stone, Alfred H., Dunleith, Miss. (Prior to 1910)
 Stone, R. W., 5623 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill. (1915)
 Straus, Percy S., care of R. H. Macy & Co., Herald Square, New York, N.Y. (1917)
 Straw, Darien Austin, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Ill. (1916)
 Stridsberg, Carl, 223 Terrace Ave., Hasbrouch Heights, N.J. (1915)
 Stringfellow, Ervin E., Box 46, University Place Sta., Des Moines, Ia. (1916)
 Stuckey, Lorin, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. (1916)
 Sullivan, Richard Thomas, care of Mahoning & Shenango Railway & Light Co., Youngstown, Ohio. (1915)
 Sumner, G. S., Pomona College, Claremont, Cal. (Prior to 1910)
 Sutherland, E. H., William Jewell College, Liberty, Mo. (1911)

- Suzzallo, Henry, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. (1910)
 Swanton, John R., Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (1913)
 Swift, Harold H., Union Stock Yards, Chicago, Ill. (1916)
 Taggart, A. Maude, Peterborough, N.H. (1917)
 Talbert, E. L., University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio. (1915)
 Talbot, Marion, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (Prior to 1910)
 Tate, William Knox, Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn. (1917)
 Tawney, G. A., University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio. (1916)
 Taylor, Carl C., Columbia, Mo. (1916)
 Taylor, Mrs. E. E. L., Torrington Relief Association, Torrington, Conn. (1917)
 Taylor, F. B., Jamestown College, Jamestown, N.D. (1914)
 Taylor, Shelby, 627 Mendota Court, Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Tenney, Alvan A., Columbia University, New York, N.Y. (Prior to 1910)
 Thomas, Bernard G. H., 2412 Washington St., Lincoln, Neb. (1917)
 Thomas, George, 217 E. 4th North St., Logan, Utah. (1914)
 Thomas, Joseph J., Central High School, Washington, D.C. (Prior to 1910)
 Thomas, W. I., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (Prior to 1910)
 Thompson, Carl William, 626 Quebec Place N. W., Washington, D.C. (1915)
 Thompson, George, 340 Summit Ave., St. Paul, Minn. (1915)
 Thompson, Warren S., 817 McKinley Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich. (1912)
 Thomson, Mrs. Ida Fiske, 104 Kellogg Ave., Amherst, Mass. (1917)
 Thrasher, Frederic M., 31 Hitchcock Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (1916)
 Tilghman, Mrs. Bell Montgomery, Marion, S.C. (1913)
 Tinney, Mary C., 258 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. (1912)
 Todd, A. J., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. (1912)
 Towe, D. N., Bond Bldg., Washington, D.C. (1917)
 Towne, Arthur W., 105 Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn, N.Y. (1917)
 Towne, E. T., Northfield, Minn. (1914)
 Townsend, Wayne L., 1545 F St., Lincoln, Neb. (1917)
 Trainum, W. H., Ohio Northern University, Ada, Ohio. (1916)
 Tufeland, Marcus, 436 N. Frances St., Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Tungeln, George H. von, Iowa State College, Ames, Ia. (1914)
 Tunicliffe, R. M., Potsdam, N.Y. (1913)
 Tyson, Francis D., School of Economics, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. (1912)
 Uchikata, Henson M., 111 11th Ave. S., Seattle, Wash. (1916)
 Underwood, J. H., University of Montana, Missoula, Mont. (1916)
 Unger, Mrs. J. O., 3344 Broadway, Chicago, Ill. (Prior to 1910)
 Valentine, B. W., Benedict College, Columbia, S.C. (1916)
 Vanderlip, Frank A., 55 Wall St., New York, N.Y. (Prior to 1910)
 Vander Poel, Mrs. S. O., 123 E. 72d St., New York, N.Y. (1916)
 Van Hook, Carlton R., 335 Main St., Glassboro, N.J. (1917)
 Veiller, Lawrence, 102 E. 22d St., New York, N.Y. (1915)
 Vincent, George E., 1005 5th St. S.E., Minneapolis, Minn. (Prior to 1910)
 Vogt, Paul L., 1701 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa. (1912)
 Waggoner, Alvin, Philip, S.D. (1915)
 Walker, Edwin C., 211 W. 138th St., New York, N.Y. (Prior to 1910)
 Walker, Raymond B., Sidney, Mont. (1917)
 Walling, William English, 116 Field Point Road, Greenwich, Conn. (1913)
 Walton, Thomas W., 1736 G St. N.W., Washington, D.C. (1916)
 Warbasse, J. P., Woods Hole, Mass. (1910)
 Warner, C. B., 205 W. 89th St., New York, N.Y. (1915)

- Warner, Mason, 3848 Byron St., Chicago, Ill. (1916)
 Warren, H. K., Yankton College, Yankton, S.D. (1916)
 Warren, Howard C., Princeton, N.J. (1913)
 Washington, Edmund Duke, Jr., Wilmot, Ark. (1917)
 Waters, Chester C., 133 Chiswick Road, Brighton Station, Boston, Mass. (Prior to 1910)
 Watkins, George P., Public Service Commission, 120 Broadway, New York, N.Y. (Prior to 1910)
 Watrous, Richard B., 913 Union Trust Bldg., Washington, D.C. (1915)
 Watson, Mrs. Frank D., 5 College Ave., Haverford, Pa. (1913)
 Weatherly, U. G., 527 E. 3d St., Bloomington, Ind. (Prior to 1910)
 Webster, D. Hutton, Station A, Lincoln, Neb. (Prior to 1910)
 Weeks, Rufus Wells, 346 Broadway, New York, N.Y. (1914)
 Weiffenbach, Eugene, Warrenton, Mo. (1914)
 Welch, A. A., 21 Woodland St., Hartford, Conn. (1914)
 Welding, Rhoda Mae, 232 Gary Bldg., Gary, Ind. (1917)
 Wheeler, James W., Godman Guild House, Columbus, Ohio. (1917)
 Wheeler, Joseph L., Reuben McMillan Free Library, Youngstown, Ohio. (1916)
 Whitcomb, Selden L., Lawrence, Kan. (1915)
 White, B. C., Buffalo, Mont. (1917)
 Wilder, Constance P., 53 Fairmont Ave., Newton, Mass. (1913)
 Wiles, George M., 315 N. Murray St., Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Wilkie, E. A., 50 Oliver St., Boston, Mass. (1911)
 Willcox, Walter F., Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. (Prior to 1910)
 Williams, Mrs. C. D., 90 Lake Ave., Newton Center, Mass. (Prior to 1910)
 Williams, Daniel Jenkins, 408 Grant St., Wausau, Wis. (1917)
 Williams, James M., Hobart College Library, Geneva, N.Y. (1910)
 Williams, Jesse Lynch, 152 W. 57th St., New York, N.Y. (1915)
 Williams, Mrs. T. F., 407 N. 26th St., Lincoln, Neb. (1917)
 Wills, Harry S., 30 W. 10th St., Columbus, Ohio. (1917)
 Wilson, J. E., 528 S. 5th Ave., Chicago, Ill. (1915)
 Wilson, M. L., Bozeman, Mont. (1915)
 Winship, Fred C., 1804 Q St., Lincoln, Neb. (1917)
 Wissler, Clark, 77th St. and 8th Ave., New York, N.Y. (1913)
 Witter, Margaret S., Albright House, Northampton, Mass. (1916)
 Wood, Iris L., 1350 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill. (1915)
 Woodhead, Howard, 1137 Wightman St., Pittsburgh, Pa. (1911)
 Woodruff, Clinton Rogers, North American Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa. (Prior to 1910)
 Woods, Erville B., Hanover, N.H. (Prior to 1910)
 Woods, Frederick Adams, 1006 Beacon St., Brookline, Mass. (1911)
 Woods, Robert A., South End House, Boston, Mass. (Prior to 1910)
 Woodworth, A. H., Hanover College, Hanover, Ind. (1911)
 Woolston, H. B., 110 Morningside Drive, New York, N.Y. (1910)
 Work, Monroe N., Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala. (1910)
 Wright, Jonathan, Windy Rock, Pleasantville, Westchester County, N.Y. (1911)
 Yockey, F. M., Alexandria, Minn. (1911)
 Young, Allyn A., Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. (1915)
 Young, Frederic George, 599 E. 9th Ave., Eugene, Ore. (1915)
 Zeeb, Frieda B., 318 N. 1st Ave., Maywood, Ill. (1915)
 Zeisig, Edward F., 412 N. Lake St., Madison, Wis. (1917)
 Zeller, J. C., R.F.D. No. 2, Yazoo City, Miss. (Prior to 1910)



Com P 10.41



Publications

OF THE

American Sociological Society

Volume XII

Social Control

Managing Editor
SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD

- ✓ Ideals as a Factor in the Future Control of International Society
GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD
- Social Control of Child Welfare SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE
- ✓ War as a Crisis in Social Control CARL KELSEY
- Primitive Individual Ascendancy HUTTON WEBSTER
- Primitive Social Ascendancy Viewed as an Agent of Selection in
Society F. STUART CHAPIN
- Survival of Primitive Controls in Frontier or Retarded Communities
JAMES ELBERT CUTLER
- The Social Structure of the Northern Algonkian FRANK G. SPECK
- The Social Control of the Acquisition of Wealth
EDWARD CARY HAYES
- Motives in Economic Life CARLETON H. PARKER
- Immigration as a Problem in Social Control
HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD
- The Immigrant as a Problem in Community Planning GRACE ABBOTT
- Control of Immigration Based upon the True Demand for Labor
ARTHUR J. TODD
- Social Control in a Democracy FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS
- ✓ Social Control in International Relations CHARLES HORTON COOLEY

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Organized at Baltimore, December 1905

OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1918

President: CHARLES H. COOLEY, University of Michigan
First Vice-President: FRANK W. BLACKMAR, University of Kansas
Second Vice-President: JAMES Q. DEALEY, Brown University
Secretary-Treasurer: SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, University of Chicago

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(IN ADDITION TO THE OFFICERS)

FORMER PRESIDENTS

FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS, Columbia University
ALBION W. SMALL, University of Chicago
EDWARD A. ROSS, University of Wisconsin
GEORGE E. VINCENT, Rockefeller Foundation
GEORGE E. HOWARD, University of Nebraska

ELECTED

MISS JULIA LATHROP, Federal Children's Bureau
CARL KELSEY, University of Pennsylvania
CECIL C. NORTH, Ohio State University
J. ELBERT CUTLER, Western Reserve University
F. STUART CHAPIN, Smith College
WILLIAM J. KERBY, Catholic University

The American Sociological Society was organized at Baltimore in 1905. It is composed of persons interested in the study and correct interpretation of social questions. The Society is not a reform organization, nor does it champion any sect, party, or school of thought. It stands for free discussion, in a scholarly and scientific way, of all shades of thinking on social questions.

Its membership is composed of business men, ministers, lawyers, publicists, journalists, men of affairs, social workers, and students and teachers of all the social sciences in our leading colleges and universities. At present there are over eight hundred members in the Society, and these persons, whether engaged in research, teaching, industry, business, or the investigation of specific problems of social amelioration, find opportunities for the exchange of thought in the annual meetings and through the publications of the Society.

The Society owes its inception to the conviction of its founders and present members that persons interested in the sane, permanent progress of society should have opportunity to meet regularly for the discussion of subjects of common interest. The meetings thus far have proved of great value by furthering the unification of sociological theory, by increasing knowledge of particular problems, and by bringing members of the Society into personal relations with one another.

The purpose of the Society as stated in the constitution is: "The encouragement of sociological research and discussion, and the promotion of intercourse between persons engaged in the scientific study of society."

The membership fee is Three Dollars a year, or Fifty Dollars for Life Membership. Each member will receive a copy of the current publications of the Society. Application blanks, as well as further information concerning the Society, may be obtained from the Secretary, PROFESSOR SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, 58th Street and Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME XII

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE BAKER & TAYLOR COMPANY
NEW YORK

THE J. K. GILL COMPANY
PORTLAND, OREGON

THE CUNNINGHAM, CURTISS & WELCH COMPANY
LOS ANGELES

THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON AND EDINBURGH

THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA
TOKYO, OSAKA, KYOTO, FUKUOKA, SENDAI

THE MISSION BOOK COMPANY
SHANGHAI

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS
TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING
AMERICAN
SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

HELD AT PHILADELPHIA, PA.

DECEMBER 27-29, 1917

VOLUME XII

SOCIAL CONTROL

PUBLISHED FOR THE
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
BY
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS



gratis

**COPYRIGHT 1918 BY
THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY**

All Rights Reserved

Published March 1918

**Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
IDEALS AS A FACTOR IN THE FUTURE CONTROL OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY. <i>George Elliott Howard</i>	I
 GENERAL TOPIC: Agencies and Fields of Social Control	
SOCIAL CONTROL OF CHILD WELFARE. <i>Sophonisba P. Breckinridge</i>	11
WAR AS A CRISIS IN SOCIAL CONTROL. <i>Carl Kelsey</i>	27
DISCUSSION:	
By Lucile Eaves	34
Charles W. Coulter	38
Edith Abbott	41
 GENERAL TOPIC: Primitive Social Control	
PRIMITIVE INDIVIDUAL ASCENDANCY. <i>Hutton Webster</i>	46
PRIMITIVE SOCIAL ASCENDANCY VIEWED AS AN AGENT OF SELECTION IN SOCIETY. <i>F. Stuart Chapin</i>	61
SURVIVAL OF PRIMITIVE CONTROLS IN FRONTIER OR RETARDED COMMUNITIES. <i>James Elbert Cutler</i>	75
THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE NORTHERN ALGONKIAN. <i>Frank G. Speck</i>	82
DISCUSSION:	
By Albert Ernest Jenks	101
Max Sylvius Handman	107
Rudolph M. Binder	110
 GENERAL TOPIC: Social Control of Wealth	
THE SOCIAL CONTROL OF THE ACQUISITION OF WEALTH. <i>Edward Cary Hayes</i>	111
MOTIVES IN ECONOMIC LIFE. <i>Carleton H. Parker</i>	131
DISCUSSION:	
By Frank A. Fetter	152
Wesley C. Mitchell	155
E. C. Hayes	156

	PAGE
GENERAL TOPIC: Social Control of Immigration	
IMMIGRATION AS A PROBLEM IN SOCIAL CONTROL. <i>Henry Pratt Fairchild</i>	158
THE IMMIGRANT AS A PROBLEM IN COMMUNITY PLANNING. <i>Grace Abbott</i>	166
CONTROL OF IMMIGRATION BASED UPON THE TRUE DEMAND FOR LABOR. <i>Arthur J. Todd</i>	174
DISCUSSION:	
By <i>Hattie Plum Williams</i>	184
<i>Herbert Adolphus Miller</i>	190
<i>Warren S. Thompson</i>	193
<i>H. P. Fairchild</i>	196
<i>Francis Tyson</i>	197
<i>Edwin L. Earp</i>	198
<i>Mary C. Wiggin</i>	199
<i>Miss St. John Wileman</i>	199
GENERAL TOPIC: Social Control of Political Relations	
SOCIAL CONTROL IN A DEMOCRACY. <i>Franklin H. Giddings</i>	201
SOCIAL CONTROL IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. <i>Charles Horton Cooley</i>	207
DISCUSSION:	
By <i>L. M. Bristol</i>	216
<i>Cecil C. North</i>	221
<i>L. L. Bernard</i>	223
<i>C. J. Bushnell</i>	228
<i>Edwin L. Earp</i>	230
<i>Frank D. Watson</i>	231
<i>D. W. Garrigues</i>	231
PROGRAM OF THE TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING	233
REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, FOR YEAR DECEMBER 20, 1916, TO DECEMBER 17, 1917	236
REPORT OF THE TREASURER	240
REPORT OF THE MANAGING EDITOR	243
MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING, DECEMBER 28, 1917	246
MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING, DECEMBER 29, 1917	247
CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY	249
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, MEMBERSHIP LIST FOR THE YEAR 1918	251
CONTENTS OF PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, VOLUMES I-XII	265

IDEALS AS A FACTOR IN THE FUTURE CONTROL OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD
University of Nebraska

It is an accepted law among social psychologists, I believe, that crises in human affairs clear the way for change, often with a view to preventing or to ameliorating future crises. Is it not possible that the present world-war—so frightfully and cynically destructive of the most precious material and spiritual assets of civilization—may afford a unique opportunity for such a social reorganization as shall prove a guaranty of lasting world-peace? That such a catastrophe as this could occur in the twentieth century has to very many seemed incredible. The vision of some persons is still dazed from the shock. Bewildered by the apparent wreck of ideals, they are inclined to despair of the utility of all idealism. In particular, the dream of a world without wars is mocked and derided. Happily, on the other hand, there are many men and women with long vision, with true historic sense, who do not despair; who see clearly that the ideal of peace is not futile; who understand that the present cataclysm is due to the imperfection of the social order; to the sway of false ideals of human welfare and to wrong systems of social relations which may be replaced by truer ideals and better systems. For a negative result of every war is to justify the ideal of human brotherhood born in times of peace. Accordingly, as never before in war time, plans are maturing to take advantage of the opportunity which will come when the conflict ends. The economist is resolved to find out and remove the causes of antagonism which lurk in false economic theories and in selfish commercial systems; the political scientist seeks a remedy in broadening the franchise and in democratizing the government of states; while the publicist finds a

safeguard in an up-to-date, more thoroughly moralized code of international law or in a world-league to enforce peace.

Surely all this thought must have a precious value for the coming reconstruction of the social order. Possibly the sociologist may contribute his "bit" by attacking the problem from the viewpoint of creating a basis of control for a world-society, broader and deeper than that which now exists or even than that which legal, political, and economic readjustment can provide; though without such readjustment the foundation of international social control would be imperfect indeed.

Now, what is social control? In this presence, I take it, technical definitions may be spared. The "constraint of the one by the many"; the "dominance of the individual will by the group-will"; the "ascendancy of the social consciousness over the personal consciousness"—these and similar phrases convey a practical meaning quite well understood. They signify a control, if perfect, which has behind it the whole weight of the group or society, whether the society be a club, a trade-union, a nation, or an alliance of nations. They imply an authority which at its best rests on the free and intelligent choice of all the psychically interacting personalities which constitute the society. It refers to a power broader, deeper, more complex, than political power. It means a unity of strength whose source becomes higher and purer as humanism advances. But under present conditions social control is never perfect, not even in a democracy such as ours, much less in an oligarchy such as the Prussian. There are many grades in the quality of social control, some lower and some higher, according to the source of authority or to the kind of instruments employed. Among the forces or agencies of social control there is one class which, I venture to suggest, is of supreme interest for the problem in hand. I refer to the rôle of ideals in the development of a true international society. To what extent is the war revealing the existence of certain false ideals regarding the basic social values and thus clearing the way for new ideals which may tend to conserve world-peace? A brief discussion of several of these ideals may, perhaps, give a partial answer to the question.

I. THE IDEAL OF THE NATION-STATE

According to the spirit if not the letter of the prevailing teaching, the state appears in reality as an unmoral, not to say immoral, being. It is an artificial personality without a conscience. Orthodox definitions of the state reveal it as an absolute, isolated, irresponsible, heartless thing, well fitted to violate the Ten Commandments or to become the facile instrument of a caste, a class, or a dynasty. Rightly considered the state is but a means of social control. Control by the state should not be confused with control by society. True, political, religious, economic, or even a wider control of society may fall into the hands of the state, that is, into the hands of the persons constituting the government which, for the time being, wields the power of the state. But that is not true social control. State control is social control only to the extent that the state, the government, is socialized, draws its authority from society itself.

In its genesis the territorial state, the nation-state, is the warrior-state; the instrument of a war lord, a king, an emperor, an ambitious heretoga. Its morality still bears the stamp of its predacious origin. Robbery, falsehood, deceit, statecraft, "might is right": what state is guiltless? Often it is righteous in word, in its bill of rights, but wicked in action. Clearly there is need of a revision of our moral philosophy, so that it may explain the actual facts of private and public life. We are floundering among four conflicting standards of ethics. In the descending scale we have a standard of abstract or private morality, a standard of business or commercial morality, a standard of national morality for home consumption, and a standard of international morality strictly for use with outlanders. Among them all the social conscience is bewildered. Is it strange that at home we are afflicted by industrial warfare and abroad by military strife? Are we not exaggerating the value of the "nation-state" as compared with "society"? The fact is nationalism is overdeveloped at the expense of internationalism. What crimes are not committed in the name of "political necessity"? According to Havelock Ellis, political necessity as a cause of war is increasing, while all other causes—racial, economic, religious, and personal—are

diminishing. "Internationalism of feeling is much less marked now," he believes, "than it was four centuries ago. Nationalities have developed a new self-consciousness, a new impulse to regain their old territories or to acquire new territories." Even "though the people as a whole are pacific, the danger of war is more permanently present now than most people were aware of previous to August, 1914"; and in proof Ellis pictures the military atrocities of the last three years as more unscrupulous, more "rigidly" efficient, than those committed by the ancient Vandals or in the Thirty Years' War.

There is truth in this statement, but it is not the whole truth. The indictment of modern civilization is too broad. The nations are not equally at fault. There has been progress where influence counts most. We of the United States, for instance, may justly protest against being classed among the reactionaries either as regards humanism in war or the sentiment of international fellowship. Are not the monstrous vandalism, the savage cruelty, and the worse than "Punic faith" of the present conflict due mainly, though not wholly, to the arrested morality of a German warrior-state, controlled, not by modern social ideals, but by a military autocracy which has deliberately and with amazing efficiency drawn all the resources of a great people into its hands? The "scrap of paper" declaration, the Zimmerman note, and the sinking of the Lusitania alike reveal the character of the unmoral warrior-state at its best—or its worst. Hegel's dictum, "The state is reason at its highest power," is a mockery of history.

If we would clear the way for permanent world-peace, we must raise the ideal of state morality and interstate morality as nearly as possible to that of individual morality. Statecraft must give place to frankness and lying diplomacy to truth in the intercourse of nations. Our country deserves high honor for her share in the humanizing, the socializing, of international law and for the moralizing of diplomacy. But let us not be proud. We are not entirely guiltless of fostering causes of war. For example, we have not acquired all of our domain righteously; and what could be more naïvely in conflict with the Golden Rule, with the spirit of human brotherhood, than an economic policy

which has excused the tax on the imported products of labor for the alleged reason that the "foreigner pays the tax"? It is not hard to understand the Kaiser's desire for a "place in the sun," though one may not approve of his method of winning it. When all peoples are free to choose a place in the sun for the unhampered exchange of their products or the treasure which nature has given them, there will be small excuse for mighty fleets; and they may at least glimpse the dawn of world-peace. In a word, the existing contrast between the state ideal and the social ideal must be modified. The state must become a faithful agent of true social control, so that the safeguarding of the welfare interests which its citizens share with all men shall become its primary function.

II. THE IDEAL OF THE FUNCTION OF WAR AND MILITARISM IN SOCIAL PROGRESS

The socialization of the state ideal, then, is the first task. The second task is to rid ourselves of a false ideal of the function of war and militarism, of physical force, in human progress, and to substitute therefor a true ideal of the real social values. It is, perhaps, not surprising, when a country is engaged in a great struggle for a righteous cause, a struggle which calls for sacrifice on the part of every man or woman, that some voices should be raised in the praise of war as a good in itself, as nature's severe but beneficent method of sifting and refining humanity. But it is harder to understand how such a theory in time of peace can be defended in cold blood by reputable students of social progress.

In reality the false ideal of war as a good in itself is the basic influence, the chief factor, in preparing the German people to follow the Kaiser in his carefully planned drive for world-dominion. For many years the youth of the empire, and especially of Prussia, have been persistently schooled in this ideal. The historian has taught them to admire the showy deeds of the unmoral, predatory warrior-state and to glorify the virtues of the war-god. The biologist and the sociologist have beguiled them with the subtle, pseudoscientific war-struggle theory of organic evolution and with the far less plausible illusion of so-called "social Darwinism."

Appealing to Charles Darwin, for instance, Bernhardi asserts that war is nature's law of growth. "War," he exclaims, "gives a biologically just decision, since its decision rests on the very nature of things." This false teaching has produced that sinister thing, the Prussian conception of *Kultur*. Never has a modern nation disclosed such a breach between ethics and scientific knowledge. At what a ruinous price in spiritual goods has the German efficiency in warfare been gained! Only when we appreciate the powerfully molding influence of such false ideals on the plastic minds of youth can we comprehend how a gifted people, marvelously efficient in the applications of science, can be capable of the savagery, the inhumanism, the perfidy of the present war of conquest.

Such being the case, what appears to be the duty of America and her allies? To fight on until the aggressor is thoroughly subdued? Or to accept the best terms of peace which may now be had? To fight on means further awful destruction of wealth and human life and a continued sacrifice or temporary suspension of some of our most precious social ideals. Nevertheless, can we afford to stop before the German people are cured of the obsession that "might is right," that war is a good in itself, and are ready to help make the world safe for humanity?

III. THE IDEAL OF RACE VALUES

A third fruitful cause of war, fostered by war, is the false ideal of race values. Every race deems itself superior to every other race and every race is mistaken. This race conceit is contrary to the Christian ideal, which is also the modern social ideal of the equal soul value of all races. Yet everywhere in practice that ideal is disregarded by Christian and Pagan alike. Race prejudice is the most hateful and the most harmful of human sentiments. It has justified cannibalism and slavery. It has excused tyranny, cruelty, and the merciless waste of human life. It has sanctioned economic exploitation and helped to produce the sweatshop and the slum. It has bred the spirit of caste and inspired religious persecution. Everywhere from the Mississippi to the Congo it is a sinister factor in world-politics. Without its

removal can never be realized the vision of the dreamer, the brotherhood of man. Modern science repudiates the dogma of naturally superior races. It refuses to accept the color of the skin, the curl of the hair, the slant of the eye, or the shape of the shin bone as a safe index of the relative worth of human souls. It is safe to say that among scholars competent to render an authoritative judgment the ancient doctrine that by nature some races are superior and others inferior has been rejected. Every argument advanced in its support has been tested and found wanting. Every year brings stronger support for the new doctrine of the potential equality of all races. Peoples differ in their planes of cultural development, not in their inherent capacity for development. Races are low or high according to their rung on the ladder, not according to their ability to climb. Under the eye of the expert the existing differences in mental or moral status between brown and yellow, black and white, oriental and occidental, appear as the resultants of variations in environment, institutions, experience, opportunity.

Needless to say as yet the new teaching has had little or no influence on international conduct. How intense is the race prejudice existing among the warring peoples of Europe! Yet these peoples are but branches of the same Aryan stock, while, among them, Prussians and English are Teutonic first cousins. Original race lines are blurred and blended. Yet differences in speech, custom, and inherited traits have been magnified by centuries of warfare and dynastic rivalry. Perhaps never has the inter-race hatred in Europe been so savage as it is at the present hour. Witness the hate songs produced in Germany since the war began. The Berlin Junker seems almost to enjoy his "hate fest." The other peoples are not guiltless. Can there be any enduring guaranty of world-peace unless, in some large degree among the nations, the false ideal of race values shall give way to the scientifically approved ideal of potential race equality? To bring about that change will be a hard task; and what people, because of its composite character, its humane policy, and its democratic spirit, is as well fitted as is our own to take the lead in achieving it? It is a splendid opportunity for human service;

yet the American people will fail to grasp it unless first its own conscience shall be purged and its own vision clarified. American democracy must first become incapable of tolerating the lynching in Georgia or the massacre in Illinois of black citizens if it would be the successful apostle of race brotherhood in the world.

IV. THE IDEAL OF DEMOCRACY

Indeed an ideal of democracy, finer than that which now prevails, even in Great Britain or in the United States, must arise if democracy is to play its proper rôle as the conservator of peace. No doubt the democracy which now exists is a safer instrument of social control than is autocracy or class rule. Democracy, however imperfect, makes for peace; autocracy and class privilege at their best tend toward aggression and strife. Wars of conquest are not usually peoples' wars. More often they arise in some military ruler's lust for power or in class greed for increased possessions. With their President the American people are in this war to "make the world safe for democracy." For that end they will spend their treasure and their blood. In order that the safeguard shall be lasting, should they not offer to the world a type of democracy as free as possible from blemish? The English race on both sides the sea has achieved much for social liberty; but there is more to do. Great Britain must abolish hereditary and other class privilege in political control and set free the soil for the use of all her people. America must cease to merit the taunt of Germany that she tolerates political corruption and permits race riots. Both countries must relieve economic oppression, stop industrial strife, and abolish the liquor traffic—a chief source of moral, mental, and social inequality—and in the future secure for the plain people a deciding voice in questions of peace and war. In every land which aspires to true democracy sex privilege in political affairs must cease to exist; and woman—the original social builder, the mother of industry, the first inventor of the arts of peace—must be granted, through the ballot, a full voice in social control. Surely in this war woman is earning her charter of liberties!

Shall not America take the lead in socializing as well as in safeguarding democracy throughout the world?

V. THE IDEAL OF EDUCATION

It is one thing to dream and another thing to make the dream come true. The changing of ideals is a delicate process. I know of but one sure way in which the vision of an international society controlled through right ideals of democracy may come to pass. It will come through the socialization of education; for education, including religious teaching and all institutional agencies for mental and moral discipline, for the building of ideals, is the most efficient instrument of social control. If its dominant ideal be selfish, as in Prussia, education may prepare a people to admire and obey a ruthless military caste. If its dominant ideal be truly social, education may prepare a people for peaceful, self-governing democracy. Fill the minds of youth with social knowledge and social religion; inspire their imaginations with true ideals of human relations; surround their lives with the molding influence of right social suggestion, that most potent and most constant trainer of the human mind and character; teach them that society is a conception much greater than the state idea; that true democracy consists not merely in politics, government, administration, in the conventional sense, but also in social service, plans for human betterment, care for the welfare of mother, father, and child; show them how much rarer and nobler is moral courage than physical courage; explain to them how aggressive war recklessly squanders the emotional energy displayed in the splendid devotion, sacrifice, and heroism which it calls forth, and how it depreciates the vastly harder tests of these virtues that are called for in the normal conflicts of peaceful life. When the new education shall kindle the vision of true democracy in the souls of youth, the hour of its fulfilment will be near.

For ideals are the lever of civilization. The idealist is the pioneer of social progress. It is the fashion for the cynic, the selfish, and the thoughtless to sneer at the dreamer while they lavish praise on the so-called "practical man," the man who "does things." Let us withhold no just praise from any man or

woman who does good things, whether the things done be great or small. But let us beware of false evaluations of social service. As a matter of fact, the idealist who dreams on a full mind is the most practical of men. All the great deeds which constitute permanent civilization are the achievements of a very few idealists. These are the inventors in the Tardean sense. All the rest are imitators, helpers.

The idealist is the creative engineer who dreams a bridge over a mighty river; a subway under a great city; a railway across a continental mountain range; a ship canal from ocean to ocean. The idealist is the inspired social architect who dreams a plan for the sanitary or moral cleansing of a great city; the campaign for purging politics of graft; a law for saving little children from the tigerish man of the factory or the sweatshop; a referendum for banishing from the commonwealth the saloon, that chief breeder of pauperism, sin, and crime; a conference for the rescuing from the hands of predacious greed, for the use of the whole people, of the remnant of our country's natural wealth. The idealist is the statesman—the head of a nation—who dreams a scheme for safeguarding democracy and guaranteeing peace throughout the world.

Shall not America, my friends, in the war and after the war, by purging and raising yet higher her splendid ideals of human brotherhood, be found worthy of leadership in bringing the dream to pass?

SOCIAL CONTROL OF CHILD WELFARE

SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE
Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy

"The father is under a duty to maintain, educate, and defend his child." In these words Blackstone in 1765¹ stated in part his view concerning the legal position of the child in the family group.

"The courts of law can enforce the rights of the father but they are not equal to the office of enforcing the duties of the father. In these words, some sixty years later, 1827, the learned Chancellor Eldon² in the leading and notorious Wellesley case pointed out the weakness of the child's position. During the ninety years since Eldon spoke there has been developed a mighty effort to realize the unfounded statement of Blackstone and to render potent the courts of law in behalf of the child. That is, the recognition of the child as the subject of rights toward whom legal as well as natural and moral obligations could be formulated and enforced rather than the object of practically unlimited and unrestrained parental and especially paternal rights, underlies much of the most modern legislation and most important organization. For, under the common law, the child was peculiarly devoid of rights. He had no right to his mother. The father's right to the custody of the child prevailed against the mother in spite of his living a life of open adultery,³ in spite of his being confined in prison and consigning the custody of his infant child to the care of his mistress,⁴ in spite of his intrusting the child to the care of a nurse under whose care two other children had died of diseases indicating gross

¹ Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, Part I, chap. xvi.

² *Wellesley v. Beaufort*, 2 Russell 23.

³ *Rex. v. Greenhill*, 4 Adolphus and Ellis 624 (1837).

⁴ Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates* (3d series), XXXIX, 1082; *Skinner's case*, 9 More 278.

neglect.¹ This right meant the right to place the child "on work" and to appropriate the earnings and was a right which, as the justice said, had no correlative duties of support, or education, or skilful care. Theoretically, fortunately, the abuse of this power might be prevented by the exercise of the super-parental authority of the Court of Chancery, which recognized that there were limits beyond which the parent's unregulated power should not go, especially if there was danger of vitiating the child's habits of speech and outward conduct; and in those instances in which the child could secure access to the court, whose delays and complexities Dickens travestied in *Bleak House*, the child might find protection from a drunken, obscene, and blasphemous father, as in the Wellesley case cited. But because of the costliness and technicality of equity and because of its lack of facilities for discovering and meeting the needs of the child, equity could only slightly more effectively safeguard the rights of the child than could the courts of common law. During these ninety intervening years, however, there has been built up a body of legislation, and there has been developed a great administrative system looking toward the formulation and enforcement of paternal duties and parental obligations.

First in order, historically, came the factory acts, limiting the rights of the parents to set their children to work. During his great campaign in behalf of the children in the mills, in 1817, when he was trying to establish *ten* as the minimum working age of mill children, Robert Owen² had to defend himself against the attacks based on his presumptuous daring to interfere between father and child. Just as, in 1917, in the western district of North Carolina, Judge Boyd has ordered the non-enforcement of a federal act which would prevent Roland H. Dagenhart from putting his thirteen-year-old child to work and from allowing his fourteen-year-old child to work more than eight hours a day.³ This decision is, however, undoubtedly an obstacle that will be brushed away, and the right of the child to fourteen years of childhood, during which

¹ *McClellan's case*, 1 *Dowling's Practical Cases* 81.

² Podmore, *Life of Owen*, I, 195; Owen's *Autobiography*, IA, 29, 30.

³ See *The Survey*, XXXVIII (September 8, 1917), 507.

he shall not be subjected to exhausting and uneducative toil, has been recognized and embodied in the legislation of our states and now of Congress itself.¹ Concurrently with the child labor legislation has developed the movement for the recognition of the child's right to a minimum of seven years of common-school education,² and now, of very recent years, there is being embodied in legislation the claim of the child to paternal support. And so, in 1917, amended to read "the father is under a duty to support his children, to prevent their working contrary to the factory act of the state in which he lives, and to see to it that they take advantage of the educational opportunities provided out of public money," the statement of Blackstone would be partly true in all the states and wholly true in thirteen states.³ Moreover, in sixteen states, and in England since 1839, the rights of the mother, at least, to access to her child, and in some cases to full responsibility, has been recognized,⁴ and the claim of a legitimate child has been recognized to a mother's intelligence and control, when before he could claim her natural affection and interest only, since she was, in the words of Blackstone, "without authority but entitled to reverence and respect."

And, more fundamental and anterior to the right to paternal support and maternal care, comes the right to life itself. Accepting infant mortality as the most efficient test of social well-being, and following the lead of New Zealand, the facts about the huge volume of preventable loss of infant life are being brought to light by the

¹ See *House of Representatives Committee on Labor Hearing*, March 9, 1914, p. 20, for summary of state legislation; and *United States Statutes at Large*, Sixty-fourth Congress, First Session, Part I, p. 675, for Federal Child Labor act.

² The period varies in the various states between the lower limits of six, seven, or eight years of age and the upper limit of twelve, fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen years of age.

³ Support, California, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, New Hampshire, New York, Oregon, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Virginia; child labor, all except Alabama, Georgia, Idaho, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming; education, all except Mississippi. See *Report of U.S. Commissioner of Education*, II (1916), 9.

⁴ Colorado, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New York, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Washington.

Federal Children's Bureau with their terrible indictment of an industrial and social system which pays the father so little that he cannot support and trains the mother so slightly that she cannot care. The demand of an adequate wage is no longer an item in a radical program of destruction, but an essential feature in a positive program of conservation.¹

The child, then, is now in law entitled to support and care, support by the father and care by the mother when possible. But the father may be dead, he may be incapable, drunken, and a deserter, or the mother may be "unfit." The child is still entitled to such support as a competent father could give, to such care as a fit mother would supply. When the father is dead or incapacitated and the mother is fit, the principle of treatment is clear. Support is to be supplied by the community, the super-parent, the care is to be given by the mother. The expression of this right to support by the state in the father's place, and care by the mother, is to be found in the so-called Mothers' Pension legislation, which found definite support in the *Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws of 1909*² (British), and particularly in the recommendations of the minority of that commission, that "in the cases of widows with small children, always provided the home is not below the national minimum of child care, adequate aliment be supplied from the public rates,"³ and which, enacted in Illinois, in 1911, rapidly spread until its principle has been embodied in the statutes of thirty-two states.

The agency through whom the support is allowed and administered varies in the different states. In some states, as, e.g., Illinois, the Juvenile Court is that agency; in some, as in Massachusetts, the old Poor-Law agents are used under the new law, with new safeguards and with help from the State Board of Charities; in California, the State Board of Control; in some, as in Pennsylvania, a wholly new agency is created—trustees are appointed

¹ See *Publications of the U.S. Children's Bureau*, especially Nos. 6, 9, 11, 16, 20.

² *Report of Royal Commission on the Poor-Laws and Relief of Distress*, Part IV, chap. 6, p. 202.

³ Webb, *Public Organization of the Labour Market*, p. 342, on condition that the mother devote herself exclusively to the children and to the home.

in the counties by the governor.¹ Whatever the agency, it represents a new determination to supply to the destitute, fatherless child that measure of support which will enable the child to enjoy the physical requirements of food, clothing, and shelter under such conditions of maternal care as give promise of normal spiritual as well as physical development. This principle has found its highest sanction recently in the so-called Soldiers' and Sailors' Allowance bill. In the noble words of the drafter of that bill, whose leadership in the movement in behalf of establishing these rights of childhood is gratefully and loyally acknowledged:

Men who go out to battle, even though they are not in the slightest degree physical cowards, may have a fear of what may befall them. But that isn't the real fear that confronts most of them. The real terror for men is that their families may suffer or become objects of charity. That fear the Government aims to dispel by letting the men know in advance that their families are not going to become objects of charity. . . . The Government is ready to help the family, but the Government does not intend to absolve the married man from his first and primary obligation—that is, to contribute to the support of his wife and his children. This law recognizes and enforces that obligation. It is the first time that the Federal Government as such has recognized and enforced that obligation by law. This law says the first thing that a soldier and sailor must do is to contribute in fair measure to the support of his wife and children, and we are going to make him do it.²

For the child whose father is not dead nor physically nor mentally incapacitated, but morally and industrially unfit and incapable, or whose mother is "unfit," the problem is of course far more difficult. The principle that has been formulated is, however, clear and simple. When the home gives the care that Mrs. Webb has called "below the national minimum of child care," that home is to be subjected first to treatment, then to discipline, then, if necessary, to forced dismemberment.

¹ See *Publications of the U.S. Children's Bureau*, No. 7, for summary of laws enacted prior to March 20, 1914. Up to the present time laws have been enacted in Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota, Utah, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

² Treasury Department, Bureau of Risk Insurance, *Bulletin No. 3*, pp. 4, 7.

For the treatment of the homes of this class the social machinery is as yet woefully inadequate. The development of that machinery waits upon a fuller realization that industry must be subjected to the needs of the community, including those of the wage-earner; that is, that industry must be made to pay its own costs, instead of being the controlling and autocratic influence in the community. Only when devices such as efficient and well-equipped labor bureaus have been worked out, through which the employers will, voluntarily or otherwise, organize their demand for labor, such as labor colonies which will provide for the maintenance of men in time of unemployment under conditions that are educational instead of swiftly demoralizing, and when the misuse of boy and girl labor in demoralizing and uneducative employment has been done away with, will it be possible to treat constructively the low-grade home of the casual, shiftless, and drunken, the intermittent husband and father. And only when the education of girls has been put on a sound and rational basis, and provision has been made for the permanent custodial care of the subnormal and feeble-minded woman will the problem of the immoral, shiftless, and filthy home be reduced to its lowest terms. In the meantime, consciously lacking the resources for curative treatment, there is possible only disciplinary treatment of a rigorous character, and here, again, the principle of treatment, the novel principle, is that the child has a right to have his parents made to do their duty by him. That duty the earlier court could not enforce, and if compelling the performance of that duty proves too difficult, if the laws intended to punish those who practice cruelty to children,¹ or those who contribute to the delinquency and dependency of children (offenses sometimes called by the harsh name of felony²) or if the non-support laws, which impose fines as high as \$1,000, terms of imprisonment as long as two years,³— if these laws prove inadequate

¹ See the Great "Children Act," *Law Reports*, 8 Edward 7, chap. 67, secs. 21 f. See also *Journal Comparative Legislation*, N.S., III, 66, for summary of similar German legislation up to 1901. See also *ibid.*, VII, 375, for summary of laws dealing with children's courts in 1907 indicating a "world-wide movement in favor of separate treatment of offending children."

² New York Statutes; Bird's-eye Cummings and Gilbert's *Consolidated Statutes*, III, 3826, Penal Law, Article XLIV, § 480 (Indiana, 1908).

³ See, for example, *Illinois Revised Statutes*, chap. 38, §§ 42hh, 42hq, and chap. 64, §§ 27-29.

there is the possibility of amputation, and the child may be wholly cut off from contact with the family that has proven to be in fact only the physical semblance of that unit which is now really and in law regarded as the elementary unit of social organization.

And for these children for whom the separation or transplanting seems necessary, the principle of treatment is also clear. For them are to be provided conditions as nearly as possible like what the home should have been.¹ This principle received conspicuous indorsement at the so-called "White House Conference" of 1909 when Mr. Roosevelt lent the prestige of his name to the conclusions concerning the treatment of neglected children. Again the agency by which this service is performed varies. In Illinois it is the Juvenile Court; in Massachusetts, the State Board of Charities through its division of minor wards; in Ohio, the Children's Guardians. Whatever the agency the recognized task is that of making good as far as possible what the child should, in the view of the community, have found supplied in the natural home. For the young children this often means without doubt "boarding out" in selected and supervised homes and attendance at the public schools, or it may sometimes mean care in an institution so organized as to give the largest measure of individual care and an experience as much as possible like that of the child whose home supplies normal and wholesome family life.

Obviously some communities move much less rapidly than others in accepting these principles and in providing the necessary resources for their application; but the course of development is clear, and the revolutionary character of that development is disguised by the mistaken impression prevailing as to what was the real attitude of the community at an earlier time. What Blackstone said of the father's duties in 1765 is slowly being made to come to pass, as the statement of the bridegroom to his bride, "with all my worldly goods I thee endow," obtains a partial basis of fact in the passage of some of these same recent non-support and abandonment laws. That revolution amounts to nothing less than transmuting the child from well-nigh a thing, the object of rights, to a person, the subject of rights. Galsworthy indicates the chasm that has

¹ Hart, *Preventive Treatment of Neglected Children*, p. 285.

been bridged by this new body of administrative machinery for the enforcement of the child's rights in his conversation in *Demos* between the young man who is the agent for this rigorous family discipline, the representative of the new order, and the father, who belongs to the old. "You have not fed or clothed your children, you have beaten them and I have taken them under the protection of the law." "Can I not do what I will with my own?" One can only sympathize with the young father to whom and to whose father before him the law gave in earlier times no help by relating the enjoyment of the privileges of fatherhood to the performance of his marital and paternal duties.

The machinery to which reference has been made for the treatment of the home in which there is neglect or degradation must obviously be adapted to the discovery where possible of the true cause of breakdown and to curative treatment when resources are available. This means the handling of children by the Juvenile Court or of the parents by the other appropriate courts after what is known as the case method of treatment, which is, of course, none other than that of acting only after an intelligent definition has been formulated of what is wrong (social diagnosis) based on an adequate knowledge of fact. Such treatment becomes possible then only when there are at the service of the agency persons skilled in applying community resources to discovered pathological conditions within the family group. The pathological conditions may result from industrial maladjustment (the underemployed or unemployable constitute a large element in our juvenile court cases); from lack of machinery for adapting the community life to the needs of newcomers (the children of immigrants constitute a large element in our juvenile court population);¹ from community neglect of special groups (the negro child is peculiarly the victim, not only of the economic, industrial, and social oppression under which his parents suffer, but of lack of educational provision in southern states and institutional provision in our northern communities).² It may also, of course, result from the physical or mental weakness of the child

¹ Abbott and Breckinridge, *Delinquent Child and the Home*, chap. ii.

² *The Crisis*; see "Negro Education," *Bulletin U.S. Bureau of Education*, 1916, No. 38, p. 7; Ovington, *Half a Man*, chap. iii.

or of the parents, or from some mental disturbance due to the parents' lack of skill in caring for the child, or to the lack of protection against abuse in connection with sex relationships.¹ For reconstructive work within the family group, or for severe but sound disciplinary treatment of the family, some medical and psychopathic diagnosis is now recognized as essential to sound social diagnosis, and the courts are seen then to be taking on agencies for the mental, physical, and social understanding and treatment of the cases brought before them.

This recognition of the child as the subject of rights, of the parent as the object of definite obligations enforceable by legal process, finds expression in the demand for the recognition and re-enactment of laws affecting children into a well-wrought and comprehensive code, or "Children's Charter." The great English act of 1908 is spoken of in these words, and the outline and programs for such "charters" are the subject of widespread discussion and concerted action in many states.² In the machinery set up by those acts is to be discovered the same demand that the home shall be required and enabled to do its duty and that the rights of the child in the home shall be realized. These codes or charters assume the existence of the factory acts and the compulsory education acts to which reference has been made. From the compulsory school law emerges directly the discovery that home conditions prevent the attendance of the child at school or the attendance in condition "to take full advantage of the education offered"³—the discovery that children come from homes that are not clean, having either inadequate or unsuitable food and needing many kinds of service. Medical inspection with its elaborate equipment for nursing and dispensary and clinical treatment is a necessary corollary to the compulsory school law, as are also the various agencies necessary to the care of the physically handicapped and mentally defective. Medical inspection, discovering the incompetence of the home, suggests provision for the better instruction of

¹ Healy, *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct*.

² Carstens, "A Community Plan in Children's Work," *National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1915, p. 92.

³ In the words of the English act authorizing school feeding; Education (provision of meals) act, L.R., 6 Edward 7, C 57.

mothers in child care¹ and household management and the development of educational provision for younger children. Medical inspection likewise points to the great volume of child life brought to the end of the school career wholly unfit to pass into industry, just as the true source of unemployment and enemployment and so of poverty is traced to the misuse of boy and girl labor; and in the Care Committees, the Juvenile Labour Exchange Advisory Committees in the English cities, the Vocational Supervision Bureaus in the American cities, are to be found other devices for aiding in the reconstruction of the home that it may be enabled and required to fulfil its services to the child.

Still one more item in the child's claim on the modern community is to be found in the demand for the chance to play. The dearth of recreation facilities resulting in play becoming for many children a lost art is soon uncovered both through such agencies as the Juvenile Court, before which boys are brought as delinquent for doing things that all boys did in earlier times, and as the school, which finds itself called on to bring about through formal education results which should be secured through informal activities. The provision for these opportunities is recognized as a public responsibility to be borne by the public and not to be charged upon the family budget. That, so far, the provision has been neither adequate nor always efficient is obvious, but the recognition of the principle is clear; it can be only a matter of time before the public assumes the burden of making play possible and safe, partly by clearing and supervising certain street zones, partly by establishing and administering playgrounds and recreation centers, and partly by controlling and supervising commercialized recreation.²

The program thus outlined is clear and fairly widely recognized. The administrative devices are, of course, often most crude and inefficient. Many of the tasks suggested require a high degree of skill and fine equipment, yet the means of training are still meager,

¹ Great Britain, Board of Education, *Annual Report for 1914 of the Chief Medical Officer*, pp. 25-57; Frere, *The Children's Care Committee*; Pepler, *The Care Committee, The Child and the Parent*; Greenwood, *The Juvenile Labour Exchanges and After-Care*.

² Addams, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Street*; Bray, *The Town Child*.

and the prevailing political standards prevent the public from obtaining the service of those equipped to do the work. To paraphrase Lord Eldon it might be alleged that "the civil service may be equal to the task of keeping the rascal out of the public service, but it is often not equal to the office of securing the service of the expert." The success of these various efforts depends also on adequate appropriations, and the body making the appropriation is often representative of the most backward and least progressive group. Moreover, the jurisdictions on which the authority is conferred are often the smaller and least self-conscious jurisdictions. Robert Owen said one hundred years ago that the care of the poor should be nationalized.¹ But until the enactment of the Federal Child Labor law in 1917, investigation and information were the only federal services in behalf of children.² In Illinois, for example, outside of Cook County, the Mothers' Pensions are administered by the Juvenile Court judge, who is the county judge, perhaps the most important political officer in the state, having charge, as he does, of much of the election machinery. He has jurisdiction, too, over the dependent and delinquent children, while the delinquent parents may often be brought, if prosecuted at all, before magistrates inferior in general standing to the county judge. The enforcement of the compulsory school law and the granting of working papers under the child labor law is in many states in the school district without any central supervision or control. There was, however, perceptible before the war a movement toward centralizing these forms of control at least to the extent of creating state, as distinguished from local, agencies. No chain is stronger than its weakest link, and every restraint upon the interests that are hostile to child life will break when its feeblest point gives way, and, consequently, even the eyes that can see and rejoice at the gradual recognition and formulation of the rights must often bear testimony to the inadequacy of the sanctions by which they are supposedly safeguarded. An outdoor relief official with political power stands in the way of the highly trained probation

¹ *Autobiography* of Robert Owen, IA, 62.

² The Bureau of Education and the Children's Bureau. Except perhaps some meager activities of the Public Health Service in the prevention of blindness.

officer; a superintendent of compulsory education, who becomes angry if truancy in any school is reduced, prevents the reappointment of the visiting teacher who was removing from the homes the causes of the children's absenteeism. A Municipal Court judge refuses to enforce the child labor law, first, on the ground that the legislature did not mean what they said, and, secondly, on the ground that they were idiots if they did. A county board refuses to appropriate for the Mothers' Pension families, and a judge before whom the delinquent fathers are brought thinks that they should be given one more chance. And so the flood of child misery seems always at high tide.

And yet the test has been recognized. "He set a little child in the midst of them." By that test are our institutions to be judged. How is the right of every child to have a father's support and a mother's care affected? "Whoever shall offend one of these little ones, it were better that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck." By that is each to be tried and if found offending to be discarded or reconstructed.

Two other rights are gradually being recognized and should be mentioned although their formulation will be a matter of patient and arduous effort. The first is the right to be physically and mentally well born, free from the consequences of vicious living and the result of other than uncontrolled criminal or irrational impulse. The laws found now on the statute books prescribing certain qualifications before the marriage license may be obtained¹ are crude attempts at the formulation of this right, while the proposals for the permanent custodial care² of feeble-minded women and the provision for the sterilization of certain criminals³ look, not only toward the protection of the community against the burden and cost in the reproduction of the feeble-minded and criminal, but toward the protection of the wretched

¹ Oregon, 1893; Michigan, 1899; Wisconsin, 1908; Indiana, 1910; North Dakota, 1913.

² Great Britain, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded*, VIII, 323 f. Mental Defectives bill, 1913, L.R., 3 and 4 George V, C28, § 2 (b) (vi).

³ Indiana, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, California, Iowa, Utah, Nevada, Washington.

individual against her or his uncontrolled impulses and the prevention of the recurrence of that type of wretchedness and criminality.¹

Reference has so far been made to the change in the status of the child in the legitimate family group. The humiliating and despised position of the illegitimate child need hardly be pointed out. He was the son of nobody, *filius nullius*, without name or kin so far as kinship meant rights of inheritance or of succession. In reality this child of nobody did in a way belong to his mother as the legitimate child never did at common law, for, while the right of the unmarried mother to the custody of the child of her shame was not so noble and dignified a thing as the right of the father to his legitimate child, she had in fact a claim, at least so long as the child was of tender years, not so different from his and as wide as the sky from the impotence of the married mother.² By virtue of this right she could hold her child from the father or from the Poor Law officials so long as the child was a "nurse-child." Early statutes, too, have enabled her to collect from the father a niggardly contribution, not so much for the support of the child as for the protection of the taxpayer. This contribution has been secured under conditions shockingly humiliating to the mother, in amounts totally inadequate³ to her and the child's support. Moreover, the situation was so desperate that physician, social worker, and relatives have conspired to save the girl's respectability at the risk of the child's life and at the cost of all spiritual and educative value of the experience of motherhood. This has meant a greatly higher death rate among illegitimate infants,⁴ a higher crime and a higher dependency rate among illegitimate adults. It has often

¹ Adolf Meyer, "Where Should We Attack the Problem of the Prevention of Mental Defect and Mental Diseases?" *National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1915, p. 298.

The so-called "birth control" movement is urged generally in behalf of a free motherhood. It is likewise fused with the demand that the child may be the result of a free, deliberate, and equal union.

² *Barnardo v. McHugh* [1891] A.C. 388.

³ In Illinois the total amount paid is \$550 spread over five years, in Tennessee, not more than \$40 the first year, \$30 the second, and \$20 the third. See *Studies of the Boston Conference on Illegitimacy*, September, 1914, p. 47.

⁴ Newman, *Infant Mortality*, p. 213.

meant shutting the child out from the great stream of normal, wholesome, happy living.

But the despised and rejected is to become the beneficiary of the new claims put forward in behalf of childhood for paternal support and maternal care. Massachusetts, in 1913, for example, laid upon the father of an illegitimate child a responsibility for support identical with that of the legitimate child's father.¹ A carefully drawn statute was enacted in Minnesota at the last session of the legislature, and the workmen's compensation laws of several states include illegitimate children among the beneficiaries.² Moreover, social workers and physicians are finding that it is not impossible to make and carry out plans for keeping the mother and child together.³

From Norway comes the proposal embodied in the so-called Castberg Law "concerning children whose parents have not married each other" that the child shall have the right to "the name of both the father as well as the mother, to inherit from both, and to claim support and education from that parent whose pecuniary situation is the more favorable, and in general the same measure of support and education that a legitimate child could claim."⁴ North Dakota faces the whole problem by legitimizing all children, and in the law recently enacted providing for the allowances to the wife and children of any soldier, the provision is the same for illegitimate as for legitimate children, provided that the father acknowledge them in writing or that he has been ordered by the court to pay for their support.

Reference to this act forces some reference to the war in its effects upon the claims built up with such difficulty. To mention war is to recognize the undoing of much of this laborious work.

¹ Massachusetts Acts of 1913, chap. 563. So with California, Connecticut, and Delaware in 1917.

² Idaho, New Mexico, New York, Nevada, Washington. England, also, 6 Edward 7, C58, sec. 13.

³ *Annual Reports Massachusetts State board of Charities*, 1913, p. 124; 1914, p. 116; 1915, p. 181.

⁴ Anthony, *Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia*, chaps. v, vi; *Journal Comparative Legislation*, XVII, 124; *Columbia Law Review*, December, 1916.

The fathers are being killed, the mothers are being forced to work, the children are being thus deprived both of a father's support and a mother's care. To be sure, France has said that the state will replace the father in the life of the child and has adopted the war orphans,¹ and one writer has spoken optimistically of "making war safe for childhood."² Moreover, sensitiveness to the claims of childhood has, undoubtedly, while not strong enough to force still further the attempts on our part to remain out of the conflict, influenced us to determine that never again shall our work be so undone.

In England, too, tests of efficiency have given an experimental basis to the conviction that the interest of the child in education and in freedom from toil is identical with the interest of the community in its man power and its technical proficiency.³ But it cannot be denied that in all the countries numbers are going to seem of incomparable importance and that the attitude of some women must often be seriously confused between the demand of the nation that they repopulate and the demand based on their age-long experience of struggle for free, deliberate, and noble mating, in behalf of a fine flower of human childhood. It is perhaps inevitable that we grow again accustomed to thinking in terms of quantity—in wholesale fashion, rather than in terms of the individual child, and so lapse into habits of thought characteristic of the discarded past. When thousands are dying, tens of thousands are naked, millions are hungry and homeless, how can we stop to ask what are the human needs of each? The physical requirements more than exhaust our resources.

And yet a failure to do just this is to render futile the sacrifices now being offered upon the altar of democracy. The world can neither be made safe nor can democracy endure except on the basis of the fulfilment of these rights for all the children. "It may be that offense must come, but woe be it unto them through whom it comes." No declaration of a great purpose can justify

¹ See *The Survey*, October 6, 1917, p. 7.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Report of Commission on Health of Munition Workers, U.S. Bureau of Labor Bulletin, No. 223.*

the use of instrumentalities inherently inconsistent with that purpose. A democracy once created can persist only by the free use of the individual powers of those constituting the community in self-directing life. The wholesale methods of care, nurture, and education will render inevitable the re-establishment of autocratic government—the rule of the few over the many. Only by giving to all these rights to which reference has been made, individual support and individual care, can a world composed of self-determining free people be reasonably anticipated.

WAR AS A CRISIS IN SOCIAL CONTROL

CARL KELSEY
University of Pennsylvania

Inasmuch as we have entered into the Great War, it seems wiser to discuss this question in terms of existing conditions rather than in terms of abstract theory. I interpret social control to mean the organization and utilization of our wealth and citizens for public purposes. I am assuming that we have entered upon a long war and that many things permissible in an emergency cannot be considered. For many years we have been dwelling in a fool's paradise, prosperous, self-satisfied, contented to live our own lives and let live, rather grateful in fact for our isolation. Aloof from Europe, in reality rather deeply ignorant of her conditions, we asked only that Europe respect the Monroe Doctrine and let America alone. Thanks to the strength of the British navy, this request was respected. When the storm broke, those who should have known better allayed our fears with such phrases as "we have no concern with the causes of the conflict," and stimulated hopes of "peace without victory." One college president in the early months of the war insisted upon the appointment of a man to stump the state to combat the rising tide of militarism, and was later somewhat embarrassed to discover a way of getting rid of him. If the leaders were blind, what could be expected from the rest of us?

Foreseen or unexpected, welcomed or abhorred, the war net was spread around us. Even if we disregard the racial or national backgrounds which have affected our personal attitudes toward this conflict, war as such calls for a few words of comment. I am not concerned with debating its alleged selective value, nor its alleged revelation of superior and inferior peoples. War gives a new setting to all problems and actions. As Sumner says:

War also develops societal organization, it produces political institutions and classes. . . . In long periods of peace the whole societal structure

becomes fixed in its adjustments, and the functions all run into routine. . . . Traditions acquire a sacred character, and philosophical doctrines are taught in churches and schools which make existing customs seem to be the eternal order of nature. . . . It becomes impossible to find a standing-ground from which to attack abuses and organize reform. . . . By war new social powers break their way and create a new order. The student is tempted to think that even a great social convulsion is worth all its costs.

It is evident to us all that certain far-reaching changes in our social programs and ideals have already been started. It is my purpose to mention some of these and to raise some questions with reference to them.

The new social conscience.—First let us notice the striking results which the more or less hidden and quiet working of the social conscience has produced. What man, acquainted with our ideas and standards of a few years past, would have ventured to prophesy the meek acceptance of compulsory and universal military service with the practical annihilation of the national guard; the confiscation of salaries and incomes deemed excessive; the substitution of an insurance system for the old pork-barrel pensions; the virtual merging of the railroads under national control; the control of food and coal; the fixing of prices; the attempt to distinguish between essentials and nonessentials in railroad shipments? Astounding charges, are they not?

Industrial reorganization.—Modern war requires the co-operation of all the members of a society, directly or indirectly. The securing and training of the fighting men, the supplying of ammunition and war material, though more immediate and spectacular, are in the long run no more important than the industrial organization of the country. We have accepted universal military service. The logic of the situation requires the virtual conscription of all citizens that each to the extent of his or her ability may contribute to the one great and immediate end, the winning of the war. This I deem a vital necessity. Unless this is done we are asking thousands to sacrifice comfort, life, perhaps, and yet allowing others to idle and loaf, doing less than nothing because they too must be fed and clothed. Unless this is done we shall continue to do as we did in building certain of the cantonments, guarantee the contractor cost plus 10 per cent and set him free

to bid in the open market for labor. This resulted in the payment of exorbitant wages and thus drew laborers from other industries themselves holding contracts with the government at fixed prices for urgently needed articles, thus robbing one department to help another. The result in industry is chaos. Moreover, the wildest sort of wildcat speculation among manufacturers has already appeared. Such a situation too has a decidedly bad effect upon laborers. The employer hesitates to enforce any standards, for positions are easily secured and labor is drifting from one calling to another at will, and loafing between times. One store was compelled to employ over 1,200 new workers during November to replace those who had left. The steel trade estimates this year's output at about 85 per cent of last year's, notwithstanding increased demands and facilities. Our government is asking for some 100,000,000 feet of spruce lumber, urgently needed for airplanes, as against an annual average cut of 33,000,000 feet. It is now getting spruce at the rate of a little over 40,000,000 feet, or about one-third of the necessary minimum, while the outlook for the next three months is that not over 60 per cent of the old average will be cut. This calls for radical change. Not only should there be registration of labor and elimination of idlers, but strikes (lockouts as well) must be forbidden and strikers treated as traitors. This must not be construed as a defense for the maintenance of inadequate wages or of bad living conditions. If the government controls, it must provide decent conditions. It must not be checked on the other hand by such agreements as that of the Lumberman's Protective League, which punishes by a fine of \$500 per day all firms operating on an eight-hour basis. It should be free to insist upon an eight-hour day if that seems best. In other words, it must seek to provide those conditions which produce the greatest results with least friction.

Perhaps the greatest problem in our industry is the food supply. Food is becoming a scarce article in this world and will be much scarcer in our country in another year unless labor is provided for agriculture. Unless this is done, I do not see how the farmers can cultivate as much ground another year. The farm agent in Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, states that in that county there are now

forty-five abandoned farms of forty acres or over, and over one hundred partially abandoned, the farmers having entered industry, though still living on the farms. The labor shortage in agriculture in Lehigh County is now over 1,200.

It is already evident that women are to enter into many new industries and into old ones in larger numbers. I cannot discuss the new problems that this will create, but I am convinced that something must soon be done with, let us say, the stores which continue to employ able-bodied men in such arduous tasks as the drawing of soda water.

Education.—The future of the country must be considered as well as the present. Only direct necessity can justify the withdrawal of the pupils from the schools. The loss of students in our colleges is marked, and there are many indications that the enrolment in our high schools is falling. The demand is already heard that child-labor laws should be weakened and children put to work. Are we so ignorant of what happened in England at the outbreak of the war? The English experience should demonstrate how essential it is to maintain these standards. This may be a good time to try to dovetail school and industry. Girard College is trying the experiment of working groups of boys in some factory for two weeks at a time, one group being replaced by another, so that the employer can count on a given force. Dayton, Ohio, is doing much the same with groups of high-school boys. Many such experiments might be made. I think in general that students should stay in school till their presence elsewhere is clearly needed. I think, however, it is time to begin the careful discussion of changes in our school programs which this war may make necessary.

Religion.—It is perhaps a trite observation to say that this war is making us think of the important rather than the trivial things of life. For this very reason it is unfortunate that war tends to destroy the age-long concept of a loving heavenly Father and to reintroduce the worship of tribal gods. As the president of Union Theological Seminary has recently said:

To the person interested in religion and convinced of its worth, one of the saddest things about the present war is the widespread disrepute into

which Christianity has fallen. Men were never more in need of religion and more eager for it than now. In every time of sore crisis they turn instinctively to it for comfort and strength; but unhappily the Christian religion (the only religion of most Europeans and Americans) has sadly lost credit in many quarters as a result of the war. It has lost, for one thing, because—as is alleged—it proved so impotent to prevent the war, or rather, because it made so little effort to prevent it. It has lost credit also because it has been for the most part simply the creature of the various warring nations, lending its support equally to the rival purposes and the hostile measures of each group of combatants. This would be no discredit, rather a ground of commendation, to a merely national faith, to a German or a French or a British religion, but it is the most serious indictment of a religion that claims to be universal, whose God is the God of the whole earth and whose fundamental tenet is that all men are his children and brothers one of another.

One lamentable consequence of prostituting a religion like Christianity to exclusively national ends is the necessity of attributing irreligion and hypocrisy to all one's enemies. The resulting arrogance and censoriousness of judgment make the conflict worse than it would otherwise be and lead some men to think Christianity a curse to the world instead of a blessing.

To some extent, doubtless, this feeling is offset by the practical work of the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, the Y.M.C.A., the Knights of Columbus, and similar organizations, but it still remains a serious problem.

The state.—From this brief paper I must omit all questions as to the influence of the war upon the state as such but certain aspects must be mentioned. Justified as we have been in our faith in the "melting-pot," in our assumption that mere residence here made a man an American, nevertheless, it seems clear that we have not done our full duty by the immigrant. The time to bring him into our schools and teach him English is before, not after, he appears in the training camp of the army. The exploitation to which he has been subjected, the indifference of the so-called better classes to his condition, have often created in him an attitude toward the country quite different from that we expect to see in the patriot. Leaving the anti-American propaganda of Germany out of the question, it is most deplorable that we have failed to see and understand the inevitable reaction to the disgraceful conditions of life and labor which Professor Parker in the November *Atlantic* emphasizes as lying at the bottom of the psychology of the I.W.W. It is time that we laid the foundations

of democracy, not in rhetorical phrases, but on the solid rock of a decent standard of life. Nor do we fully realize, I fear, the extent to which our belief in democracy has been sensibly affected by the presence of the Indian, the Negro, and the recent immigrant in the great industrial centers. Either we consider these peoples part of our great democracy or else we have shifted to a class philosophy of government.

Personal rights.—Social control is exercised by that great complex of folkways, public opinion, quite as much as by organized agencies like the state. Sometimes this extra-legal control is exercised independently, sometimes in combination with the state. Now war brings an emotional crisis as well as an intellectual problem. When our patriotism becomes self-conscious we grow suspicious of him who does not shout so loudly as we ourselves. We are likely to react violently to the careless, chance remark which indicates a different viewpoint or opinion of some event, particularly if the speaker chances to be of German descent. Take the case of Fritz Kreisler. Here is an Austrian who for years has been our honored guest and who has touched both hearts and pocketbooks by his playing. Neither in word nor in deed, so far as I know, has he given cause for offense. Yet, because his country is now at war with us, he is under the ban. Has our vaunted civilization so little hold on us that we must vent our spite on such a man? If so, then we are perilously near the brute after all.

If we cannot treat courteously the man who digs in our mines or plays in our orchestras because his country is now at war with us, what hope is there of giving a square deal to those Americans who differ from the majority, honestly, and say so, honestly? Personally, I was ashamed of my country so long as our leaders failed to see that a great moral issue was at stake on which we had to take sides or abandon the cause of freedom. Yet I believe that this war is showing the limitations of nationalism in the world as they have never been revealed before and showing therefore the need of a league of nations of some sort to fight for the preservation of peace if need be. There is, it seems to me, great danger that in our desire to conquer our enemies we sacrifice, need-

lessly, our own belief in, and practice of, freedom. I believe our chief danger comes from those who talk about the wholesale killing of great peoples and the destruction of great nations rather than from those who try to love their enemies as well as God. I cannot repress the feeling that we were so slow in stating clearly the issues that we are partially to blame for the failure of many citizens to understand. I am sure that the extreme statements of some among our allies have but cemented the countries and peoples of the enemy.

Norman Angell has summarized this situation so far as England is concerned in a recent pamphlet, "Why Freedom Matters." He thinks that many of the most dangerous measures adopted have been political rather than military and inaugurated, not because of present needs, but by a desire to make them permanent.

Their gravity does not arise from the individual hardship they inflict, but from the fact that the habit of subservience to state authority in matters of opinion which they set up tends to destroy in the individual that capacity for private judgment in politics by which alone, in the last analysis, a democracy is able to rule itself. The destruction of the right of private judgment involves finally the destruction of the capacity for public judgment. The habit of irresponsible power on the one side and docile subservience on the other must finally make impossible that moral atmosphere in which alone the general instinct for self-government can survive and develop.

In another paragraph he says:

I am suggesting that in the stress and preoccupation of war we are ourselves destroying needlessly that which we accuse the enemy of desiring to destroy and that in so doing we tend to make impossible that better world which we were to have secured by our triumph. I do not suggest that such a failure is any necessary part of victory, but that it will come because the temper and ideals that war and victory in the absence of great vigilance are almost certain to arouse are likely to swamp—indeed are now swamping—the temper and ideas essential to a free society and what goes with it.

So far as I know we have not reached the time in this country when men like Bertrand Russell are silenced by the government, but there are many indications of a growing intolerance which is to be deplored. Are we not blind when we condemn the intellectuals of Germany for their subserviency, when we eagerly applaud the opposition of Professor Foerster, and when we wonder

if Liebknecht does not represent a rising tide of popular indignation, and then condemn those among us who disbelieve in the philosophy of the sword? Time was when education could be taught at the end of a hickory stick, when the husband might beat his wife, when the church could execute heretics. These days have passed. Is not this very war making clear the futility of the "wager of war" among the nations? The exercise of force in terms of bayonet and sword does not account for the acceptance by the Germans of their present national beliefs. Mind, not matter, is responsible. Our President deserves no small credit for his emphasis on our desire to achieve freedom for the masses of our present enemies as well as for our own nations. We must not forget the possibility of our emerging from the conflict, whether defeated or victorious, as an oligarchy rather than a democracy. This is no small matter.

As I see it, then, the fundamental question which we should keep in mind concerns the goal for which we are striving. Are we seeking the "enchained man," who believes what he is told, thinks as directed, acts as ordered, or the association of free men, held together by moral bonds, striving and co-operating for the good of all, for the democracy of the world? If the latter, then must we fight with all our might, with sword and gun if need be. Let us not sacrifice, however, our dream of the day when peace shall dawn on earth and good-will to men.

DISCUSSION

LUCILE EAVES, WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL UNION, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

Professor Kelsey's comprehensive survey of the social and economic effects of war begins by reminding us of the changed personal outlook which we are acquiring. Our past point of view has been much like that of a certain old lady recently interviewed by one of my investigators. Several flights of tenement stairs were climbed to reach the attic quarters of the mother of the young woman about whom information was sought. The visitor, who was well coached in the arts of "painless extraction" of information, presented the subject in her most engaging manner and then proposed to fill the schedule blank. But the shrewd old lady promptly closed the interview with this ultimatum,

"Well, I can't see that all this is going to do me any good, and the Lord can take care of the rest of the folks." Evidently she belonged to a past generation! Such wholesale abdications in favor of the Almighty are no longer possible to those who are developing the new sense of social responsibility which has been described in the paper.

Social control that must be exercised in connection with the reorganization of our economic activities has received the chief emphasis in Professor Kelsey's discussion. I feel that the title of the paper might well be amended to read, "After the War a Crisis in Social Control," for the gravest problems will arise immediately after the disbanding of our armies. The war is in itself a powerful means of social control. When the pleas of patriotism and military necessity can no longer be used, we will have need of new agencies to assist in making the difficult readjustments which will be required in order to make industry safe for democracy. Great Britain, our ally and chief economic rival, is developing what appear to be agencies adequate for meeting this crisis. In both countries the extension of the franchise will increase the power of the labor vote, and the war experiences will give force to the demands for a more democratic distribution of economic goods. Yet prices are likely to be high for years to come, and heavy burdens of taxation must be adjusted to the backs of those best able to carry them. For a period, at least, there is danger of a grave problem of unemployment. The new British Labor party which will be formed next month promises to be an effective agency for winning proper recognition of the needs of wage-earners. Co-operative societies which assist three and a half million persons to obtain the necessities of life at minimum cost will unite with a Trade Union Congress which represents four and a half million organized wage-earners. This new Labor party will welcome all individuals who sympathize with its aims and wish to assist in the tasks of economic readjustment made necessary by the war. If this new party does not control a parliamentary majority it will at least have sufficient strength to give effective expression to the needs of British wage-earners.

We in the United States have lagged behind Great Britain in the recognition of a democratic control of industry, and there seems at present no prospect of the development of adequate agencies for an orderly expression of the economic needs of the after-the-war period. The recent supreme court decision sustaining the injunction forbidding the efforts to unionize the coal miners of West Virginia places the American labor movement in a position more precarious than that of the British trade unions between the Taff Vale decision of 1901 and the Trade Union act of 1906. Our labor difficulties during the war have sprung rather from a fear of the weakening of the trade unions, which are the wage-earners' agencies for economic control, than from a desire for increased wages, as intelligent and farsighted labor leaders foresee the perils of this after-the-war crisis. Economically the United States will be where today Russia is politically: wage-earners will have unlimited social power without generally accepted agencies for its orderly expression.

Miss Breckinridge, in her scholarly presentation of "Social Control of Child Welfare," has shown us that it has taken a century and a half of effort to develop agencies which promise to give some measure of reality to the legal fiction which declared a child's right to maintenance, education, and protection. It is difficult to add to her discussion of what has been accomplished, and so I will outline briefly some needs of the future. Your attention is called to a second legal fiction which should receive consideration. The law assumes that young persons become capable of undertaking the responsibilities of adults when eighteen or twenty-one years of age, yet society fails to give adequate guidance and protection during the adolescent period. Reports of recent extensive investigations make it evident that some of our gravest social and economic problems have their roots in the experiences of sixteen- to twenty-one-year-old wage-earners. The British Royal Commissioners on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress declared that they regarded "the perpetual recruitment of the unemployables by tens of thousands of boys, who, through neglect to provide them with suitable industrial training, may almost be said to graduate into unemployment as a matter of course, as perhaps the gravest of all grave facts which this Commission has laid bare."¹ The report of an intensive study of irregularity of employment made for the New York Factory Investigation Commission² declares that the failure of employers to organize their business so that employment will be on a sounder basis is due chiefly to the fact that large numbers of young persons, partially supported by their families, are available for seasonal employment. Many fields where social control of adolescents is needed have been revealed by the investigations which I have directed during the past three years. My time will permit only a brief summary of three of the most imperative of these needs.

That the adequate nourishment of young working women is a fit source for social control is evident from the results of our study of the *Food of Working Women in Boston*. Over half of the females fourteen to twenty-one years of age, living in the eight largest cities of the United States, are wage-earners.³ Young girls go forth to sell to strangers the labor power of their tender, immature bodies. The obligation of the public to supply opportunity for a hot and nourishing noon meal to secondary-school students is generally recognized; yet the nutritional needs of the student are much less urgent than those of the young wage-earner. We found that among working women the facilities for obtaining proper food were in an inverse ratio to the nutritional needs. The younger

¹ *Minority Report, Royal Commission on Poor Law and Relief of Distress*, XXXVII (1909), 1167. See also Cyril Jackson's "Report on Boy Labor in London and Certain Other Towns," Appendix XX, Vol. XLIV.

² I. O. Andrews, "The Relation of Irregular Employment to the Living Wage for Women," *Fourth Report of the Factory Investigating Commission*, II (New York, 1915), 523-25.

³ *The Food of Working Women in Boston*, p. 14.

women required food for both growth and maintenance, their occupations demanded more physical exertion than those of older women, and the work day was longer, yet their wages were lower, their noon period shorter, and assistance in obtaining a nourishing noon luncheon much less.¹

The unusual physical strain to which these mothers of the next generation are subject gains peculiar significance at this national crisis. One of the first and ablest of the British discussions of the fields and agencies of social control made necessary by the war is found in the paper dealing with statistical inquiries needed after the war in connection with eugenics, by Leonard P. Darwin, presented at the February, 1916, meeting of the Royal Statistical Society.² The selective power of war is revealed in his figures showing the tendency to enlist well-endowed men and the higher death-rates of young officers. I hesitate to suggest that before many months the United States may be grieving over the same sad losses which threaten to impair the racial qualities of the European populations. Fortunately the female is as potent as the male for the continuance of desirable racial traits. Lester F. Ward has pointed out the wide distribution of talent and the important part played by environment and education in the development of genius.³ The half of the female population who go forth in their youth to serve society will marry earlier and bear more children than the half who lead more sheltered lives, and so the future racial integrity demands a social control that shall safeguard the physical well-being of wage-earning girlhood.

Guidance in selecting and preparing for a wage-earning vocation is the second field of social control in the interests of the adolescent wage-earner to which I wish to call attention. Its need has been recognized in the British Education (Choice of Employment) act of 1910 and in the rapid development in the United States of vocational guidance and school placement. Even in communities where much attention has been given to this need, the agencies are inadequate and the results wasteful of youthful energy and interest. Thus the records of the Boston Placement Bureau show distressing discrepancies between opportunities for employment in certain occupations and the numbers of young persons who have prepared themselves to enter them.⁴ That there

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

² Leonard Darwin, "On the Statistical Inquiries Needed after the War in Connection with Eugenics," *Royal Statistical Society*, LXXIX (March, 1916), 159-75.

³ *Applied Sociology*, chaps. viii-x.

⁴ Eighty-three per cent of the orders for boys request that they shall be sixteen years of age or older, 22 per cent of these requests are for industrial work and 54 per cent for clerical positions; 48 per cent of the boys have prepared for industrial and 28 per cent for clerical positions. Girls sixteen years of age or over are requested in 87 per cent of the orders for females; 35 per cent of the positions offered are in factories and only 25 per cent are clerical, while 23 per cent of the girls prefer industrial and 42 per cent choose clerical work.

is a social obligation to assist the young, not only with vocational training which will make possible honorable self-support, but also with the guidance necessary for adjustment to our complex economic conditions, seems evident from our assumption of irresponsibility during the years of legal minority.

Our investigations have made evident also the need of assisting the young wage-earner in making his wage contract. The difficulties experienced by adults in securing an equitable wage contract have led to extensive plans of organization and endless controversy. Our Boston studies furnish abundant evidence of the universal inability of young persons to command a living wage. This is true even though the majority of those placed are over sixteen and have received more or less secondary or vocational training. If it were possible to develop social agencies which would supply guidance and instruction that would enable young men to establish family ties when adult years are reached, most of our social problems would be solved.

Miss Breckinridge's paper reveals in a striking way our failure to standardize the agencies for social control in the interests of child welfare. It has occurred to me that here is an opportunity for sociological research. Five years ago our society appointed a committee for the purpose of promoting unified investigations. It was proposed that the many college teachers in our ranks should direct their students in the study of subjects of public interest, and that the results of such investigations should be brought together by the central committee, so that valuable data would be given permanent form. The death of Professor C. R. Henderson, the chairman of the committee, prevented the carrying out of this plan. A study, in accordance with definite standards, of agencies for promoting the social ends set forth in Miss Breckinridge's paper would be a suitable task for such a committee.

Some of us whose spirits are still youthful and valiant feel aggrieved that our gray hairs betray the fact that we no longer are of the age desired for the front trenches, but these efforts to devise agencies which shall make possible an effective utilization of the social forces aroused by this great national crisis are equally indispensable. The self-sacrifice, the economy in utilization of resources, and the capacity for organized activities developed during the war should not be wasted. We must discover the agencies which will make industry safe for democracy, must standardize the means of safeguarding our racial integrity, and must demonstrate to the world that the freedom of the individual is not inconsistent with the efficiency of the nation.

CHARLES W. COULTER, WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

Professor Kelsey, in his sane and comprehensive paper on "War as a Crisis in Social Control," has opened up a field as broad as society itself and indicated the almost limitless ramifications of the subject. The restricted longitude of such a paper, however, prevents more than an outline treatment, and I

assume the discussions are intended to fill in the minor details or to have the facts considered from a slightly different standpoint.

One cannot close his eyes to the obvious social changes, industrial, educational, religious, and political, which are shown to have already taken place, to say nothing of the abrogation of personal rights, and the coercion of the individual to be loyal, even in his thinking, to his group, to sacrifice for it, to think of outsiders with hatred and contempt, but of those within in terms of brotherhood. It is worth while, however, to notice the character of the controls and where, in the exigency of war, they ultimately rest.

An evolution of society is constantly in progress. Variations in social forms are continually occurring. In general, those best adapted become the norms, but, as Sumner has shown (*War*, p. 32), societal selection is prevented from conditioning out the untested variations by reason of "social prejudice, monopoly, privilege, orthodoxy, traditions, popular delusion," and many other restraints. Thus some of the unverified theories persist and are ready to hand for another trial under the stimulus and pressure of war. Take for example the government's control of railways, its direction of mining operations, and other industrial activities. These are in no sense new programs. Certain groups have long and consistently advocated them as correctives for social maladjustments. Such variations, tried and untried, are in the peace-group, and the crisis of war permits but a rude, hurried, and frequently imperfect selection *de novo* among them.

There is always an assumption of power and a popular willingness to repose control in the political, executive, or military authorities, who are made thereby the agents of such a selection. Sentiments of patriotism prevent organized objection to any feasible experiment being tried, so that the pendulum may swing to the extreme limit through the adoption of untried expedients. One does not have to go back to France's internecine combats of revolutionary days nor into the contemporary Russian situation for evidence of this fact. It is abundantly illustrated in our creation of a food directorate which fails to direct, a fuel controller who finds it possible only indifferently to control, a series of government agreements with manufacturers fixing the prices of such commodities as sugar with no reference to exportation prices, which has rendered our situation in this particular most acute. The government's attempted control of the private shipbuilding industry by the creation of an emergency fleet corporation is another case in point. Mr. Hard seems to think (*New Republic*, XIII, 114) that despite its overwhelming expenditures of the nation's money, through the shortsighted policy of governmental competition in the labor market, it has actually reduced the total tonnage output of America's merchant marine below what it normally would have been, thereby occasioning an irreparable loss for this first and probably most urgent year of our shipping need.

The danger attending the adoption of untried expedients in government control is also to be seen in our belated legislation providing for a tax on excess

profits, which has tended to encourage the manipulation of accounts so as to bring inadequate returns in revenue. The law necessarily has suffered such local interpretation that, to preserve any semblance of its former identity, it will have to be consistently modified by supreme court decision or be amended. Nor is the adoption of these measures to control society in war time unique to America. France and Britain have already passed through the refining fire.

The facts combine to show that in all belligerent countries governmental control, to be relatively complete and to carry with it the co-operation of the people, must be in essential harmony with the self-maintenance *mores* of the group. In other words, governmental action, because it is in a secondary field, must conform to what is popularly found to be expedient. This applies directly to state control of labor. If America desires to keep a contented, efficient, and at the same time highly-g geared industrial organization behind her fighting men in Europe—and we confidently hope she may, for this war must be carried to a successful issue—it will not be by legislation or a wholesale conscription of labor (for that necessarily means a degree of subsidization on the one hand or of exploitation on the other), but by an honest and much more facile use of those government agencies which already exist or the creation of others for easing threatening labor disputes.

The impotence of the secondary social institutions to hold and exercise adverse control over that which has to do with self-maintenance is evidenced also by the recent changes in religion. If, within the last three years, there has not been a reversion to a more primitive tribal type, as Professor Kelsey seems to think, the exponents of religion have at least changed front with surprising facility. Two of our most prominent religious leaders at a community patriotic meet this year in Cleveland urged their hearers not to lose faith in religion because of its failure as an antidote for war; then, inconsistently enough, they proceeded on grounds of religious duty to justify our participation in the struggle. That sequence is the best possible argument for the success of religion. The failure of an institution, as of an organism, lies in its lack of adaptation to changing life-conditions. Success is measurable only in terms of adaptation. History shows that no religious concept has been absolute; no religious organization entirely permanent; all have slowly changed. The recent speedy change in the attitude of religion to war, that it might keep pace with the changing conditions, seems to us the best possible evidence of its right to survive.

There is but one logical thing for the exponents of religion to do, if they are concerned with its perpetuation by a group engaged in war, and that is to facilitate its adjustment in form and content to the changed conditions. Automatically, if it persists, it will sanction the new *mores* which arise. We ought to face another fact also. In the measure that religion becomes adapted to belligerent groups, it strengthens their purpose, and in so doing may actually prolong the war. That which makes it a stabilizing influence in peace time makes it equally the defender of the *status quo* in time of war.

Only this fact could relieve the Church Peace Union and the League to Enforce Peace from a suspicion of irony when, three days ago, they announced their joint intention of immediately participating in a "Win the War" campaign. It sheds some light also on the action of those who have been quite unjustly condemning Drs. Manning, Hillis, Van Dyke, and other formerly peaceful religious shepherds for "their wild whirling words in justification of war" (*New Republic*, XIII, 127). Such critics display an arrogant ignorance of the nature of religion, the history of its institutions in past crises, and the character of its modern exponents. There is much more danger that an anomalous situation may develop in which our essentially peaceful religious institutions, after their more complete adaptation to war conditions, may persist unduly long and fail quickly to readapt themselves to reversed conditions.

So it would seem that religion, basically, does not condition war but is conditioned by it. Far from being a failure because it did not avert or does not stop war, its speedy adaptation, from the standpoint of the sociologist, is the best evidence of its success.

We may say, then, with reference to social control in war time, that the government or military authorities are intrusted with the task of making a hurried selection among existing social variations. The best expedients are arrived at by a process of trial and error, and thenceforth they become the norms. But only those which are compatible with the *mores* of society's postbellum industrial organization will be entrenched with any degree of permanency. As a device for centralizing control we can say with Sumner (*War*, p. 35), "War is a regrettable makeshift, and it is the task of the statesman to find rational means to the same end. Any statesman who proposes a war as an instrumentality admits his incompetency."

EDITH ABBOTT, CHICAGO SCHOOL OF CIVICS AND PHILANTHROPY

Although I do not wholly agree to what has been said upon the subject of industrial control, I have preferred not to spend the few minutes allotted to me in disagreeing with other speakers but rather in adding certain facts as to the effect of the war upon some of the social problems that were with us in the days of the old peace and may be expected to be with us again in the days of the new and better peace that we are seeking.

Members of this Association must share with those actively engaged in social work a deep interest in the effect of the war upon such questions. Too often the policies of our social agencies are formulated after a haphazard fashion to meet an immediate and pressing need. It would seem to be our duty, however, to attempt to forecast the social changes that must come with the war, and more important still the social changes that peace will bring, in order that they may be met with adequate forethought and preparation. In particular, it seems worth while to take note of English experience as to the effect of

war, since England is the belligerent nation with social conditions most like our own.

First as to the effect of the war on pauperism and destitution. In a sense we in America have, of course, been in the war from the beginning, and the first shock of the great mobilization in the summer of 1914 was felt not only in Europe but here in the United States, where unemployment became very acute. We shared with England and with the whole world the great problem of destitution that was the immediate result of the industrial changes and readjustment that followed the outbreak of hostilities. It is in part due to this circumstance that no immediate increase in destitution followed our own formal declaration of war last spring.

In England, on the other hand, there was a sudden rise in pauperism caused by the social and industrial disorganization of August, 1914. A Government Committee on the Prevention and Relief of Distress was appointed, the country was organized under local representative committees, and a national Relief Fund was opened. But the distress was only temporary, and the figures for the first year of the war showed a decline in the number of paupers, which has continued down to the present month with occasional seasonal fluctuations. Especially noteworthy has been the decline of the pauper rate for London. But decreases are noted also in the rates from England and Wales and Scotland and Ireland. I shall, however, forbear giving the figures.

Evidence of the decline of pauperism is also to be found in the great reduction in the number of children given free dinners at school. The last report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education comments on this point as follows:

Before the war the average number of children fed per annum was approximately 150,000. It rose during the year 1914-15 to the great figure of 422,000, and it fell during the year 1916-17 from 422,000 to 64,000. A further sign of the better condition of the people is that when the children cannot be fed at home, the parents can pay for their meals at school, and in the last two years the parents' contributions for this purpose have risen from £3,000 to more than £11,000.

England, however, is not living in a fool's paradise, and it is recognized on all sides that this prosperity will end when peace comes. As we look back now, it seems to be true that England has been laying careful plans ever since the very beginning of the war for the readjustment that must follow demobilization. These plans in the first place are for the care of the discharged soldier, and a series of proposals have been agreed to for assisting the soldier back to civil employment, including insurance against unemployment valid for one year. The munition workers who will be unemployed by the thousands at the coming of peace have also been provided for by an amendment of 1916 to the Unemployed Insurance act, which has been extended to all persons engaged in manufacturing munitions or those employed in such trades as chemicals, metals, rubber, leather, brick and saw-milling.

That is, England's new motto seems to be "In time of war prepare for peace," and in the midst of the most gigantic war efforts the world has yet known, preparations are being made for the coming peace, in order that those who shall have borne the battle and the labor of providing munitions for the battle shall not be in a position of acute distress when the war is over.

The subject of crime after the war is also giving cause for anxiety. It appears that the war has brought about a great decrease of adult crime as well as of pauperism, but in England and in France too there is no blinking the fact that the beginning of peace will produce a great increase in arrests and convictions.

Interesting testimony on this point may be found in the last report of the Commissioners of Prisons for England and Wales; and for France, our *American Journal of Sociology* recently summarized the very significant article contributed by Professor Roux of the University of Dijon to the *Revue Politique et Parlementaire*, calling attention to the fact that after-war conditions would almost inevitably lead to a serious increase in crime.

One must admit, says Professor Roux, that war does not develop the virtues of peace. War is a school of courage and of sacrifice. It is not a school that teaches respect for the person or the property of others. The men will come back from these years of war with a new outlook. The habit they have formed of violent solutions and of acts of force will render it more difficult for them to remain honest, and the horrors of war will have rendered them more or less unstable.

Up to the present the United States has suffered less and sacrificed less in the war than any other nation belligerent or neutral in the Western World. But in France and England, where the burdens of the war have been so heavy, there has been added a great concern over the conditions of the new peace that is coming. In both of these countries there is said to be "emulation of the spirit of the architects of Belgium at work in their exile redesigning their cities after new and nobler plans"; English writers like Professor Patrick Geddes, Victor Branford, and Dr. Gilbert Slater (see *Ideas at War* and the *Coming Polity*) in forecasting the "coming polity" point out that the new peace must be a better peace than that which is now gone forever. They refuse to look forward to a time when the horrors of war shall be followed by "the tragedies of a peace in which the world struggles under a crushing burden of debt and poverty toward some melancholy future." They look forward to the "after-war task, not as a return to the peace we have left forever (which was not peace at all but thinly disguised, latent, and potential war), but as a further step, an upward progress." In reply to the challenge, "How are you going to reconstruct? How are you going to get the money—when so much will have been spent and the burden of debt will rest so heavily upon us all?" they answer that "we do not reconstruct with money but with life; with the life and labour of the future and not with the savings of the past." We shall be impoverished, it is true, they say, but when we no longer divide our wealth between

creature comforts and munitions, as in the recent past and present, we shall find our resources ample for greater achievements than in our days of fat utilitarian prosperity (and its heavy war insurance).

There are other groups in England actively studying the possible methods of social reconstruction after the war. The little book called the *Hope of Society*, published early in the present year, with essays by Mr. J. A. Hobson, Mr. Heath of Toynbee Hall, and others of somewhat radical tendencies, shows how seriously the coming of peace is regarded and how hopefully these English social reformers look forward to a new and better England coming out of the terrible years of sacrifice and endurance. For example, there are to be new claims for state aid, particularly in so far as the welfare of children is concerned. Sir George Newman, the distinguished chief medical officer of the Board of Education and chairman of the Health of Muniton Workers Committee, says in his recently issued annual report:

"The European War has given new emphasis to the importance of the child as a primary asset. The future and strength of the nation unquestionably depend upon the vitality of the child, upon his health and development, and upon his education, and equipment for citizenship. Great and far-reaching issues have their origin and some of their inspiration in him."

In the old days, the report continues, "the school authorities received and handed on the child as a 'bird of passage.' Now in searching more deeply for methods of protecting the school child, the authorities are extending their activities to the care of the child before he comes to school, and equally they are asking for further powers to protect him after he leaves school to enter industry."

Other signs of the times are the very vigorous administration of Mr. H. A. L. Fisher as president of the Board of Education, the proposals for a Ministry of Health indorsed now by the President of the Board of Education and the President of the Local Government Board, and the proposals for further state activity in housing reform. Public opinion in Great Britain has expressed itself on numerous occasions as to the importance of entering upon a new and active campaign for better houses. Soldiers who have fought the nation's battles, it is said, must not return to slum houses and dug-outs. As the President of the Local Government Board declared, England cannot let her soldiers come back from the water-logged trenches to dwellings that are little better than pigsties, and the recent report of the Royal Commission on Housing in Scotland emphasizes this point. A hopeful newspaper correspondent said that as the great fire once purged London from the plague, so the great war may clear the nations of its slums.

If in the past three years England has found time for an Official Committee and Ministry of Reconstruction, it is surely not too much to hope that here in America, in the midst of our stirring preparations for war, we shall find some time likewise to make provisions for peace. For the war may bring with it a

great opportunity for remaking the whole of our battered social fabric, but only if we have so concerned ourselves with the making of the future that we shall be alert to seize the opportunity when it finally arrives. The distinguished French scholar who spoke yesterday at the American Historical Association referred to the historians as "professors of hope." Is it too much to expect that sociologists may also become "professors of hope," and that they may discover the way into new paths of social progress?

PRIMITIVE INDIVIDUAL ASCENDANCY

HUTTON WEBSTER

Professor of Social Anthropology in the University of Nebraska

In the preface to *Social Control* Professor Ross declares that he began the work with the idea that "nearly all the goodness and conscientiousness" by which a community is held together can be traced to social influences. Further investigation, however, appeared to show "that the personality freely unfolding under conditions of healthy fellowship may arrive at a goodness all its own, and that order is explained partly by this streak in human nature and partly by the influence of social surroundings." Since these words were written, more than sixteen years ago, something has been done, here and there, to set forth the actual contribution made by the "great man" to the society of which he forms a unit, but we still await the appearance of a work on "Individual Ascendancy" as comprehensive, original, and path-breaking as was *Social Control*.¹

Sociologists have long been used to thinking of savage and barbarous peoples as firmly fixed in a "cake of custom." Such changes as occur in primitive society take place, we are told, not as the result of deliberate innovation, but rather in the way that fashions alter among ourselves, by scarcely purposive drifting. The crowd, rather than the individual, does the thinking. Émile Durkheim and his followers in the *L'Année sociologique* go even further and see in the individual merely a product of social environment, the passive subject of social compulsion. *L'individu n'existe pas*. This ant-hill or beehive philosophy, it must be acknowledged, finds

¹ On the anthropological aspects of the subject see particularly Eben Mumford, "The Origins of Leadership," *American Journal of Sociology*, XII (1906-7), 216-40, 367-97, 500-531; A. Vierkandt, "Führende Individuen bei den Naturvölkern," *Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft*, XI (1908), 542-53, 623-39; Barbara Freire-Marreco, "Authority in Uncivilized Society," *Sociological Review*, I (1908), 330-47; and W. D. Wallis, "Individual Initiative and Social Compulsion," *American Anthropologist*, N.S., XVII (1915), 647-65.

some confirmation in the accounts of uncivilized peoples which we have received from travelers as well as from trained anthropologists. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that closer acquaintance with primitive groups will show that they are very susceptible to the force of personality, that they do contain their share of eminent men, and that social progress, even in the lower culture, has been largely influenced by conscious leadership.

Some insight into the process of social change is afforded by recent investigations in aboriginal Australia. Here a hereditary chieftainship is all but absent, and government generally assumes the form of a gerontocracy. Headmen of totemic and local groups, magicians, and old men of recognized importance form councils, in which all matters affecting the tribe as a whole are debated and decided. At such meetings it seems probable that innovations in custom may be introduced.

Spencer and Gillen write of the Central Australians:

We have already pointed out that there are certain men who are especially respected for their ability, and, after watching large numbers of the tribe, at a time when they were assembled together for months to perform certain of their most sacred ceremonies, we have come to the conclusion that at a time such as this, when the older and more powerful men from various groups are met together, and when day by day and night by night around their camp fires they discuss matters of tribal interest, it is quite possible for changes of custom to be introduced. . . . It must, however, be understood that we have no definite proof to bring forward of the actual introduction by this means of any fundamental change of custom. The only thing that we can say is that, after carefully watching the natives during the performance of their ceremonies and endeavoring as best we could to enter into their feelings, to think as they did, and to become for the time being one of themselves, we came to the conclusion that if one or two of the most powerful men settled upon the advisability of introducing some change, even an important one, it would be quite possible for this to be agreed upon and carried out. That changes have been introduced, in fact, are still being introduced, is a matter of certainty; the difficulty to be explained is, how in face of the rigid conservatism of the native, which may be said to be one of his leading features, such changes can possibly even be mooted. The only possible chance is by means of the old men, and, in the case of the Arunta people, amongst whom the local feeling is very strong, they have opportunities of a special nature.¹

¹ Spencer and Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1897), pp. 12 ff.

The personal initiative of the Australian magician also assumes considerable importance. The magician is one of the principal leaders of Australian society, and among the southeastern tribes he is often, sometimes invariably, the headman. Concerning these tribes Howitt, than whom there is no better authority, writes as follows:

They universally believe that their deceased ancestors and kindred visit them during sleep, and counsel or warn them against dangers, or communicate to them song-charms against magic. I have known many such cases, and I also know that the medicine-men see visions that are to them realities. Such a man, if of great repute in his tribe, might readily bring about a social change, by announcing to his fellow medicine-men a command received from some supernatural being such as Kutchi of the Dieri, Bunjil of the Wurunjerri, or Daramulun of the Coast Murring. If they received it favorably, the next step might be to announce it to the assembled headmen at one of the ceremonial gatherings as a supernatural command, and this would be accepted as true without question by the tribes-people.¹

That modifications of Australian customs have been made through individual agency is suggested by some native legends. Thus, almost every tribe studied by Spencer and Gillen has a tradition of certain persons who first introduced the stone knife for use in circumcision in place of the firestick, which previously had often caused the deaths of young men at initiation.² Similarly, many tribes ascribe the introduction of the present marriage system to eminent ancestors. Howitt, for instance, gives two legends, one belonging to the Dieri of Central Australia, the other to the Wurunjerri of Southern Victoria, which agree in the essential point that the division of the tribe into two exogamous classes was devised with intent to regulate the relations of the sexes. According to the Dieri story, the several families of ancestral Dieri married in themselves without shame. The result was great confusion and sexual disorder. The elders, observing this, came together to consider how these evils might be avoided. They ordained that the families should be divided and that no member of a segment should marry

¹ A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904), pp. 89 f.

² Spencer and Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1904), p. 26.

within it. Accordingly, it was decreed, "Thou grub totem, go to produce crow; thou crow totem, go to produce emu," and so on for the other totems.¹ That such a legend preserves a faithful record of what actually occurred, namely, the deliberate arrangement of the matrimonial classes to prevent the commission of the heinous sin of incest, is the view, not only of first-hand observers of the Australians, but also of so comprehensive a student of primitive society as Sir James Frazer. He thinks that it would hardly be possible to find another human institution which bears more distinctly the impress of deliberate design than the exogamous classes of the Australian aborigines. The arrangement took shape in the minds of a few very intelligent men who by their influence and authority persuaded their fellows to put it into practice.²

Occasionally, after much reading of works of travel, one comes upon what Dr. Marett styles an "anthropological biography." A few instances of this sort may be cited, beginning with that of Jalina-piramurana, a headman of an Australian tribe fifty years ago.

During the time I was with them there was only one headman who had supreme control over the whole tribe. From his extremely polished manners and his gestures I named him the Frenchman. He was feared and greatly respected by his own and by the neighboring tribes. Neither his two brothers, both of them inferior to him in bravery and oratorical powers, nor the elder men presumed to interfere with his will or to dictate to the tribe except in minor matters. It was he who decided disputes, and his decisions were received without appeal. Even the neighboring tribes sent messengers to him with presents of bags, pitcheri, red ochre, skins, and other things. He decided when and where the ceremonies of circumcision and initiation should take place. His messengers called together people from a circle of a hundred miles to attend the peace festivals (*mindari*), to attend his councils or in other matters which were considered to affect the welfare of the tribe. I have often been invited to attend his councils when they proposed to celebrate any grand ceremony. He possessed wonderful powers of oratory, making his listeners believe anything he suggested, and at all times ready to execute his commands. His disposition was not naturally cruel or treacherous, as was that of many of the Dieri, but he was, when not excited, kind, considerate, patient, and very hospitable. I never saw anything low or mean in him. As a rule the Dieri,

¹ Howitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 481.

² *Totemism and Exogamy* (London, 1910), I, 513 f.; IV, 106, 120 f.

being separated from all but their own relations, speak ill of each other; but I never heard anyone speak of this man Jalina-piramurana but with the greatest respect and even reverence.¹

By the side of Jalina-piramurana, the Dieri headman, we may place two other figures selected from rude types of society. In his account of the natives of British New Guinea, Dr. Seligmann refers to the case of Geboka Namo as showing how greatly the influence generally wielded by chiefs can be exceeded when a suitable man arises. Geboka Namo is not only head of his own village, but all the members of the eastern section of the Garia tribe, to which he belongs, admit his authority and follow him to war, as they did his father before him. "His father, indeed, was so celebrated a fighter that the neighboring Sinaugolo asked him to lead them in war, and to this day the son Geboka Namo, who is recognized as the war chief of the Sinaugolo as well as of the Garia, exerts a very real influence among the Sinaugolo."² The third figure is that of Kuriolv, whom Dr. Rivers declares almost entirely dominated the Todas at the time of his visit in 1902. Kuriolv acted as leader of the Toda council, or *naim*, a deliberative body of five or more members representing various clans. He was very intelligent and enjoyed a reputation for eloquence and great persuasive powers. When persuasion failed, he probably resorted to some kind of intimidation. "He seemed to me," says Dr. Rivers, "to afford an excellent example of the process by which one man may bring about considerable changes in the laws and regulations of a community; though I was told in several instances that the Todas would revert to their old customs as soon as Kuriolv died."³

The opening up of the Pacific to European discovery revealed the fact that almost every island had its hereditary chief and that over some of the archipelagos reigned veritable kings. To William Mariner we owe an intimate account of the conditions which pre-

¹ S. Gason, quoted by A. W. Howitt in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XX (1891), 65. For Howitt's own account of Jalina-piramurana see *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 297 ff.

² C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 58, n. 2.

³ W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 550 ff.

vailed in the Tonga or Friendly Islands during the first decade of the nineteenth century. Mariner, a young Englishman of good birth and fair education, went to sea in the privateer "Port au Prince." After cruising in the Pacific for more than a year the ship put in at one of the Tonga Islands, in the same place where Captain Cook had formerly anchored. Here nearly all the crew were murdered by the natives. For some reason Finau,¹ the chief of Vavau, took a strong fancy to Mariner and gave orders that his life should be preserved. This formed the commencement of a friendship which lasted till Finau's death. Mariner lived within the chief's inclosure, and from one of the latter's wives received instruction in the language and customs of the Tonga people. Finau even adopted Mariner as his own son and admitted him to all his councils.

Finau's character, as a politician, at least in point of ambition and design, may vie with that of any member of more civilized society; he wanted only education and a larger field of action to make himself a thousand times more powerful than he was. Gifted by nature with that amazing grasp of mind which seizes everything within its reach, and then, dissatisfied with what it has obtained, is ever restless in the endeavor to seize more, how dull and irksome must have been to him the dominion of a few islands, which he did not dare to leave to conquer others, lest he should be dispossessed of them by the treachery of chiefs and the fickleness of an undisciplined army. His ever restless and ambitious spirit would frequently vent itself in such expressions as the following: "Oh, that the gods would make me king of England! There is not an island in the whole world, however small, but what I would then subject to my power. The king of England does not deserve the dominion he enjoys; possessed of so many great ships, why does he suffer such petty islands as those of Tonga continually to insult his people with acts of treachery? . . . None but men of enterprising spirit should be in possession of guns; let such rule the earth, and be those their vassals who can bear to submit to such insults unrevenged."²

A few years before Mariner began his enforced sojourn in the Tonga Islands the first English missionaries came to the shores of Tahiti. They soon succeeded in converting the king of the island, Pomare the Second, to Christianity. William Ellis has told us a

¹ Mariner spells the name "Finow."

² John Martin, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands . . . from the Extensive Communications of Mr. William Mariner* (Boston, 1820), pp. 251 f.

great deal about this native ruler, who induced his people to destroy their idols and temples and forsake their heathen ways. Pomare learned to read and write, took a keen interest in the art of printing, fostered the establishment of a native missionary society, and promulgated the first Tahitian code of laws.

The conspicuous station Pomare had occupied in the political changes of Tahiti, since the arrival of the missionaries, the prominent part he had taken in the abolition of idolatry, the zeal he had manifested in the establishment of Christianity, and the assistance he had rendered to the missionaries caused a considerable sensation to be experienced among all classes by his death; and as his name is perhaps more familiar to the English reader than that of any other native of the South Sea Islands, some account of his person and character cannot fail to be acceptable. . . . Tall, and proportionably stout, but not corpulent, his person was commanding, being upwards of six feet high. His head was generally bent forward, and he seldom walked erect. His complexion was not dark, but rather tawny; his countenance rather heavy, though his eyes at times beamed with intelligence. . . . He was, however, though heavy in his appearance and indolent in his habits, inquisitive, attentive, and more thoughtful perhaps than any other native of the islands;—a keen observer of everything that passed under his notice, although at the time he would not appear to be paying particular regard. He was not only curious and patient in his inquiries, laborious in his researches, but often exhibited a great degree of originality. I have sometimes been in his company, when he has kept a party of chiefs in constant laughter, as much from the coolness with which his expressions were uttered, as the humor they contained. He was not, however, fond of conviviality or society, but appeared to be more at ease when alone, or attended only by one or two favorite chiefs. In mental application Pomare certainly exceeded every other Tahitian; and, had he been free from practices which so banefully retarded his progress, and enjoyed the advantage of a regular and liberal education, there is every reason to believe the development and culture of his intellect would have shown that it was of no inferior order.¹

From the island-world of the Pacific we turn to South Africa. During the first half of the nineteenth century that part of the Dark Continent witnessed the formation of powerful native kingdoms through the consolidation of Bantu communities. The process began about 1800 in the country now called Zululand, then inhabited by many small tribes. A great man made his appearance in the person of Dingiswayo, chief of the Umtetwa tribe. Suspected, when still a youth, of treasonable designs against his father,

¹ William Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, III (London, 1859), 249 ff.

Dingiswayo took refuge in flight, visited Cape Colony, and witnessed the drilling of European soldiers. The idea then came to him how much his own people might be improved by subjecting them to a similar discipline. After succeeding to the chieftainship, Dingiswayo instituted his military reform. The Umtetwa warriors, who had previously fought in unorganized masses, he formed into regiments (*impis*), subdivided into companies each with its *induna*, or captain. The new system immediately proved its worth in battle, and Dingiswayo acquired dominion over most of the tribes between the Tugela and Pongolo rivers. If native tradition is trustworthy, the new sovereign aimed to be as eminent in peace as in war. He began an extensive trade with the Portuguese at Delagoa Bay; encouraged, by liberal rewards, the arts and crafts of his people; and even established a manufactory where a hundred workmen were employed. This Peter the Great of Zululand was assassinated about 1818.¹

The work of nation-making in South Africa was now taken up by the Zulu chieftain Chaka (Tsaka), perhaps the most notable figure that has yet appeared in the history of the African race. The Zulus at this time formed a small tribe, without influence and tributary to the Umtetwa. Chaka as a young man served under Dingiswayo and gained such a reputation for valor that he was given the title of *Sigidi*, "Thousand," in reference to the number of the enemy he had slain. After Dingiswayo's death the army raised him to supreme power as chief of the united Umtetwa and Zulu tribes. Chaka now conceived schemes of conquest on an extensive scale. He strengthened the regimental system devised by his predecessor and adopted a new order of battle, the troops being massed in crescent formation with a reserve to strengthen the weakest point. Chaka also substituted the stabbing-assegai for the throwing-assegai, which had been the typical weapon in this part of Africa, and increased the size of the shield so as more completely to protect the body. Military kraals were formed in which the soldiers lived apart from the rest of the community, and young warriors were forbidden to marry until they had distinguished themselves. "The world has probably never seen men trained to

¹ J. Y. Gibson, *The Story of the Zulus* (2d ed., London, 1911), pp. 11 ff.

more perfect obedience. The army—consisting of from forty to fifty thousand soldiers—became a vast machine, entirely under command of its head. There was no questioning, no delay, when an order was issued, for to presume upon either was to court instant death. Most extraordinary tasks were occasionally required of a regiment to prove its efficiency in this respect. At a review an order would be sometimes given which meant death to hundreds, and the jealousy between the regiments was so great that if one hesitated for a moment the others were ready to cut it down.”¹

As might be supposed, Chaka’s armies were irresistible. During the two years following his accession, he is said to have deprived two hundred communities of their independence and to have brought half a million people under his sway. By 1820 he had become master of Zululand and Natal, while the terror of the Zulu name was carried far and wide into the interior of the continent. Chaka died in 1828, but other Zulu leaders followed in his footsteps, so that the original state of autonomy of the Bantu tribes was replaced by kingdoms over the larger part of South Africa.

The genius of Francis Parkman has made the name of the Ottawa Indian chieftain Pontiac familiar to all readers of American history. Having united most of the tribes northwest of the Ohio River, Pontiac planned a general uprising of the Indians against the British settlements from Fort Pitt to the Straits of Mackinac. Many frontier posts were destroyed, but the failure of the French to co-operate with the Indians and the successful defense of the main points, Fort Pitt and Detroit, compelled Pontiac to relinquish his hope of driving the British from Canada. He made peace in 1765, and four years later was murdered by a Kaskaskia Indian.

Pontiac must have been a man of extraordinary executive ability. He created a regular commissary department based on promissory notes, these being written on birch bark and signed with the otter, the totem of his tribe. It is said that he employed two secretaries to attend to his correspondence and managed to keep each in ignorance of the business transacted by the other. Concerning his personality Parkman writes:

¹ G. McC. Theal, *History of South Africa from 1795 to 1828* (London, 1903), pp. 375 f.

The fact that Pontiac was born the son of a chief would in no degree account for the extent of his power; for, among the Indians, many a chief's son sinks back into insignificance, while the offspring of a common warrior may succeed to his place. Among all the wild tribes of the continent, personal merit is indispensable to gaining or preserving dignity. Courage, resolution, address, and eloquence are sure passports to distinction. With all these Pontiac was pre-eminently endowed, and it was chiefly to them, urged to their highest activity by a vehement ambition, that he owed his greatness. He possessed a commanding energy and force of mind, and in subtlety and craft could match the best of his wily race. But, though capable of acts of magnanimity, he was a thorough savage, with a wider range of intellect than those around him, but sharing all their passions and prejudices, their fierceness and treachery. His faults were the faults of his race; and they cannot eclipse his nobler qualities. His memory is still cherished among the remnants of many Algonquin tribes, and the celebrated Tecumseh adopted him for his model, proving himself no unworthy imitator.¹

Tecumseh, who took up and carried almost to a successful conclusion Pontiac's idea of a great federation of the native American tribes, was doubtless the most remarkable character in Indian history. Even his opponent, General William Henry Harrison, regarded Tecumseh as a genius and declared that were it not for the vicinity of the United States he would perhaps establish an Indian empire rivaling that of Mexico or Peru.²

He hated the whites as the destroyers of his race, but prisoners and the defenseless knew well that they could rely on his honor and humanity and were safe under his protection. When only a boy—for his military career began in childhood—he had witnessed the burning of a prisoner, and the spectacle was so abhorrent to his feelings that by an earnest and eloquent harangue he induced the party to give up the practice forever. In later years his name was accepted by helpless women and children as a guaranty of protection even in the midst of hostile Indians. Of commanding figure, nearly six feet in height and compactly built; of dignified bearing and piercing eye, before whose lightning even a British general quailed; with the fiery eloquence of a Clay and the clear-cut logic of a Webster; abstemious in habit, charitable in thought and action, brave as a lion, but humane and generous withal—in a word, an aboriginal American knight—his life was given to his people, and he fell at last, like his father and his brothers before him, in battle with the destroyers of his nation, the champion of a lost cause and a dying race.³

¹ Francis Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac* (10th ed., Boston, 1884), I, 182 f.

² B. Drake, *Life of Tecumseh* (Cincinnati, 1852), p. 142.

³ James Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1896), Part II, p. 681.

All the biographical sketches which have been quoted agree in stressing the element of personal ability as the essential factor accounting for predominance. Strength of body and strength of will, unusual intelligence, a persuasive tongue, great energy, ambition, and force of character are the personal traits which raise a man above his fellows and constitute the leader. This is not to deny that other grounds for superiority may exist. In some parts of Australia age alone, unless accompanied by mental weakness, is sufficient to insure influence. In the southern Melanesian islands the chiefs seem to be those who rise to the highest rank in the secret societies. There are instances in North America and Africa where the richest man is he who rules his group. And Sir James Frazer has shown, by a vast collection of ethnographic evidence, how frequently among primitive peoples the magician has developed into the chief. To enumerate and illustrate all the methods by which men have secured authority in rude communities would form a valuable contribution to comparative sociology.

A number of primitive peoples have special words denoting the more than natural power which certain persons (and things) may possess, both from known and unknown causes. Of these words the most familiar is *mana*, a term found in the Pacific languages and variously translated as sanctity, good fortune, luck, prestige, and "virtue." The *mana* of a Maori prophet was shown by the truth of his predictions and the efficacy of his incantations. The *mana* of a Maori doctor was evidenced by the recovery of his patients. Uninterrupted success in battle proved the warrior's *mana*, and ability as a ruler likewise demonstrated the *mana* of a chieftain.¹ Similarly, in Melanesia, if a man gains renown as a fighter, "it has not been his natural strength of arm, quickness of eye, or readiness of resource that has won success; he has certainly got the *mana* of a spirit or of some deceased warrior to empower him, conveyed in an amulet of a stone round his neck, or a tuft of leaves in his belt, in a tooth hung upon a finger of his bow hand, or in the form of words with which he brings supernatural assistance to his side."² In some parts of Melanesia the power of chiefs

¹ A Pakeka Maori, *Old New Zealand* (Auckland, 1863), pp. 223 ff.

² R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1891), p. 120.

appears to depend largely on their reputation for *mana*; a chief supposed to be well endowed with *mana* will have a wide influence in his island and even beyond it; the young men flock about him, carry out his orders in peace, and fight for him in war.¹

The equivalents of *mana* outside the Pacific area are numerous, but in the present connection it is necessary only to show how this widespread conception of personal power contributes to the development of leadership. The leader secures respect and obedience, not simply because of his exceptional gifts, but also because he is thought to be endowed with *mana* in a special degree. Furthermore, the man who believes in himself, as we say, or who believes in his *mana*, as the savage would say, for that very reason will be more likely to come to the top than the man who feels less confidence in his own supernatural powers. And so what must be called a superstition has helped to build up the fabric of government in rude communities.

In the light of what we know about the great men of savage society it seems probable that the so-called culture-hero, the creator or discoverer of useful arts and the founder of social institutions, is not always a purely mythical figure. The exceptional person who conferred so many benefits during life may be deified after death, thus becoming the center of a genuine cult. The "high gods" of the Australian natives appear to be simply supernatural headmen, and in many instances doubtless were once living men after the model of Jalina-piramurana. Rivers mentions several Toda deities who are presumably deified men. The most notable instance is that of Kwoten, who raised the clan called Pan to a high position in the community and introduced several innovations in Toda custom. His ring can still be seen, and his spear was in existence not long ago.² Ellis finds four cases of deification among the eastern Ewe-speaking tribes of the African Slave Coast, though no similar examples may be found among the western Ewe tribes or on the Gold Coast. Two out of the four are deified kings, who were very cruel and terrible to their subjects during

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 57 f.; cf. W. H. R. Rivers, *History of Melanesian Society* (Cambridge, 1914), I, 99.

² Rivers, *Todas*, pp. 193 ff., 203, 446.

life, but Kpati and Kpasi, the other two, are worshiped as benefactors. They are local gods of Whydah, and according to tradition were the first men who began the trade which made Whydah the chief port of the west coast of Africa.¹ How mythic elements may attach to any exceptional leader and grow so luxuriantly as to obscure his historic character is further illustrated in the case of Hiawatha, one of the organizers of the Iroquois League and celebrated as a reformer, statesman, legislator, magician, and prophet. Hiawatha probably flourished in the second half of the sixteenth century, but after his death he was reputed to have done things which properly belong to the chief gods of the Iroquois. In this way he became the central figure in a cycle of legends.² Another pertinent instance is that of the first Japanese emperor, who fourteen hundred years after his death received the name of Jimmu tennō (Jimmu, son of heaven). Amaterasu, the sun-goddess, invested him with sword, mirror, and spear, and by divine help he became supreme in Japan. The figure of Jimmu is commonly regarded by Western students as wholly mythical,³ but his work of welding the Japanese tribes into a state was surely not more difficult than the similar task which Chaka so successfully accomplished in South Africa. Writing of an Indian province (Berar), Sir Alfred Lyall declares that any renowned soldier would certainly be worshiped after death if his tomb was well known and accessible. He mentions the canonization of M. Raymond, a French commander who died at Hyderabad, and the better-known case of General Nicholson, who was adored as a hero in his lifetime in spite of his violent persecution of his own devotees.⁴ But it is needless to multiply examples of the apotheosizing tendency of man.

If, as has been suggested, the exceptional personality is perhaps not rarer among so-called primitive folk than among ourselves, it will naturally be asked, Why does he not count for more as a progressive agency? The answer must be sought in the special con-

¹ A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast* (London, 1890), pp. 88 ff.

² J. N. B. Hewitt, in *Handbook of American Indians*, Part I, 546. Cf. W. M. Beauchamp, "Hi-a-wat-ha," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, IV (1891), 295-306.

³ G. W. Knox, *The Development of Religion in Japan* (New York, 1907), pp. 46, 63.

⁴ Lyall, *Asiatic Studies* (2d ed., London, 1884), p. 19.

ditions of savage and barbarian life. In the first place, primitive society lacks *conservative* institutions comparable with our own. The genius may have his vision, he may initiate some important reform, he may even succeed in raising the material, moral, or intellectual level of his community, but too often his work perishes with him, too often his activity has only an ephemeral influence and fails to be perpetuated after his death. A society which depends on oral tradition can transmit few innovations. Not until a mechanical means of tradition, namely, the art of writing, has been perfected is it possible to preserve an adequate Record of the Past.

In the second place, the superstitious fear of the new, which so especially marks the savage, in many cases interposes an almost impassable barrier to the expression of individuality. A missionary, after more than twenty-five years' teaching of the Congo natives (his remarks apply particularly to the Bangala), declares that though they have a wonderful power of imitation they lack inventiveness. This lack is undoubtedly due to deliberate social suppression. For generations it has been customary to accuse of witchcraft anyone who has commenced a new industry or begun a new art. "To know more than others, to be more skillful than others, energetic, more cute in business, more smart in dress, has always caused a charge of witchcraft and death."¹ Or, to take another case, how slowly must the Wanika move forward, among whom "if a man dares to improve the style of his hut, to make a larger doorway than is customary, if he should wear a finer or different style of dress to that of his fellows—he is instantly fined."²

These are instances of what Walter Bagehot called "the persecuting tendency" of savages, and, indeed, of ignorant people in civilized communities. It is the necessary outcome of the idea of collective responsibility, the idea that all may suffer for the guilt of one. Hatred of the nonconformist thus becomes an expression of the sense of group-welfare. The lot of the reformer, in consequence, is often harder among primitive folk than among ourselves; if lowly born, he is promptly clubbed; if a chief and something

¹ J. H. Weeks, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XXXIX (1909), 135.

² Charles New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa* (London, 1874), p. 110.

happens to him, either by disease or by accident, men see in his fate the righteous punishment of impiety and a warning against any departure from the good old ancestral ways. The rationalistic Finau, who had often confided to Mariner his doubts that there were such beings as the gods—men were fools, he said, to believe what the priests told them—was stricken with a mortal sickness at the very moment when he had given orders for the execution of a priest who had offended him. “‘No wonder!’ (for such was the general exclamation) ‘no wonder that he died! a chief with such dreadful intentions!’”¹ One of our American anthropologists mentions the interesting case of a Kiowa Indian, a noted warrior and medicine-man, who in 1853 at the sun-dance deliberately broke one of the ancient ordinances relating to that ceremony. He was soon afterward thrown from his horse and killed. The Indians naturally regarded his fate as the speedy punishment for sacrilege.² When one considers the obstacles before them, the work of Pomare II at Tahiti and Kamehameha II at Hawaii in abolishing the oppressive taboo systems of those islands must be included among the most shining examples of individual initiative ever recorded.³ What they did, within recent times, has doubtless been often done in many more obscure situations by those unknown lawgivers, prophets, and teachers who abridged, modified, or even suppressed traditional customs which had come to retard the onward march of humanity.

¹ Martin-Mariner, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

² James Mooney, “Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians,” *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1898), Part I, p. 296.

³ See the accounts in Ellis, *op. cit.*, II, 93 f.; IV, 126 ff.

PRIMITIVE SOCIAL ASCENDANCY VIEWED AS AN AGENT OF SELECTION IN SOCIETY

F. STUART CHAPIN
Smith College

The collective regulation of the individual extends to a greater range of thought and action in primitive society than with us. The struggle for existence is far more severe, for famine, pestilence, drought, wild beasts, and ferocious enemies are an ever-present menace. Moreover, men are so ignorant of the causes of these phenomena that they are loath to run the risk of new ways of meeting old needs when use and wont have demonstrated the security of established modes of action. Hence society cannot afford to take the risk of innovation, and the pressure of ancient belief, of immemorial custom, and of mechanical ceremony is harsh and arbitrary. Primitive social ascendancy is impatient of individual idiosyncrasy and manifests itself in those cruder forms of social control which coerce and constrain from without. The subtle and refined instruments of social order, such as enlightenment and personal ideals, are less important than tribal law, social custom, magical ceremony, and belief in the supernatural.

While this general fact has been recognized by modern sociologists, its consequences have not always been clearly perceived. Durkheim, Gumpłowicz, Sumner, Ross, and other writers have emphasized the phenomenon of social ascendancy. They have clarified our knowledge of the subject by the scope of their descriptive treatment as well as by the penetration of their analysis. Yet these authors make only scattered references to selection caused by the pressure of social ascendancy. This paper, therefore, treats of primitive social ascendancy viewed as an agent of selection in society, and seeks to distinguish the different types of social adaptation resulting from the selective processes at work in collective life.

Primitive social ascendancy has been treated so carefully in Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, Frazer's *Totemism and Exogamy*, Sumner's *Folkways*, and Webster's *Primitive Secret Societies*, that a brief paper of this sort can add little to the descriptive knowledge of the subject. It is possible, however, to choose examples of the functional aspect of primitive social control that shed considerable light upon the selective processes at work. A brief survey of the selective results of constraint and coercion produced by belief in the supernatural, belief in magic, conformation of behavior to restrictive taboo and to kinship regulations will therefore be useful.

Mrs. Elsie Clews Parsons¹ has assembled some interesting material showing how belief in the supernatural is a very potent means of preserving the primitive social order. The "bogy-man" who carries off naughty children, who eats and kills unmanageable juniors, is appealed to by primitive parents to keep the children where they belong and out of the way of adults. The owl will come and take away noisy children of the Thompson River, Kootenay, and Sioux Indians.² Caffre children are threatened with the Nomgogwana monster.³ The Gineet-Gineet of the Euahlayi tribe of New South Wales is alert to catch bad children in his net.⁴

In initiation ceremonies the social hold upon the novice is strengthened by taboo. Boys and girls of the Lower Murry tribes in Australia are told that to eat emu, wild duck, swans, geese, black duck, or the eggs of any of these birds will cause their hair to become prematurely gray and their muscles to shrink.⁵ If a Urabunna initiate should allow a woman to see one of the secret sticks, he and his mother and sisters would drop dead.⁶

Those who commit incest among the Omeo tribe of Victoria are beaten by the "jidjigongs" or snakes. Anyone who married into

¹ "Links between Religion and Morality in Early Culture," *Amer. Anthropol.*, XVII, No. 1, pp. 41-57.

² J. Teit, "The Thompson River Indians," *Mem. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, II, 108.

³ D. Kidd, *Savage Children* (London, 1906), pp. 96-97.

⁴ K. L. Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe* (London, 1905), p. 137.

⁵ P. Beveridge, *Jour. and Proc. Roy. Soc., New So. Wales*, XVII (1883), 27.

⁶ B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (London and New York, 1904), p. 498.

prohibited subclasses of the Queensland savages would die because his behavior was offensive to Kohin, an earth-roaming spirit of the Milky Way.¹ The islanders of the Malay Archipelago believe that sickness will follow the eating of stolen food from tabooed fields.² Batak thieves are cursed by the magic of the great priest of Baglige.³ Iconoclasts among the Dakota, Ainu, and in the Malay Archipelago will be punished by supernatural powers.⁴

Australian blackfellows are educated from their infancy to believe that departure from the customs of the tribe will inevitably be followed by such evils as becoming prematurely gray, being afflicted with ophthalmia, skin eruptions, or sickness, and death from evil magic.⁵ African Bakalai believe that if a man should eat his totem the women of his clan would miscarry and give birth to animals of the totem kind, or die of some awful disease.⁶ If a man of the Elk clan of the Omahas ate of any part of the male elk, he would break out in boils and white spots on different parts of his body.⁷ Among the Samoans the man who ate a turtle would grow very ill, and the turtle within him would say, "He ate me; I am killing him."⁸ Members of the secret society of the Hohewachi, fixing their minds on an offender against Omaha tribal custom, thrust him from all helpful relations with man and animals, so that he suffers misfortune or death.⁹ And so it goes, belief in the supernatural being invoked to terrify children into obedience to parents, adults into conformity to custom, and all offenders into submission to society. In this way a selected and approved conduct is obtained and the social order preserved without violence.

¹ A. W. Howitt, *The Natives of South-East Australia* (London and New York, 1904), p. 498.

² M. Bartels, *Die Medicin der Naturvölker* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 29.

³ J. von Brenner, *Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras* (Würzburg, 1894), p. 226.

⁴ M. Eastman, *Dacotah* (New York, 1849), p. 87; H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, II (Philadelphia, 1851-57), 195-96; J. Bachelor, *The Ainu and Their Folk-Lore* (London, 1901), pp. 58, 177-78.

⁵ E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, I (1866), 52.

⁶ Du Chaillier, *Equatorial Africa*, p. 309.

⁷ *Third Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 225.

⁸ Turner, *Somoa*, p. 50.

⁹ *Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 497.

But since the punishments promised by belief are not always immediate and the social order must be preserved, the group supplements control by this means with rougher methods. Seri marriage customs are enforced on pain of ostracism and outlawry.¹ An Omaha brave, well on toward the high rank of chief, yielded to temptation and went upon an unauthorized war party without first performing the ceremonies that alone could give the enterprise the sanction of the tribe. Although he was successful, he was punished by debasement for breaking tribal custom.² Deliberate murder among the Omahas is punished by banishment for four years of solitary life outside the village, communicating with no one.³

A serious breach of tribal custom among the Wyandot is punished by outlawry declared after formal trial before the tribal council. Should the offender continue in the commission of the wrong act, it is lawful for any person to kill him on sight, and sometimes it becomes the duty of all men to kill him.⁴ The Kamilaroi drive out of the company of his friends a man who persists in keeping as his wife a woman of a subclass with which his subclass must not marry. When this does not induce him to leave the woman, his male kindred follow him and kill him, and the female kindred kill her.⁵

One who makes light of the authority of the chiefs or of the sacred packs of the Omaha is considered a disturber of the peace, and by order of the tribe is killed by being wounded with the poisoned end of a staff.⁶ Among the Tlingit, when a murderer is not high caste enough to make up for the dead man, a council of the people of the victim gather before the house of a man of equal caste and call him out to be killed.⁷ A murderer or his nearest kin is killed by the Iowa.⁸ The natives of Southeast Australia ordinarily kill young men who transgress the marriage class rules. The

¹ *Seventeenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 283.

² *Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 405.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁴ *First Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, pp. 67-68.

⁵ Howitt, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

⁶ *Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 213.

⁷ *Twenty-sixth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 449.

⁸ *Fifteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 239.

Karamundi and Barkinji kill men who break the totem marriage rules. The Yaitma-thang and Wolgal tribes usually punish infringements of this sort by death. Among the Tongarankas the whole tribe take a hand in the killing of an offender against marriage laws or class rules.¹

Adultery is a particularly heinous offense against marriage customs, and among many primitive peoples is punished by death. It is regarded as a grave transgression because the wife is ordinarily considered to be the property of her husband.² In Melanesia adultery is regarded as an offense against society. The man who commits it is led before the chief, judged by the council of elders, and executed on the spot.³ In Africa, at Bornon, the guilty ones are bound hand and foot, and their heads smashed by being struck together.⁴ In Uganda King M'tesa caused adulterers to be dismembered, having one limb at a time cut off and thrown to the vultures, who feasted on it before the eyes of the sufferers.⁵ The reindeer Koriaks, of the Eskimo, kill at once a man and woman taken in adultery.⁶ The Pipiles of Salvador punish the delinquents with death.⁷ In Yucatan the guilty ones were stoned or pierced with arrows and impaled or disjointed.⁸ Ancient Mexicans generally punished the offense with stoning.⁹

Several Australian tribes punish by death penalty those who reveal tribal secrets. The Gommera order the killing of any man who reveals the bull roarer to a woman, or any of the secrets of the Bunan or the Kuringal. The council of Headmen of the Kamilaroi tribes may decree the death of men whose conduct is irregular.¹⁰ The Kamilaroi tribe of the Gwydii River kill a man who has spoken to or has had any communication with his wife's mother.¹¹ The

¹ Howitt, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

² Letourneau, *The Evolution of Marriage and the Family* (London, 1904), pp. 208-27.

³ De Rochas, *Nouvelle Calédonie*, p. 262.

⁴ Denham and Clapperton, *Hist. univ. des Voy.*, T. XXVII, p. 437.

⁵ Speke, *Voyage to the Sources of the Nile*, p. 343.

⁶ Dêmeunier, *Mœurs des différents peuples*, T. I^{er}, p. 219.

⁷ Bancroft, *Native Races*, II, 675.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 674.

⁹ Prescott, *Hist. Conq. of Mexico*, I, 26.

¹⁰ Howitt, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

Chepara kill men who become insane or have the habit of idiotically muttering to themselves because they are considered *Wulle*.¹

Clearly some principle of interpreting this mass of selective phenomena is necessary to throw light upon the type of adaptation secured by social control. An examination of the treatment that sociologists have given to selection in society indicates a state of confusion upon this point. Natural selection is not always distinguished from social selection,² and the terms social selection and societal selection are used interchangeably to designate selective processes that secure quite different forms of adaptation. What some writers call counterselection,³ or misselection,⁴ are really forms of social selection. While it is not wise to try to force formal logic on mobile life-processes which are in a state of flux and forming, it is at least worth the effort to make an attempt at consistent classification.

When a human being gets in the way of ponderous social institutions or aged customs driven by the momentum of antiquity, a social selection takes place; the unlucky individual may be crushed to physical extermination, or simply pushed out of the ways of ordinary social intercourse. In any event a social selection quite different from natural selection occurs, and in the long run the process seems to result in the survival of a race of tractable and conforming individuals.

Considering this phenomenon we find that sociologists have not always distinguished between selection that works on the physical plane and selection that works on the psychic plane. This distinction is very important, for selection on the physical plane involves the extermination of the individual and brings decisive results. The antisocial, the innovators, the non-conformists, and offenders are once for all eliminated. Selection on the psychic plane is milder. It merely modifies conduct and thought. It fails

¹ Howitt, p. 354.

² F. H. Giddings, *Principles of Sociology* (New York, 1909), p. 326; and C. A. Ellwood, *Sociology in Its Psychological Aspects* (New York, 1915), p. 56.

³ A. G. Keller, *Societal Evolution* (New York, 1915), chap. vi.

⁴ E. A. Ross, *Social Control* (New York, 1910), p. 424; and *Foundations of Sociology* (New York, 1905), pp. 328-30, 335-39.

to strike through to racial stock and secure a physical basis for perpetuating its gains.

Let us examine this selective process that works on the physical plane. It manifests itself in various ways. Sometimes it involves the killing of helpless non-producers—the aged and the infants—as in parricide or infanticide. These victims of social power are not offenders against social usage; their only sin is that they stand in the way of group survival. In communities where these practices flourish the struggle for existence is severe and food is scarce, so that this established population policy of the group has received rough confirmation by natural selection working groupwise. In such a case the dominating mode of the social mind is one of formal like-mindedness. Sometimes the selective death-rate is more clearly seen, as when society deliberately destroys the offender against its ways. Again, the impulsive action of a mob crushes the life of an offender. Sometimes conventions of the leisure class and higher standards of comfort delay marriage among certain strains of the population so that they multiply more slowly than the squalid and reckless. Sometimes war reverses the process of survival of the physically fit, who, first chosen by strict military standards, are later slaughtered wholesale by machinery, like so much meat in a grinder, and the weak are left behind to perpetuate the race. Again, a formal and custom-bound religious system, intolerant of independent thought, ruthlessly tortures and kills the rationally intellectual. And thus the human variate is caught and crushed to death in social machinery that other men of other ages have by their collective behavior set in motion, and thus the innovator, the non-conformist, the offender, and, in fact, any who dare originate or advocate a new idea are executed, lynched, stoned, hanged, or burned to death by torture, for the mills of society grind ruthlessly if not consistently fair.

But selection in society is not always of the bloody type that kills, and it often fails to mold the race by establishing a selective birth-rate. Social selection takes place on the psychic plane also. Squatters upon the path of some social institution may be merely thrust aside, while the procession proceeds upon its ponderous way. Innovators and offenders against the customary are simply

constrained or coerced into approved behavior. It is not always necessary to crush the delinquent lifeless in order that his anti-social act or new idea may be eliminated.

The manifestations of social selection upon the psychic plane are manifold. Sometimes the offender is separated from the privileges of association with his fellows by expulsion from society. This process takes the social forms of ostracism and imprisonment, the political forms of banishment, exile, and outlawry, and the ecclesiastical forms of excommunication and interdict. In all these ways the harmful idea and conduct are got rid of by doing away temporarily or permanently with the individual who originates or practices them. Sometimes the method of physical chastisement and corporal punishment are used to coerce delinquents. Finally, direct selection of ideas may proceed with great deliberation, as in formal discussion by a legislative body of the merits of some resolution. Perhaps the highest type of this selective process is seen in those forms of popular legislation known as the initiative, the referendum, and the recall of elected officials, as well as in popular voting under universal suffrage.

Ross¹ in speaking of social selection and Keller² in describing the process of societal selection have called attention to the difference between selection that takes place upon the physical plane and that which takes place upon the psychic plane. Yet even these authors have left the matter somewhat indefinite. I would therefore suggest the following distinctions in an endeavor to attain a sound basis for clear thinking about this important phenomenon of social life. The terminology has been worked out in consideration of the foregoing analysis, in the belief that it may help to correct a confusion in thought that is so clearly indicated by confusion in prevailing terminology.³

When the pressure of social ascendancy or the slow crowding of social conditions, customs, and conventions causes the death of any individual or the termination of his family line, the phenomenon

¹ *Social Control*, pp. 323, 437; *Foundations of Sociology*, pp. 343-48.

² *Societal Evolution*, pp. 71-72, 89.

³ I proposed substantially this terminology for these types of social selection in an article, "The Experimental Method and Sociology," *Scientific Monthly*, February-March, 1917.

is *social selection*. Now this social selection not only takes the form of conscious group action to exterminate offenders or obnoxious persons, but there is also the blind and non-purposive crowding of technique conditions and social institutions which often establishes a selective death-rate or a selective birth-rate. Hence, borrowing a distinction from Keller,¹ we may say that social selection is sometimes rational and sometimes automatic. It is automatic whenever the victim has met his fate from standing in the way of slowly changing custom, or has dashed himself against the impenetrable surface of an ancient institution, or is killed by the impulsive action of a mob. In the latter case the dominating mode of the social mind is what Giddings calls sympathetic like-mindedness; in the former cases it is formal like-mindedness of the people that has set the conditioning limits of social selection. On the other hand, the process becomes rational whenever a non-conformist or an offender is exterminated by the deliberate, thought-out plan of action exemplified in execution that follows formal trial, or in capital punishment after criminal procedure. In all such cases the dominating mode of the social mind is rational like-mindedness. Now in these different forms of social selection it should always be remembered that the objectionable thing which is got rid of is, in general, the misfit idea, act, or habit. The killing of its exponent or promoter is only incidental to the accomplishment of this conscious or dimly perceived end. Thus social selection works upon the raw materials of psychic stuff, although it acts upon a physical plane.

Turning now to that form of selection which works upon a psychic plane, attaining its results by the coercion and constraint of human variates, I would suggest the term *societal selection* for this process. Societal selection, therefore, is the phenomenon of the constraint or exclusion from the group of obstructionists, innovators, non-conformists, or social offenders, or of the ejection from the social mind of an objectionable practice. This process is sometimes automatic and sometimes rational. It is automatic when an offender is ostracized, as Maxim Gorki was shunned by the American public. It is rational when an objectionable person is deliberately excluded from the group for definite and well-understood

¹ *Op. cit.*, chaps. iii, iv, and v.

reasons. Its political forms are seen in exile, banishment, and outlawry. Excommunication and interdict are its ecclesiastical forms. The distinctly social form of rational societal selection is imprisonment of delinquents and especially the individualization of punishment. Here again, as in social selection, the objectionable thing got rid of is, in general, the offensive idea, act, or habit, but in this case the end is accomplished by milder means. Not only is societal selection less harsh, it is also more direct. Misfit ideas are expelled from the social mind in the act of formal voting by any deliberative body of human beings, whether at an election, in legislative assembly, or by the popular initiative, referendum, and the recall of elected officials.

Assuming for the moment that this proposed terminology, which I believe corresponds to real and significant distinctions, meets with your approval, let me conclude with a brief examination of the types of adaptation attained by social as contrasted with societal selection. If we consider social adaptation as such a relationship between human individuals, social groups, or institutions as is favorable to existence and growth,¹ then analysis discloses the following facts.

Social selection working on the physical plane exterminates the antisocial and solves the problem of the social order so that it stays solved. It works on instinct and evolves a human type with inborn social tendencies. But the process is expensive. The criteria of social selection are often set by blind social conditions or accidentally and ignorantly attained. Unequable tax systems and impediments upon the marriage of the intellectual discourage propagation of the best stock. The machinery of social selection is crude. As often as not the innocent man is lynched, and justice frequently miscarries. There is no racial gain from the vicarious death penalty. Among the Tlingit Indians when a murderer is not high caste enough to atone for the dead man, an innocent man of the same caste who belongs to the kin of the offender is killed.² Social selection is unduly harsh in case of minor offenses. The primitive man who revealed tribal secrets or married in violation

¹ L. M. Bristol, *Social Adaptation* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 8.

² *Twenty-sixth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 449.

of his class or totem rules was killed. Even in England it was not until 1832 that the death penalty for sheep, cattle, and horse stealing was abolished.¹ Finally social selection fails to recognize in certain types of psychic variation a higher social usefulness than is apparent on the surface, and so genius and original ability have been ruthlessly crushed out. Galton has shown how the Catholic church brutalized the breed of our forefathers by first condemning gentle natures to celibacy and then making "another sweep of her huge nets, this time fishing in stirring waters, to catch those who were the most fearless, truth-seeking, and intelligent in their modes of thought, and therefore the most suitable parents of a high civilization . . . put a strong check, if not a direct stop, to their progeny."²

Social selection is also slow in attaining its adaptation. It takes ages of bloodshed accompanied by sanguinary waste to secure the tame and tractable type. Moreover, when its work is done and the race has been purged of antisocial strains, it is adaptation to past conditions that is achieved. In the meantime a new social order has, like as not, arisen and sweeping changes in the criteria of selection have appeared. In short, "We must not," as Ross says, "overlook the fact that selection adapts men to yesterday's conditions, not to today's."³ Humanitarians have always perceived the cruelty, inefficiency, and waste of social selection and have striven to hasten the evolutionary tendency away from social selection to a milder form of the weeding-out process. The historical trend toward gentler penalties for offensive conduct is known to all. Let us consider, therefore, the type of adaptation achieved by selection that works on the psychic plane.

Societal selection attains its adaptation by coercing and restraining the offender and modifies his conduct or ideas while living. It works on habit, weeding out the misfit act, and achieves a superficial surface adaptation that may not endure without the restraining pressure of social ascendancy. Spin loose the binding-screw of the social presses, custom and convention, and primitive human

¹ J. F. Stephen, *History of the Criminal Law of England*, I (London, 1883), 474-75.

² *Hereditary Genius* (New York, 1892), pp. 343-44.

³ *Social Control*, p. 9.

nature flares out in savage impulse. Robert Owen thought that he could establish an ideal community by doing away with the existing institutions of marriage, private property, and religion, yet the disastrous failure of this New Harmony experiment seemed to prove the instability of man's social nature without these balance wheels of social order.¹

Adaptation attained by societal selection has the merit of being cheap. It is not wasteful of human life and spills no blood. Yet the conformity of the browbeaten innovator who secretly muses upon his grievance is far from wholesome. It is superficial adaptation often purchased at loss of self-respect. The wastes of societal selection are in no track of blood, but in a trail of broken spirits and festering hypocrisy. Happily the increasing rationalization of societal selection has discovered a refined instrument of social order in the form of individualization of punishment. By this device the pressure of social ascendancy may be delicately adjusted, and conformity may be secured without danger of undermining the self-resource and self-respect of an offender. The direct selection of ideas has been made more efficient by such devices as parliamentary rules of procedure, and by the machinery of the popular initiative and referendum.

Besides being cheap, another merit of societal selection is that it secures quick results—adaptation is relatively immediate. The young of one generation after another are readily molded to type. For this reason, when adaptation is at last attained it is more nearly adaptation to contemporary conditions than can ever be the case with adaptation produced by social selection. In short, the adaptation lag is less than that which follows social selection. But even the rational form of societal selection is at best only a hit-or-miss effort to solve the problems of the social order. It must always remain largely the method of trial and error practiced collectively and necessarily accompanied by considerable waste. Viewed in evolutionary perspective its lasting achievements are only those which natural selection working groupwise has had time to confirm. McGee² describes a curious case in which the Seri

¹ Chapin, *op. cit.*; also "Moral Progress," *Popular Science Monthly*, May, 1915.

² *Seventeenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part I, p. 203.

taboo against the killing of smaller rodents has permitted their multiplication in such numbers that hundreds of square miles of territory round about Seriland have been honeycombed with their burrows. "A special consequence of the tabu is found in the fact that the myriad squirrel tunnels have rendered much of the territory impassable for horses and nearly so for pedestrians, and have thereby served to repel invaders and enable the jealous tribesmen to protect their principality against the hated alien." In such cases of confirmation by natural selection, reason is only subsequently applied to justify.

Keller¹ has made good the point that rational societal selection is most active and successful in the realm of maintenance mores. "The nearer the mores come to the struggle for existence, the more nearly they concern self-maintenance," says Keller, "the more vivid is the demonstration of their expediency and in expediency."² In other words, the adequacy of means to ends is most striking in maintenance mores. Hence rational societal selections that have taken place in subsistence activities are subjected to the searching test of expediency, and it is these adaptations that natural selection working groupwise is quickest to confirm.

Science makes rational societal selection coincide with the limitations set by nature's laws. Health ordinances based upon sanitary science favor the survival of communities practicing them. Thus rational societal selection, when really effective, becomes impersonal, like an elemental force of nature, because natural selection working groupwise confirms its adaptations. This is why man has progressed so far in manual and industrial arts and in engineering and has been so slow to develop social science. In the former field natural selection is quick to note survival value and to ratify or reject; in the latter field there is no such decisive test.

But although the process of societal selection attains adaptation at less cost and time, its results do not "stay put." Its adaptations, unless confirmed by natural selection working groupwise, depend upon the continuing pressure of social ascendancy. Remove the pressure and the social order disintegrates. Russian society becomes chaotic as soon as the firm grip of its ancient ruling

¹ *Societal Evolution*, pp. 130-32.

² *Ibid.*, p. 132.

order is relaxed. Utopian communities have ever failed to preserve tranquillity once the restraining bonds of custom and convention are loosened. In revolutions, wars, and riots primitive human nature bursts through the thin veneer of civilization.

If, in conclusion, we agree that there has been a well-defined historical tendency away from harsh social selection toward mild societal selection, we are obliged to admit that the bulk of social adaptation is no longer capitalized in instinct and race traits, but is taken out in adjustments on the slippery ground of habit and custom. Biologically speaking, social adaptation is in modification, not in congenital variation. If it is true that the modern social order develops no new social instincts, only new habits, then the wild orgy of counterselection we are indulging in throughout Europe should arouse us to the imperative need of more rational social selection. Although we stand committed against a return to the selective death-rate, we may yet consistently favor a selective birth-rate guided by the principles of the new science of eugenics. But, granted that we establish rational social selection in the form of the selective birth-rate of eugenics and mold a new race, how do we know that future conditions will suit this race? It may be said in answer that it is not a question of the future, but of the present. Natural and social selection have been restricted for so many centuries that man's present equipment in instinct (notably in the pugnacious, self-assertive, and acquisitive instincts) is adapted to conditions of long ago. There is need that the gap be reduced and that our equipment in instinct be caught up to modern requirements and responsibilities. This is all that rational social selection working in the form of a eugenic selective birth-rate proposes to do—to work out a better adaptation to contemporary conditions.

SURVIVAL OF PRIMITIVE CONTROLS IN FRONTIER OR RETARDED COMMUNITIES

JAMES ELBERT CUTLER
Western Reserve University

It was with some degree of mental reservation that I accepted the invitation to prepare this paper. My work in recent years has been such as to make it impossible for me to continue my interest in the study of the life of primitive peoples. I assumed, however, that I was asked to discuss this topic because of the special study that I made a few years ago of the practice of lynching in this country, and, further, I assumed that with this as my background possibly I have a point of view which is not generally held and which if properly set forth may lead to profitable discussion. I have ventured, therefore, to interpret the subject of this paper as in part raising the question whether there is evidence of the survival of primitive controls in connection with the practice of lynching in the United States.

At the beginning of a discussion of this question one must recognize that it involves an assumption which is not in all respects valid. Lynching as practiced in the United States is not confined exclusively to frontier and backward communities. Perhaps one may be permitted to say, for purposes of generalization, that it is practiced *chiefly* in such communities, but even that statement is really misleading to anyone unfamiliar with the history of the practice. No considerable section of the country has been entirely free from lynchings. To say nothing of any more remote period, we find that in very recent years lynchings have occurred in places such as Wilmington, Delaware; Springfield, Ohio; Springfield, Missouri; Springfield, Illinois; Danville, Illinois; Newark, Ohio; Atlanta, Georgia; Butte, Montana. These are instances selected mainly because of the amount of space they received in the daily newspapers, the details of which are

therefore still fresh in our memory. One cannot accurately describe any of these places today as frontier communities; nor can one say that they are backward and retarded—unless he wishes to undertake to indict the American people and to put himself in a position where he must defend the proposition that the typical American community is an example of backwardness and retardation in civilization.

We must bear in mind, too, that the practice of lynching is a phenomenon which peculiarly distinguishes American society and which sharply differentiates it from all other societies. The practice whereby groups of private citizens, on their own initiative, capture individuals suspected of what is regarded as a heinous offense, or take such persons from the officers of the law, and administer corporal punishment or execute them without any process at law, or break open jails and hang convicted criminals, *with almost complete impunity*, is not found in other societies of either high or low degree of civilization. For more than a century—indeed, from as far back as the very beginning of the American Revolutionary War—the procedure known as lynching has, from time to time, been adopted in the United States for the punishment of persons believed to be guilty of offenses for which there was, at the time, either assumed or alleged to be no adequate legal penalty. Riots and mob executions take place occasionally among other peoples on the face of the earth, but there is no such frequent administration of what may be termed popular justice which can properly be compared with lynch-law procedure in the United States. The frequency and impunity of lynchings must be regarded as forming an essential element in any adequate definition of American society.

The practice of lynching is clearly a form of social control. I would not, however, classify it as an effective form; its general effectiveness is open to serious question, I think. It is certainly very generally effective if viewed from the standpoint of the victim of the lynching; but I have not been able to verify its alleged wholesome effect upon wrongdoers in communities where lynchings have occurred, nor does it seem to promote greater orderliness and to contribute to an established conformity in

social relations. It is an unstable form of social control; it has its basis in an unusual stress and its culmination in a crisis; it is resorted to when there are plausible reasons for saying that it is made necessary by the exigency of circumstances. As a form of social control it is also open to the serious objection that it is easily copied and made to contribute to nefarious purposes. The wrongdoers, those who are expected to feel its restraint, may quickly adopt it themselves and use it quite as effectively as anyone else. Even in frontier communities it is a form of social control that is only temporarily effective.

I find no evidence that the practice of lynching is in itself a survival of some primitive kind of social control. It seems to me to be essentially different from anything that we find in the life of primitive communities. Primitive men practiced far more effective forms of social control than lynch-law procedure. Our vigilance societies in western frontier communities and the primitive secret societies have in common the element of secrecy, but a description of these two types of social organization would proceed from that point by contrast rather than by comparison. The blood feuds among our Southern Highlanders are probably the best example to be found in this country of the survival of primitive controls in retarded communities. These blood feuds, as they have been carried on by successive generations, present some of the characteristic features of tribal societies. They, too, however, show marked contrasts with these societies, while, on the other hand, they possess a measure of instability which makes them readily comparable with lynch-law procedure.

The practice of lynching differs from primitive controls in many important respects. Even where it has been carried on by well-organized groups with a pledge of secrecy as a condition of membership, there is nothing analogous to the puberty institution and there are no initiatory rites imposed and administered by the elders. No basic experience or test by ordeal is exacted of the initiates, on the transmission and perpetuation of which the life of the community is believed to depend. Distinctions based on age do not enter in any determinant way. There are no characteristic grades, or classes, or "degrees," in the membership of

the vigilance societies or of the Ku Klux Klan. Distinctions of this nature proceed no farther than the selection of a few officers—a minimum number—for the purpose of obtaining decisive and effective leadership. Such similarities as we find are illustrations of the essential unity of the human race and of the validity of the assumption that similar reactions will occur among peoples widely separated in time and space, when confronted with conditions that are somewhat similar.

A vigilance society or a Ku Klux Klan lacks essential characteristics of a tribal society. Emphasis is not put upon a blood-tie relationship; the sanction of ancestral ghosts is not invoked; no cult ceremonies are established. The features which in tribal societies secure permanency are totally lacking. Indeed, the members themselves look upon their organizations as largely emergency associations to deal with a temporarily disorganized state of affairs. Secrecy and such simple initiatory ceremonies as they have are not for esoteric purposes; they are for the purpose of promoting mutual understanding and a general knowledge of procedure for the accomplishment of certain ends. The ghost-like costumes adopted by the Ku Klux Klan came out of a knowledge of the Negro mind and were employed for the purpose of terrorizing the Negroes at a time when, during the period of reconstruction after the Civil War, other means of control seemed to be unavailable.

Lynch-law procedure has arisen because of the non-survival of primitive controls and the failure to establish effective substitutes to exercise the same functions. In our frontier communities there were no stable secret societies to exercise a measure of social control, there was nothing akin to a tribal organization, there was no chief, no recognized and responsible leadership. All were newcomers together. The political organization to which these newcomers were accustomed was non-existent, and no form of political control, adapted to the conditions of the frontier, was provided by the federal government. In our retarded communities, if we mean by that term isolated sections having little contact of any sort with the outside world, the situation is not very different. The absence of strong, centralized political con-

trol reaching out to all sections leaves many communities dependent upon such emergency measures as they can devise. Not until these communities succeed in establishing a political or governmental organization which embodies a leadership that commands the respect and confidence of the people do these extra-legal organizations finally dissolve and the practice of lynching come to an end. We are engaged in this country in the greatest experiment in democracy that the world has ever seen. The practice of lynching is one of the by-products of this experiment.

The history of lynchings, in common with practices followed by primitive peoples, offers many illustrations of the operation of the principle of "consciousness of kind." Those who are regarded as belonging to the group, those who show likeness, are not given summary treatment; lynching is applied to those who show unlikeness and who are regarded as more or less outside the group. Numerous lynchings have occurred in which the victims were Indians, Chinese, Italians, Mexicans, or Negroes. The recent lynching of Leo Frank near Atlanta is another case in point. Where a racial difference does not enter, an individual who gains an unsavory reputation in the community differentiates himself into a position of unlikeness and becomes a subject for treatment by summary methods. The lynching of Carl Etherington, a dry detective, at Newark, Ohio, and of Judge W. T. Lawler at Huntsville, Alabama, just after his renomination on a dry ticket following a bitter political fight, are analogous in principle to the treatment given abolitionists in the period preceding the Civil War. The fact that the abolitionists were directing an attack upon private property rights gave them no standing in communities where the slave-owning interests were strong; property interests are also involved in the dry versus wet campaigns. An individual who advocates too much radicalism may also put himself beyond the protection of the consciousness of kind, as witness the lynching of Frank Little, the I.W.W. leader, at Butte, Montana, last August and the summary treatment accorded Herbert Bigelow recently at Cincinnati.

Certain survivals can be noted in the practice of lynching itself when comparison is made between later periods and earlier

periods. The methods used by parties of White Caps in recent years and still more recently by Night Riders in the tobacco-raising districts of Kentucky are clearly survivals from the days of the Ku Klux Klan. There is also an interesting survival, from the time of the vigilance societies in California, in the action taken recently at the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce. In the midst of acute labor troubles in that city, a mass meeting was called, a fund of one million dollars was guaranteed, and the President of the Chamber of Commerce was authorized to appoint a "Law and Order Committee" with full power to spend this money and do whatever was believed necessary to put an end to labor troubles in that city. The people of that community are again resorting to a measure which will permit leadership to function quickly and decisively in matters of community concern. Distrustful of the city government, the courts, and the ordinary forms of social control, a powerful and influential committee of five persons is attempting to focus public opinion on a particular problem, and, in this case, to make business interests and modern commercial relationships work together for what is alleged to be the common welfare.

As I view the matter, it is much more profitable for the sociologist to study frontier life and the conditions in retarded communities from the viewpoint of adaptation than it is to undertake to discover survivals. In a frontier community one finds a growing population living under new conditions. The population is made up of people who have recently come from older, more densely populated communities, and they bring with them into a new environment the traditions, customs, and standards of these older communities. The question of adaptation to the new conditions is more important, more vital, than the question of survival of old practices and methods of social control. The center of sociological interest here is adaptation, not survival. In retarded communities it is the faulty or imperfect adaptation that is of primary sociological importance.

There is no better way to make the study of sociology seem barren and unfruitful than to give undue prominence to the matter of survivals. This is the pitfall which lies in the path of the man

who devotes himself exclusively to the investigation of origins and of primitive societal organizations. When he endeavors to avoid this pitfall and seeks to show the bearing of his data on present-day problems, he faces the additional peril of basing his conclusions on argument by analogy. But the man who totally disregards primitive origins may easily go to an absurd extreme and undertake to set up a normal state of society, an ideal society, a type of societal organization which embodies all that is best, which he believes to be the goal of social progress. Such phenomena as we find in frontier and backward communities offer to him interesting variations or radical departures from a normal state of affairs. The fact is, however, that his norm, his general standards and principles of what constitutes a normal life, exists nowhere except in his own mind.

The study of primitive origins is an indispensable part of the training of a sociologist. It is impossible to obtain perspective in any other way. If he confines his attention exclusively to this field, however, and is interested only in tracing survivals, his work will have about the same vitality and fruitfulness as that of the man who tabulates the use made of a certain Greek verb by men like Thucydides, Herodotus, Plato, and Aristotle. But if he undertakes to analyze societal phenomena from the viewpoint of adaptation, and shows that he does possess a perspective, even the proverbial man in the street will recognize the significance of his work. This is not a question of scientific methods of work; it is a question of using scientific methods to obtain profitable and significant results. An approach from the point of view of adaptation, in the study of social controls in frontier or retarded communities, as well as elsewhere and under other conditions, will yield better results, from the same material and the same amount of diligent effort, than an approach from the point of view of tracing survivals.

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE NORTHERN ALGONKIAN

FRANK G. SPECK
University of Pennsylvania

Investigators have now come generally to accept the fact that among the North American Indians three types of social structure prevail. One forms the type of organization known as the maternal exogamic clan, the other is that of the paternal gens, and the third is the non-totemic non-exogamic type with no exclusive line of descent to warrant its being called either a clan or a gens. Renewed interest has been manifested during the last few years in the interpretation of these social phenomena. The determination of the first two more or less well-known patterns of society was established some time ago by Morgan, whose theoretical and descriptive material has since been extensively used by sociologists. The third type is one of more recent establishment for which Dr. Swanton¹ and Dr. Lowie² have been responsible.

The older authorities (Morgan and McLennan) proposed a theory of evolutionary sequence in which the maternal (clan) grouping was regarded as the historical antecedent of the paternal (gens) organization. This theory for a time came to be accepted among ethnologists and sociologists as the more or less orthodox one, the latest exponent of which appears to be Mr. Hartland.³ The assumption of these writers is, in short, that "the matrilineally organized tribes represented the primitive, at least the earlier, condition from which others had emerged by changing their laws of descent." The matrilineal state of society is usually

¹ J. R. Swanton (A), "The Social Organization of American Tribes," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1905; also (B), "A Reconstruction of the Theory of Social Organization," *Boas Anniversary Volume*, 1906.

² R. H. Lowie, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XX (1914).

³ E. Sidney Hartland, "Matrilineal Kinship and the Question of Its Priority," *Memoirs American Anthropological Association*, Vol. IV, No. 1.

found to be the property of settled peoples whose principal activity is agriculture, while among those whose means of subsistence is hunting and fishing either father-right in some form or the loose undetermined line of descent is usual. This clan-gens hypothesis is confined to a certain extent by the fact that in Africa, Australia, and India the most advanced tribes are among those organized on the father-right or gens basis. In America, however, the social conditions do not lend themselves to the same interpretation, for the most advanced groups, among whom ideas of nationality, government, religion, ritual, and agriculture are most elaborate, conform to the matrilineal pattern. This is the case among the more sedentary cultures represented by the Creek, the Iroquois, and the Pueblo tribes. In America the simpler culture is usually co-ordinate with paternal descent, as is the case among the tribes of the eastern and northern woodland, including most of the Algonkian and Siouan tribes, and to a certain extent those of the plateau area.

Most of the material used in discussion by theoreticians heretofore has come from the more thoroughly known regions where either a definitely maternal or paternal type of organization is known. The defects of Morgan's construction, in particular, may be traced to his limited knowledge of social structure among the non-exogamic tribes, as Swanton puts it, "in the region which confirms the clan theory least."¹

Hartland has been the last to reaffirm allegiance to the old clan-gens theory. Notwithstanding his advantage over predecessors in having at hand more extensive and critical ethnological data and discussions, he emphasizes the shortcomings of his predecessors by building upon them.

One particular feature emphasized by later American investigators is derived from the consideration of data concerning the loosely organized non-exogamic tribes of the North whose social type does not conform either to that of the clan or gens. It is maintained that this group constitutes as much a general type

¹ Cf. Swanton, *op. cit.* (A), p. 664, and A. A. Goldenweiser, "The Social Organization of the Indians of North America," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXVII (1914), 412.

as either of the others, since its characteristics are no less distinct and its variations are no greater than are those of the clan or gentile organizations in their areas. The family organization occurs over a fairly contiguous area (including the subarctic, the northern woodland, the plateau, the northern Californian, and certain tribes of the prairie area). Accordingly, the importance of this type which has been described by Swanton¹ is very great, for in it may reside the elements which characterize the other two more advanced types. Dr. Swanton formulates his opinion very clearly by saying:

My own explanation would be that the social customs of the two classes of totemic tribes are parallel developments from the looser stage represented by the non-totemic tribes, that, favorable conditions having given rise to the totemic complex, certain tribes have developed it along with mother-right and certain other things along with father-right. I am not prepared to deny in some case tribes with a fully developed totemic system have altered their method of reckoning from matrilineal to patrilineal, or the reverse; but the assertion that an entire class has so changed, especially that the change has always been in one direction, from matrilineal to patrilineal, this I say appears to me not borne out by the evidence at hand.²

Hartland adds:³

That the highly organized system of totemic exogamy must have been evolved from a looser stage of some kind is obvious. Whether that looser stage is represented by any of the tribes extant within strictly historical times on the North American continent remains to be proved. When the attempt to prove it is made, it will be time enough to consider the hypothesis.

This challenge brings us directly to the purpose of this paper. Since the looser stage is actually characteristic of certain tribes of North America extant today, it becomes a pressing duty to present some aspects of their social life for discussion. The area of the northern and northeastern woodland has been the habitat of a number of Algonkian divisions, many of whom, in their more important vital activities and beliefs, have remained but little changed from early times. Dr. Swanton⁴ enumerates, among the northern tribes demonstrating the family type, the eastern

¹ Swanton, *op. cit.* (A), p. 669.

³ Hartland, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.

² Swanton, *Anthropos*, IX, 297.

⁴ Swanton, *op. cit.* (A), p. 670.

Athapascans, probably the Cree, and the Algonkian bands east of Hudson Bay. Upon the evidence of investigation in the northern and northeastern region, the results of which have been published only in part, Swanton's inference concerning the Cree may be confirmed.¹ Concerning the whole area, moreover, of the lower St. Lawrence and the Labrador peninsula, including the habitat of the Mistassini, Montagnais, and Naskapi, north of the river, and the Wabanaki tribes (the so-called Abenaki, Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Malecite, and Micmac) southward to the Atlantic, we find the family organization prevailing. The northern Ojibwa, too, are found to conform in part, being organized on a dual social basis, that of the gens and the family band combined. The culture of the northern Algonkian is, on the whole, quite simple, poverty-stricken. Their semi-nomadic life and the climatic severity of their environment have permitted little in the direction of ceremonial, political, or artistic development. Thus far research among these predatory northeastern Algonkian from the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes northward, east of Lake Winnipeg, and eastward through Labrador, northern New England, and the Maritime Provinces to the Atlantic shows that the tribal subdivisions are based, without exception, on the family grouping with patrilineal tendencies. The family group as the social unit comprises the individuals of one family connection, primarily through blood but also through marriage relationship, who hunt together as a herd within the confines of a certain tract of country. This district constitutes a paternally inherited territory retained more or less exclusively by the family by the right of usage. These simple conditions are universal in the area, as has been established by the writer through personal investigation there. Nowhere in this sweep of territory have true clans or gentes been reported, except in two instances: among the Ojibwa as just stated and among the so-called Abenaki, the latter instance resting on the sole authority of Morgan. To

¹ F. G. Speck, (A), "Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley," *Memoir 70, Anthropological Series, No. 8, Geological Survey of Canada* (1915); and (B), "The Family Hunting Band as the Basis of Algonkian Social Organization," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XVII, No. 2 (1915).

account for the occurrence of the exogamous gens among most of the Ojibwa bands will involve an amount of understanding and information which we hardly possess as yet. Even here, however, the family band with its characteristic territorial association is of greater practical importance in native life than the gens.¹ The status of the Abenaki, established by Morgan, however, requires some attention and revision.

In a very short presentation Morgan² gives Abenaki material which by its linguistic form appears to be Penobscot. It would have been very helpful if he had told us, as he has in other places, who his informant was. Since, however, we cannot directly question his source, an internal criticism of his data is all that can be attempted. He notes fourteen gentes for the Abenaki, all of which coincide in name with family band names of the Penobscot, except five,³ on the corrected basis, Morgan's Snake, Caribou, Crane, Porcupine, and Muskrat gentes. On the other hand, we have twelve in the authentic list which are not included in Morgan's (Perch, Otter, Water Nymph, Fisher, Raccoon, Whale, Insect, Toad, Eel, Sculpin, and Lobster and Crab). The list of family names furnished the writer by his informant, Newell Lyon, during a lengthy period of study of the Penobscot, can still to a large extent be verified among the families on Indian Island today. Moreover, Lyon's memory is clear and full on events of forty years ago, at the time (about 1878) when Morgan con-

¹ Speck, *op. cit.* (A) (Timagami), p. 12.

² Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 174, 175.

³ The name of "Spotted Animal" (gens No. 5 of Morgan's list) is given as Ah-lunk-soo. This is Penobscot *alanksu* "wolverine" (*Gulo luscus*). In gens No. 2, given by Morgan as "Wild Cat" (Black), Pis-suh, we recognize *psu'*, the term of "Bay Lynx" (*Felis ruffus*). There is no black wild-cat, so it is hard to account for Morgan's parenthesis unless it be that he was misled by the informant's confusion in an attempt to describe the animal in English. The Penobscot call the Fisher (*Mustela pennanti*, Erleben) the Black Cat. This does occur as a family name in the tribe. Again, Morgan lists as No. 10, Pigeon Hawk, which he gives as K'-che-gagong'-go. In Penobscot pigeon hawk is *awe'los* and *kici'gagago* is raven ("big crow"). Raven is also a family name, but pigeon hawk is not.

Morgan's Abenaki information is, on the whole, so misleading and fragmentary that were it not for his known reputation as an observer it could well be ignored. Without being tested linguistically, evidence of identity furnished by half-educated natives is very unreliable.

sulted his Abenaki interpreter. At this period the family organization was still strong and the territorial hunting system had not entirely decayed. Comparing, then, what we may consider as the more critical list of family names, those given by Lyon, with Morgan's, we are, I believe, justly obliged to correct and amplify the latter's. Morgan says that descent is now in the male line, which is also true of the family group. He says that intermarriage in the gens was anciently prohibited. If his informant meant intermarriage within the family, this, of course, is also true to a certain extent. Morgan finally says "the office of sachem was hereditary in the gens." If we interpret in his favor by choosing to make this mean that the office of leader of the group was hereditary in the family, then this is also true but not exact, because there was only a vague idea of headship in the family. This completes his contribution to our knowledge of the social life of the Wabanaki.

Turning now to the area proper we may reckon with certain prominent qualities of the family organization, some of which are common to all the related tribes while others are apparently local developments. The social characteristics of the northern Ojibwa and Algonquin of the upper Ottawa drainage area north to the Height of Land and west to Lake Nipissing have been described by the writer in one of the papers previously referred to.¹ Here, generalizing from the material, the family organization, numbering about fifteen divisions among the Temiskaming and twelve in the Timagami band, is prominent. The family, consisting of blood kinsmen and kinsfolk by marriage, forms a patronymic group. Individual nicknames occur, but they are not inherited nor formal. Furthermore, one-sixth of those recorded in the latter band are derived from "baby talk." The selection of personal names is arbitrary (Timagami) with the person who bestows the name upon the child, and there is nothing in the character of the name to betray the patronymic group, either that of gens or family. The family name,² however, serves as a desig-

¹ Speck, *op. cit.*, A pp. 3-17.

² The names of individuals are not the property of the family or the gens, as they are in the case of the Iroquois clan. They do not form a totemistic association. To

nation which is used among outsiders, so there are two name identifications aside from that of the gens. The possession of a common hunting district ("my hunting ground," "my land," in the native dialects) is a strong bond of union for the family. The districts are more or less fixed by fairly definite natural boundaries, with whom, of course, the natives are quite familiar to an extent which it is difficult for a stranger to understand. Trespass was formerly strictly resented in this region, sometimes even by homicide. The territories are inherited paternally, though the men often joined their wives' bands. A system of conservation was practiced to maintain the game. Totemic, exogamic gentes to the number of three (Temiskaming) and five (Timagami) occur, there being only one definite association, that of descent. It is interesting in view of the material soon to be presented from the Penobscot to know that there is some evidence here among the Ojibwa that the family patronymics are thought to have been derived from animals most abundant in the districts. In other words, they are suggestive of the "use totem" or "game totem" idea. Examining further in this region, Mr. Waugh,² without stating whether or not the gens is present, furthermore extends the institution westward in Ontario and asserts that he finds the

demonstrate this important negative characteristic the following list of Timagami personal names, in their family and gentile groupings, is submitted.

White Bear family (Loon gens): Daylight, Nice-sky day, Right sun, Everywhere shining sky woman, Nicely combed hair, Clouds always moving, Goes around with daylight woman, Big flower, All over sky woman, Always be bird, Growing ripe, Moving shining sun woman, Nice daylight, Quick coming daylight woman, Rabbit woman, Top of daylight woman.

Hawk family (Rattlesnake gens): Lynx, Blue sky day, Fixed day, Cloud passing well woman, Standing well, Cloud going back and forth woman, There he is, Big girl, Big boy, Staying good cloud.

Standing solidly family (Kingfisher gens): Noise of wind sighing through trees man, Painter man, Little girl, Daylight rising on end woman.

Morgan (*Ancient Society*, p. 169) says, however, that the Shawnee gens had name property; "the name determined the gens of the person."

² Correspondence with the writer, October 5, 1917.

Further, concerning the Ojibwa in this respect, Dr. Lowie has pointed out Kohl, *Kitchi Gami* (London, 1860), p. 421, and Tanner, *Narrative*, etc. (New York, 1830), p. 91; and Da. Boas, A. F. Chamberlain, "Notes on the Missasanga Indians," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. i, p. 155. Cf. also Alexander Henry, *Travels in America* (New York, 1809), in reference to the Algonquin.

same thing true concerning the Ojibwa of Thunder Bay district. Relating to the Ojibwa of Minnesota the writer obtained social and geographical information from a member of the White Earth band.¹ The hunting districts of the present-day White Earth band about White Earth Lake are much restricted on account of crowding attendant upon the coming of the others to their midst.² Twenty-one family proprietors and their terrains were listed by the informant, of which eight were Mille Lacs, four were Otter Tail, and nine Gull Lake immigrants. A scale measurement showed that the partitions included approximately from 8 to 10 square miles each. The term of designation is "my land." The gentile group is also present here, fourteen of the listed proprietors belonging to the Bear gens. The personal names here have no totemic association so far as we can ascertain by analysis of the terms. Many of them, like the more northern Ojibwa already dealt with, had names based on the "day" idea, as Coming cloud, Fine day set, Every day, all of the Bear gens. The territories, we are informed, descend in the male line. In case, however, the owner has no son the wife's family inherit it. If no family is left by the deceased the land goes to his brother's children so that it may remain in the gens and family. Trespass is not regarded seriously.

Again, concerning the Waswanipi Lake band of Cree who are barely touched by my own survey, we have confirmative but somewhat indefinite material on hand on the authority of Mr. H. C. Cooke and Mr. Harry Cartlidge.³ These authorities state that the Waswanipi band comprises about thirty families whose aggregate hunting territory covers some 14,000 square miles. On account of the great size of the general territory, no definite

¹ The informant, William Potter, was dealt with in Washington, 1915, for a short time in company with Dr. Michelson.

² The band of Ojibwa here is a composite group including families from the Mille Lacs and Gull Lake bands who moved there about fifty years ago, and the Otter Tail band came about thirty-eight years ago, according to the informant's estimate.

³ Correspondence of Mr. Cartlidge with Mr. Cooke of the Geological Survey of Canada, Winnipeg, October 11, 1915, submitted, with Dr. Cartlidge's notes and map, to the writer by Dr. Sapir, December 7, 1915.

boundaries appear to exist between the hunting districts of one man and another. Each man keeps his own territory from year to year. At his death it passes to his children. Several cases in point indicate that it is customary for a man to hunt in the company of and on the territory of the father-in-law. We are not told anything further about possible name or taboo associations. The family band seems to be organized on a rather loose basis.

Still farther east as far as the mouth of the Portneuf River (about long. $69^{\circ}20'$) in southern Labrador and north to East Main River (about lat. 52°), the writer has obtained detailed information concerning the family divisions, their inherited hunting territories, and associational facts from the Mistassini Indians, the Lake St. John, Chicoutimi, Tadousac, and Escoumains bands of Montagnais.¹ Still farther eastward to the Moisie River, the family institution, as traced in a preliminary survey (1912), appears to be of the same general texture as that of the adjacent area. So we may summarize the social pattern for this whole Laurentian region as being uniform with the following two illustrations, which may pose as representative of the type.

The Mistassini band of about thirty-one families comprises about 187 individuals.² Totemic associations are entirely absent in this region. The principle of naming is that of the nickname, which is inherited only irregularly from father to son. That is to say, the proprietor's name forms a family surname as long as the direct male line is continued. Some of the Montagnais family names have remained in use for a period of seventy years at least,

¹ A. P. Low, "Report on the Labrador Peninsula," *Geological Survey of Canada* (1896), p. 50, refers to this in definite terms, saying, "Each family is supposed to own a portion of territory, with the exclusive hunting rights to it. The territory is generally divided into three parts, each part being hunted over in successive years, and in this manner the fur-bearing animals are allowed to recuperate, etc."

Father Drouillettes, *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites ed., 1647-48), XXXII, 269, writes of events in the Montagnais country, having the hunting territory divisions in mind, and Father Lalemant, *ibid.*, XXXI (1647), 209, also remarks briefly on the hunting districts.

² By estimate in 1914, Mr. Low, *op. cit.*, p. 70, estimated their number at about twenty-five families (1892-95).

as we know from Hind's explorations.¹ Intermarriages have taken place with one family of Eskimo extraction and one Algonquin. The hunting territories are inherited paternally, though here again it is stated as common for a man to join his wife's family and hunt with her father and brothers.² The terrains, known by the local term "my district," are in this band fairly large and have a special, more or less descriptive, nomenclature generally applying to the river systems. The territories are conserved, though the boundary demarcations are not strict and trespass is not resented. As elsewhere a system of exchanging hunting privileges is present.

The same remarks apply in general to the Montagnais bands of sixty-eight family groups in the region covered by the survey mentioned above, so far investigated. To be specific in one instance, concerning the rules—or rather, lack of rules—of marriage, it may be stated that in the case of the Montagnais of Escoumains comprising eight families and about forty-four souls, there were in two generations five marriages with Canadian women and two with Indian men of other tribes (Cree, Wawenock). The latter were admitted to rights in the family hunting territory by their fathers-in-law.

I hardly need repeat again that no other social divisions are known to the people of the whole Labrador region, a conclusion which has been ascertained by persistent inquiry, nor have any group totemic concepts so far been found.³ One exception, however, in the literature of the region has to be dealt with. This is based upon information furnished by the Jesuit Le Jeune (1634),

¹ H. Y. Hind, *Explorations in the Interior of the Labrador Peninsula* (London, 1863). The author speaks of meeting certain Montagnais and Naskapi hunters, whose names are still extant as family names among both the Mistassini and the Montagnais of the St. Lawrence coast.

² Hartland would presumably seize upon this mere economic development and interpret it as "vestigial" of a former matrilineal system.

³ An interesting "symptom" of association, however, has developed in recent years among the Montagnais. Many of the families have adopted flags of their own selection. These they fly from flagpoles in front of their permanent houses at the Hudson Bay Company posts, upon their return from the annual hunt in the interior.

alleging that the Montagnais formerly had a matrilineal system of inheritance.¹

After speaking of their moral laxity, Le Jeune remarks:

Now, as these people are well aware of this corruption, they prefer to take the children of their sisters as heirs, rather than their own, or than those of their brothers, calling in question the fidelity of their wives, and being unable to doubt that these nephews come from their own blood. Also among the Hurons . . . it is not the child of a Captain but his sister's son who succeeds the father.

It is quite unwarranted to take an isolated citation like the foregoing as valid evidence for the existence of a social grouping. The statement of Le Jeune implies the practice of a form of inheritance of some property the nature of which is not stated.

This account does describe a form of inheritance, but it does not describe a social type. A lone feature of the sort usually found among the characteristics of the exogamic group is not sufficient to establish the presence of such a group. In his very full and accurate report on the Montagnais, Le Jeune does not mention any social groupings. The reader of his words gets a strong impression that if any existed in Le Jeune's time they would have been known and mentioned by him. Hence a natural attitude toward such a situation is to assume that none existed. In the prevailing culture surroundings of the region the Montagnais do represent the loosely determined family band grouping, and since their culture conditions have remained on the same basis, practically a permanent one, it is fair to conclude that the existing social structure is the one proper to them until something else is proved on better grounds.

This matter raises an important and interesting point. In several Algonkian tribes whose social type is that of the patrilineal gens, the inheritance of office by the sister's children rather than by the brother's children or sons has been noted by Morgan, and Hartland has again employed these cases to exhibit as vestiges

¹ *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites ed.), VI, 255. Hartland uses this citation for the support of his theory of matrilineal priority in an otherwise universally loosely organized group of tribes (Hartland, *op. cit.*, p. 38). He regards this testimony as sufficient to classify the Montagnais as definitely matrilineal.

of an older matrilineal type of society now passed over into the patrilineal one.

Basing his arguments on the occurrence of similar peculiarities of inheritance, Morgan¹ thinks that the present paternal system of the Ojibwa has developed through missionary influence from the maternal, as supported by evidence that descent was in the female line with respect to the office of chief.² He (pp. 169-70) infers that a certain laxity in paternal inheritance also tended "to show that at no remote period the descent among the Shawnee was in the female line." He does the same for the Menomini (p. 170). Again he says (p. 167) that the Cree "lost the gentile organization which presumably once existed among them." That several other Algonkian tribes (Delaware, p. 172; Mohegan, p. 174; Munsee, p. 173) do have the maternal descent he regards as due to the survival of an ancient form of descent universal among the Algonkian tribes (p. 172).³

One thing, I believe, is now fairly evident from the consideration of the matter presented in the preceding pages in its bearing upon this point. It is that the inheritance described in the foregoing cases, made so much of by Morgan and Hartland as a vestigial trait, may just as well be viewed as one of the measures commonly resorted to in the area of the family group type. The inheritance of name, the hunting territory privileges, and even some of the associational complexes may pass to individuals through the mother to her sons or through the sister to her children under certain arbitrary conditions among any of the hunting tribes having the loose organization. These conditions are shown farther on (see p. 98). The kinship classification is just as free from restrictive lines as the direction of marriage and the choice of family identity. We seem to find that none of the so-called

¹ Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 166.

² Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 166, quoted by Hartland, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-48. Swanton, *op. cit.* (B), p. 168, ably shows the weakness of Morgan's supposition.

³ Considering the extent to which the eastern Algonkian in general were impregnated by Iroquois culture, the Delaware Munsee and Mohegan (?) might possibly instance one case at least of change from a paternal to a maternal organization, though perhaps such a tentation, in view of Hartland's challenge (Hartland, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 50) had better be expressed only in an undertone as yet.

vestiges of an older matrilineal state, emphasized by the disputants, is strictly inconsistent with the family organization. Other considerations should, of course, speak for reserve in making broad conclusions. From any angle of approach, however, an examination of the kinship terminology of the tribes of the whole region shows no pronounced tendency to maternal or paternal group classifications.

The main point here seems to be that none of the social peculiarities of the area under discussion is strictly irreconcilable with the form structure, such as it is, of the loose family organization. Its fundamentality is not, however, necessarily claimed as proved.

In the Wabanaki area south of the St. Lawrence the patronymic family group is likewise the basis of society. Specific data, however, as to the numbers, naming, and geographical location of the families have only been obtained from the Penobscot and Micmac¹ up to the present time, though indications point to the prospect that similar characteristics will be found among the Malecite² and Passamaquoddy.

The Penobscot were divided into twenty-two families, comprising about four hundred individuals. They were exogamic only in respect to kinship. As noted in the case of the other tribes, there was a general tendency for a man to affiliate himself with his father-in-law's family. I will refer, shortly, in more detail to the usual procedure in marriage selection. The family bands possessed paternally inherited hunting territories which were referred to by the individual as "my river." These were marked by boundary signs, either blazes or birch-bark representations of the animals from which the proprietors derived their names. Resentment against trespass was not noticeably strong. Tacit self-control answered for the prevention of trespass, or the policy of exchanging privileges nullified it. One important

¹ An outline of the material, which has not yet been published in full, was given by the writer in a short paper, "The Family Hunting Bands as the Basis of Algonkian Social Organization," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XVII, No. 2, 1915, and again in part, in "Game Totems among Northeastern Algonkians," *ibid.*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, 1917.

² Since the completion of this paper, the writer, in a short trip to the field, has encountered the expected Malecite facts.

point here, however, is that, with the Penobscot, the families held themselves in a certain association with animals. These animals are those upon which they prey for their subsistence. This peculiar condition, so far as I know, is unique as a group institution in America, although in individual association it is not so uncommon in the northern area, as I have attempted to show in the second paper referred to above. The Penobscot family names in most instances were derived from the animals which gave identity to the hunting districts through their being most numerous in them. The members of the family were known generally by their patronyms. As regards personal nicknames we find that a suggestion of band identity is involved in them. A fairly large percentage of these are derived from "baby talk" terms, others are derived from peculiarities of speech and behavior and from humorous anecdotes concerning the owners. Some are "use" names, nicknames derived from the kind of game hunted. That the Penobscot nicknames sometimes betrayed a certain connection with the ideas characteristic of the animal associated with the family is shown by a few examples.¹ There is, moreover, still another imaginary association between the family and the animal eponym which appears in the idea that the families inherit some physical peculiarities from the animal. The members of the Whale family (Stanislaus) are pointed out as large, portly, and dark persons, those of the Rabbit family (Newell) as small, timid, and weak, those of the Bear family (Mitchell) as orderly and dignified, and so on. Their traits are thought to be traceable not only to descent but to the fact that they "used" them so extensively. A further psychological association exists between the family groups and their animal eponyms in the belief that certain (about thirteen) of them traced their descent indirectly to animal prototypes. This relationship is accounted for in a myth relating how the culture hero released the world waters from the belly of a monster frog which had held them back in his belly. After slaying him the culture hero frees

¹ One of the nicknames in the Sturgeon family (Sockalexix) was "Long mouth," in the Insect family (Newell) "Little spirit," "Little witch," in the Eel family (Nep-tune), "Fond of women."

the waters so that they flow again, forming the river systems of the Penobscot country, whereupon some of the people who had been dying of thirst became transformed into marine creatures as a result of overindulgence in quenching their thirst. The others who restrained themselves escaped transformation, to become the ancestors of the human families, assuming, however, the names and to a certain extent the identity of the particular animal into which their nearest relatives were transformed. Totemistic characteristics seem not to be wanting altogether in the case of the Penobscot. What interests us more at this time is the structure of their society as regards possible marriage relations. From the examination of notes on the principles of marriage selection among the Penobscot and throughout the whole northeastern region, as well as upon the deductions from marriage statistics in several bands (Montagnais and Penobscot), a summary of the procedure may be stated, I believe, with some degree of correctness. There are no formulated regulations of marriage between members of different families or bands. The only concern in forming marriage connections is that of blood kinship, the unions of first cousins as well as half-brothers and half-sisters being generally and strictly avoided. This arises from the fact that they are classified as potential brothers and sisters¹ through the operation of the levirate, which is an important social factor in this region.²

It is claimed by informants in general, in this as well as in the whole region under discussion, that intermarriages between the family groups were not regulated by any proscriptions. The claim, however, rests on actual practice dating back as far as the older people can remember and upon the tradition of practice. It devolves upon us to test the claim by examining the marriage statistical data from the several tribes where lists of marriage

¹ From this attitude has developed a taboo of social intercourse concerning the behavior of brother and sister. It is improper to indulge in joking and familiarity in the presence of one's sister, a restriction explained by the Penobscot as being a measure to prevent incestuous tendencies.

² This topic suggested by Dr. Sapir is discussed in a paper by the writer on "Kinship Terms and the Family Band among the Northeastern Algonkian," to appear in the forthcoming number of the *American Anthropologist*.

unions have been completed. The result of the test shows a corroboration of the general statement, for no restrictions of family intermarriage are observable in the recorded marriages among the Penobscot and the Montagnais, and none, except as concerns the gens regulations, appear to control marriage among the family units of the Ojibwa of New Ontario. To present one concrete case, a census of Penobscot marriages through four generations (in the case of some families going back from seventy to eighty years) shows that practically all the family groups have intermarried. During the same period, it is interesting to learn, there have been at least twenty-seven intermarriages with Passamaquoddy, fourteen with Malecite, fourteen with whites, five with Micmac, four with St. Francis Abenaki, and one with Iroquois (Lake of Two Mountains). This condition corresponds exactly with a type of organization in which there are exogamic moieties or phratries subdivided into gentes, the phratries being the gentes and the subdivisions the families.

Expedience governs the selection of residence of the son-in-law and daughter-in-law. The whole concern depends upon the number of sons and daughters in the family group, the conditions of physical ability of its members, whether the father is living, and the circumstances of the uncles, the conditions of the game *ás* respects abundance, migration, and the like, the conditions of the hunting districts as respects fire, flood, or economic exhaustion, upon temporary climatic conditions, and even upon personal circumstances. The usual method of social procedure subsequent to marriage, however, appears to be capable of generalization. If there is one son he inherits his father's territory and remains on it after his marriage. The same takes place if the territorial proprietor has one daughter, provided the district is abundant in game. If there are many sons the oldest becomes the leader, as the father grows older, and inherits it when he dies, the other brothers and sisters remaining on it with him according to the size and economic quality of the tract. This, I may say, seems to be the ideal family grouping where a large family band can maintain itself in comfort on one inherited plot. Ordinarily, however, in the inhospitable north country such ideals are futile

and we find the most common practice to be for the other sons to join the family band of their fathers-in-law and raise their families as members of the wife's band. The privilege of return to the father's or mother's family is open to the second and third generation, should they be menaced by famine, orphanage, or destitution. This feature of the individual's association with the wife's family has been noted frequently in the north and elsewhere. It is not necessarily a manifestation of an earlier maternal stage of society, as may readily be understood by one whose knowledge of actual affairs in the primitive community is as great as his devotion to the harmonies of a sociological theory.¹

Finally we have at hand the case of the Micmac, whose social structure is much like that of the Montagnais in simplicity.² The consanguineous family was, and to a certain extent still is, the basic factor in their organization. No marriage regulations are known to have been in force outside of the usual kinship restrictions. Even in several rather detailed accounts of the customs of these natives, written in the latter part of the seventeenth century by Denys and Le Clercq, this is confirmed. No totemic features in connection with naming, animal associations, or taboo have been learned of in connection with the family bands. The hunting territory feature, however, is present. The paternally inherited tract is known as "my hunting area." Its bounds are not strictly defined nor is trespass a matter of much concern.

Several interpretative problems are involved in the study of the family institution. One, for instance, is the question of the levirate as a factor in the development of kinship system characteristics in this region. For America, Lowie has established the probability that, in the terms of relationship, pronounced classification (the merging of lineal and collateral relatives) is largely coextensive with the exogamous practice.³ Sapir, also emphasize-

¹ Cf. Hartland (*op. cit.*, pp. 28-35). Swanton (*Social Organization of American Tribes*, p. 668) more logically assigns the foregoing characteristics to the type of organization, which he defines as neither clan nor gentile.

² A manuscript by the writer, "Hunting Territories of the Micmac Indians," is in the hands of the Anthropological Division of the Geological Survey of Canada.

³ R. H. Lowie, "Exogamy and the Classificatory Systems of Relationship," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XVII, No. 2 (1915).

ing the importance of sociological factors, has proposed the levirate as a contributing factor.¹ The operation of both these factors is illustrated by phenomena in the northeast, as the writer has attempted to show in another paper.² The game-totem idea,³ so characteristic of this area, has likewise been briefly introduced in a previous paper, but its importance and its latent possibilities as a field of discussion are shown by the fact that it also occurs in Africa and Australia.⁴ The economic side of the institution presents a fruitful prospect, because the occurrence of "use" rites based on the pre-emption of territory is by no means restricted to this group of tribes.⁵ And the same is true of primitive

¹ E. Sapir, "Terms of Relationship and the Levirate," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3 (1916).

² See footnote 2, p. 96.

³ Speck, *Game Totems* (see footnote 1, p. 94).

⁴ One area illustrating this is among the Makua, Wayao, and Makonde of East Africa. They include certain clans, Bee, Locust, Bamboo, Mussel, Manioc, whose names are derived from the animal or plant utilized by their ancestors. Cf. Karl Weule, *Native Life in East Africa* (translated by A. Werner, New York, 1909), pp. 310-13. Again it is stated of the Euahlayi tribe of Australia that there is no taboo against freely killing or eating the totem animal. Cf. K. L. Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe* (London, 1905), p. 21, quoted by Goldenweiser, "Totemism, an Analytical Study," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, LXXXVIII (1910), 257.

⁵ Since the appearance of the paper previously referred to in the footnote on page 85, reference (B), the writer has had his attention called by Dr. Lowie, Dr. G. B. Grinnell, and Dr. E. W. Hawkes to several references extending the area where the territorial institution occurs. Cf. A. P. Niblack, *The Coast Indians of Southern Alaska and Northern British Columbia* (Washington, 1890), p. 298: "The whole of the territory of the Northwest Coast, adjacent to the Indian villages, is portioned out amongst the different families or households as hunting, fishing and berrying grounds, and handed down from generation to generation and recognized as personal property." Cf. also Krause, *Die Tlinkit Indianer* (Jena, 1885), p. 167. Mr. Louis Shotridge has also orally confirmed the matter as respects the Tlinkit. Cf. also E. W. Nelson, "The Eskimo about Behring Strait," *Eighteenth Annual Report*, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1896-97, p. 307; and concerning Aleut hunting rights cf. Petrof, *Report on Population and Resources of Alaska*, 1880 (quoting Veniaminof), p. 247. Also G. B. Grinnell, *Publications of the Harriman Alaska Expedition*, Vol. I (New York, 1910), speaks of paternally inherited family hunting and fishing districts. Dr. Grinnell cites a Chippewyan reference, Simpson, *Narrative of the Discoveries of the North Coast of America* (London, 1848), p. 75: "It is not perhaps generally known that in some parts of the Indian Territory the hunting grounds descend by inheritance among the natives, and that this right of property is rigidly enforced." Similar local rights in respect to game occur in certain Polynesian and South American areas.

practices intended to conserve the natural economic resources of habitat.

Thus the Algonkian tribes of the northern woodland of North America who depend for their subsistence entirely upon hunting and fishing are somewhat like the Eskimo, who are forced to move from one place to another for a living. Among both the climatic severity of their habitat, causing them great economic difficulties, has necessitated their formation into small biological groups of individuals related by blood or marriage under the direction of some able-bodied elderly leader, a family head. These groups or "camps" change their location according to the condition of the game supply. Consistent with these conditions, which are typical of both groups mentioned, we find that no complexities of social life, no artificial totemic groupings, no group regulations of marriage, no group ceremonies, have been evolved. Here, in short, the individual as such is more in the ascendent than among most other culture groups in America where society is complex in proportion to economic facilities. Especially is this apparent in the case of tribes pursuing agriculture intensively, contrasted with those in a hunting stage. Surveying the field in America, those regions where agriculture is dominant are socially and politically more elaborate, the maternal exogamous clan is general among them, totemistic and religious associations are more numerous and fundamental. In the area of the predatory tribes of the northern and plateau area the reverse contrast with these conditions is striking. This attitude has also been indicated in recent papers by Sapir and Goldenweiser, as well as by Swanton and Lowie.

Methodologically, it seems to be generally accepted that the phenomena of simplicity in society, in religious and ceremonial organizations, in technology and art, together with the absence of agriculture, are collectively the earmarks of a relatively older, more primitive phase of culture. The above portrays the conditions among the northeastern Algonkian and in this light lends considerable force to the argument of Swanton and his allies that the lack of system in social descent and group associations is logically more primitive than either the maternal clan system or that of the paternal gens.

DISCUSSION

THE "HALF-BREED" ASCENDANT

ALBERT ERNEST JENKS, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

The literature descriptive of primitive peoples would yield almost any desired amount of data similar to those presented by Dr. Webster's study of "Primitive Individual Ascendancy" and Dr. Chapin's study of "Primitive Social Ascendancy Viewed as an Agent of Selection in Society." Each writer has brought ample facts to prove that the thesis suggested in the title of his paper has been maintained. Primitive individual ascendancy exists; so also does the pressure of social ascendancy. The two factors are, among a non-migrating savage people, antagonistic, and are so mutually restrictive that the cultural *status quo* is almost never broken.

The field anthropologist finds the majority of these groups of people which are geographically isolated to be near the foot of the known existing cultural ladder. The Andamanese, the Australians, the Bushmen, the Ona, the Pygmies, the Seri, the Tasmanians, and the Yahgans are sufficient to illustrate the point.

Yet cultural development has been a fact among all primitive groups which at earliest times were, in their existing forms, on lower rungs of the cultural ladder. With this fact of primitive cultural development before us, is it possible to find any particular kind of individual who, on the one hand, is more likely than his companions to be equipped for ascendancy, and who, on the other hand, is less likely to be overcome by the normal pressure of social ascendancy? I believe it is possible. That individual is the mixed blood, the so-called "half-breed." Anthropological literature says little of him, but the field student knows him in all degrees of ethnic amalgamation.

It probably is unnecessary to call attention to the fact that as a matter of definition the "half-breed" is the offspring of parents of different ethnic groups—we will not here use the term "races." It is true that most commonly he is sired by a man from a group of people culturally superior to the one of which the mother is a member.

The "half-breed" is a marked man among his mother's people. Members of her group say of him, "He 'nother kind man," or "He does not belong," or "He born in the woods." The fact is he is considered "neither fish, nor flesh, nor good red herring." He probably possesses a psychic heredity different from that of the average member of both his mother's and father's group. On condition that his father is of a group superior to that of his mother (which is the rule among primitive people, as it is among cultured), I am assuming that the "half-breed" possesses an inherited intellectual capacity greater than that of the average member of his mother's people—the group in which it is usual for him to grow up.

We then have conditions right for individual ascendancy, namely, a marked man possessing inherent superiority.

Again, such a "half-breed" is usually recognized as less responsive to the pressure of social customs than are the other members of the group. Because

of his nonconformity he is not seldom spoken of in such words as these: "He no good," or "He bad man," or even in the words of a Samal Moro acquaintance who, in speaking to me of a certain "half-breed" datu, a Spanish-Samal man, said, "He no 'fraid God, he no 'fraid devil!" The "half-breed" is outside the group laws more than are his fellows. This fact is so patent that the modern world has gotten in the habit of speaking of the "half-breed" as an "out-law." Among white men on or near American Indian reservations I have often heard some person, either white or Indian, who possessed noticeable independence spoken of as a "regular d——d half-breed." Again the person not easily handled in some situation is frequently told not to be "a half-breed about this thing." On Turtle Mountain Reservation, North Dakota, the storekeeper was having difficulty collecting a debt of a mixed-blood Indian. I overheard him say to his debtor: "Come, be a white man and pay your debt, or be an Indian and I will carry you till annuity; don't be a lying half-breed about it." The fact is that the "half-breed" is generally a nonconformist. The commonly expressed judgment concerning nonconformists is that they are "bad," whereas, of course, they may be only inventors, or introducers (to their group) of new customs.

No claim is made here that the "half-breed" among decidedly primitive groups is a respected leader of his mother's people; the only claim is that he is generally a nonconformist. Nonconformists are never or seldom followed among primitive peoples by the majority of the people, any more than they are among modern peoples. But if and when some person is bold enough not to conform, the chances are that others will imitate him if the threatened dire penalty is seen not to follow the offense. So in this sense the nonconformist among primitive people is often a leader to his group against the pressure which is sufficient to restrain the average member.

The field student knows that social intercourse and sexual intercourse between two ethnic groups, one of which is more primitive than the other, are usually coeval. Cultural assimilation and ethnic amalgamation go hand in hand. Among primitive peoples "wives" are commonly furnished visitors as a mark of friendship and a matter of hospitality. When to the fact of amalgamation is added the fact of the diffusion of early culture, the anthropologist has greater reason than formerly¹ to realize the part the "half-breed" has played in assisting, even against their will, his mother's more backward people in fixing strange beliefs, social practices, and material devices into their customs.

Definite examples of the iconoclastic "half-breed" American Indian may be had on any reservation in the United States. I know of no pure-bred Indian farmer in Minnesota who noticeably operates a farm, except in the records of the reservation agents and the Department of the Interior. The

¹ I refer to the strength of the theory of cultural diffusion by suggestion, imitation, or deliberate teaching, rather than the theory of multiple independent inventions, as an explanation of cultural parallels.

Minnesota pure-bred Ojibwa was never and is not now a farmer. Those Minnesota Indians who are farmers are, without exception, mixed-blood Indians. Again, in Minnesota, the midéwiwin society, commonly called the "grand medicine society," is the repository of most of the professional religious and medicinal knowledge, lore, and practice of the Minnesota Ojibwa. Most of its members are pure-bred or nearly pure-bred Indians. There may be genuine half-breed members, but I do not know of any such. Neither do I know of any active members who are even one-fourth white. The "half-breeds" feel themselves to be distinctly superior to the midéwiwin members and poke fun at their beliefs and practices.

These illustrations are typical among American Indians. I believe it is the rule among our Indians today that the iconoclast, or the individual ascendant, is a "half-breed," and that it is also the rule that the pure-bred Indian is a conservative or one very largely under the pressure of the established social customs.

Illustrations of "half-breed" ascendancy may be taken wholesale from the American Negroes. Probably most informed Americans will agree that Booker T. Washington is the greatest member of his people yet produced. He was at least one-half white, but probably only one-half. He at one time said that he believed his father was an Italian. Dr. Washington was a great leader. His greatness consisted, first, in his capacity for surmounting the difficulties which were too great for the people of his mother's stock and in his endurance in surmounting them; and, second, in his rare ability to see and to make his people see their own problems and their solution from the point of view of a white person. Of the present various American Negro leaders of national prominence, even in the minds of their own people, I know of only one who they claim is pure Negro.

Again, we see it is the "half-breed" who is most commonly inherently capable of individual ascendancy, and it is the "half-breed" who overcomes the pressure of the social custom which is too great for the pure-bred members to overcome unaided—when such "half-breed" lives among his mother's more backward peoples.

Another illustration, most convincing because of its completeness, let me bring from the Philippine Islands. From pre-Spanish days Chinese traders had visited the Philippine archipelago. Chinese blood, by amalgamation, existed in all the Christian tribes when the Americans acquired the Islands.

I had early noted the evidence of Chinese blood in the Filipino leaders of national, provincial, and pueblo matters. It was so plain to the anthropologist that the Chinese-Malayan Filipino was superior to the Malayan Filipino that I one day mentioned to the then governor-general, Luke E. Wright, the unwisdom of the application of the American Chinese Exclusion act to the Philippine Islands. His predecessor, Mr. Taft, had decided that the Exclusion act followed the flag to the Philippines. Mr. Wright told me he was aware of the superiority of the Chinese-Malayan Filipino, and he also

told me how surprised and enlightened he had been only a few weeks previous by an incident which I attempt here to relate after a lapse of twelve years. The Governor-General, with other members of the Insular Civil Commission, was being entertained in one of the spacious wealthy Filipino homes in a southern island. He was attracted by the evident Chinese appearance of an elderly Filipino woman. On remarking his observation to a distinguished Filipino member of his Commission, Mr. Wright was told that the woman did possess Chinese blood. In fact his informant told him that every prominent Filipino family in the Islands possessed Chinese blood. Mr. Wright then said: "But have you Chinese blood?" and his Commissioner answered him that his grandfather was a Chinaman.

Investigation showed that many a Filipino woman preferred and deliberately chose a Chinese husband, and for two main reasons. One reason was that the Chinaman was a better provider because he was superior to the Malayan Filipino man. The other reason was because her children would have better chances. In other words, she chose to bear half-breed children because (in the language of this discussion) of their inherent qualities for, and social chances of, ascendancy. History abundantly attests her wisdom in choice. The Filipino names you read, the names of men who did things during the stirring days of the Insurrection and of the American Occupation, are names of Chinese-Malayan "half-breeds." Such names as Rizal the patriot, Aguinaldo the politician, Mabini the brains of the Insurrection, Arellano the jurist, Luzuriaga the commissioner, and all the host of capable leaders attest to "half-breed" ascendancy over the pure-bred members of the mother's stock.

If the "half-breed" plays an important rôle in primitive ascendancy, there should be two kinds of valuable evidence obtainable now and then in anthropological literature—which, for the most part, is quite mute touching amalgamation. First, the most backward or lowly groups would, if the theory be true, not favor amalgamation; second, those groups amalgamating would tend to more advancement than those opposed to amalgamation.

Fortunately there are certain, though scanty, data available.

Mr. Man gives us the following very definite facts about the absence of adult "half-breeds" among the Andamanese. It will be recalled that that people were so lowly that Mr. Man had great difficulty trying to teach them the rudiments of agriculture. They preferred to dig up and eat planted coconuts, instead of waiting for unbelievable orchards. They preferred to kill and eat the female dog-in-the-hand rather than believe she would produce a pack with which more successfully to hunt the jungle hogs. Mr. Man says:

With the exception of three children of mixed parentage [Hindoo fathers and Andamanese mothers], none of whom survived more than seven or eight years, no examples are known of the existence of a cross-breed among these tribes. . . . Judging from the exceptional cases above mentioned of a cross-breed occurring among them, it seems improbable that the existence of a mixed race in their midst would be

tolerated, for all three of the children met their death by violence or neglect, not at the hands of their mothers, but of the male members of the tribe.¹

The very general absence of "half-breeds" in Australia has been noted by several travelers. Mr. Calder in the following lines tells why they are absent. He also groups the Tasmanians with the Australians in his information.

Instances of infanticide did, indeed, come within Robinson's knowledge; but then the victims were half-castes, whom the savage woman both of Australia and Tasmania is known generally to have hated.²

Mr. G. W. Stow, who has given us the best data on the now practically extinct Bushmen (than whom probably no more lowly people have been recorded by history), tells us definitely and specifically that those most advanced owe the fact of their advancement to their friendly intercourse with more advanced Bantu tribes. And he also writes that Mr. Campbell said that the Bantu Korana men frequently married Bushmen women of the Vet River valley—that valley wherein the Bushmen were most advanced.

The Bushmen occupying this river valley [Vet] were said to be more civilized than that part of the nation which inhabited the more western parts of Africa. . . . This improvement in their condition we shall discover as we proceed was mainly, if not entirely, attributable to the friendly intercourse that had existed for a considerable time between themselves and the Leghoya, the only tribe which ever intruded itself into Bushman territory that . . . attempted to establish just and friendly relations between themselves and the aborigines.³

In the following quotation Mr. Stow also shows that the Bushmen were not disposed to favor intercourse with the white Boers:

They [the Bushmen] were said to be particularly vindictive to any of their own countrymen who had been taken prisoners and continued to live with the Dutch farmers.⁴

The lowly and wretched Ona and Yahgan tribes of the extreme southern lands of South America have been gradually crowded toward sure extinction by white sheep herders, as the ranges have been extended over the Indian's bleak and pitiless hunting lands. I can find no data to show that either tribe favored or practiced amalgamation with the whites or has assimilated the white man's civilization so to raise either men, women, or children one degree above their native culture.

Captain Burrows tells us that the Pygmies neither amalgamate with, nor assimilate the culture of, the more advanced Bantu tribes who have, though

¹ E. H. Man, "On the Original Inhabitants of the Adaman Islands," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, XII, 80.

² James Erskine Calder, "Some Account of the Wars of Extirpation, and Habits of the Native Tribes of Tasmania," *op. cit.*, III, 14.

³ G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, pp. 308-9.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 153.

sparsely to be sure, overrun all the area at one time in the sole possession of the forest-dwelling Pygmies. He writes of them:

They [Pygmies] are, however, quite independent and consider themselves under no obligation to the people of the tribe they may for the time be associated with. Thus they preserve their freedom, of which they are intensely jealous, and hold themselves entirely aloof from other natives, among whom they neither marry nor are given in marriage.¹

Professor McGee's study of the Seri Indians² presents the Seri as probably the most lowly tribe in North America, and the study nowhere reveals assimilation of any superior culture. Neither do they tolerate amalgamation, as the following quotation reveals:

The once considerable Seri stock has been reduced to a single tribe by reason of deep-seated animosity to alien peoples and constant warfare. They are probably the most primitive people in North America. . . . [Among them] tribal endogamy is probably more complete than in any other American tribe now extant—in Seri ethics the deepest vice is conjugal relation with alien peoples, just as the noblest virtue is the shedding of alien blood.³

No anthropologist will question the statement that the several primitive peoples noted above are as lowly in cultural scale as any whom history has recorded. Consistently, according to available records, they have avoided both amalgamation and assimilation. The one exception is that of the Vet River Bushmen, who did amalgamate and, *pari passu*, had an "improvement in their condition."

Other groups might be added, though such others would be of higher grades of primitive culture. For lack of time I will add but one. The Seminoles of Florida exclude conditions of both amalgamation and assimilation so far as their white neighbors are concerned. Dr. Clay MacCauley says of them:

The white half-breed does not exist among the Florida Seminoles, and nowhere could I learn that the Seminole woman is other than virtuous and modest. The birth of a white half-breed would be followed by the death of the Indian mother at the hands of her own people. The only persons of mixed breed among them are children of Indian fathers by negroes who have been adopted into the tribe. . . . The Seminoles have accepted and appropriated practically nothing from the white man. The two peoples remain, as they have been, separate and independent.⁴

It seems to me that the instances cited are sufficient to prove that the "half-breed" among primitive people is not only a nonconformist, but is very

¹ Captain Guy Burrows, *The Land of the Pygmies*, p. 179.

² "The Seri Indians," *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part I, 1895-96, pp. 1-344.

³ W J McGee, "The Beginning of Marriage," *American Anthropologist*, IX, 375.

⁴ Clay MacCauley, "The Seminole Indians," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, pp. 479, 531.

likely to be an ascendant. He is the individual best fitted by nature to be such an ascendant among his mother's more backward people, and is socially also best fitted to ignore or overcome the normal conditions of social pressure among such a group of backward people.

MAX SYLVIVS HANDMAN, THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

I wish to call attention to a standpoint from which to view the problem of social control, bringing "primitive" and "civilized" social control under the influence of the same factors. This standpoint views the shiftings between social and individual ascendancy as a result of the degree of activity in which any group is engaged. An illustration from the realm of sexual ascendancy will make clear what I mean.

The Roumanians of Macedonia, the Aromunes, are a semi-nomadic people. Living on the hills of the Pindus, they manage to eke out an existence by pasture and a primitive sort of agriculture. In the winter they go down to the valleys below, into Greece, where they supplement their earnings by acting as muleteers and itinerant merchants. In these wanderings both husband and wife take part and share in the hardships, vicissitudes, and experiences of the journey to a degree consistent with their respective powers. As a result, the relations between the man and the woman are those of friendly comradeship: the woman being for all intents and purposes the equal of man. Contrast with this the status of the Greek woman in the valley, where the inhabitants lead a settled life. There the woman is completely under the domination of the man, in conformance with the standards familiar to us in civilized society. If the situation there is slightly worse than in western communities, it is a matter of degree and not of kind, to be ascribed, perhaps, to the particular turn given to Balkan affairs by the presence of the Turk. It is quite evident that the difference in ascendancy in these two groups is due to the fact that the Aromunes, having constantly to readjust their life to a changing situation, the requisite stability which makes for the ascendancy of the man being absent, they are thrown back on a closer relation between achievement and control, between demands and performances.

Another illustration: Social ascendancy in semi-primitive communities is found in the institution of the Zadruga, until recently the most striking characteristic of Serbian village life. In Roumania, on the other hand, the Zadruga does not exist and has not existed for a long time. Remnants of it, however, are found, chiefly in the Moldova, the northern section. There is no doubt that the Zadruga existed in full force during a given time in Roumanian history. Its maintenance in Serbia and disappearance in Roumania is simply a historical phenomenon connected with the Turkish invasions and rule. Roumania has been far more under Turkish (and Greek) rule than Serbia, and the agricultural-economic life of Roumania has suffered a great deal more

disturbance than that of Serbia. So it came about that the Zadruga, a patriarchal system of social control, survived in Serbia, where the social continuity was more or less unbroken and life more stable, and did not survive in Roumania, where social stratifications were never allowed to settle by the constantly recurring invasion of the Turkish Pasha with his Greek taxgatherer.

It takes but a little thought to find instances in our living present and in history to further illustrate the contention that a group in which life is systematized more or less completely, where it is more or less definitely settled, a group in which activities are of routine character and few in number is one in which deviations have a minimum possibility of existence. It is further evident that a group which is not called upon to meet an unexpected situation, which is not disturbed by outside or inside crises, will tend to establish a rigid system of social control, whether that group be primitive or civilized. On the other hand, a group constantly in need of new readjustments, whether forced by geographical, economic, or social vicissitudes, will tend to give greater possibility of expression to deviations from the established ways and means of doing things, and will enable the individual to shake himself loose from the traditional form of social control. It is at such times that leaders arise and in such manner that the appearance of leadership is accounted for.

If in primitive life the group seems to be in ascendancy and individuality seems to be less in evidence than in civilized groups, the reason is not to be found in any particular mystery of primitive mind or primitive social organization or primitive characteristics of any kind. The explanation lies simply in the fact that the occupations of primitive groups are few, definite, and inelastic, owing to the immediacy with which retribution follows a false step. There being no surplus to speak of in their economic life, no leeway between what they produce and what they need, fear prevents any varied and extensive experimentation and so limits the range of activities. The vicious circle then runs thus: fear, limitation of activities, devotion to accustomed ways and means, resentment of innovation, stringent social control, ignorance, superstition, fear.

And yet here also I find it difficult to keep my peace of mind and to rest satisfied with a general statement of primitive conditions. The gypsies that I have known are surely much more primitive than the Roumanians among whom they wander. My observation, however, is that social control is far greater among the "civilized" or semi-civilized Roumanians than among the "primitive" gypsies. It is not primitiveness that accounts for it, but nomadism and stability of habitat. Similarly the "primitive" Roumanian peasant is far less under the domination of group standards than the "civilized" bourgeois city dweller. In modern society it is the middle class, stogy, stolid, and stable, which is controlled by group standards rather than the volatile idle rich or foot-loose idle poor.

Incidentally, I wish to call attention to another fact in the method of interpreting the phenomena of primitive life. I have mentioned the case of

sexual ascendancy among the Vlach mountaineers of Macedonia, as determined by the particular form of economic life which prevails among them. Now the same or practically the same situation, to which is added one other factor, has produced precisely the opposite result. I will give as an instance the relations between the sexes among the Albanian mountaineers. The man and the woman journey together, and while they do not lead the nomadic life to the extent that the Vlachs of the Pindus do, yet they too may be said to be a semi-nomadic people, owing to the barren soil of Albania, which has tended to foster a degree of division of labor requiring frequent trips away from home in order to exchange the products manufactured for others equally needed. Yet the man is the lord and master and the woman is the beast of burden. On the road she carries all the bundles and does all the heavy work. Arrived in the village she disposes of the products, while the man sits in the *khan* smoking cigarettes and drinking coffee, but always with his gun across his knees. And here lies the difference. An Albanian mountaineer is always in the midst of a blood feud, is always owing blood or having blood coming to him, and while the rule of the game is that no member of the family of the blood debtor is to pay with his life as long as the blood debtor himself is alive and accessible, the custom of carrying guns has of course settled and every Albanian expects to have to participate in a blood feud. The woman being immune, she naturally was chosen as the one to transact the family business and take care of family interests.

It has occurred to me that a realization of the fact that social attitudes and forms of social control are connected with a complicated set of historical phenomena working on each other in all possible directions, where the introduction of one factor upsets the whole scheme, will convince us that it is not safe to draw conclusions as to primitive mental attitudes by a mere enumeration of apparently similar situations over a wide area or among many different peoples. Any conclusion as to the relation between sexual ascendancy and economic factors or geographical factors or racial factors (there is evidence that both the Aromunes and the Albanians are of the same racial stock) will be misleading. Equally misleading will it be if one should attempt to draw conclusions as to the relations between the sexes in semi-primitive communities or as to form of property holding among the same. I venture to suggest that the sooner we get rid of such blanket terms as "primitive" and the like, the fewer obstacles we will have in the way of understanding social phenomena as found among all types of communities and the sounder will be our generalizations made from a study of such phenomena. Spencer's method of "speculation fortified by illustration," where the speculation comes first and the illustration is its handmaiden, has done its duty in the past. It might not be inadvisable to discard it for another, perhaps a genetic-historical one. But this is no more than a tentative suggestion; the advocates of such a new method will be very much of a voice crying in the wilderness until they have established its claim by using it. Yet I think it is not unworthy of the attention of sociologists. I give it for what it is worth.

RUDOLPH M. BINDER, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Primitive men have handed down a heavy burden to us in the matter of social control. Backward communities are even now trying to keep the individual down, often by means of superstition, and they use the modern means of the printed page for this purpose. As an illustration I may refer to my own case.

At the age of seven I had mastered the art of reading in German sufficiently well to try my hands at short connected narratives. An almanac which was sold in thousands of copies was about the only means to satisfy my desire. One of the stories was intended to convey a warning against atheism and infidelity. It contained only ten or twelve lines, but made a deep impression on me which I have not been able to overcome to this day.

The gist of the story may be summed up in one sentence. "A hog-dealer who had grown rich, became an atheist, threatened to shoot God, and was turned into a pig; he was a Serbian." Two pictures were added to make the text impressive—one showing the Serbian in the midst of a large gathering aiming his shotgun toward the sky; the other showing him still in that attitude, but turned into a pig. The expression of the bystanders was correspondingly one of horror in one case, and of joy in the other. Text and pictures supplemented each other neatly.

There are five points in that short story, each exercising some control. The man was a hog-dealer, therefore an inferior individual of whom one must beware. He had grown rich, and naturally became an infidel, thus illustrating the biblical saying that it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God. Class hatred taught with a vengeance. The man was a Serbian—the implication being that in a well-regulated German community such dreadful blasphemy could not take place, although it might happen in far-away Serbia with its inferior, if not barbarous, people. He was turned into a pig—the lowest and most unclean domestic animal. This act of God was a complete vindication of His own existence and of religion.

I read the story several times in order to get its full meaning. It effectively cured my budding disbelief for a number of years, and implanted an ineradicable race prejudice in me. One of my colleagues at the university suffers from it. Although he is a fine fellow and excellent scholar, and notwithstanding the fact that we are good friends, an emotional chasm opens up between me and him when I speak to him. The prejudice of race implanted many years ago still survives emotionally, although intellectually it is dead.

The present European war is, at least to a certain extent, the result of unmitigated race hatred, especially in the Balkans.

THE SOCIAL CONTROL OF THE ACQUISITION OF WEALTH

EDWARD CARY HAYES
University of Illinois

A generation ago the upshot and conclusion of both economics and sociology could almost be summed up in two words: *laissez faire*. Economists following the lead of Adam Smith and sociologists following the lead of Herbert Spencer taught that any attempt at social control of the acquisition of wealth would be absurd meddling and muddling, destined to make things worse instead of better. The social scientist believed that he was only a little less helpless to control the phenomena he studied than the astronomer, who can observe and explain the movements of the stars but would make himself ridiculous if he should attempt to influence their courses.

The socialists threw this doctrine of *laissez faire* to the winds. Economists and sociologists in general have not become socialists, but they have observed that in most sciences increase of knowledge has made possible new forms of control. Before the time of Benjamin Franklin a *laissez faire* policy with reference to lightning was eminently justified, but now a policy of control with respect to electricity at high voltages is at many points successfully carried out. The early attempts at social control of economic processes were like playing with lightning. We are sure that today we should not make *the same* blunders, and begin to have the courage to think that here as elsewhere in mundane affairs knowledge is power. We believe in very cautious exercise of this new power, yet we begin to suspect that, with our present insight into economic and social processes, to continue to preach the doctrine of *laissez faire* is little better than poltroonery and cowardice and shirking the duty of social leadership.

Unlike mere agitators, nearly all economists and sociologists are in an attitude of extreme circumspection in regard to the exercise of new-found powers of social control. We are not willing to countenance any absurd and premature ventures. But neither are we willing to be poltroons—as the men of Columbus' day would have been if they had refused to put to sea after the mariner's compass had been invented.

There has always been a philosophy to justify the *status quo*, and, as a rule, every established *status quo* was good until it was outgrown. All economists and sociologists recognize, for instance, that slavery has had a necessary and useful place in social history. And it was defended by a philosophy that was proclaimed by Plato and Aristotle. Similarly, the centralized rule of kings was essential during the passage of society out of the bloody turmoil of the Dark Ages; and that institution was defended by the doctrine of "the divine right of kings," and to call that doctrine in question in that day made one a traitor and an intellectual outcast. Later, revolutionary democracy played its essential rôle, and Rousseau, Jefferson, and their colleagues gave to it intellectual acceptance in France and in America by substituting for "the divine right of kings" "the social contract theory." All these philosophies were false, but each served to defend the social policy that was expedient in its day. And in the recent past exploitive individualism, by organizing the agencies of production, has played a constructive rôle in social evolution as slavery, unlimited monarchy, and revolutionary democracy did in their time, and like them it illustrates the generalization that the established social policy of any age has always the backing of an appropriate philosophy. The philosophy of exploitive individualism is the doctrine of *laissez faire*.

The doctrine of *laissez faire* has been sustained by very subtle but specious arguments, such as the "dogmatic optimism" of the Physiocrats, the Malthusian "iron law," the "wage fund theory," and the "residual claimant theory." Economists have exposed the speciousness of one only to replace it with another equally fallacious, and have always been willing to acknowledge the fallacy of all except the last, which was waiting its turn to be exposed. A few minutes later I hope to show that the "specific productivity theory,"

just now in vogue, though interesting as a speculative doctrine, is as futile as any of its predecessors as the defense for a policy of *laissez faire*.

Before going any further let me make it clear that the social control of the acquisition of wealth which we are considering does not aim at equality of possessions. Equality of possessions is neither possible nor desirable. Aristotle was right in saying that justice is not absolute equality but an equality between proportions. It is proportionate, both to their deserts and to their needs, for some men to have more and others to have less. Moreover, no form of social control ever ought to be or can be the sole factor in determining how much more or how much less men will have. That will always depend largely upon the personal qualities of the different individuals.

Having said so much by way of introduction, I will spend the remainder of the time allotted me upon three propositions:

First, while rightly and inevitably there will be differences between the possessions of different men, these inequalities may become excessive and in fact they have become excessive to the point of absurdity.

Second, without the exercise of social control over the acquisition of wealth, such excessive inequalities are inevitable and not only sure to continue but likely to grow worse.

Third, the time has come when we are justified in hoping for a considerable measure of success in a courageous and constructive program for the social control of the acquisition of wealth.

Our first proposition, then, is that the inequalities in the distribution of wealth have become excessive to the point of absurdity. I shall not base the argument for this proposition upon the condition of "the submerged tenth." Many who have given prolonged attention to the facts assert that the condition of the submerged tenth affords a powerful argument in support of our proposition, but just how powerful that argument is we cannot estimate here, because there is not time to discuss the question how far the poverty of the submerged tenth is due to their physical, mental, and moral defects, or how far, on the other hand, their physical, mental, and

moral defects are due to poverty. The condition of the submerged tenth, therefore, however important it might be in a more prolonged discussion, may be passed over for the present occasion. Neither do I base the argument on the condition of the most-skilled or best organized classes of laborers. There are three other classes whose condition more unmistakably, and quite strikingly enough, exhibits the fact that inequalities in the distribution of wealth have become excessive to the point of absurdity.

The first of these three classes is the great mass of physically, mentally, and morally normal laborers who are engaged in unskilled or semiskilled employments. I do not refer to those who will not work or who cannot hold a job, but to those who do work when they can get a job—to the normal rank and file of ordinary privates in our great industrial army.

No competent student of the subject thinks of denying that millions of Americans, who are neither lazy nor feeble-minded but industrious and normal, fail, even when they have regular employment, to earn enough to support their families so as to have a reasonable chance of attaining the physical, moral, and cultural values and satisfactions of human life; and that, when any of these millions of wage-earners have children who are too small to go to work in the factories or to allow their mothers to do so, these children, by millions, are obliged to live under such conditions that, while some of them retain their decency and competence, it is a foregone conclusion that armies of them will sink to a place among the physical and moral derelicts of the submerged tenth.

The unbearableness of this condition of things in a democracy so rich as ours is sufficiently obvious upon any theory of the quality of common men. I merely remark in passing, and not as in any way essential to the argument, that in the opinion of nearly all anthropologists, and of such of our own number as Professor Veblen and Professor Thomas, "native gifts of intelligence, sensibility, and personal force will occur as frequently in proportion to their aggregate numbers among the common mass" as among the children of the economically well-to-do. And I also recall parenthetically the work of Professor Ward to the effect that more than

three-fourths of the exalted talent born into the world fails to make any notable contribution to civilization because of lack of opportunity for the personal development of its possessors. However low our estimate of common but normal humanity, not until the last reasonable effort has been made to alter it should any of us accept as final a state of social organization or disorganization which is responsible every year for the otherwise needless death of hundreds of thousands of the usual sort of men, women, and children, and for the fact that millions in each generation bring into the world the common normal heritage of capacity for life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness and go out of the world without ever having realized any due modicum of the happiness and worth which they might have attained. At present in America it is as true of human life as it is of the "word of the Kingdom" that some falls in stony places and some by the wayside where the unclean fowls of the air devour it up. The agricultural scientists say that the crop of the most fertile state in the corn belt might be doubled by better cultivation. It is at least as well within bounds to assert that the harvest of joy and worth in human life in our nation as a whole might be doubled if we would better prepare the economic and social soil in which life grows.

The second class that unmistakably exhibits the fact that inequalities in the distribution of wealth have become excessive to the point of absurdity is composed of the very rich. It is true that most of their vast wealth is invested in productive industry. But it has been demonstrated that by the device of corporate organization small investments owned by many can be effectively administered in industry; and concentrated control of the nation's capital places in the hands of a single class power over the common welfare which imperils, if it does not destroy, democratic equality of opportunity. Moreover, the great amounts of invested capital held by the rich yield a stream of income by which they are inundated and from which it is impossible to extract the full utility. Consequently our whole economic and social system may be compared with a man who is sick with excessive blood pressure in the head to the point of apoplexy and at the same time with anemia in the limbs to the point of degeneracy of the tissues.

According to Professor King's recent investigation¹ 65 per cent of our people are poor, that is, they have little or no property except their clothes and some cheap furniture, and their average annual income is less than \$200 per capita; 33 per cent of our people compose the middle class in which each man leaves at death from one to forty thousand dollars' worth of property, the remaining 2 per cent comprise the rich and the very rich; and these 2 per cent own almost one and a half times as much as the other 98 per cent together. Dr. Spahr² calculated that the richest 1 per cent of American families, by virtue of their ownership of property, were in a position to receive *without* work as much as the poorest 50 per cent of American families receive *by* work. This calculation was made by Dr. Spahr in 1896, and Dr. King believes that the concentration of wealth and income has now grown distinctly worse than that.

The absurdity of our present distribution of wealth, or rather of our failure to distribute it, and the need for some form of control of the acquisition of wealth are illustrated by the rapidity with which property is collected in the hands of the managers of industry. We are popularly supposed to have one billionaire. There have not been a billion minutes since Christ was born. To accumulate a billion dollars at the rate of \$10,000 a year would require a thousand centuries. If economic tendencies were working out their nice adjustment in accordance with the specific productivity theory (which is the present formulation of the doctrine of *laissez faire*), there would be no such thing as pure profits. Yet even one of our more moderately successful multimillionaires who acquires a fortune equal to only 2 per cent of that which Mr. Rockefeller is supposed to possess has a sum the accumulation of which at the rate of \$10,000 a year would require a longer time than has elapsed since the birth of Christ. So much for the poor and the rich.

The third class of our people whose condition illustrates the absurdity of our present distribution of wealth is the so-called middle class.

¹ W. I. King, *The Wealth and Income of the People of the United States* (New York, 1915), pp. 64 f. and chap. x.

² C. B. Spahr, *The Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States* (New York, 1896), p. 69.

This class, as I have already stated, may be thought of as comprising about 33 per cent of our population; men of this class at death leave property worth from one to forty thousand dollars. This middle class includes many of the skilled and organized laborers, the great bulk of the retail business men, and of the teachers, ministers, newspaper men, artists, musicians, scientists, lawyers, and doctors, that is to say, the vast majority of those who do all the higher grades of work except manufacturing, banking, and other kinds of big business. Our present social organization confers as a special privilege upon those who engage in business the opportunity to acquire twice or ten times or a hundred times or a thousand times as much as men of equal ability in other walks of life. The middle class contains those who are sufficiently well-to-do to excite the emulation of ambitious and able youth, and not so rich as to excite instead hopeless envy; rich enough to be inclined to cautious conservatism, and not rich enough to pervert the organs of public opinion and social control; rich enough to attain security and culture, and not rich enough to be plunged into wasteful extravagance and decadent excesses. One who has regard for the general social welfare will look upon the decline of the middle class as one of the worst possible forms of failure in the distribution of wealth. Concerning this middle class I will pause to say only this, that as compared with the very rich, and even as compared with the moderately rich, the position of the middle class is growing worse. The poor are in a far more pitiful plight, but, though they are so poor, they are not rapidly growing poorer; on the other hand, in the present concentration of wealth in the possession of 2 per cent of the population, it is the middle class who are suffering the greatest decline in relative position.

Our first proposition, that the inequalities in the distribution of wealth have become excessive to the point of absurdity, has now been defended. It has been defended with cautious conservatism of statement, and many of you can emphasize and substantiate the proposition by additional evidence drawn from your own knowledge.

We pass now to the second proposition, namely, that without the exercise of social control of the distribution of wealth excessive

inequalities are inevitable and not only sure to continue but likely to grow worse.

The distribution of wealth according to unregulated economic tendency is nothing more nor less than distribution according to bargaining power. Bargaining power depends upon utility *with scarcity*. Utility, however great, without scarcity confers no bargaining power. Under ordinary conditions the atmosphere we breathe, though its utility is measureless, has less bargaining value than a bottle of smelling-salts, and the light and heat of the sun, upon which all life depends, has less bargaining value than a tallow candle or a match, because the atmosphere and the sunlight are not scarce. Likewise common labor, just because it is common, has little bargaining power. Only some form of artificial scarcity can give to air or sunlight or common labor a bargaining value proportionate to its utility. If you take a man by the throat and tell him that you will not stop choking him till he gives up every dollar he owns, you create an artificial scarcity of air, and air acquires a bargaining power proportionate to its utility. Similarly, if there should be a general strike that strangled industry it would confer on labor a bargaining power proportionate to its utility. But under unregulated economic tendency few things are so cheap as common human life, except the air we breathe and the light of heaven. Labor is not a commodity to be bought and sold. It is a man working. It is the basis of a claim to one man's share in the proceeds of industry. Condillac pointed out that "the wage earner cannot exercise his rightful claim to his own work, but simply surrenders the claim in return for a money price."¹

That scarcity without which there is no bargaining power may be due either to limitation of the supply by nature, as in the case of diamonds, gold, and corn lands, or to cost of production, as in the case of manufactured commodities. The supply of human life is not definitely limited either by nature or by cost of production. In the case of any *commodity*, the supply of which is dependent upon human volition, there is a normal bargaining price which is protected by the cost of production. For labor there is no such

¹ Charles Gide and Charles Rist, *History of Economic Doctrines* (D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, p. 49).

thing as a normal price protected by the cost of production. When the price of a manufactured article falls below the cost of production, manufacturers curtail their output, or store it in warehouses, and so produce a scarcity which restores prices if the commodity has utility as a staple article. But the laborer cannot store his labor for future sale—if not used today it is gone forever—and the only way he could curtail the output would be to commit suicide. In fact, when times are bad and wages fall, the supply of labor offered, that is, the number of men seeking jobs, instead of being diminished is actually increased. If the fall of wages in any country or any industry is permanent, the standard of living is undermined, and the standard of living is the only hoped-for check upon the birth of children. Consequently in the second generation the supply of laborers, badly reared in abodes of misery and seeking the lowest and worst-paid forms of labor, is still further increased. Thus under the uncontrolled operation of economic tendency the mass of misery at the bottom of the ladder tends to grow. Today we are suffering from this result and have more of the undervalued, stimulant-craving, untrained, and incompetent and a smaller proportion of capable and efficient laborers than we should have if custom and law had enabled the laborers of preceding generations in Europe and America to maintain the proper standard of living. Economic tendency, uncontrolled by custom and law, cannot be expected to produce any decent approximation to a just distribution of wealth, because it is nothing less than the operation of bargaining power, which depends upon scarcity, and common labor is common and not scarce. We have assumed that unregulated bargaining power is a form of might that automatically makes right. It does not make right, it makes wrongs.

In the second place, unregulated economic tendency can be depended upon to produce an unjust, unreasonable, and intolerable distribution of wealth because uncontrolled economic tendency produces centralized business organization. Within limits this is a good thing from the point of view of efficiency in production. It is the survival of the fittest. The interests of all classes in society are one in calling for the greatest efficiency in production. But the

interests of different classes clash when it comes to dividing the product. In the division of material goods, what one gets another does not get. A high degree of organization *under unregulated economic tendency* means efficiency in production and injustice in distribution. A high degree of organization implies concentration of control; it gives to a few men who are on the inside of the management power to exploit the laborers, the investors, and the consumers.

First, the laborers are exploited because the management sells the entire output of industry and receives the entire price, and the laborers must get out of the hands of the management such a fraction of that total return as they can by force of bargaining power.

Second, the small investors are exploited, perhaps less than the laborers or the consumers. They are more silent under their losses, partly because they hope themselves to profit by "business methods." The fact of their losses is illustrated by the relative decline in economic position of the middle class. Misleading prospectuses and more misleading newspaper reports, watered stock, bonuses, manipulated fluctuation in the value of securities, and other devices less easy to indicate in a phrase enable the insiders to pile up their millions.

Third, the consumers are exploited. Except in time of war bread is 5 cents a loaf irrespective of the price of wheat, and beer 5 cents a glass irrespective of the price of barley. Thus a large class of articles, bought for daily use by people in general, may fluctuate in cost of production even as much as 50 per cent without effect upon the retail price. Another large and important class of articles change in retail price by jumps of 25 cents, 50 cents, \$1.00, and \$5.00. Thus an increase of 10 cents or even 4 cents in the cost of an article at the mill has been followed by an increase of 50 cents to the consumer, and an increase of 37 cents at the mill has been followed by an increase of \$1.00 to the consumer. It is true that in some instances a small per cent of decline in the cost of production is followed by a reduction of 25 cents or 50 cents or some other "round" sum in the price to the consumer. But this also indicates that the price charged before the reduction was excessive, and both classes of facts justify the

statement of Professor Henry C. Emery, based upon information gathered while a member of the United States Tariff Board, that "the relation of the price which the producer receives for his commodity to the price which the consumer pays for it seems to follow no rule of logic."¹ In war time bread joins the class of commodities with fluctuating prices to which meat always belongs. On October 8 the price of a pound loaf of bread in this country varied from 6 to 15 cents, the high price being in the great food market of the Middle West and the low price in the manufacturing district of the East. Perhaps no other equally expensive article is so often purchased for American homes as a piano. I am credibly informed that a \$300.00 piano costs \$65.00 at the factory. That wide margin between cost of production and consumer's price which "seems to follow no rule of logic" is a field of operation for those who sit in the seats of management. Who shall estimate how many hundreds of millions annually this condition invites the managers to transfer from the pockets of the consuming public to their own bank accounts, and will so long as there is no social control, and "business is business." The exploitation of the consumer by illogical retail prices pays for the concealed profits of the manufacturer as well as for the obvious wastes of competitive merchandising.

We have briefly pointed out two reasons why unregulated economic tendency cannot be expected to result in a tolerable distribution of wealth. The first reason is that distribution according to economic tendency is distribution according to sheer bargaining power, and that common labor, like light and air, has not bargaining power in proportion to its utility, nor proportionate to any tolerable basis of distribution, that labor is not a commodity to be bargained for, but a man working, and the basis of a claim in equity to a share in the product of industry. The second reason is that economic tendency is toward organization here and disorganization there, which confers upon those who sit in the centers of management the power and opportunity to exploit not only the laborers but also the investors and perhaps most of all the consumers.

We must pause here to consider "the specific productivity theory" which, as was remarked in our introduction, is the form

¹ *American Economic Review*, V, 536.

of defense for a policy of *laissez faire* just now in vogue. That theory asserts that if we had unlimited competition, then capital and labor each would automatically receive just what each produces. As a substitute for that theory let me ask you to consider what may be called *the organic theory of distribution*, based on the following considerations:

First, in an organized industry it is the organization as a whole that produces, and it is impossible to pick out a definite share in the product that should be ascribed to capital or to labor, just as it is impossible to say what per cent of my utterance is attributable to the lungs and diaphragm and what per cent to the mouth and throat.

Second, when we thought that we identified the share *produced* by one factor in organized industry, what we really did was to recognize the share *conditioned* by that factor, which is a very different thing. The factors in an organization are so dependent on each other that the impairment of one factor may not only subtract from the product of the organization what that factor produced, but may also impair the productivity of the remaining factor. The specific productivity theory goes wrong at the start by assuming that what labor would produce with no-rent land and no-rent machinery is the specific product of labor when normally supplied with capital, and that all the balance of what is produced in normal industry is due to capital. Neither the product of labor nor of capital can be measured in that way. By almost wholly withdrawing one factor in organization you can find out something about what that factor *conditions*—that is, what could not be produced without it—but you find out in that way nothing definite about what that factor produces when the two are working together normally. The amount conditioned by one factor in an organization is normally greater than the amount *produced* by that factor. Thus one essential nut in a locomotive *conditions* the movement of an express train; but it would be absurd to say that the *nut produced* the movement of the train. If you pay for one factor according to what it *conditions* there will not be enough left to pay the other factor according to what it *produces*. In an organization the factor that can most easily be withheld (in industry, capital) is in

a position to hold up the whole process and demand approximately all that it conditions and to rob the factor that can least easily be withheld (in industry, common labor). To pay the owner of capital all the difference in product that his capital *conditions* is to pay him part of what labor *produces*. Thus goes by the board the whole current theory of rent and of interest—not indeed as an explanation of what happens, but as a justification for what happens.

Interest on perishable capital goods is less obviously exploitive than rent on land, because the former must be renewed out of interest. But if, as leading teachers of the specific productivity theory hold, capital renewed out of its own earnings becomes eternal, it soon outlives those who are entitled to wages of abstinence, so that any further use of interest for purposes of consumption becomes exploitive.

According to the specific productivity theory free competition eliminates pure profits. This contention becomes relatively unimportant if rent and interest can be exploitive. However, it is worth noting that the elimination of profits even by the freest competition is very doubtful. Adequate investigation would probably show that those instances in which capital is not “fluid,” instead of being negligible exceptions, really are the rule.

The question whether free competition would eliminate pure profits is not only rendered extremely doubtful by the fact that under the freest competition capital is not fluid, and rendered relatively unimportant by the fact that rent and interest can be exploitive, but is at present merely academic. Pure profits have not been eliminated. As nearly as we can tell from the census, profits, in times of peace, amount to 27.5 per cent of the total national income, or 58 per cent as much as all wages and salaries.

We do not have and probably cannot get that unlimited competition without which the specific productivity theory has no claim to validity. Every defense of *laissez faire* implies free competition, but a policy of *laissez faire* ultimately destroys free competition. Even if social control, which is the opposite of *laissez faire*, did its utmost to preserve unlimited competition it is doubtful whether we could get it. How will you make men compete when they find it more profitable to have an understanding? If we did

get unlimited competition we should do so at enormous sacrifice of efficiency in organization. Such competition and bad business habits surviving from former competition as we now have cost us hundreds of millions annually, and at this moment are causing business men like Mr. Frank Vanderlip and economists like Professor H. C. Adams to call for social control to check competition in order to avoid the wastes that diminish our efficiency for war. If we *could* get unlimited competition at the enormous sacrifice of efficiency which it would involve, probably it would not eliminate pure profits; even if it did eliminate pure profits it might depress wholesale prices till labor could not be paid a decent wage; at the same time, since retail buyers are relatively inefficient competitors it would not lower retail prices so as correspondingly to enhance the purchasing power of wages; and rent and interest could still be exploitive.

The only way to secure justice to labor is to get away from the effects of unlimited competition. The specific productivity theory is right in pointing out that under free competition the wage of any class of laborers sinks to the level of the least productively employed labor in that class, or that can enter that class.

From the causes above set forth it is clear that there is no reasonable meaning in the theory that under free competition labor would receive its specific product. The organic theory of distribution is that the specific product of one factor in organization is not automatically distinguishable from the product of the organization as a whole, that what a factor in organization *conditions* is an absolutely illogical test of what it *produces* or of what it should receive, that under private ownership it is expedient to pay for the use of land and capital enough to prevent their withdrawal from productive use, but that only men—whether laborers or capitalists—have rights, and that distribution of products among the men who participate in production presents a problem in equity that can logically be solved only by principles of justice and expediency formulated by intellectual leaders and established in custom as well as in law.

We have now arrived at our third proposition, namely, that the time has come when we are justified in hoping for a considerable

measure of success in a courageous and constructive program for the social control of the acquisition of wealth.

The power of law and custom to affect the distribution of wealth has been sufficiently demonstrated by experience. Even an institution so repugnant to the principles of justice and the instincts of human nature as the law of primogeniture can be made to work, provided it has the sanction of public opinion. And it has gone far in promoting and perpetuating the concentration of wealth in England.

The power of custom, even unaided by law, to standardize prices is illustrated by the facts I have cited concerning bread and beer and a large class of important articles of daily consumption.

Our business magnates have defended the operation of economic tendency in their dealings with labor, but have often defied and controlled it in their dealings with one another, with investors, and with the consumers. Consequently the colossal fortunes and absurd concentration of wealth in our new country do not more aptly illustrate the natural effects of unregulated competition than they do the power of artificial control over competition. They illustrate the fact that the ultimate economic tendency is the disposition of economic tendency to defeat itself by enlisting for its own abatement the agencies of control. And the broadest generalization upon this theme that is justified by the facts of experience is this, that the policy of *laissez faire*, or unregulated individualism, is inherently a temporary policy, a policy that is sure to make itself intolerable—intolerable, first, to the great survivors of the competitive struggle who temporarily have profited by it but who continue to prosper only by controlling it, and intolerable, secondly, to the masses who temporarily have been exploited by it, and who slowly but surely become sufficiently enlightened and sufficiently organized to unite in securing their freedom from its exploitation.

Experiments in the control of the acquisition of wealth in the interest of society at large have not yet been carried so far as experiments in its control in the interest of the ruling economic class. Yet they have accomplished enough to demonstrate that there is nothing illogical or visionary in talking about the control of the acquisition of wealth in the interest of social policy. It is hardly

open to reasonable doubt that society *could* socialize the unearned increment or even the rental value of land—and that without serious injustice to present owners and without impairing the right of occupancy of their heirs. Nor is it open to serious doubt that society *could* extend the policy of public ownership of capital; or that society *could* further limit the transmission of wealth by inheritance; or that society *could* greatly extend the sphere of operation of minimum wage boards; or that society *could* diminish the opportunity to swell private fortunes by banking and dealing in corporate securities; or that society *could*, without necessarily assuming the conduct of manufacturers, become the only jobber and retailer and so eliminate the waste of competitive merchandising and secure the absolute control of prices. I am surprised that no one seems to have proposed and advocated this simple and effective method of securing social control of industry.

It would be out of the question in the moments remaining to attempt the advocacy of any specific methods for social control of the acquisition of wealth.

I have now discussed, as far as time allowed, the three propositions: First, that while rightly and inevitably there will be differences between the possessions of different men, these inequalities may become excessive and in fact they have become excessive to the point of absurdity. Second, without the exercise of social control over the acquisition of wealth, such excessive inequalities are inevitable and not only sure to continue but likely to grow worse. Third, the time has come when we are justified in hoping for a considerable measure of success in a courageous and constructive program for the social control of the acquisition of wealth.

Permit me to add a few observations by way of conclusion.

First, the production of wealth without reasonable distribution of it does not constitute economic success for the nation. However much we may extend our railway mileage, increase our balance of trade, and swell our bank clearances, still our economic system is mostly a failure if 2 per cent of the people are inundated with income while for lack of a reasonable distribution of wealth hundreds of thousands annually die needless deaths and millions more live stunted, perverted, and blighted in body and in mind, and the

middle class declines. The problem of production we have *measurably* solved. The problem of distribution now confronts us.

Second, this problem can never be solved as a mere problem in exchange—in unregulated bargaining; *neither can it be solved by the mere passage of laws*. Its solution depends also upon public opinion, which may be misguided and supine, upon custom, which may be an outgrown survival unadapted to the exigency of the present, and upon morality, which may be only embryonic at this point. History shows repeated and impressive instances in which what had been wholly impracticable became practicable when and only when the requisite change was made in the state of mind of the public.

Third, to permit the heaping up of swollen fortunes not only inflicts upon the nation an economic injury, but also perverts the standards of ambition and misdirects the national energies. The ambitious strive for success as success is defined by the society to which they belong. American society can have that type of achievement which it most highly rewards and appreciates in any amount and degree up to the very limits of human possibility. We can have science, art, literature, incorruptible administration over the affairs of our cities, and social organization which makes the joys and worth of human life accessible to every normal citizen, provided such achievements command our highest rewards and our most pronounced approvals. There may have been a time when the organization of production was our prime need. It is so no longer; and if we continue to offer to business success such disproportionate rewards, that will be a potent factor for the abortion of our national development.

It even perverts our conception of success in business itself. We assume without question that business success is measured by acquisition, not by production. Yet this attitude of ours is an absurdity. We measure the success of a captain of industry, not by the welfare of the detachment in the army of industry which he commands, not by the production of utilities which his detachment in the army of industry pours into the current of the nation's economic life, but we measure it by the amount that he can appropriate to himself out of the utilities created by the nation's industry.

Usually he contributes something in return for all he takes; sometimes he contributes much, and sometimes, as in the case of the mere speculator, it is impossible to prove that he contributes anything. In any case it is not what he produces but what he takes that is the popular measure of his success. That this absurd standard for the judgment of success seems to us normal and inevitable is an exhibition of the degree to which the present disorganization of distribution has perverted our own minds.

Fourth, money is power. Sovereignty is nothing more nor less than the predominant power. All government is an exercise of power. When predominant power is exercised by one class we have autocracy or oligarchy; when it is exercised by the responsible agents of the people according to forms devised by the responsible agents of the people, we have democracy. Power is of three kinds: first, physical force represented by the policeman's billy and the soldier's bayonet; second, money is power; third, knowledge is power.

Ancient despotisms rested mainly upon physical force, upon militarism. The first development of democracy was to remove from any one class of society the exercise of predominant physical force. This first step is a great accomplishment. The forms of freedom which we now cherish provide fairly well for liberty from arbitrary physical compulsion. The second form of power, the power of money, is exercised by governments chiefly through the funds raised by taxation and by the imposition of fines. It is a maxim of political science that where the taxing power resides there resides the sovereignty. A few dozen Americans exercise a taxing power which emperors might envy, and millions of other Americans live under the control of economic pressure in comparison with which the pressure exercised by the laws that are enforceable by fines is slight. Because of this economic pressure our carefully protected freedom from physical compulsion, our freedom *de jure*, is often accompanied by unfreedom *de facto*. A distinguished member of the American Economic Association has written: "Whoever controls the property of a nation becomes thereby the virtual ruler thereof." And nearly three-fifths of the property of the United States is declared to be in the possession of 2 per cent of its people.

I am not responsible for these facts and only state them. We are all responsible if we do not face them.

The third form of power is the power of ideas. Only provide the organization for forming and expressing the common will and the dictum of Comte becomes practically true: "Ideas rule the world." The theory of democracy is that when discussion is free those ideas which accord with the facts in the long run will win public assent, so that public action will be an adaptation to the requirements of the actual situation. The schools and the press are the chief agencies by which the facts are discovered and given to the public; therefore the schools and the press are the citadels of democracy. To have the schools and the press controlled in the interest of a class would be little if anything short of abandoning the hope of fulfilling the purposes of democracy. To have the great dailies owned by those who have been brought up under the influence of the opinion-complex of one class is almost equivalent to giving to that class the autocracy of the nation. The sincerity with which that opinion-complex is held only increases the intolerance with which that power is exercised. Ruling classes are usually well convinced of their right to rule. Mere assertion and assumption reiterated in the public ear have power to form the public mind, still more if backed by biased discussion and a biased presentation of facts.

It betokens an unnatural and artificial situation, resulting from class control of the organs of opinion, that in this democracy we have no great liberal party. The conservatives appear to have captured the "machines" of both of the great political organizations. If one of them and its organs of publicity should become cautiously but courageously and constructively liberal, it would come into scarcely disputed power. The public of a democracy naturally divides into three groups. First is the conservative group, largely composed of elegant, cultivated, and kindly people who assent to only such minimum concessions in the direction of increased democracy as are forced from them, as the condition of keeping in the main the *status quo*. At the other extreme are the malcontents and the radicals, who also may think themselves just but who care for little, save the interest of their own group, and are willing to resort to

vagaries or even to violence. Between them is a truly liberal group not, on the one hand, grudgingly yielding concessions nor, on the other hand, tolerating violence or incautious experiments, but courageously and constructively seeking for justice and the gradual realization of the nearest feasible approach to the fulfilment of the ideals of democracy. To this third group, swayed by no partisan considerations but governed solely by knowledge of the facts and regard for the public good, the members of our two associations should naturally belong.

MOTIVES IN ECONOMIC LIFE

CARLETON H. PARKER
University of Washington

The first quarter of this century is breaking up in a riot of economic irrationalism. The carefully selected efficiency axioms of peaceful life are tossed on the scrap heap, and all society seems to be seeking objects and experiences not found in any of our economists' careful descriptions of the modern industrial order. War allies refuse to unify their military policy, Russia is called on to exhibit a sedate and stable economic life when she lacks wholesale all the attributes to it. And we Americans, despite the notorious record of stringent social accounting imposed by the standards of war efficiency, still lean with fine confidence upon the structure of genial optimism which dominates so much of our national psychology. We look hopefully to see patriotism flow pure and strong from an industrial stratum whose occasional phenomena are Lawrence, McKees Rock, Patterson, Colorado Fuel and Iron, the Durst hop ranch in California, Everett in Washington, Butte in Montana, Bisbee in Arizona. Though strikes have increased some 300 per cent over peace times, though the American labor world is boiling and sputtering disturbances, bewildering in their variety and rapidity of appearance, our cure is a vague caution to "wait until casualties begin to come," an uneasy contemplation of labor conscription, or a wave of suppression.

Though national unity, economic and military, seems the obvious and essential aim of the patriotic citizen, much done in the name of unification seems to be curiously efficient in producing disunity. The following commonplace incident illustrates this. Note first that Seattle is in a state of extreme industrial unrest. During a single short period this summer, that city had a two weeks' strike paralysis of its street-car system, had a threatened

walk-out of the gas workers, was the strike center of a complete tie-up of the lumber industry of the state, experienced a building trades strike involving the entire city, had a walk-out of 30,000 shipbuilders, an express drivers' strike, a candy workers' strike, a newsboys' strike, and enjoyed the beginning of an organization of domestic servants. This city so described becomes the environment for the following incident.

The I.W.W. is strong in the Pacific Northwest, and though it bitterly fights the American Federation of Labor, some of the federation trade-unions found in the rough-handed trades, such as lumbering, stevedoring, and even shipbuilding, have drifted toward syndicalism and many of their members even carry secretly the red cards of the I.W.W. The federal government has met the anti-war agitation of the I.W.W. with fair cleverness. When arrests have been made, publicity has been given to the alleged treasonable activity of the leaders and the government case sustained before the public. The economic activities of the rank and file of the I.W.W., however, have not been interfered with, and their meeting halls in the Northwest continue thronged and the center of their strike activity. A Mrs. Sandburg, a Finnish woman, widow, with two children of three and six, lives on a small farm near Seattle. Being destitute she had been awarded a mother's pension by King County. On November 17 of this year this pension was cut off and the woman recommended for deportation because federal officers asserted that "she was actively working in the interests of the I.W.W., meetings had been held at her home, and members of the organization had visited there frequently." Nothing could have been more ingeniously done to focus the interest of a large unrestful labor group in the state of Washington on syndicalism than this incident. This well-intentioned and conventionally patriotic act is not merely inopportune, it is unhappily creative. The great emotional outflow stimulated into existence by the startling announcement of our national danger is being transferred from its desirable nationalistic object and focused on such activities, distressing, both socially and economically. It seems an accurate example of the Freudian *übertragung*, the transference of emotional expression.

It is a far cry from pseudo-politico-economic problems to a consideration of the delinquencies of modern economics, but there is a vital relation. Our conventional economics today analyzes no phase of industrialism nor the wage relationship, nor citizenship in pecuniary society, in a manner to offer a key to such distressing and complex problems as this. Human nature riots today through our economic structure with ridicule and destruction, and we economists look on helpless and aghast. The menace of the war does not seem potent to quiet revolt or still class cries. The anxiety and apprehension of the economist should not be produced by this cracking of his economic system, but by the poverty of the criticism of industrialism which his science offers. Why are economists mute in the presence of a most obvious crisis in our industrial society? Why have our criticisms of industrialism no sturdy warnings about this unhappy evolution? Why does an agitated officialdom search today in vain among our writings for scientific advice touching labor inefficiency or industrial disloyalty, for prophecies and plans about the rise in our industrialism of economic classes unharmonious and hostile?

The fair answer seems this: We economists speculate little on human motives. We are not curious about the great basis of fact which dynamic and behavioristic psychology has gathered to illustrate the instinct stimulus to human activity. Most of us are not interested to think of what a psychologically full or satisfying life is. We are not curious to know that a great school of behavior analysis called the Freudian has been built around the analysis of the energy outbursts brought by society's balking of the native human instincts. Our economic literature shows that we are but rarely curious to know whether industrialism is suited to man's inherited nature, or what man in turn will do to our rules of economic conduct in case these rules are repressive. The motives to economic activity which have done the major service in orthodox economic texts and teachings have been either the vague middle-class virtues of thrift, justice, and solvency, or the equally vague moral sentiments of "striving for the welfare of others," "desire for the larger self," "desire to equit one's self well," or lastly, that labor-saving deduction that man is stimulated in all things economic

by his desire to satisfy his wants with the smallest possible effort. All this gentle parody in motive theorizing continued contemporaneously with the output of the rich literature of social and behavioristic psychology which was almost entirely addressed to this very problem of human motives in modern economic society. Noteworthy exceptions are the remarkable series of books by Veblen, the articles and criticisms of Mitchell and Patten, and the most significant small book by Taussig, entitled *Inventors and Moneymakers*. It is this complimentary field of psychology to which the economists must turn as these writers have turned for a vitalization of their basic hypotheses. There awaits them a bewildering array of studies of the motives, emotions, and folk ways of our pecuniary civilization. Generalizations and experiment statistics abound ready-made for any structure of economic criticism. The human motives are isolated, described, compared. Business confidence, the release of work energy, advertising appeal, market vagaries, the basis of value computations, decay of workmanship, the labor unrest, decline in the thrift habit, are the subjects treated. A brief list of these economic psychologists is impressive: Veblen, Thorndike, Hollingworth, Dewey, James, Watson, Holt, Thomas, Stanley Hall, Jastrow, Patrick, Hobhouse, MacDougall, Hart, Shand, Wallas, Lippmann, Freud, Prince, Southard, Glueck, Brill, Bailey, Paton, Cannon, Crile, and so on. One might say with fairness that each one of these has contributed criticism touching the springs of human activity of which no economic theorist can afford to plead ignorance. The stabilizing of the science of psychology and the vogue among economists of the scientific method will not allow these psychological findings to be shouldered out by the careless a priori deductions touching human nature which still dominate our orthodox texts. The confusion and metaphysical propensities of our economic theory, our neglect of the consequences of child labor, our lax interest in national vitality and health, the unusableness of our theories of labor unrest and of labor efficiency, our careless reception of problems of population, eugenics, sex, and birth control, our crass ignorance of the relation of industry to crime, industry to feeble-mindedness, industry to functional insanity, industry to education, and our

astounding indifference to the field of economic consumption—all this delinquency can be traced back to our refusal to see that economics was social economics, and that a full knowledge of man, his instincts, his power of habit acquisition, his psychological demands and endurance, were an absolute prerequisite to clear and purposeful thinking on our industrial civilization. MacDougall, the Oxford social psychologist, said in direct point: "Political economy suffered hardly less from the crude nature of the psychological assumptions from which it professed to deduce the explanations of its facts, and its prescriptions for economic legislation. It would be a libel not altogether devoid of truth to say that the classical political economy was a tissue of false conclusions drawn from false psychological assumptions."

What then are the facts of human nature which the newer psychology offers as the beginning of economic theorizing?

Man is born into his world accompanied by a rich psychical disposition which furnishes him ready-made all his motives for conduct, all his desires, economic or wasteful, moral or depraved, crass or aesthetic. He can show a demand for nothing that is not prompted by this galaxy of instincts. He is a mosaic of unit tendencies to react faithfully in certain ways when certain stimuli are present. As MacDougall has graphically put it:

Take away these instinctive dispositions with their powerful impulses and the human organism would become incapable of activity of any kind; it would lie inert and motionless like a wonderful clockwork whose mainspring had been removed or a steam engine whose fires had been drawn. These impulses are the mental forces which maintain and shape all the life of individuals and societies, and in them we are confronted with the central mystery of life and mind and will.

Thorndike, the Columbia psychologist, in his analysis of human motives, has written, "The behavior of man in the family, in business, in the state, in religion, and in every other affair of life, is rooted in his unlearned original equipment of instincts and capacities. All schemes of improving human life must take account of man's original nature, most of all when their aim is to counteract it."

Veblen wrote in his book, *The Instinct of Workmanship*, for mankind, as for the other higher animals, the life of the species is conditioned by the complement of instinctive proclivities, and tropismatic aptitudes

with which the species is typically endowed. Not only is the continued life of the race dependent upon the adequacy of its instinctive proclivities in this way, but the routine and details of its life are also, in a last resort, determined by these instincts. These are the prime movers in human behavior, as in the behavior of all those animals that show self-direction or discretion. The human activity, in so far as it can be spoken of as conduct, can never exceed the scope of these instinctive dispositions by initiative of which man takes action. Nothing falls within the human scheme of things desirable to be done except what answers to these native proclivities of man. These native proclivities alone make anything worth while, and out of their working emerge not only the purpose and efficiency of life but its substantial pleasures and pains as well.

John Dewey wrote in his *Democracy in Education*, "The instinct activities may be called, metaphorically, spontaneous in the sense that the organs give a strong bias for a certain sort of operation—a bias so strong that we cannot go contrary to it, though by trying to go contrary we may pervert, stunt and corrupt them."

Cannon, the Harvard physiologist, has said, "More and more it is appearing that in men of all races, and in most of the higher animals, the springs of action are to be found in the influences of certain emotions which express themselves in characteristic instinctive acts."

Instincts to their modern possessor seem unreasoning and unrational, and often embarrassing. To the race, however, they are an efficient and tried guide to conduct, for they are the result of endless experiments of how to fight, to grow, to procreate, under the ruthless valuing mechanism of the competition for survival. These instincts have in the most complete sense of the word survival value. In fact, outside of some relatively unimportant bodily attributes, the instincts are all that our species in its long evolution has considered worth saving. When one considers the unarmed state in which the soft-bodied human is shoved out in the world to fight for his existence against creatures with thick hides, vise-like jaws and claws, it becomes clearly evident that if man had not been equipped with an instinctive and unlearned code of efficient competition behavior, his struggle on this earth would have been brief and tragic. And also in contrast with his own remote ape ancestors, one could in retrospect see that the survival of the human species must have had as a prerequisite a rich and varied instinct equipment which removed man from the necessity of

learning a complete scheme of behavior via the dangerous trial and error method. The species, without some unlearned and protective capacities, would not have lasted the instruction. Within the past ten thousand years nothing in our brilliant experiment with the environment called civilization has been long enough adhered to to bring about a psychical adjustment capable of physical inheritance, and so the basic motives of the business man today remain those of his cave ancestor. The contribution of civilization has been merely an accumulation of more or less useful traditions touching habits, accidental in character and questionable in desirability.

All human activity, then, is untiringly actuated by the demand for realization of the instinct wants. If an artificially limited field of human endeavor be called economic life, all of its so-called motives hark directly back to the human instincts for their origin. There are, in truth, no economic motives as such. The motives of economic life are the same as those of the life of art, of vanity and ostentation, of war and crime, of sex. Economic life is merely the life in which instinct gratification is alleged to take on a rational pecuniary habit form. Man is not less a father with a father's parental instinct interest just because he passes down the street from his home to his office. His business raid into his rival's market has the same naïve charm that tickled the heart of his remote ancestor when in the night he rushed the herds of a nearby clan. A manufacturer tries to tell a conventional world that he resists the closed shop because it is un-American, it loses him money, or it is inefficient. A few years ago he was more honest when he said he would run his business as he wished and would allow no man to tell him what to do. His instinct of leadership, reinforced powerfully by his innate instinctive revulsion to the confinement of the closed shop, gave the true stimulus. His opposition is psychological, not ethical.

The importance to me of the description of the innate tendencies or instincts to be here given lies in their relation to my main explanation of economic behavior which is:

First, that these instinct tendencies are persistent, are far less warped or modified by the environment than we believe, that they

function quite as they have for a hundred thousand years, that they, as motives in their various normal or perverted habit form, can at times dominate singly the entire behavior and act as if they were a clear character dominant.

Secondly, that if the environment through any of the conventional instruments of repression such as extreme religious orthodoxy, economic inferiority, imprisonment, physical disfigurement, such as short stature, or a crippled body, repress the full psychological expression in the field of the instinct tendencies, then a psychic revolt, a slipping into abnormal mental functioning, takes place with the usual result that society accuses this revolutionist of being either wilfully inefficient, alcoholic, a syndicalist, supersensitive, an agnostic, or insane.

Convention has judged the normal man in economic society to be that individual who maintains a certain business placidity, is solvent, safe and not irritating to the delicate structure of credit. Trotter, the English social psychologist, has said that today's current normality has nothing to do with either stability of institutions or human progress. Its single important characteristic is that it is conventional. He urges the imperative need of a new concept of economic normality.

Perhaps one should stop to most seriously emphasize this concept of a new human normality and also to appreciate the handicap to discussion which comes whenever every analyzer at a round table has a very different brand of human normality in mind. There is that theoretical 100 per cent. normality which is gained for the individual by free mobility plus a full environmental equipment of persons and instruments, and which results in a harmonious and full expression of his psychic potentialities. Since each vigorous life lived under these conditions would generate wisdom in direct proportion to it, I think that an evolutionary and also conventionally desirable progress could be prophesied as a result. This progress has no so-called idealistic goal or direction. It has merely a potentiality for more wisdom and that wisdom might lead to any of countless possible developments.

A second normality would be that produced by that freedom in instinct expression and that environment which would give far

more unconventional experimentation, far more wisdom than we now have, but not the amount which would crack social life by hurrying the change of traditions too much, or destroy those civilization institutions which could be modified with some hope of their higher usefulness. Conscious that man will change, if he is to change, to this latter compromise normality concept, it is such a normality that I have in mind when I use the term.

In establishing a catalogue of instinct unit characters, one must first meet Thorndike's criticism of such a scheme. He sees the evolution in instinct theorizing toward an acceptance of the theory that there are innumerable special situations and special stimuli each possessed of its particular behavior reflex. All the important new evidence seems to back up this Thorndike contention. However, if the behavior analysis is a less delicate one and laboratory exactness is not demanded, and if merely consistent behavior tendencies are the objects of classification, it seems not unreasonable to build up a working hypothesis in the concrete form of general unit characters of behavior. The innumerable distinct reflex acts described by Thorndike separate out, as he in truth has separated them, into useful groups. These groups can, with great analysis efficiency, be used as unit characters and, properly named, can make up a usable catalogue of man's inherited social tendencies. This the writer has attempted.

The following catalogue of instincts includes those motives to conduct which, under observation, are found to be unlearned, are universal in the species, and which must be used to explain the innumerable similarities in behavior, detached in space and time from each other.

1. *Gregariousness*.—This innate tendency is exemplified in two ways. Modern economic history is full of that strange irrational phenomenon, "the trek to the city." Even in thinly settled Australia, half the population lives in a few great cities on the coast. In South America and on the Pacific Coast, this same abnormal agglomeration of folk has taken place. The extraordinary piling up of labor masses in modern London, Berlin, New York, Chicago, has created cities too large for economic efficiency, for recreation or sanitation, and yet, despite their inefficiencies and the food and

fire risk, the massing up continues. Factory employment, though speeded up and paid low wages, grows popular for it caters to gregariousness, and domestic service is shunned for it is a lonely job. Huddle and congestion seem the outstanding characteristics of the modern city.

The second exemplification is seen in man's extreme sensitiveness to the opinion of his group, which is an irrational gregarious reflex. This instinct is the psychic basis for his proclivity to react to mob suggestion and hysteria. In a strike, each striker has a perfectly biological capacity for violence if the group seems to will it. Because of this same gregariousness a panic can sweep Wall Street, or an anti-pacifist murmur turn into persecution and near lynching. The crowd members find themselves fatally gripped in the mob drift, they press forward willingly, all yell, and all shake fists and the most gentle spirited will find himself pulling at the lynch rope. Royce has said, "Woe to the society which belittles the power and menace of the mob mind." The lonely sheep herders become in the end irrational, and solitary confinement ends in insanity or submission.

The slavish following of fashion and fads is rooted in gregariousness, and the most important marketing problem is to guess the vagaries of desire which the mob spirit may select. A great crowd or festival is satisfying for its own sake. The installation of a president of a university needs behind the rows of intellectual delegates a mass of mere humanity, and it gets it by various naïve maneuvers. Crowds seldom disperse as rapidly as they might. They are loath to destroy their crowdishness, and therefore irrationally hang about. If gregariousness should weaken, a panic would seize municipal values, and professional baseball, the advertising business, and world-fairs and conventions would become impossible.

2. *Parental bent: motherly behavior: kindness.*—In terms of sacrifice this is the most powerful of all instincts. This instinct, whose main concern is the cherishing of the young through their helpless period, is strong in women and weak in men. The confident presence in economic life of such anti-child influences as the saloons, licensed prostitution, child labor, the police control, and

juvenile delinquency can be well explained by the fact that political control has been an inheritance of the socially indifferent male sex. The coming of women into the franchise promises many interesting and profound economic changes. What little conservation exists today goes back to the male parental instinct for its rather feeble urge.

The disinterested indignation over misery-provoking acts which comes from this instinct is the base stimulus to law and order and furnishes the nebulous but efficient force behind such social vagaries as the anti-saloon league, society for the prevention of cruelty to animals, the associated charities, the movement for juvenile courts, prison reform, Belgian relief, the Child Labor League. The competitive egotism of pecuniary society has stifled the habits which express the parental bent.

3. *Curiosity: manipulation: workmanship.*—Curiosity and its attendant desire to draw near and if possible to manipulate the curious object are almost reflex in their simplicity. Of more economic applicability is the innate bent toward workmanship. Veblen has said that man has "a taste for effective work, and a distaste for futile effort." This desire and talent that man has to mold material to fancied ends, be the material clay or the pawns in diplomacy, explains much of human activity while wages explain little. Prisoners have a horror of prison idleness. Clerks drift out of stereotyped office work, and the monotony of modern industrialism has created a new type of migratory worker. As James has said, "Constructiveness is a genuine and irresistible instinct in man as in the bee or beaver." Man is then not naturally lazy, but innately industrious. Where laziness exists it is an artificial habit, inculcated by civilization. Man has a true quality sense in what he does—there is, then, a "dignity of labor," and it is the job and the industrial environment that produce the slacker, and not the laborer's wilful disposition.

4. *Acquisition: collecting: ownership.*—Man lusts for land, and goes eagerly to the United States, to South America, to Africa for it. It is the real basis of colonial policy and gives much of the interest to peace parleys. A landless proletariat is an uneasy, thwarted militant proletariat. The cure for unruly Ireland is proven to be

peasant proprietorship, and the social menace in the American labor world is the homeless migratory laborer. Russian peasants revolted for land, and this is the single consistent note in the anarchy chaos in Mexico. Man, much of the time, acquires for the mere sake of acquiring. A business man is never rich enough. If, however, making more money uses his acquisitive capacities too little, he may throw this cultivated habit activity into acquiring Van Dykes or bronzes or Greek antiques, or on a smaller and less aesthetic scale, postage stamps, signatures, or shaving mugs. Asylums are full of pitiful economic persons who, lost to the laws of social life, continue as automatons to follow an unmodified instinct in picking up and hoarding pins, leaves, scraps of food, paper. The savings banks in large part depend on this inborn tendency for their right to exist.

5. *Fear and flight*.—Man has the capacity to be fearful under many conditions. His most important fear from an economic standpoint is the stereotyped worker's or business man's worry over the insecure future. This anxiety or apprehension which is so plentiful up and down the scale of economic life has a profound and distressing influence on the digestive tract, and in turn on the general health. Much of nervous indigestion so common in the ruthless economic competition of today is "fear indigestion," is instinct reaction, and can only be cured by removing the cause. This removal of the cause is performed many times by an equally instinctive act, flight. Flight in business may take the conventional form of retirement or selling out, but often adopts the unique method of bankruptcy, insanity, or suicide.

6. *Mental activity: thought*.—To quote Thorndike: "This potent mover (workmanship) of men's economic and recreated activities, has its tap root in the instinct of multiform mental and physical activity." To be mentally active, to do something, is instinctively satisfying. Much of invention springs costless from a mind thinking for the sheer joy of it. Organization, plans in industry, schemes for market extension, visions of ways to power, all agitate neurones in the brain ready and anxious to give issue in thought. A duty of the environment is not only to allow but to encourage states in which meditation naturally occurs.

7. *The housing or settling instinct.*—In its simplest form, the gunny-sack tents of the tramps, the playhouses of children, the camp in the thicket of the hunter. The squatter has a different feeling for his quarter section when he has a dugout on it. Man innately wants a habitation into which he can retire to sleep or to nurse his wounds, physical or social. The Englishman's home is his castle.

8. *Migration: homing.*—To every man the coming of spring suggests moving on. The hobo migration begins promptly with the first sunshine, and the tramp instinct fills Europe with questing globe-trotters. The advice, "Go West, young man," was not obeyed on account of the pecuniary gain alone, but because the venture promised satisfaction to the instinct to migrate as well.

9. *Hunting.*—Man survived in earlier ages through destroying his rivals and killing his game, and these tendencies bit deep into his psychic make-up. Modern man delights in a prize fight or a street brawl, even at times joys in ill news of his own friends, has poorly concealed pleasure if his competition wrecks a business rival, falls easily into committing atrocities if conventional policing be withdrawn, kills off a trade-union, and is an always possible member of a lynching party. He is still a hunter and reverts to his primordial hunt habits with disconcerting zest and expediency. Historic revivals of the hunting urge make an interesting recital of religious inquisitions, witch burnings, college hazings, persecution of suffragettes, of the I.W.W., of the Japanese, or of pacifists. All this goes on often under naïve rationalization about justice and patriotism, but it is pure and innate lust to run something down and hurt it.

10. *Anger: pugnacity.*—In its bodily preparation for action, anger is identical with fear, and fear constitutes the most violent and unreasoning of purposeful dispositions in man. Caught up in anger, all social modifications of conduct tend to become pale, and man functions in primordial attack and defense. Anger and its resulting pugnacity have as their most common excitant the balking or thwarting of another instinct, and this alone explains why man has so jealously, through all ages, fought for liberty.

Pugnacity is the very prerequisite of individual progress. Employers fight a hampering union, unions a dogmatic employer; every imprisoned man is, in reality, psychically incorrigible, students rebel against an autocratic teacher, street boys gang together to fight a bully, nations are ever ready, yes, hoping to fight, and their memory of the cost of war is biologically rendered a short one. In fighting there is a subtle reversion to the primitive standards, and early atrocities become the trench vogue of later months. Patriotism without fighting seems, to western nations, a pallid thing. Most of the vigorous phases of modern civilization remain highly competitive and warlike. Ethics has a long psychological way to go in its vitally necessary task of sublimating the pugnacious bent in man.

11. *Revolt at confinement: at being limited in liberty of action and choice.*—As above noted, man revolts violently at any oppression, be it of body or soul. Being held physically helpless produces in man and animals such profound functional agitation that death can ensue. Passive resistance could only be possible when nearly all of man's inherited nature was removed. In primitive days, being held was immediately antecedent to being eaten, and the distaste of physical helplessness is accordingly deep seated. Belgium would rather resist than live; an I.W.W. would rather go to jail than come meekly off his soap box; the militant suffragettes go through the depravity of forced feeding rather than suffer their inequality, and the worker will starve his family to gain recognition for his union. Man will die for liberty, and droops in prison. So psychically revolting is confinement that the alienists have been forced to create a new disease, a "confinement insanity," a prison psychosis.

12. *Revulsion.*—The social nausea which society feels toward discussions of sex, venereal disease, leprosy, certain smells, is not founded on wilfulness. It is a non-intellectual and innate revulsion to the subject. It is only within the last twenty-five years that the scientific attitude itself has been able to overcome this instinctive repugnance and attack these problems intimate and perilous to human society which have languished under the taboo.

13. *Leadership and mastery.*—It often appears that man seeks leadership and mastery solely because their acquisition places him in

a better position to gratify his other instinctive promptings. But there also seems a special gratification in leading and mastery for their own sake. Modern life shows prodigious effort, paid only in the state of being a boss of the gang, a "leading" college man, a "prominent citizen," a secretary or a vice-president, a militia captain or a church elder. A secret ambition to some day lead some group on some quest, be it ethical or economic, is planted deep in our nature. Every dog longs to have his day.

14. *Subordination: submission.*—In contrast to leadership, man longs at times to follow the fit leader. Soldiers joy in a firm captain, workmen quit a lax though philanthropic employer, instructors thresh under an inefficient though indulgent department head. Eternal independence and its necessary strife are too wearing on the common man and he longs for peace and protection in the shadow of a trust-inspiring leader. To submit under right conditions is not only psychically pleasant, but much of the time to be leaderless is definitely distressing.

15. *Display: vanity: ostentation.*—This old disposition gives the basic concept for Veblen's remarkable analysis of the economic activities of America's leisure class. The particular state of the industrial arts with its trust control and divorce of producer and consumer, plus political peace, has taken from man his ancient opportunity to show his unique gifts in ownership of economic goods and in valor. So he is driven in his yearning for attention to perverted activities. He lives to waste conspicuously, wantonly, originally and, by the refined uselessness of his wasting, show to the gaping world what an extraordinary person he is. The sensitiveness of social matrons to mention in the society columns, the hysteria to be identified with the changing vagaries of the style, the fear of identification with drab and useful livelihoods, offer in their infinite variety a multitude of important economic phenomena.

16. *Sex.*—Of the subjects vital to an analysis of life, be they aesthetic or economic, sex has suffered most from the revulsion taboo. Manifestly an instinct which molds behavior and purposeful planning profoundly, sex as a motive concept is barred from the economic door. Despite the proven moral and efficiency problems which arise with the postponement of marriage due to modern

economic conditions, the massing of unmarried immigrant men into tenement rooms, or the condemning of some millions of migratory workers to a womanless existence, conventional morality meets every situation by denying the sex instinct, by a blind belief that in some strange way modern economic civilization allows its inmates "to mortify the deeds of the body."

While at any particular moment in our behavior we are a blend or composite of many instinct activities, it is accurate to describe much of behavior as dominated at any one time by either a single instinct or at most two or three. A certain environment can habituate man to a specialization in gratification of a single or a pair of instincts. For instance, war matures and educates habits gratifying the instincts of pugnacity and hunting. At the war front this habit bent gives basis for gradually sloughing off the humane restrictions governing the fighting, and armies mutually obey their new psychology. Machine-gun men know they will not be taken prisoner and their service is now known as the suicide squad. Hospitals or undefended towns are bombed, a very conventional minimum of attention is fixed for the enemy wounded, the primitive method of warfare of the French African troops which at first disturbed the ethics of the Allies is now forgotten in the more liberal interpretation under the revamped war psychology. At home the citizens of the belligerent countries gain a cathartic for their overstimulated pugnacious bent by rioting the People's Council, or tar and feathering the I.W.W., or organizing a man hunt for a lately immigrated Austrian or German. It is quite natural that the actors in these domestic dramas should build up explanatory rationalizations for their activity. It is their mild bow to the fast-dimming conventions and traditions of peace. As a gentle and aged lady deplored, "I cannot fight, but I can at least go about and listen and report on the unpatriotic."

The tongue-tied and paralyzed after-dinner speaker is a single-minded expositor of the strange instinct of subservience. The worried father of a sick child seated at his office desk is not an economic man. His behavior is dominated by the parental motive, and in this fact is found the only explanation of his distracted conduct. Veblen in a shrewd analysis of industrial evolution noted

that the early pre-capitalistic culture with its handicraft production and small intimate social groups stressed the habits which express the instinct of workmanship and the parental instinct. With the industrial revolution and the immergence into the pecuniary scheme of things of a small property-owning class and a large proletariat, life presented habit opportunities which stressed in the master class the so-called egotistical instincts of leadership, hunting, ostentation, and vanity, and for the working class removed the opportunities to express the instinct of workmanship and reduced and restricted the other avenues of expression or perverted them to non-evolutionary or anti-social behavior. Instinct perversion rather than freely selected habits of instinct expression seems broadly a just characterization of modern labor class life. Modern labor unrest has a basis more psychopathological than psychological, and it seems accurate to describe modern industrialism as mentally insaniary.

A remarkable analysis of instinct dominance over behavior is illustrated by the experiments at the Harvard Medical School and described by Professor Cannon. He notes that among the instinct emotions active in man, those which are identified with a physical struggle for existence have both a physical and mechanical authority over all other instinct urges to conduct. Like the military general staff, they shoulder aside in times of stress the aesthetic and peaceful enthusiasms and mobilize every mental and physical efficiency to their war purpose. The central nervous system is divided by Cannon into three parts, all of which, under peace, function normally. If, however, the brain be stimulated to fear or anger, one of those parts, the so-called "sympathetic part," becomes the dictator. Its particular nerve fibers are of the three parts by far the most extensive in their distribution and permit immediate mobilization of the entire body. Its mobilization consists in

secession of processes in the alimentary canal, thus freeing the energy supplied for other parts, the shifting of blood from the abdominal organs whose activities are deferrable to the organs immediately essential to muscular exertion (the lungs, the heart, the central nervous system), the increased vigor of contraction of the heart, the quick abolition of the effects of muscular fatigue, the mobilizing of energy-giving sugar in the circulation—every one of these visceral

changes is directly serviceable in making the organism more effective in the violent display of energy which fear or rage or pain may involve.

But the most unique war footing activity of the body in this vigorous preparedness is the functioning of the adrenal gland. To use Cannon's words:

Adrenin, secreted by the adrenal glands, in time of stress or danger, plays an essential rôle in flooding the blood with sugar, distributes the blood to the heart, lungs, central nervous system and limbs, takes it away from the inhibited organs of the abdomen, it quickly abolishes muscular fatigue and coagulates the blood on injury. These remarkable facts are furthermore associated with some of the most primitive experiences in the life of the higher organisms, experiences common to man and beast—the elemental experiences of pain and fear and rage that come suddenly in critical emergencies.

The conclusion seems both scientific and logical that behavior in anger, fear, pain, and hunger is a basically different behavior from the behavior under repose and economic security. The emotions generated under the conditions of existence-peril seem to make the emotions and motives generative in quiet and peace pale and unequal. It seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that the most vital part of man's inheritance is one which destines him to continue for some myriads of years ever a fighting animal when certain conditions exist in his environment. Though, through education, man be habituated in social and intelligent behavior or, through license, in sexual debauchery, still at those times when his life or liberty is threatened, his instinct-emotional nature will inhibit either social thought or sex ideas, and present him as merely an irrational fighting animal.

Since every instinct inherited by man from his tree and cave ancestors, literally sewed into his motivating disposition, has survival value, an environment which balks or thwarts his instinct expression, arouses directly and according to the degree of its menace this unreasoning emotional revolt in him. The chemical proof of this emotional revolt is found by Cannon even in individuals suffering from vague states of worry or anxiety. Here the single problem is the manner in which the angry or fearful person coins his revolt emotion into behavior, and this largely depends upon

the right and proper method which society has selected for expressing psychological dissatisfaction. There are folk ways of distress behavior just as certainly as there are of religious enthusiasm or patriotism. Since the emotional tone stimulated by the balking of "minor" instincts would naturally be lower than that intense tone generated by a threatened rendering of one's flesh, or imprisonment, to the same degree is the behavior stimulated by the lower-toned emotions less vivid and noteworthy than the blind and frantic resistance to the direct physical threat. The behavior reflex to the emotions generated in a state of worry, anxiety, economic servility, or personal humiliation, instead of expressing itself in violent revolt, is shown in states of mental inertia, loss of interest and power of attention, labor inefficiency, drifting off the job, drink, and drugs. These behavior states which under conventional and economic moral theorizing are barrenly and inaccurately described as wilful acts are elemental, irrational, and blind reflex activities. Under conditions which allow the satisfactory expression of man's original inherited proclivities, this warlike specialization of the mind and body is avoided. There the cranial or sacral sections of the peace-footing "automatic" section divide with the warlike "sympathetic" section the authority over the body. Health and nerve reserve is built up, a quiet brain permits rational orderings of the associations of the mind, social-behavior habits can influence the order and connections of the neurones and insure their perpetuation; in short, intellectual progress becomes possible.

The instincts and their emotions, coupled with the obedient body, lay down in scientific and exact description the motives which must and will determine human conduct. If a physical environment set itself against the expression of these instinct motives, the human organism is fully and efficiently prepared for a tenacious and destructive revolt against this environment, and if the antagonism persist, the organism is ready to destroy itself and disappear as a species if it fail of a psychological mutation which would make the perverted order endurable.

Even if labor-class children evade those repressive deportment traditions that characterize the life of the middle-class young, at a later date in the life of these working-class members certain powerful

forces in their environment, though they work on the less susceptible and less plastic natures of mature individuals, produce obsessions and thwartings which function at times, exclusively almost, in determining the behavior of great classes of the industrial population. The powerful forces of the working-class environment which thwart and balk instinct expression are suggested in the phrases "monotonous work," "dirty work," "simplified work," "mechanized work," "the servile place of labor," "insecure tenure of the job," "hire and fire," "winter unemployment," "the ever found union of the poor district with the crime district," and the "restricted district of prostitution," the "open shop," the "labor turnover," "poverty," the "bread lines," the "scrap heap," "destitution." If we postulate some sixteen instinct unit characters which are present under the laborer's blouse and insistently demand the same gratification that is with painful care planned for the college students, in just what kind of perverted compensations must a laborer indulge to make endurable his existence? A western hobo tried in a more or less frenzied way to compensate for a general all-embracing thwarting of his nature by a wonderful concentration of sublimation activities on the wander instinct. The monotony, indignity, dirt, and sexual apologies of, for instance, the unskilled worker's life bring their definite fixations, their definite irrational inferiority obsessions.

The balked laborer here follows one of the two described lines of conduct.

First, he either weakens, becomes inefficient, drifts away, loses interest in the quality of his work, drinks, deserts his family; or,

Secondly, he indulges in a true type inferiority compensation, and in order to dignify himself, to eliminate for himself his inferiority in his own eyes, he strikes or brings on a strike; he commits violence, or he stays on the job and injures machinery, or mutilates the materials. He is fit food for dynamite conspiracies. He is ready to make sabotage a part of his regular habit scheme. His condition is one of mental stress and unfocused psychic unrest, and could in all accuracy be called a definite industrial psychosis. He is neither wilful nor responsible, he is suffering from a stereotyped mental disease.

If one leaves the strata of unskilled labor and investigates the higher economic classes, he finds parallel conditions. There is a profound unrest and strong migratory tendency among department store employees. One New York store with less than three thousand employees has thirteen thousand pass through its employ in a year. Since the establishment in American life of big business with its extensive efficiency systems, its order and de-humanized discipline, its caste system, as it were, there has developed among its highly paid men a persistent unrest, a dissatisfaction and decay of morale which is so noticeable and costly that it has received repeated attention. Even the conventional competitive efficiency of American business is in grave question. I suggest that this unrest is a true revolt psychosis, a definite mental unbalance, an efficiency psychosis, as it were, and has its definite psychic antecedents, and that our present moralizing and guess solutions are both hopeless and ludicrous.

The dynamic psychology of today describes the present civilization as a repressive environment. For a great number of its inhabitants a sufficient self-expression is denied. There is, for those who care to see, a deep and growing unrest and pessimism. With the increase in knowledge is coming a new realization of the irrational direction of economic evolution. The economists, however, view economic inequality and life degradation as objects in truth outside the science. Our value concept is a price mechanism hiding behind a phrase. If we are to play a part in the social readjustment immediately ahead, we must put human nature and human motives into our basic hypotheses. Our value concept must be the yardstick to measure just how fully things and institutions contribute to a full psychological life. We must know more of the meaning of progress. The domination of society by one economic class has for its chief evil the thwarting of the instinct life of the subordinate class and the perversion of the upper class. The extent and characteristics of this evil are only to be estimated when we know the innate potentialities and inherited propensities of man, and the ordering of this knowledge and its application to the changeable economic structure is the task before the trained economists today.

DISCUSSION

FRANK A. FETTER, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

The two papers to which we have just listened cover a wide field, ranging from the very origins of economic action to its ultimate results. The connection between the two papers may at first be difficult to see. However, they are both jeremiads; they both indict our economic system for failure, on the one hand, to secure a necessary measure of equality in the distribution of wealth and, on the other hand, to satisfy the fundamental needs of human nature for the masses of men. Both papers alike declare that this failure appears at the two extremes of society, among the very rich and the very poor.

From another point of view, the indictment appears to be brought against contemporary economic thought for its failure, on the one hand, to solve the problem of economic inequality and, on the other hand, to recognize the complex and fundamental psychological nature of man. The reply to these accusations cannot be a simple one. It must in part be confession, in part extenuation and avoidance, and in part denial of the statements of facts and of the inferences drawn from them.

Are economists neglectful of questions of distribution and human welfare? The reply to this depends largely on one's conception of the true function of economics as a special discipline. Economics is far from being the whole of social philosophy. It is far from having the sole responsibility for the guidance of social action and social legislation. Its special field is the ascertainment of the facts, and the exact scientific analysis of the problems of value and price. The framing of a policy of social action is the work of the social philosopher and statesman and involves considerations not merely of an economic nature, but legal, ethical, political, and religious as well. There is risk that in becoming a universal oracle any social science will lose its intellectual poise and its judicial authority. This modesty of economics may seem inexplicable to some of our sister sciences, which are restrained by no such considerations. As an individual, as a man, and as a citizen, the economist, to be sure, is impelled to frame for himself an ideal of social action. Contemporary economists are not ignoring or neglecting the problems of human welfare. One has but to recall the subjects and to review the discussions in this Association for the past thirty years, and particularly in the last decade, to see how the thought of economists has taken practical, constructive, and concrete directions in such matters as the protection of labor, immigration, land policy, tariff legislation, and the development of democratic forms of taxation.

The first paper is, in the main, an attack on the doctrine of *laissez faire*. The writer implies that this doctrine still has some vitality, although he suggests that it began to lose its force a generation ago. At least his chronology needs revision. I began the study of economics a generation ago, and I was taught then that *laissez faire*, as a doctrine, had long been dead. Indeed, looking back over the history of the past century, one may doubt whether

anyone has put faith in that doctrine excepting a little group of selfish interests whenever they wished to favor their own policies. As early as the thirties and forties of the last century began in England that protective labor legislation which has spread to the ends of the earth in defiance of *laissez faire*. There was little evidence of *laissez faire* in the enormous grants of land and money by the public to railroads and other corporations in the United States from 1850 on. A thousand important public policies of the past half-century are evidence that *laissez faire* has long been dead. But its image, like that of Guy Fawkes, is still brought out each year to be hung up in derision to make a sociological holiday.

The first paper devotes considerable time to an attack upon the theory of specific productivity as developed by John B. Clark. I yield to no one in my respect for Clark's theoretical work, considered as a whole, but this part of his theory I utterly rejected in a review of his work as early as 1901. Referring to his claim to present a "vindication of the existing distribution of incomes," I called this a *non sequitur* from his economic analysis. I declared that Clark had not proved and could not prove by his analysis that, as he said, "there is assigned to every one what he has specifically produced." This judgment I believe to have reflected not only my own view but that of many economists at that time. My colleague, Professor Adriance, has more recently in a detailed and effective refutation given to the doctrine of specific productivity its *coup de grace* (*Quarterly Journal of Economics*, November, 1914). It is true that various phrases with the flavor of specific productivity still linger in the textbooks, but the authors render to the doctrine a mere lip-service. Certainly when such economists as Taussig and Seager, with their well-known social sympathy, speak of "specific productivity," they mean no justification of prevailing abuses, no ethical vindication of the existing inequality of incomes.

Of the other economic questions raised by the first paper, I will refer only to the confusion throughout of competition with lack of regulation. In a number of the examples cited, the evils are due not to competition but to monopoly, to a one-sided competition. Regulation is needed either to restore competition or to control combination and monopoly, not to suppress competition.

The first paper is filled with admirable ethical fervor and brings to us a message that it were well to heed. The theme of the second paper, the importance of a broader biological and psychological basis in our economic theory, deserves our respectful hearing, and in most respects our cordial acceptance. The economic man is dead, as dead as *laissez faire*. The motives in economic action are complex and are derived from all the elements of man's complex nature. It is well to have presented in this interesting form the fruits of the behaviorist psychology. Doubtless we have not more than begun to realize the strength of the primitive impulses and instincts in man's nature; but these studies of the biologists and psychologists, and the newer volitional psychology, have already found their way into the economic literature and even into the

more advanced general texts in economics. I attempted fifteen years ago to give some recognition to these ideas in the concept of psychic income. The thought in this is that in all problems of valuation the psychic element is of primary importance and the physical goods are but secondary. What a man or what a nation shall secure in welfare and happiness depends more on the spiritual state of man than it does on the physical objects over which he disposes. We need a new evaluation of industrial institutions in the light of these new doctrines. It may be admitted that many economists have been slow to recognize these truths. I, for one, welcome most heartily the work of Professor Parker and the main thesis of his paper.

I would in closing suggest a few difficulties, however, in some of the applications he makes of his psychological doctrine. He seeks by it to explain the temper and outbreaks of the mass of the members of the I.W.W., whom he defines in a recently published article (*Atlantic Monthly*, November) as members of the hobo class. Now every careful application of mental tests to the class of vagrant casual workers, tramps, and hobos has revealed a large amount of mental defectiveness, extending even to feeble-mindedness. (Of course one need not assert this of the more capable leaders.) So far as this is true we have to do here with the expression not of normal psychology but of defective mentality. This, too, is a psychological explanation of some features of the problem, but is very different from the one which Professor Parker has suggested.

Again he seems to try to explain through these primitive psychological traits the outbreak of strikes, which in the West have been of late three times as numerous as before. But what light can the behaviorist psychology throw upon this increase of strikes? Has the primitive nature of these hobo workers become suddenly three times as strong as before? That primitive nature is the fixed fact. Is not the explanation to be found in this case in some change in the environment? And there is one important change to which the author has made no reference, namely, the rapid rise of prices since 1914. It is a general truth of history that when prices rise rapidly, wages lag behind and strikes multiply. It is this fact that would seem to explain the recent wave of strikes much more simply, more prosaically and less dramatically, than is done by Professor Parker.

Finally, I would raise the question as to whether throughout this paper the author has not greatly exaggerated the biological elements in the analysis and underestimated the cultural or educational elements. Man in society from its primitive beginning has been a product of the union of biological and cultural influences. The untutored savage is a myth; nature-folk everywhere are rigorously tutored in the customs and traditions of their tribes. Their primitive biological nature is shaped and molded from infancy by their social environment. Wherever this educational process in any nation or any class of society is omitted or slighted, there unsocial acts result. The explanation of these acts therefore is not so much in the biological nature which the lawbreakers

share with all law-abiding men, but in the lack of education—the education which they have failed to share. The rapid growth of our industrial institutions has given us many unsolved problems of education. We have not adequately developed institutions making for thrift in the new conditions, nor have we sufficiently safeguarded the mass of men against the accidents of industrial life. We have not provided for them the industrial training that would mold them into habits of industry, and give them the possibility of modest success. These facts help to explain many continuing evils in our industrial relations. In so far, therefore, Professor Parker's paper leaves a distorted impression. We decline to make again of economics a "dismal science." We refuse to believe that all our industrial ills are due to the innate wickedness of men and to our inevitable heritage of original sin.

WESLEY C. MITCHELL, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

All of us who heard Professor Irving Fisher's presidential address before the American Association for Labor Legislation have doubtless been thinking of the similarity between the burden of his speech and what Professor Parker has said tonight. Circumstances have directed the attention of both men to the industrial unrest which is so prevalent at the present time. One in New Haven, the other in Seattle, have concluded that to understand and deal efficiently with existing conditions we must recognize factors not dreamed of in orthodox economic theory. Both men contend that modern conditions of factory production are seriously and needlessly exasperating to the mass of the wage-earners. Disputes between employers and employed they attribute quite as much to this emotional state of irritation as to a desire to drive a better bargain. Man inherits, both tell us, certain instincts, and any life which thwarts the activities that these instincts prompt will inevitably breed discord.

All the men who have for years been declaring that economic theory must pay more intelligent attention to the problems of behavior will be encouraged at the coincidence of these two addresses. They will be particularly pleased by Professor Fisher's adhesion to this viewpoint, inasmuch as in the remarkable dissertation with which he began his scientific career he protested against the foisting of psychology upon economic theory. The same men will feel further encouraged by the welcome that Professor Fetter has just extended to Professor Parker's analysis. They may even hope that Professor Fetter will some day explain definitely what the "American Psychological School" has to do with psychology. I have been inclined to think that Professor Fisher was logically justified in protesting against the foisting of psychology upon the type of economic theory which he propounded in 1892. Similarly Professor A. C. Whitaker has protested against the mixing of psychology with the type of economic theory which Professor Fetter propounded in 1915. Will not

IMMIGRATION AS A PROBLEM IN SOCIAL CONTROL

HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD
Yale University

Next to winning the war, the problem of immigration is certainly one of the most important, if not the very most important, problem before the people of the United States. While hostilities have brought about a practical cessation of foreign arrivals, thereby diverting attention from immigration itself, yet the critical situation has thrown into clearer light than ever before the complexity and gravity of the conditions which result from immigration, and there is reason to believe that when communication with Europe is restored the American people will be more ready than ever before to give serious thought to the problem of immigration, to consider it soberly in its broad outlines and in its multitudinous details, and to be guided in their action by sound scientific principles. The present is therefore a peculiarly appropriate time to reflect upon the meaning of this great movement, to consider its bearing upon the social life of America and of the world, and to study how the principles of social control may be applied to it.

The general question of the application of social control to immigration presents five distinct aspects: the possibility of control, the right to control, the necessity of control, the purpose of control, and the method of control. These may profitably be considered in succession.

The possibility of the control of immigration rests upon the fact that true immigration always crosses a national boundary, and is therefore subject to arrest by either one or both of two states. Furthermore, effective control must take the form of state control for the reason that, inasmuch as the members of two distinct societies are concerned, the less authoritative and positive forms of control—broadly described as public opinion—will not operate.

History affords instances of efficient control by the country of source as well as by the country of destination. Until recent years Turkey had strict laws governing the emigration of her subjects, and while there were many evasions there was no real emigration current. At the present time emigration from Japan to the United States is held in check by the action of the Japanese government. This sort of control, however, is becoming increasingly difficult for modern nations. The growth of democratic ideas has caused even the most despotic nations to be exceedingly chary of attempting to restrain their subjects by force from emigration.

At the present time most of the effective restrictions upon immigration are placed by the receiving nations. This is certainly true of immigration to the United States. The character of the immigration stream is essentially what we choose to permit. The possibility of this form of control is enhanced by the fact that most European nations tacitly approve of any American measures which operate to keep their able-bodied subjects at home. Within recent years there have been no serious objections even to our measures for excluding foreign criminals and paupers. It is significant that the nations which are popularly supposed to threaten the possibility of our control in the future are oriental nations, with a largely redundant population, which until now, however, have lacked the force to impose their will upon us.

Granting, then, that we have for the present the possibility of controlling immigration, the next question is whether we have a right to avail ourselves of this possibility. The whole question of rights lies so largely in the field of abstract speculation and intuition that it may seem incongruous to introduce it here. Particularly in the field of international relations we are witnessing an imposing demonstration of the facts that there can be no rights except on the basis of law and that there can be no law without an authoritative force to maintain the law. The notions that any of us may have as to what are rights vanish into thin air, and the agreements that nations make among themselves become scraps of paper, when the passions of men are turned loose without any force to restrain them. It might seem, then, that any nation had a right to control immigration as long as it was powerful enough to

enforce its will, but that that right would disappear as soon as another nation whose interests were opposed rose superior to it in power.

The fact is, however, that many people in this and other countries question our intrinsic right to exert a control over immigration which involves keeping out from our territory those from foreign lands who wish to enter. Assuming that we have the power, these persons hold that it is an unethical act to exercise that power against the wishes of foreign individuals. Prominent among the exponents of this view in this country is Mary Antin, who speaks axiomatically of "the right of free men to choose their place of residence,"¹ and denies that we have the right to impose on foreigners any further restriction than we in fact put upon our own people.² There are many others in this country who hold similar views, and the superficial humanitarianism of their arguments lends them a strong appeal. With a certain group of writers this contention takes an individualistic form. They maintain that it is selfish and inconsiderate to shut out from the benefits of American life suffering and ambitious residents of other lands. Still more important, perhaps, is that form of the rights argument which rests upon international grounds. There are those in foreign countries, and there are those in the United States, who support them, who deny that this government has the right to forbid entrance to the subjects of friendly nations, or at least the right to discriminate between friendly nations in granting admission.

The most imminent example of this at the present time is Japan. According to many authorities, as, for example, Mr. J. F. Steiner,³ the Japanese believe—or profess to believe—that they have a right to enter America, which is to say that we have not the right to keep them out. According to some students of the oriental situation it is the denial of this abstract right, rather than any actual interference with the movements of Japanese, that lies back of whatever animosity toward the United States there may be among the Japanese on account of the immigration situation. It is clear,

¹ *They Who Knock at Our Gates*, p. 10.

² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³ *The Japanese Invasion*, p. 194.

then, that the question of the ethical right of this nation to control immigration is not merely an academic question, but has an intensely practical bearing on public affairs.

Now no question of abstract right was ever settled by argument, and no attempt will be made to settle this one. All that is sought in the present connection is to throw into clear relief the basic importance of sound, logical thinking on the subject. It need only be observed, in passing, that if there are any inherent national rights at all, certainly foremost among them is the right to determine what constituent elements shall go into the body politic and into the electorate—that is to say, the right to control immigration and naturalization. Or perhaps the issue may be clarified by stating it in this way: Are national rights of land ownership similar in any respect to individual rights to land? No one questions the right of the individual to keep others off his land. The “right to choose a residence” does not imply that any stranger has a right to come and settle down in your residence or mine.

An ironically humorous light is thrown upon the whole rights argument by the fact that it was Thomas Jefferson, whom Mary Antin sets in a class with Moses,¹ who expressed the wish that there were an ocean of fire between this country and Europe, so that it would be impossible for any more immigrants to come here.

Having established the possibility of controlling immigration, and the right of any nation, which has the power, to control immigration, the next question is: What is the necessity of controlling immigration? To understand this question it is necessary to consider briefly the nature of the immigration movement.

Immigration is a great natural phenomenon. Like all natural phenomena, it results from the operation of natural forces, and, like all sociological phenomena, these forces play through human beings. The basic force which lies back of immigration is hunger, which in its more developed form becomes the desire for wealth. In response to this force men from time immemorial have sought to gain possession of the ultimate source of all wealth, which is land, and immigration is merely the modern aspect of the world-old movement of men from poorer to better land areas, or from crowded

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

to thinly settled areas. The social control of immigration does not imply the annihilation or transformation of this natural force—that is impossible; nor does it imply the encouragement of people to respond to this force—that is superfluous. It implies the placing by society of deliberate restraints, checks, or guides upon the way in which individuals respond to this force.

Why then is it necessary for societies to place arbitrary restraints upon the individual response to a purely natural force? The answer to this question is found in the ignorance, stupidity, and selfishness of the human individual. The essence of all applied science is the diversion or manipulation of natural forces to subserve human ends. The untrained individual does not know how to do this, and the lone individual often has not the power. In social science, where the human being is at the same time the controller and the object of the force, the problem becomes doubly difficult. Individual human beings do not sufficiently understand the nature of the forces which play upon them, nor the methods of controlling the operation of those forces, to be intrusted with the task of manipulating those forces; and, furthermore, those exceptional individuals who have the knowledge are likely to use it to control the situation in their own selfish interest, rather than in the interest of the group of which they are a part, or of society at large.

These generalizations apply with special aptness to the phenomenon of immigration. Those who feel the pressure of the motive force most directly and most powerfully are on the whole the less fortunate, less intelligent, and less informed elements of the population. They are the ones least able to comprehend the full meaning of the movement of which they are a part, to themselves, or to humanity. Their processes of thought are primitive, and their outlook very restricted. They do the thing which on the surface seems to promise them immediate advantage. And in this connection it is well to bear in mind the profound truth quoted by Norman Angell,¹ that, as far as human conduct is concerned, "not the facts, but men's opinions about the facts, are what matter." Men emigrate because they *think* they are going to profit thereby.

¹ *The Great Illusion*, p. 341.

Social control of immigration, then, is necessary for the protection of the migrating individuals themselves. But this is not all. A social movement so extensive as immigration is sure to have effects upon all the countries concerned, but particularly upon the receiving country. In books dealing with all sorts of social and public problems in the United States nothing is more striking than the uniformity with which the authors assert that one of the great complicating factors in the problem which they are discussing is immigration. This is easily understandable. Immigration influences the very make-up of the American people, and therefore affects every one of the activities and interests of this people. These effects may be good or bad, desirable or undesirable, from the point of view of our society as a whole. Because the expedient of emigration offers, or seems to offer, advantages to the people of European countries, it does not at all follow that it will result in advantage to the United States. It is certain that some, at least, of the results of uncontrolled immigration will be unfavorable. Social control is therefore necessary for the protection of the receiving society.

This control is made all the more necessary because, in the absence of social control, intelligent and alert individuals will manipulate the immigration movement for their own personal profit, in ways that may be very deleterious to society. Examples of such action are furnished by capitalistic employers who wish to import contract laborers from abroad, by steamship companies who would gladly stimulate an artificial immigration of those elements which are almost certain to fail in this country and therefore will eventually furnish a remunerative return cargo, and by panders who might reap rich profits from the white-slave trade. The simple fact is that the possibilities of immigration are too great ever to be left uncontrolled. If they are not controlled by society, they will be controlled by more or less unscrupulous individuals.

We come now to the question of the purpose of control. All social interference with natural movements, to have any justification at all, must be intelligent, deliberate, and scientific. This implies a clear conception in advance of the ends sought. Much of the immigration legislation of the past has been opportunist in

character. It is time that the people of the United States formulated on broad grounds a general idea of exactly what they wish to accomplish by immigration regulation. The statements which follow represent of course only the convictions of the present writer.

Broadly stated, the purpose of the social control of immigration should be to protect and advance the welfare of the American people, and to safeguard and preserve those qualities of our national life which make this country an attractive and desirable place of residence for individuals of all classes. This involves several things: First, the preservation of our political ideals and standards, so that the United States may continue to be a favorable field for the growth of pure democracy. Any aspect of the immigration movement which threatens our democratic institutions calls for social restraint. Secondly, to safeguard the standard of living of the American working class. This object is closely associated with the foregoing, for one of the essentials of stable democracy is a comfortable, well-nourished, and well-nurtured common people. It is probably the most important concrete desideratum of immigration legislation at the present time. Thirdly, to protect the mental and intellectual standards of the American people. Those who regard immigration from the eugenic point of view are calling constant and much-needed attention to the appalling menace to our intellectual standards which inheres in the enormous numbers of immigrants annually admitted in ordinary times who are of inferior, if not absolutely abnormal, mental caliber. Fourthly, another eugenic consideration—the preservation of a certain physical standard of the American people, a standard, not only of health and efficiency, but of stature, bearing, and appearance. Fifthly—something which perhaps includes all of the foregoing—the maintenance of a degree of homogeneity in the American body politic which will enable it to deal harmoniously and consistently with the great social problems which will confront the nations of the future in increasingly complex and difficult forms, and with an increasing insistence and gravity. No national policy could be more suicidal in a democracy than one which limits or destroys the possibility of its people dealing with public questions in a spirit of mutual sympathy and understanding.

It may seem to some that the ideal of national self-seeking which has just been presented is narrow and illiberal. Even if it were narrow, it would not follow that it was unjustifiable, for the first law of nations, as of individuals, is self-preservation. Fortunately for any controversy, however, it is not a narrow view, but the broadest which can be taken. For the welfare of mankind demands that the peculiar advantages and merits of the social system of the United States, as represented concretely by our common standard of living, be preserved at all hazards for future generations. The narrow point of view is that which would sacrifice one jot or tittle of our national superiority in the interest of the transitory welfare of the individuals of this generation. In a very special sense the United States is the custodian of the future of the common people, and she would be recreant to her trust if she relinquished her hold on any of the guaranties of the progress of the common people in response to the specious pleas of a shortsighted, individualistic, sentimental humanitarianism. Social control of immigration is necessary in the interest of future generations.

As to the methods of control of immigration, little need be said here. That is the technical side of the question, and the details change with changing conditions. All that needs emphasis in this connection is that, in determining and applying practical methods of controlling immigration, social rights and interests rise paramount in every instance to individual rights and interests. Granting this principle, the question whether control is to take the form of a literacy test, or a percentage restriction, or a minimum-wage provision, or a physical examination may be left to experts, to be decided upon grounds of practicability and expediency, and the probability or certainty of results.

THE IMMIGRANT AS A PROBLEM IN COMMUNITY PLANNING

GRACE ABBOTT
Federal Children's Bureau

In the discussion of immigration during the past century attention has been concentrated almost wholly on what immigrants we should exclude from the United States and little attention has been given to the admitted immigrant. Since the beginning of the Great War a new interest in the foreign born who is here in our midst has developed. With the stimulation of nationalism there has come a new consciousness of the diverse elements in our population. As a result the indifference of some native Americans has been changed to distrust and suspicion of all the foreign born; many have come to feel that what they call the "alien element" constitutes a very heavy national burden. Some are asking whether anything that is really thoroughgoing has been done to Americanize the immigrant in the past; they are now saying that we ought to "mold" the newcomers after some approved American pattern and are eager to get them into a room and tell them about "American ideals." Curiously enough these enthusiastic Americanizers see no reflection on ourselves in the assumption that the immigrant could live among us for several years and never guess what our ideals are from our practices. Generally speaking the demand for a vigorous and what some call a "red-blooded policy of Americanization" gets a wider hearing today than formerly, and there is in consequence some danger of committing ourselves to the kind of well-planned and well-financed schemes of aggressive assimilation which have failed in Germany, in Austria, in Hungary, and in Russia in the past.

Even those who are trained in judging historical evidence disagree as to what have been our ideals in the past, and those

of Anglo-American stock as well as those of foreign-born parentage disagree fundamentally among themselves as to what should be our ideals in the future. No reference to the achievements of our own ancestors or denunciation of any other nationality will convince either ourselves or the immigrant of our worthiness. No assertion of the superiority of Americans will make us superior, but such claims will make it more difficult for us to deal with other national groups.

To those who have been in close touch with the immigrant, and especially the non-English-speaking immigrant in America, it seems especially important that the new interest in the foreign born which has come with the war should not result in increased race consciousness and mutual distrust, but should result in a frank consideration of what are the problems of the immigrant in our midst and how we can go about solving them.

The sources of immigration during the decade which preceded the war and the numbers in which they came during that period are well known. The numbers that will crowd the steerage after the re-establishment of peace and the parts of the world from which they will come cannot now be determined. But the principles on which we should attempt the solution of the community problems which come with a complex population can be settled without that information.

The duty and the opportunity of the national government and of the local community to the admitted immigrant were and still are (1) to protect him against fraud and exploitation, so that such traditions as he cherished with regard to America might not be lost in his first contacts with us; (2) to give him an opportunity to learn the English language and secure such a working knowledge of our laws and institutions as would enable him to join us in the work of making the United States a really effective democracy; (3) to make such adjustments of our political and social machinery as the peculiar needs of the various elements in our complex population render necessary or desirable. Failure to protect the immigrant's journey from the port of entry to his home has meant that the non-English-speaking young girl and young man have begun their life among us by experiencing the peculiarly

mean and ugly forms of exploitation which the lowest elements among us organize to practice on the unsuspecting; because we have provided no place where the immigrant could secure reliable information as to the best market in which he might sell his skill and training or where he could turn to best account the health and strength which he brings, both the immigrant and the native worker have suffered needlessly. We have been satisfied to leave to the evening-school teacher, who has had no training in the teaching of adults, who is poorly paid and who receives no professional recognition for her work in the evening schools and who, like those whom she instructs, comes to the night school wearied by a full day's work—to this teacher and to the party-machine organization we have intrusted the preparation of the immigrant for American citizenship. There is no necessity to continue to point out what the immigrant has suffered needlessly because of community neglect.

Let us assume that a community asks how it may prevent unnecessary failures among its foreign-born members and how it may utilize to the fullest the potential contribution of each national group. Such a community would have to determine, as its first step, whether the present institutions were established and administered with a view to serving only a homogeneous Anglo-Saxon population, or whether the needs of the real instead of the imaginary population had been considered. To determine this it is necessary to know the political, social, and economic life of the peasants in their European homes as well as the special difficulties which they are encountering here in the United States.

Everyone knows that the immigrants coming to the United States usually change from a simple to a highly specialized and complex industrial life when they come from Galicia, or Croatia, or Russia to America. During their first years in this country they must, in consequence, abandon many old customs and adopt new standards of social relationship. They are usually young and suddenly released from the restraints which the village life at home imposed upon them and they have had no experience on which to draw during the critical period when they are becoming adjusted to the new conditions. Most of them meet this

crisis simply and, in a measure, successfully. Sometimes, however, a tragic moral collapse or a general demoralization of family standards results from the inability of the immigrant to adjust his old standards to the new. Before any progress can be made toward eliminating the hardships of adjustment to American life these difficulties must be recognized and understood. The school teacher, the social worker, the judge of the juvenile or the municipal court, is unable to help the immigrant out of his confused bewilderment unless he understands, not in a general way but quite concretely, the conflict with traditional standards of judgment which his life in the new world has brought.

To many Americans the so-called foreign colonies in New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, or Cleveland seem to be reproductions of sections of Italy, Greece, Poland, or Russia. But to the immigrant the street on which he lives here is so unlike the one on which he lived at home that he believes it to be thoroughly American. These "foreign neighborhoods" of ours are neither Italian, nor Polish, nor Russian, nor Greek. Nor are they American. A sympathetic knowledge of the life and hopes of the people of these un-American American neighborhoods is rare among us. An understanding of the racial history, of the social and economic development and of present political tendencies in the countries from which the inhabitants of such a neighborhood come is much more unusual. A knowledge of both their life here and their life at home is necessary for intelligent community planning. In the attempts made to help those who have been unable to make the necessary adjustments to the new conditions they encounter here, we have usually acted quite without the information which is necessary for the proper diagnosis of the source of their difficulties, and as long as individual cases are not properly diagnosed successful treatment is only a happy accident and cannot form the basis for a program of prevention.

In general, it is safe to say that the immigrant does not create new problems that can be solved apart from the general problems of our community life. This is not saying that he does not complicate American life. The barriers of language, the inherited antipathies and religious prejudices, cannot be ignored

as sources of difficulties. These constitute serious complications which must be taken into account in our social planning.

To illustrate, our failure to effect an organization of the employment market has resulted in unnecessary hardships for all those who seek employment. The development of a system of labor exchanges is recommended as a remedy. But a system of public employment agencies would not serve the immigrant who is so peculiarly in need of disinterested help when he offers himself in the labor market, if such an agency has no interpreters, and if those who undertake to advise the immigrant about his industrial future cannot evaluate his European training or experience or the lack of both, and if they do not understand the peculiar industrial problems which the non-English-speaking immigrant encounters here. A recreation program which is designed to reduce delinquency among girls will not meet the needs of the immigrant girl until special forms of recreation have been discovered which will appeal to the young people of each nationality and which will not run counter to the social traditions of their parents. A public-health program will not reach the immigrant when he most needs it unless it is related to his old-world experience and given to him in a language he can understand. Because he is changing from an outdoor to an indoor life, from a village to a city, he especially needs to be reached by the public-health propaganda long before he has had time to learn the English language and become acquainted with local conditions.

It is apparent to a growing number of people in the United States and Europe that fundamental changes in our social and political organization must be made in the near future. The causes which make this necessary and the evils to be corrected, while differing in degree, are the same on both continents. With us, because the immigrant is the weakest industrially he suffers most from the evils of the present system. His peculiar problems and difficulties must therefore be considered in any plans for the democratization of industry.

The problem of the immigrant in relation to our community life is then not so much a problem in assimilation as in adjustment. To assist in such adjustments, we must take account, first, of those

traditions and characteristics which belong to the immigrants by reason of their race and early environment and, second, of the peculiar difficulties which they encounter here. These two elements in the problem must be known before we can hope to reach conclusions.

It need not be pointed out that it is impossible to work out any permanent scheme of adjustment. Changes in the sources of immigration must be constantly kept in mind. Advancing social and educational standards will make for both the immigrant and the native American what is adequate today, inadequate tomorrow. But what we are trying to do will remain the same. We should ask ourselves what special provision must be made to protect those among us whose helplessness makes their need of protection so great; what should be done to supplement the immigrant's as well as the native American's lack of training and experience; how, in other words, to make the best that is in all of us available for the service of the whole community.

There are Americans who resent the immigrant as an outsider, whose troubles they should not be asked to consider. Some feel that to take account deliberately in our social planning of differences in customs and traditions would be a dangerous recognition of un-Americanisms. But as a rule neither of these reasons has determined our course. It is usually because of ignorance and indifference that in our social policies we have failed to consider the complex character of our population and have built our social and political institutions with a view to meeting the needs of an imaginary homogeneous people.

Those Americans who resent the immigrant as an outsider and are, in consequence, impatient of any demands which his presence makes upon their time or thought or money are the same people who stand in the way of meeting in a large sense the needs of the native born. They consider our institutions more important than the ends those institutions were created to serve. We may feel sure that if our administrative officers understand the necessity of individualizing the needs of the American born they will be willing to individualize the needs of the immigrant groups.

An intelligent recognition of the complications and possible disadvantages of our cosmopolitan population does not mean that we should ignore its advantages. How many of what are called American traits are due to geographical influence, to frontier life, or to diverse racial contributions cannot be determined by conjecture. To what extent the Scandinavians have made the history of Minnesota different from the history of North Carolina or Colorado or Massachusetts cannot be exactly determined. It is even more difficult to say what influence the Scandinavians might have exerted were they not controlled or limited by the common insistence on what is regarded as an American standard. But that into the development of Minnesota have gone Scandinavian intelligence, hard work, and devotion to the larger public welfare cannot be questioned.

It has always been embarrassing to Americans to have distinguished visitors from abroad call attention to the fact that the United States is not a "nation" in the European sense of the word. It is true that unity of religion, unity of race, unity of ideals do not exist in the United States. Whether such unity should be sought in a democracy need not be considered here. From the beginning we have been the representatives of many nationalities; now we are scattered across a continent with all the additional differences in interest and occupation that diversity of climate and geography brings. But instead of being ashamed of the "American" character of our population it is time that we recognized its peculiar values.

The demand for a recognition of "nationalism" in Europe is the democratic demand that all the peoples should be free to associate together as equals. They have argued that equality is impossible if a people is not free to speak the language which they prefer and to develop their own national culture and character. Here in the United States we have the opportunity of working out a national life which is founded on democratic internationalism. If the English, Irish, Polish, German, Scandinavian, Russian, Magyar, Lithuanian and all other peoples of the earth can live together, each making his own distinctive contribution to our common life; if we can respect the differences that result

from different social and political environment and see the common interests that unite all people, we shall meet the American opportunity. This will mean that we shall endeavor to use both at home and in our international relationship the possibilities which are ours because we are of many races and are related, by the closest of human ties, to all the world.

Out of the very fact that here in the United States all the races of the world are working together in a single city, in a single industry, or are united in a single union local should come a new kind of power. As never before we are realizing the international aspects of what have seemed to be merely national or local problems. It remains to be seen whether we will use our national international resources in their solution.

"Americanism" is much more a matter of the future than of the past. The social and political theories of '76 cannot adequately meet the social and political problems of 1917. It is to be hoped that we can bring to the problems of the present an intelligence and understanding which will enable us to meet the opportunities and responsibilities of the present.

CONTROL OF IMMIGRATION BASED UPON THE TRUE DEMAND FOR LABOR

ARTHUR J. TODD
University of Minnesota

The maintenance and perpetuation of population types through selective immigration is a principle of social control as old as group-awareness itself. The annals of primitive Israel, of Japan, of other "hermit nations" or "peculiar peoples," and the history of Colonial New England teem with illustrations. Wherever you find well-developed ethnocentrism, there you are altogether likely to find more or less conscious attempts at immigration restriction designed to assert power over the alien, to compel him into conformity with established norms of language, religion, wage-levels, standards of living, etc. Both public opinion and formal law reflect the principle still in modern national life. The methods of securing this form of control vary according to the social group's sense of what is most worth while in life, that is to say, its own attitude toward itself as a focal point in civilization. The more highly egotistic or fearful a group is the more its policy approaches the extreme negative pole of absolute exclusion. The modern world, however, has seen a pretty general acceptance of the principle of peaceful access and the right of a man to elect his own national adherence. Thus modern immigration policy has to do rather with special methods of restriction, special tests bearing largely upon questions of assimilability, capacity for citizenship, and the like. The cruder issues of race affinity and religious orthodoxy crop out only sporadically, as in the Know-Nothing Party, the A.P.A., and the Japanese-Korean Exclusion League.

All of these control methods were based upon quasi-instinctive emotions and untested opinions, and were therefore weak and not calculated to work efficiently. Our American immigration legislation has scarcely a better basis. It was dictated (as in the case of the Geary Chinese Exclusion Act) largely by political exigencies.

Our present laws as revised this year (1917) are still a makeshift, an evasion, a crazy quilt. I mean in particular the latest attempt at selective restriction through the so-called illiteracy test. So far as I am able to make out, there are only three arguments that carry any weight in its favor. First, the argument of the man in the street that some form of restriction is desirable and that the illiteracy test would keep down the numbers somewhat anyway. But anybody who has read the act and the administrative rules based upon it would hesitate to prophesy that the inability to read forty words in their own language is going to debar many intending immigrants. The second argument comes from certain labor leaders who wish to prevent corporations from forming "alien pools" and keeping them away from labor publications. In other words, the illiteracy test prevents employers from agitation-proofing the immigrant. There is some shadow of validity in this plea; the report of the Immigration Commission seemed to show that immigrant labor was more or less resistant to unionization, and thus, indirectly at least, tended to retard the upward movement of wages. The third argument is that of the present-day Know-Nothings, who frankly advocate the illiteracy test as a means of barring Catholics, whom they conceive as illiterate and ignorant and dangerous.

Whatever cogency these arguments have almost if not altogether disappears in face of the fact that the whole principle of the illiteracy test fails to meet the issue squarely. It is a process of side-stepping, with a great deal of buncombe and claptrap about it. Both consciously and unconsciously interested groups insist on thus shifting the real issue from the plane of cold business to the planes of religious and political freedom, aesthetics, or natural rights. I do not know whether all race prejudice is at bottom a mode of economic self-defense; there may be certain subtle and inherent biological antipathies; but it is very certain that economic suspicion plays a very prominent and definite rôle in it. And it is even more certain that, on the other hand, economic motives prompt to an overwhelming degree the modern immigrant in his change of residence. Ninety-nine per cent of recent immigrants to the United States were seeking superior economic opportunity.

And a very considerable percentage of this migration had been artificially stimulated by vitally interested industries—large employers of unskilled labor, employment agencies, transportation companies—and their political agents.

The modern immigration problem is primarily and predominantly economic and will probably continue to be so after the war. The labor organizations have recognized this fact, and their legislative policy (as worked out, for example, in fifty years of California history) has been dictated by it. The recent hysterical demands for easing up the immigration law on the grounds of labor shortage indicate an awareness that the issue is fundamentally industrial. New York, Utah, Texas, Oklahoma, and the Pacific Coast (somewhat less urgently) have pleaded their shortage. But invariably their pleas have reduced to a demand for very cheap labor. For example, Texas wanted to admit Mexican cotton pickers for a wage of eighty-five cents per hundred pounds, although they were paid a dollar per hundred last year with cotton at a lower selling price. Oklahoma offered two dollars a day for farm labor that formerly received two and a half to three dollars. Parenthetically we may observe that there are at present three potential sources of the belief in a real scarcity of labor: (1) the shift of workers to the munitions factories, attracted by high wages; (2) the draft army (heretofore felt by employers largely, however, merely as an emotional forecast of what *might* happen); (3) low wages. Temporary scarcity there may be, due to dislocations like the present war, or refusal to recognize the principle of adequate wage; but there is nowhere in America a chronic state of real labor shortage.

After the war the industrial situation will press upon us more intensely than ever, what with the transformation of war plants back into peace industries, the dilution of labor by the entrance of women and youths into industry, the re-education of soldiers and sailors to the vocations of peace, to say nothing of the possible dumping of war-sick alien labor upon our shores. Nobody can forecast with exactitude the outworking of these situations. But it at least ought to be clear enough that whatever of the immigration problem remains after hostilities cease and the period of reconstruction begins, must be faced, if it is to be faced scientifically and

effectively, upon an economic basis, with a long range and not a mere hand-to-mouth policy.

All things considered, I am renewing in this paper a demand for the control of immigration upon a basis of the true demand for labor—a frank program for meeting the economic issue, which I have already urged repeatedly.¹ The essential outlines of this program are (1) to ascertain the *true demand for labor*; (2) to organize the labor market; (3) to abolish the contract labor provision and the illiteracy test in our existing immigration law, and to introduce the principle of the sliding scale as a guide to admitting immigrant labor.

By the true demand for labor I do not mean of course the cry of labor shortage. I do not mean merely the registering of calls for labor. For, as Mr. Gompers pointed out in a recent interview, much demand for labor is either the result of using up productive labor as flunkies, valets, and other “unnecessary servitors,” or is merely a call for odd-job men. And we might add that perhaps the biggest item to be deducted from an inflated demand for labor is the enormous labor turnover due to the common—I was going to say “system,” but a sense of truth forbids!—practice of hiring and firing. Moreover, it is a matter of common knowledge, through frank confession of the interested parties, that large industrial employers have made it a definite part of their practice to maintain a reserve labor force of the unemployed, a regiment ready to jump to the rescue when labor unrest began to brew, when wages threatened to go up or hours to go down. In other words, just as some corporations “watered” their stock others “watered” their labor force and thus padded the general demand. Again, the true demand for labor relates also to the habitually unemployed, the casual, the vagrant, and perhaps more than all else to the sweated. Hence this true demand considers the factors of wages offered, living conditions tolerated, facilities for organization, vocational guidance, etc. It matches the figures of calls for labor with statistics of unemployment, wage schedules, cost-of-living tables, and industrial education. Hence it necessitates some governmental

¹ See *The Unpopular Review* (July-September, 1914), pp. 45-58; *The Survey* (January 20, 1917), pp. 452-53.

machinery for securing and constantly renewing the vital facts in our labor market. But since the same machinery would naturally in consequence undertake the organization of the labor market I shall consider it under that heading.

By organization of the labor market I do not contemplate such a reconstruction as would work social revolution. I mean simply the utilization and extension of existing agencies or principles. An unemployment research commission or a permanent industrial commission or a co-ordination of investigative and administrative functions in the federal Department of Labor could accomplish all I have in mind, which is to establish a chain of labor intelligence offices so linked up and so manned that we could get the necessary facts. It is significant that the Department of Labor has actually under consideration such a scheme for employment exchanges and a national clearing-house. Assistant Secretary Post showed me recently an outline of this plan, which has been held back for want of money. It proposes to utilize the existing employment service of the Department of Labor consisting of 88 offices in 27 states, the post-offices, the Bureau of Farm Management in the Department of Agriculture, the state labor exchanges in 22 states, the municipal labor exchanges, the state councils of defense (with their employment departments and plans for conscripting the idle and vagrant), labor organizations, technical societies, and other private agencies operating employment departments. It further aims to reduce this complex and almost bewildering variety of services to some show of order. It is evident upon the face of things that some sort of clearing-house is necessary. This the plan proposes to secure through co-ordinating the diverse agencies into district exchanges (congressional areas), leading up to state employment exchanges, which in turn lead up to zone exchanges, which finally clear through the National Labor Department at Washington. This plan, I may say, has not only the approval but the enthusiastic approval of Secretary Wilson, Assistant Secretary Post, and others. If it can be put through it will give us at least the beginnings of a technique for ascertaining the true demand for labor and organizing the market, without which I believe we can never reach a successful solution of the immigration problem.

Now we are in a position to tackle the third element in our plan for immigration control, namely, repealing the contract-labor provision of the present law and utilizing the sliding scale as a principle for admissions.

Certain sections of American industry, both employers and workmen, have long fought the contract-labor exclusion feature in current immigration law. Suppose we frankly admit that it is much better for the immigrant to come over here to a definite job than to wander about for weeks after he arrives, a prey to immigrant banks, fake employment agents, and other sharks. Suppose, accordingly, we repeal the law against contract labor—it is constantly violated in letter and spirit anyway. Let the employer contract for as many foreign laborers as he likes or says he needs. But make the contractor liable for support and deportation costs if the laborers become public charges. Also require him to assume the cost of unemployment insurance. Exact a bond for the faithful performance of these terms, guaranteed in somewhat the same way that national banks are safeguarded. Immigration authorities now commonly require a bond from the relatives of admitted aliens who seem likely to become public charges, but who are allowed to enter with the benefit of the doubt. Customs and revenue rules admit dutiable goods in bond. Hence the principle of the bond is perfectly familiar, and its application to contract immigrants would be in no sense an untried or dangerous experiment. It would establish no new precedent; for precedents, and successful ones, are already established, accepted, and approved. It would be understood that all admissions of aliens can be only provisional. It would be understood further—and the plan would work automatically if the contractor were made such a deeply interested party—that intending immigrants must be rigidly inspected, that they be required to produce consular certificates of clean police record, freedom from chronic disease, insanity, imbecility, etc. The result of such a scheme would probably be to cut away entirely contract labor, for it would no longer pay; and it would put an end to peonage.

This is no revolutionary proposal. Indeed the present immigration law provides an entering wedge with a working principle

which apparently is accepted on all sides, since it was also a part of the law of 1907. Section 3 of the law includes this proviso: "That skilled labor, if otherwise admissible, may be imported if labor of like kind unemployed cannot be found in this country, and the question of the necessity of importing such skilled labor in any particular instance may be determined by the Secretary of Labor. . . ." This proviso, slightly amended to make it applicable to unskilled as well as skilled labor, would offer not only a really workable test for immigration, but in my judgment a satisfactory adjustment of the immigration problem. The case becomes all the clearer if we are allowed to read into it another proviso of the same act and the administrative rules based upon it. The Secretary of Labor issued in May, 1917, a bulletin of instructions to his immigration staff of which the following is the substance:

The ninth proviso to Section 3 of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917, reads: "*Provided further*, That the Commissioner-General of Immigration with the approval of the Secretary of Labor shall issue rules and prescribe conditions, including exaction of such bonds as may be necessary, to control and regulate the admission and return of otherwise inadmissible aliens applying for temporary admission." While, obviously, this special exception to general provisions of law should be construed strictly and should not be resorted to except with the object of meeting extraordinary situations or conditions, it can be and should be availed of whenever an emergent condition arises. With agricultural pursuits such a condition now exists in certain sections of the country and is likely to arise in other sections during the continuance of the war. The department therefore issues the following instructions for the information and guidance of all concerned: Aliens admitted under the provisions hereof are allowed to enter temporarily upon the understanding that they will engage in no other than agricultural labor; and any who fail to accept or after acceptance abandon employment of that kind and engage in the performance of labor in connection with other industries shall be promptly arrested and deported to the country whence they came.

In cases arising under this circular, the aliens involved shall be admitted without payment of head tax.

These rules were ordered to apply only to agricultural laborers from Mexico and Canada. But that they can be stretched on occasion is evident enough from a department order in July permitting several hundred illiterate Bravas from Cape de Verde Islands to land at New Bedford temporarily for farm work.¹

¹See *Christian Science Monitor*, July 11, 1917.

Immigration policy, then, reduces itself to two simple problems, namely, the determination of real economic demand at home and the technique of selecting candidates for admission. As I have said elsewhere:

The latter problem need give us no special concern, for it would involve no new untried machinery. Our consular service is or could be organized for that purpose, as was long ago proposed by American consuls themselves. In addition to viséing certificates from police, poor-relief, and health authorities for the purpose of weeding out positive undesirables, consular offices might be authorized to receive from prospective immigrants their formal declarations of intention to migrate. Such declarations might or might not be accompanied by validations from the local administrative authorities. In all probability, with the huge tasks of reconstruction now facing European governments, they would co-operate heartily in the work of scrutinizing the papers of emigrants. The central point to the plan would be the filing of these declarations at American consulates. Suppose this done. When notice comes from the United States Department of Labor that an authentic demand exists for a certain number of laborers and that so many may be admitted from this or that locality, the consular authority to whom the notice is directed merely takes up the declarations in the order of their filing and certifies the proper number for admission. The immigration authorities at this end would be relieved of an enormous responsibility, which at best they can fulfil in only superficial fashion.

That is the gist of what I consider a rational plan for social control of immigration. Now for objections to it. They come from business men, doctrinaire radicals, farmers, and I.W.W.'s. I give them just as they have been fired at me. The first group of objections are based upon abstract notions. (1) I am told that no body or state or officer has a *right* to limit my *right* to go where I *please*. The answer to this, of course, is simple enough. Under an international or world state all bars would be down; neither my proposed restriction laws nor those that now exist would be necessary; we should have the fullest mobility of labor and goods. We are still, however, in a nationalistic era: I am dealing with things as they are, and as they may be expected to be for some time to come. (2) It is objected that it is not the immigrant but the machine which is the enemy of workingmen, through padding the labor force. The answer to this, of course, is that the machine should be the worker's best friend; as matters now stand it is a case of alienation of affections. Partnership must be restored

through co-operative industry; this in turn should come about through a better organization of the labor market, which can be effectuated more easily if it is made impossible to hold a reserve labor source as a club over the heads of the workers. (3) I am told that the world needs more, not fewer, people; that if civilization is a good thing, and if American civilization in particular is a good thing, then more people should be allowed to enjoy it. The answer may be made in either eugenic or economic terms. The economist says make men precious by conferring a scarcity value upon them. The eugenist is asking not for a bigger but for a better population. The question is not How many people can you pack into the state of Massachusetts or Minnesota? but the practical question, What are they able to do now toward insuring themselves a rational standard of living? (4) My single-tax friends object that America is big enough to house the world; that the trouble is not too many immigrants, but a faulty system of land ownership; therefore that single tax, not immigration restriction, is the remedy. But unrestricted immigration will not necessarily hasten the single tax, nor will restriction prevent its adoption as a social panacea if it has the real merit its apostles claim.

The second set of objections is based upon questions of economic fact. (5) It is objected that American industrial troubles probably result, not from immigration, but from lack of labor organization. There is no denying the lack of labor organization. We have dwelt upon that fact almost *ad nauseam*. Moreover, we have claimed that a heterogeneous, ignorant, illiterate mass of foreign workmen tends to hinder the effective development of labor organization. (6) I am told that the problem is not immigrant labor, but baby labor, that is to say, child labor. But child labor is growing less all the time, and the tendency is strongly toward its elimination. The objectors on this score should remember, moreover, that immigrants add babies to our population faster than the natives do. (7) I am told that what we want really to know is how to find men jobs, not how to keep men out of the country. I answer that public employment agencies under federal control can do this work more readily if not pressed upon by increasing masses of the unemployed to whose ranks the immigrant adds. (8) The objection is raised

that if there is no reserve labor there will be nobody left to do our farm work. But here again it is less a question of the immigrant than of effective labor organization. The problem of farm labor is admittedly difficult, but I cannot see that a policy of unrestricted immigration is going to aid in the solution, for careful investigators assure us that "it is clear that the tendency of the new immigration is toward industrial and city pursuits rather than toward agriculture."

The third group of objections lean to questions of administration. (9) We are told that if we do away with the contract-labor provision we let down the bars for exploiting the American laborer. But this is not at all the case if we safeguard it by the bonding and insurance plan which we have outlined. (10) Some critics are afraid that such a plan would create a condition of slavery or indentured servitude if every immigrant had to sign a bond to remain with his employer for a certain period at a certain wage. But I have nowhere contemplated that he would do any such thing. On the contrary, the contractor would have to assume and carry all the risks, including strikes, inefficiency, etc. (11) The question is asked, Who would fix wages under this plan? Undoubtedly they would be fixed by the United States Bureau of Labor upon the basis of the reports coming to the clearing-house. (12) Suppose, for example, that after five years an employer discharged his imported immigrants who had begun to demand higher wages, and had turned them loose, stranded, and out of work. Could he not then send and bring over an equal number of strike breakers? No, by hypothesis, not so long as any capable unemployed men were available. (13) How can you tell the true supply of or demand for labor when there are so many floaters and vagrants? The Bureau of Labor's plan for unemployment bureaus would take care of the real workers; the others would be sifted out and handled on penal farms for the vagrant. Just now several of our state councils for defense are trying such methods for conscripting the idle and the vagrant.

A far more serious objection (14) which goes to the root of the whole scheme crops out of the present war, to this effect: Now that we are in the war we cannot work such a scheme without

offending our Allies. But it is altogether possible to extend to our Allies preferential treatment in the matter of immigration as with other forms of reciprocity. Moreover, it is altogether possible that our Allies will prefer to encourage their people to remain at home or to go to their own colonies. At any rate there can be no charge of race discrimination under such a sliding scale.

Finally, the objection comes that the whole scheme is gratuitous and unnecessary, because at the end of the war the tide will be toward Europe and not from Europe. Here facts end and opinion begins; but in such an event we have done no harm, and we should enjoy the immense strategic advantage of having met the issue frankly, thought it through without subterfuge, and prepared ourselves for any emergency.

DISCUSSION

HATTIE PLUM WILLIAMS, UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

Social control of immigration means more than restrictive legislation merely. As you watch, from the balcony of the immigrant station at Ellis Island, the masses of foreigners crowding upon our shores, you feel that the most effective agency of social control would be a properly constructed and nicely gauged filter which would automatically strain out all that is objectionable in the immigration stream, and which could be so adjusted as to shut off the current entirely at certain intervals. But return to your community, in which numbers of these foreigners have distributed themselves, and witness the clash between Old World and New World ideas, the travail of soul and body that is undergone by the alien in a new and strange environment, or the struggle caused at a time like the present crisis by suspicion, misunderstanding, and hatred between groups of different cultures—here you feel that the most vital agencies of social control are those which lie this side the threshold of our country.

Professor Fairchild has emphasized in his writings the fact that immigration is not a problem peculiar to the United States, but is a world-phenomenon of modern times. That being the case, none but uncivilized or hermit nations can remain wholly unaffected by it. Our own problem is bound up with the Zionist movement, the success of which will be a more potent restrictive measure than the crudely designed literacy test of 1917. It is connected closely with the problem of an outlet for overpopulated Japan, whether in South America, China, the Philippines, or our own western states; with the industrial and political development of Russia, which may be made

as attractive a field for immigrants as our own land; and with the rights of small nations and subject nationalities whose race consciousness has developed so remarkably in the past two decades.

As a modern phenomenon, immigration is an index of an advancing civilization. It results from the increased independence of men, from the spread of knowledge and the consequent growth of desires, from the breakdown or control of racial antipathy, and from the marvelous systems of transportation. Is it any wonder that immigration has been reduced so largely to an economic question; that the "want of bread" should be sufficient in this day to start people on a journey half-way around the globe, and that the movement of population toward the food supply should be as common an incident as the transportation of food to a population?

Professor Fairchild is no doubt correct in his statement that "the basic force which lies back of immigration is hunger, which in its more developed form becomes a desire for wealth." The principle is demonstrated as clearly by the emigration of our western farmers to Canada as by the movement of immigrants from Italy and Russia to the United States. But when we have said this, what more does it signify than that immigration is one of the countless number of human activities based upon this fundamental desire? Can we not say as truly that the basic force which lies back of *war* or of *business* is hunger? Judging from the emphasis some educators are placing upon the money value of schooling, there are those who imply that the basic force which lies back of *education* and the *choice of occupation* is hunger. And with a similar meaning, can we not say that the basic force which lies back of your *conduct* and mine is hunger? In other words, the question raised is this: Does the ontogenetic force control immigration to an extent greater than it controls other activities of mankind at present? Is the immigrant a *whole man* played upon by all the social forces, physical and spiritual, with one predominating now and another then, but susceptible to a development of the higher desires when released from the primary pressure for food, which is common to us all?

If I correctly understand Professor Todd's plan of "a job for every alien," it proceeds upon the theory that the economic factor, in other words "cold business," is the only one necessary to consider. But the hysterical demands for admitting immigrants at the present time are no more an indication of the "awareness of the true nature" of the immigration problem than the hysterical demands for easing up the child-labor restrictions, for made-to-order Americanism, or for universal military service indicate an awareness of the true nature of the problems to which they relate. The reasons which from time to time prompt us of America to encourage or oppose immigration are no necessary indication of the motives which prompt the immigrant to come here.

Three questions occur immediately upon the proposal of Professor Todd's plan. How many employers would bond themselves to carry out a contract

which probably no American court would enforce against the other party, the immigrant, and which it certainly should not? The bonding provision of the "poor physique" clause of the 1907 statute has proved virtually unworkable. Possibly it would be easier to locate a rich capitalist than a poor immigrant, but one can be as elusive as the other.

Would the immigrant be willing to avail himself of such a plan? To say that "99 per cent of recent immigrants" come "seeking superior economic opportunities" is not to say that 99 per cent of the sum total of the desires of each immigrant are economic. Sociability, or consciousness of kind, or racial cohesion—call it what you will—is as vital a force with the alien as is any other, and its influence is doubled by the very fact of migration. Give the immigrant no credit whatever for being moved by sociogenetic forces, reduce him to the level of the animal kingdom, but do not forget that even the animals hunt their food in herds, especially outside the confines of home territory. The clan instinct is typified everywhere in the history of immigration to the United States, whether in western rural districts among the old immigrants or in eastern urban communities among the new. The average proportion who come on tickets prepaid by relatives or friends is about one-third, while practically three-fourths come to join relatives or friends. "Failure" is written over the ten years' effort of our government to distribute aliens solely by the lure of a job.

Granting the willingness of the employer to assume responsibility and his success in securing foreign laborers, would not many of the evils connected with immigration as it now exists be intensified? Would not social stratification be increased and assimilation be decreased? Would normal family life be insured? Would proper housing be provided? Would immigrants be encouraged to rise in the social scale, to join trade-unions, to educate their children above their own status? Would there be no temptation to capitalize the personal gratitude of the alien, to control his vote, to keep him in ignorance of the labor market and of better positions to which he might attain if encouraged? The railroads of the trans-Missouri states did much in the seventies to settle their lands with foreigners and performed a real service to the state. But these corporations also stayed in power much longer than they otherwise would by controlling, directly or indirectly, the foreigners whom they had befriended. It would be well to know in this connection the actual results of the experience of Australia with such a law since 1905, and whether or not its enforcement is as much of a farce as is her literacy test.

But the most perfectly conceived entrance tests, strictly enforced, will not insure safety to the United States after the foreigners are admitted, because this experience represents a crisis in the life of the immigrant—a crisis in respect to ideals. This should be more easily comprehensible to us today when we are made so conscious of the crisis in the lives of the men in the army, under the strain of which many are falling victims to insanity, tuberculosis, venereal disease, and minor ills.

The experience of the immigrant is intimated by the crisis in the life of the student, resulting from his readjustment from a home to a college environment. Anyone who tries to live close to student life is conscious of the tragedies and near-tragedies which result from this new experience. It involves at times the threatened virtue of a young woman, the ruined health of a thoughtless youth, the clash with the police who have interfered with a group which is carrying to excess the celebration of some student custom, the disappointment of many who come expecting democracy and find themselves shut out by caste and class lines drawn with unreasoning but rigid precision, and abandonment of religious restraints, due largely to a new attitude toward that means of social control. A recent article in an educational periodical on "The Troubles of College Freshmen"¹ enumerates a large number of *difficulties due to the nature of college life*. Two-thirds of these are exact counterparts of the *difficulties of immigrants due to the nature of American life*:

Confusion because college (American) life is so different from home life.

Lack of anyone to confide in or take counsel with.

Difficulties due to the new independence and consequent responsibility for one's own conduct.

Feeling of being lost in a miscellaneous crowd.

Difficulty of catching the spirit of the school (country).

Feeling of being looked down upon by members of higher classes.

Homesickness.

Not one of these could be eliminated from Freshman life by stricter entrance requirements or better training in preparatory schools. Not one of them could be avoided in immigrant life by more careful restriction or selection. This phase of the problem is one of readjustment and interpretation which ought not to be left to mere chance but should be intelligently provided for by the government and the community. To borrow a well-known figure, the immigrant upon his admission "stands at the junction of a crowded city thoroughfare," in constant danger of being injured himself, or, by his awkwardness, lack of agility, and ignorance of the rules of the road, retarding the flow of traffic, or injuring those with whom he unwittingly collides.

One cause for this crisis is the clash of illusions with reality—dreams which are so quickly dispelled by the immigrant's first experience in America. Through no fault of ours or of his, he comes with extravagant notions, not merely of the opportunities for wealth, concerning which many humorous and absurd stories are told, but of the size, beauty, impressiveness, and power of this country. The majority come from rural communities where the "Song of the Lark" compensates in large measure for the meagerness of their living. Think you there is no emotion felt in the exchange of such environment for the noise, confusion, and dirt of American cities, and that the immigrant can avoid invidious comparisons? He has an implicit and childlike

¹ Julian Boraas, "The Troubles of College Freshmen," *School and Society*, VI, 491.

When we have once considered immigration as a world-phenomenon and as involving the whole man, played upon by all the social forces, we shall bring to bear upon it means of social control which will solve it, not merely for our country, but for the welfare of society as a whole. We shall need special protection in the near future to save us from shortsightedness, racial antipathy, and hysteria in order to avoid a "reconstruction" policy for immigration as unfortunate as our reconstruction policy at the close of the Civil War.

HERBERT ADOLPHUS MILLER, OBERLIN COLLEGE

Synthesizing three papers aiming in three different directions is difficult unless one sidesteps and aims in still another direction. I feel that Professors Fairchild and Todd have drifted away from the proper meaning of social control, and have dealt more specifically with a secondary attribute, viz., legal control. Their real discussion has turned to the consideration of the principles that should underlie legal measures that may be necessary to meet certain present and possible future social situations. This does not lessen the value of their contributions, with which on the whole I must agree. If I had discussed these two papers four years ago I should have confined myself to their face value. Now, however, when revolutionary changes in both attitudes and practices take place so quickly that what we had hoped might come to pass in fifty years happens in a week, we are justified in approaching questions like these with an eye to the future and assuming that in many respects at least it will be quite unlike the past and present.

Both Professors Fairchild and Todd rightly assert that most immigrants come here for economic reasons, but, even so, they all come with or from groups that represent highly distinct examples of social control. In other words, they come with differentiated psychological backgrounds which make the immigrant problem, from the American point of view, not one but many. As Miss Abbott has suggested, each nationality has a relation from the inside which can be adequately dealt with only by a sympathetic understanding of that inside.

After the war we certainly shall not have the old problems of immigration. Not only will a large proportion of what would have been normal potential immigration be lost by death or disability, but we shall be, all the years of the duration of the war, behind in the normal supply. As was suggested by the two papers respectively, the Oriental and the Mexican is a potential immigrant who has hitherto not figured much. If "The True Demand for Labor" should be organized from these sources the supply might come. But for the Oriental there lies Russia, in whose fundamental revolutionary philosophy, no matter what else may happen, the humanitarian and other principles will make impossible for many years to come any successful exclusion policy.

Russia and Siberia are vast and, in a Western European sense, unpopulated countries. Siberia already is largely made up of non-Russian peoples,

and in Russia herself the Mongolian assimilation shows that the common people have a very imperfect consciousness of the danger of the "Yellow Peril." Less than two years before the war I was sitting on the bank of the Niemen in Russian Poland near a garrison town watching a Cossack troop take its horses into the river to wash them. Most of the men looked as genuine as the Cossacks in Buffalo Bill's show, but some of them looked just like the Japanese students we have in our colleges, but they were all Cossacks.

To Russia, all the Slavs, who have constituted our so-called undesirable Southeastern European immigration, have long looked as to their mother. Now they will go to undeveloped Russia, both because of the pull of sentiment and because of the economic opportunities, which soon will surpass those of America.

With regard to the Mexicans we may be sure that until they love us better their problem will be limited and local and will need special treatment.

I must confess that I think Miss Abbott has hit the issue more vitally, and though she has not used the term, she has actually discussed an aspect of the immigration question from the point of view of social control. At present the paramount immigration fact is the immigrant in our midst to the number of several millions. And they are not mere tables of statistics, but human groups with distinct psychological backgrounds which represent varying degrees of fusibility into the American type.

Professor Todd is right in saying that most of the advocates of the literacy test are not interested in literacy, but in restriction. The academic supporters of literacy also cry hardest about the "hyphen." From this last point of view I am convinced that the illiterates are the safest, for the control of such artificial values as are transmitted through literature has not affected them. The greater the education the more resistant the alien will be to a new environment, i.e., the freer from old world controls, while the illiterate, within rather narrow limits, will be adaptable. I am not advocating illiteracy, but calling attention to a popular ignorance of the method of social control.

On the side of American civilization, the most significant thing about the immigrant is the social control exerted by his political, religious, and economic backgrounds. It is the clearest example of social control I can imagine. The Russian Jew, the Russian Pole, and the Lithuanian may come from the same town, but in purposes and antipathies they are vastly different. The Bohemians are divided into the exclusive camps of Catholics and free-thinkers, with the Socialists a subsidiary, but excluded, division of the free-thinkers. The freethinkers are existent and active because John Hus was burned at the stake in 1415. The Poles on the other hand are most ardent Catholics because the church is the symbol around which they may rally in their antagonism to Prussia and Russia.

Both in the country of their origin and in America there has been very little clear analysis of the relation between religion and national aspirations. In the organization of primitive society religion played an important part

through its ceremonial and elemental precepts in the cohesion of the group. In recent times the relation has undergone a reversal. The state has become the elemental fact and religion has become its handmaiden. Bohemian life in America cannot possibly be understood unless one knows that the organized antipathy for religion has the form of a religion based on a reaction from Hapsburg misrule. It permeates in some way the life of every Bohemian in America. The Jews, both orthodox and liberal, are turning more and more to Zionism, and differences as wide as philosophy and practice can make them are bridged in the religious teachings which are used to support the aspiration for national integrity. The Ruthenians who come from Galicia are the only Slavs who have been pro-German. Their church is Uniate—acknowledging the Pope, but granted the privilege of keeping the form of the Orthodox Greek church to which they had belonged in Little Russia before they came into the possession of Austria. An outsider cannot tell the difference between their service and that of the Orthodox church, but their extreme bitterness toward the Russians is a nationalistic expression. The Irish, too, are certainly inherently no more adapted to Catholicism than the English, but they are Catholic because protestant England had dominated them. The church is a symbol of Irish nationalism. In some form either in adherence or antipathy a religious-nationalistic social control is found in every immigrant group.

The ascribed economic cause of immigration is only a partial explanation. People who are free may be contented though poor. It is an interesting fact that while there has been a tremendous immigration from Russia, almost no genuine Russians have come. And out of thousands of Roumanians all but a few come from Hungary. I think I have met only two from Roumania. There are many Serbians, but they come from Bosnia and Herzegovena, and have eagerly joined the armies of the allies. This list could be much extended, and there are many apparent exceptions, but it is enough to show that there is something besides economic interest that makes most immigrants come, even though they may claim they came to get a job. And it is this other pure product of social control that makes them significant to American life. Freedom is what they really want and this desire will unite the broadest chasms. Only last week I attended a Bohemian-Slovak meeting, where for the first time in centuries the representatives of groups which hitherto would not go together in the same hall were in perfect accord. The heartiest applause was given to a socialist and a priest. They were declaring their enthusiastic support of the United States in its declaration of war against Austria-Hungary. When raising money for national propaganda, a Catholic and a freethinker went together. I have heard no more earnest words about freedom and democracy than were uttered by a Catholic priest. And yet the church was more active than the state in the burning of Hus, and hitherto the church has taken less part in the national movement. But now these old controls are being fused into a new one, and the American type emerges,

not, however, from the Mayflower, but from Hapsburg oppression. No legal constraint nor economic organization could be devised which could have achieved such a result.

The most efficient restrictive control of immigration is political and religious freedom in the country of origin, and this is the avowed aim and purpose of our entrance into the war.

WARREN S. THOMPSON, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Granting the importance of controlling the flow of immigration into our country as urged in the papers of Professors Todd and Fairchild, I cannot but think that our most important problems of control begin after the immigrant has found his job and settled among us. From this time he begins to see America and Americans, and the prestige he is prepared to allow America to exert over him becomes effective.

We are all well aware that at the present time the great majority of our immigrants do not see the real America we should like them to see. We know that most of the Americans they meet in a more or less intimate fashion are the sediment of the older population that has sunk to the level of a permanent slum life or the lower grades of workmen and foremen. The former class aims to fleece the immigrant by chicanery and trickery, the latter to exploit his laboring power. Thus the immigrant, instead of finding kindness and helpfulness in the Americans he knows, finds that the only interest they have in him is to get as much as possible out of him, giving in exchange as little as possible. The very natural consequence is that he shuns even such contact with Americans as may be possible to him and withdraws himself more completely into the foreign community made up of his fellow-countrymen from the Old World. This experience of the immigrant in the very early days of his residence among us leads him to think that America—the land of much-vaunted opportunity and freedom—is not much better than his home land, except that one does get a better wage and is not burdened with certain vexatious taxes. He judges America from his tiny bit of experience and concludes that if it is going to try to get all it can out of him for as little as possible he is going to do likewise. He is in a frame of mind, therefore, to reject advances made in the spirit of true friendliness and to suspect the motives of those who show an interest in him. Because of this the initial prestige of America over him is lost and the process of re-establishing it is a slow one.

I am firmly convinced that if we were prepared to protect the immigrant from the flagrant abuses he now suffers and offer him opportunities to see and become acquainted with the real spirit of America he would respond to the better features of our life as positively and definitely as he does to the worse features he actually meets. Of course customs and habits cannot be changed with the ease of one's clothes, but there has never existed such a vast

body of men ready and anxious to replace a great part of their old customs and habits by adopting those of a strange people among whom they have elected to make their homes. If we would only encourage them and hold before them the best things of our life we could do almost as we would with these new neighbors. We have neglected to prepare for these people an environment in which they could become Americans, and yet we reproach them for not becoming like us.

Inasmuch as it is very generally recognized that most human conduct is an unconscious response to the conditions of environment we must acknowledge that we cannot expect to exercise any vital control over the lives of our immigrants unless we make their environment such that it will naturally call forth the conduct we desire. Merely formal laws will never secure more than external conformity and that only when they can be rigidly enforced. To make our control over immigrants vital we must create an atmosphere entirely enveloping them in which the ideals and standards of our democracy will be the very breath in their nostrils. We must place around them types of conduct we desire them to copy so that it will be the natural and easy thing for them to adopt the best we have to offer. So far as is humanly possible the continuous bombardment of suggestion to which immigrants are subject should be made to contribute to their confidence in America and Americans and to the desire to contribute their mite to make America worthy of the confidence of those to come after them.

I am not competent to outline a detailed plan for surrounding the immigrant with an atmosphere pregnant with the best things in our democracy. I may, however, suggest a few of the most obvious necessities of such a plan. *In the first place*, the economic exploitation of the immigrant must be stopped. The immigrant is in much the same position, as regards his ability to protect himself against his employer, as women and children. He is untutored in the ways of modern industry and falls an easy prey to its masters. We must recognize that the immigrant cannot take care of himself and that it is our duty to surround him with safeguards, so that he will not be made to bear an undue share of the costs of our system as he now does. Limitation of the hours of work, prescription of a reasonable minimum of safety and healthfulness in the mines and factories where he works, provision for decent housing, and a good system of employment exchanges are very clearly essentials in a program aiming at the economic protection of the immigrant. A minimum wage which would prevent the employer from accumulating a large reserve of labor through a system of part-time employment also seems to me to be essential to such a program. I have no doubt that many other methods of protection are needed, but we need at least this much before we can make the immigrant feel that we are dealing with him in good faith in offering him an opportunity to make a living among us.

In the second place, we must extend the work of our public schools so that they will provide, not only for the education of the children of immigrants

in the common-school branches, but also for their vocational training. We should also make some provision for such schooling as the adult immigrant needs. Certainly if we expect to naturalize any considerable proportion of them we must teach them English, and I think, too, we must teach them something more about the organization and operation of our governmental institutions than they have been taught in the past. Furthermore, there is a wide field of general intellectual, social, and cultural interest to which the school should minister. In fact there is almost no limit to the possible extension of the school's activities in this direction, and they would all contribute to the making of better American citizens out of the immigrants and their children.

In the third place, community and personal service must be organized on such a large scale that they will reach the lives of practically all of our immigrants. I mean that such work as social settlements are doing, perhaps with certain additions, e.g., visiting housekeeping and visiting nursing departments, should be so extended that it will become a vital factor in the lives of all our immigrants. It is by such work as this through which personal contacts are established and the primary groups can be encouraged and directed that we may expect the creation of an atmosphere of kindness and friendliness which will win the heart of the immigrant. Here, too, we may expect the very best ideals of our democracy to stand clearly before the immigrant, embodied in men and women with whom he comes into frequent personal contact. He will thus come to know America through some of its best types rather than through its worst only. Through such agencies we may also expect to keep continually before the immigrant higher standards of living—good standards of home-making and of providing for the home, good standards of personal cleanliness, high standards of treatment of women and children, and high standards of personal and public morality—because he can observe them in the lives of his American helpers and friends. There is no doubt but that effective community and personal service would also aid greatly in maintaining that unity of family life among immigrants which America so conspicuously destroys and which is the basis of strong personal character.

I think that we cannot possibly overemphasize the importance of establishing personal contact between Americans who embody the best things of our life and immigrants who are groping about blindly in their efforts to adjust themselves to a new world. It is by personal service rendered to the immigrant community that we can get a spiritual hold upon our immigrants and direct them, almost without their knowing it, into channels where they will feel the pull of our best ideals and consequently will uphold and support them.

If time allowed I should like to be more concrete; I should like to show how the immigrant family could be held together in the closest of moral unity, how the neighborhood could be made to stand for cleanliness—physical, moral, and political—and how healthy, puissant democratic ideals naturally

prevail in communities where the principal relations of life are governed by kindly personal service and a "square deal" is given to all.

I am of the opinion that if the whole cost of immigration were assessed against those who exploit the immigrant's labor power, that is to say, if the cost of such a program of control as I have so inadequately sketched were assessed against the employers of immigrants, we should have little need of artificial barriers erected against the entrance of European peoples. In the meantime some such scheme as Professor Todd proposes may be needed to give time to get a more fundamental program for the social control of immigrants into operation.

H. P. FAIRCHILD, YALE UNIVERSITY

If I may have a moment or two more of the time of this very patient audience, I wish to say that I agree with almost everything that Miss Abbott has said. Miss Abbott and I differ so fundamentally on a great many of our basic points of view that I always welcome an opportunity to agree with her and feel honored in so doing.

I agree with Miss Abbott that the United States at the present time hardly merits the name of nation. We are a disorganized, disunited, heterogeneous collection of diverse elements. I also concur in her feeling that we owe a duty to the foreigners who are resident in our midst and that we ought to do all that we can to assure to them the benefits for which they came. This duty rests upon the fact of our admission of them to the country. We might have kept them out, but we did not; consequently we are under obligation to give them special consideration now that they are here.

I intentionally restricted my discussion to the question of controlling immigration at the port of entry, partly for the reason that that is a big enough topic to be even summarily touched upon in the time allowed, and partly because I do not think that the question of what to do with the foreign-born in our midst is, strictly speaking, a question of immigration at all. Immigration is a movement from one country to another. When immigrants are once admitted to this country, the possibility of controlling immigration so far as they are concerned is over. The question now is what to do about the results of immigration.

The more I try to deal with social subjects in a scientific way the more I am impressed with the lamentable results of the existing lack of precision and definiteness in our use of our technical terms. I think this society might well take up the question at some future time of the methods of securing a greater conformity and accuracy in the use of sociological terminology.

But while the question of the foreign-born is not, strictly speaking, a question of immigration, it certainly is a matter of vital importance. Many of our middle western states are confronted with the problem of flood control in connection with the streams which flow through their territory. Flood

control is one thing, however, and the problem of the restoration of the devastated areas is another. Flood control involves the building of reservoirs and dams and other devices for preventing disastrous overflows. The other problem is that of remedying the results of floods by rebuilding and rehabilitating the devastated areas.

So with reference to the foreign-born, the problem of correcting the evil results of immigration is grave enough, but it is not a problem of the control of immigration. The latter problem has to do with expedients whereby these evil results may be prevented from arising.

FRANCIS TYSON, UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

Perhaps there is no need to take up the cudgels for the economic interpretation that has been satirized by Professor Miller. Yet one might question how he draws any clear distinction between the political freedom which he overemphasizes so emotionally and the economic processes closely related to that freedom, which he ignores. The economic viewpoint claims only that the economic factor is likely to be the dynamic influence in group life; that racial and political traditions have developed out of past environments and are often in process of being adjusted to harmonize with new economic and social conditions.

That economic causes were important in our immigration movement is generally agreed. Again, with the falling off of immigration following the war, and the coming of a period of industrial boom, northern business turned to the low-priced labor supply of the South, and in eighteen months more than half a million Negro workers were brought or induced to come North. Even a cursory study of the migration asserts the unique significance of the economic factor. This population movement, by the way, now constitutes our most pressing immigration problem in industrial communities.

Professor Miller stresses the deepening feeling of nationalism among certain of our foreign people with the coming of war, and his Bohemian illustration is a graphic one. But it may be that the political education and cultural progress of such peoples in our midst would in the long run be best attained by a fuller identification of their aspirations with the economic and social welfare of the country which they have chosen as their new home. Will not waste of effort and enthusiasm characterize this earnest reversion to old loyalties and the following from afar the causes of nationalistic separatism in Europe? Is not the future of the Jews in America more intimately concerned with their remarkable contribution to the business and intellectual life of the new nation in which they are free than in the recrudescence of the lost hope of Zionism? The same question might be asked with even more pertinence of the Irish or German-Americans. The idealistic sentiment for the separate nationalism of minority groups living in federal economic areas takes its rise from past religious and racial persecutions and economic oppressions. These have not

existed to any degree in the United States and may even disappear from a reorganized Europe after the war. In our most difficult Negro problem, darkened as it is by prejudice, there is hope because the colored people have identified their interests with those of the white group and are struggling co-operatively for a more secure place in the economic order. This is the time to forward more effectively than ever before the claims of Americanism.

So far as the complicated European situation is concerned, is not Professor Miller's romantic interpretation again sadly inadequate? Was it the effort of a Bismarck or Cavour to bring order out of chaos by means of economic co-operation that caused the war, as he says, or the stubborn persistence of small competing nationalisms that interfered with the process of unification? There is perhaps a place in Europe for a half-dozen co-operating federal states, whose diverse population groups must be assured democracy and autonomy; but the future is black indeed if a hundred independent fighting states emerge. For illustration, will not the Finns, or Lithuanians, or Ukrainians, peoples whose development Professor Miller has so deeply at heart, find their freedom best as autonomous units co-operating in the economic expansion of a New Russia?

EDWIN L. EARP, DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

One of the ways to secure social control of the immigrant population of a community is to use the leaders of the immigrant groups in promoting matters of patriotic concern, such as the selling of Liberty Bonds, the raising of funds for the Christian Associations and the Red Cross. In the town from which I come we have done this with the most satisfactory results.

The process of Americanizing these people is going on often unconsciously until some crisis like the present war comes upon us. As an associate member of the Local Board of Exemption, in filling out the questionnaires of the registrants for the draft, I discovered that in almost every case no alien in our town was willing to claim exemption from military service because he was *not* a citizen, nor was he willing to return to his own country to enter its military service, but rather in almost every case the registrant, if he had to fight, wanted to fight with the United States forces and for the American cause. I may say these were mostly Italians.

I wish also to give a personal illustration of the point Miss Williams has made about the importance of knowing the life of the immigrant from a study of his life in the old country, as well as from a study of his condition here: In October while I was picking apples from the top of one tree, I heard voices under an adjacent tree and, looking down, discovered an Italian woman with her daughter picking up apples from the ground without having first asked permission. I ordered them away, not because I cared for the apples, but because I objected to having them taken without asking. If they had been members of one of the professor's families, I no doubt would have acted dif-

ferently. It may be that had I understood the right of foraging in the old country I would have acted differently toward this Italian woman and her daughter, though they did not belong on the campus.

MARY C. WIGGIN, CONSUMERS' LEAGUE OF MASSACHUSETTS

I should like to ask Miss Abbott whether in her opinion any adequate scheme for co-ordinating the work on federal and state employment bureaus should not include also a plan for linking up the various social agencies conversant with conditions affecting the foreign worker. Some of the difficulties at present in the working of our federal and state employment bureaus in the various states seem to be directly due to the fact that appointments are political, and those conversant with the real needs of their community find little opportunity to be of service.

MISS ST. JOHN WILEMAN, NEW YORK CITY

In the issues dealt with so ably by the preceding speakers, no reference has been made to a most important question in limiting the difficulties of the problem, i.e., prompt action for securing the entire elimination of the commercial employment agency, the booking agent, and advertising transportation tout. Those with specific knowledge of actualities realize acutely what a deep-rooted evil exists in the perpetuation of these agencies for crookedness, extortion, fraud, and cruelty, the havoc they have played with the individual as well as with economic, labor, and industrial conditions. Of what use will it prove to establish a system of public labor exchanges, if you deliberately countenance the existence by existing state legislation of instruments which will perpetuate disastrous conditions, create friction between employers and workers, and by means of an unscrupulously clever underground campaign, will leave no stone unturned to prejudice the public and nullify and destroy the useful results of your public labor exchanges. When safeguarding the morale and well-being generally of your soldiers' camps, you do not permit hotbeds of vice, degradation, and unhealthiness to flourish side by side with constructive measures for promoting wholesome conditions and individual welfare. Can you not apply the same lesson in dealing with that complex, and delicate, fundamental problem of labor and employment.

I speak from many years of actual handling of these problems after careful study. The results of a coast-to-coast campaign carried on without a break for the past six years without committee or organization will materialize in early federal legislation in 1918 providing for a national organization for Canada, with executive and mandatory powers, to deal with all labor and immigration problems, and administer a public labor bureau system from coast to coast; the abolition of commercialized agencies will synchronize with this measure.

Further, in view of preparedness for after-war contingencies, I have secured from six governments already pledges of official readiness to take

concerted action in the near future, in regard to the total abolition of commercial agencies, booking agents, and transportation touts in dealing with distribution and placement of labor and immigration. In view of the thousands of commercial agencies plying their unholy trade throughout the length and breadth of the United States, and the public licensing of them by state laws, you stand in need of a great arousing of public opinion as to the iniquity and harmfulness of further allowing the perpetuation of a public evil and menace to your community: future drastic action should follow to eliminate these undesirable elements.

May I, in reply to the inquiries from the lady from Massachusetts, state that the Canadian legislation will take the form of a nonpartisan National Commission co-operating with federal, provincial, and municipal authorities, associations of employers and work people, aided in its work by the formation of representative boards attached to the public labor bureau throughout the country; provision for co-operation with the education authorities and agricultural organizations; the testing of all officials appointed to administer the system as to their vocational fitness to handle problems, as well as their business efficiency; special safeguards and attention to women and juvenile labor, the appointment of a woman as one of the commissioners, provision for placement of the disabled, discharged soldier in employment, and many other useful provisions and precautions.

SOCIAL CONTROL IN A DEMOCRACY

FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS
Columbia University

When it was decided that we should help make the world safe for democracy Governor McCall of Massachusetts offered a pertinent and well-received remark on making democracy safe for the world. Subsequent events have demonstrated that this phase of a seething world-conflict cannot be dissociated from the one that President Wilson proclaimed. Social revolution in Russia is running the course that historians and sociologists foresaw, and in the United States, as throughout Europe, the forces of anarchy and darkness are muttering their curses upon civilization. Civilization itself, caught between conspiring perils, fights militaristic absolutism without and disintegrating treachery within. It is to the problem of disintegration, the threatened failure of social control, that I ask attention in this brief word upon social control in a democracy.

It is a fact of everyday knowledge that the word "democracy," having acquired many meanings, has become an equivocal name for opposing tendencies. While casting about for phases to describe these tendencies I discovered that, as so often happens, expressive terms had crept into newspaper discussion. There is an incompetent democracy. We are unhappily familiar with it. There is also—or there may be—a competent democracy. We need not waste time in looking for social control in an incompetent democracy. Our problem, therefore, becomes, What are the traits and what is the structure of a competent democracy? What forces of social control does it command, and how does it organize and apply them?

Certain preliminaries may be assumed. Any democracy, competent or incompetent, by hypothesis and definition, includes

the so-called masses—the peasantry, if there be one, the wage-earners, the proletariat—in a word, the demos. There are democratic groups that avow their purpose to exclude the so-called classes—the possessors of wealth, the private owners of capital goods. Some of these groups go farther. They would exclude the so-called professional class, and the Bolsheviki, we are told, would exclude skilled workers on the ground that they are an aristocracy of labor. I shall not try to prove that these groups are attempting to create an incompetent democracy. I shall take that presumption for granted. A competent democracy, by contrast, necessarily includes men and women of more than average ability. While giving to all the elements in the population a chance to be heard and a voice in decisions, it accepts leadership and utilizes the intellectual and moral resources of the community. It, therefore, does not and cannot exclude those relatively successful persons who constitute the so-called classes. Competent democracy, accordingly, is comprehensive. It is an integral democracy. Moreover, its factors and forces are organized for efficient action. It is an organic democracy.

Organization, we are beginning to understand, is the work of organizers. Control is the work of controllers. In any organization there is a division of labor. Differing individuals perform different tasks. There is also, necessarily, a direction of activities and a more or less successful correlation of specialized efforts. This implies co-ordination. Some individuals must functionally stand in a higher rank than others. Some individuals must functionally stand in subordination to others. Social control, in like manner, is a phenomenon of interacting superiorities and inferiorities. Some men influence and command; other men are influenced, and they obey.

These facts, I believe, are not denied in any important democratic group. Differences of opinion and of practice arise when it becomes necessary to name the organizing and controlling individuals and to work with them. A radical democracy demands equality of circumstance, of opportunity, and of power—that is to say, an objective equality; and it proclaims, also, the natural or personal equality of all men—that is to say, a subjective equality.

Conservative democracy aims to achieve closer approximations to objective equality, but it denies subjective equality. It acknowledges that men are by nature, that is to say, by heredity, unequal in ability and in character.

Democracies of both kinds believe that all normal adults are competent to vote. A consistently radical democracy holds also that all normal adults are equally competent to discharge the duties of any office. Its ideal system is rotation in office. Conservative democracy looks for superior men in general, and, in particular, for men of special ability for specific tasks. It tries to put superior men in office and to keep them there.

In the earlier decades of our own national life one of these platforms found expression in the Jacksonian democracy. The other found incomplete expression and application in Jeffersonian democracy. The most pretentious and active exponents of the radical view at the present time are the Industrial Workers of the World.

Conforming to these two opposing conceptions and programs of democracy are two opposing methods of creating and running organizations. Incompetent democracy begins this business by calling a mass meeting. A slate may or may not have been prepared. The meeting talks. The talk gratifies the vanity of the talkers, but otherwise it achieves nothing. A constitution and by-laws are adopted. A president, a secretary, and a treasurer are elected in due parliamentary process. An executive committee is elected or appointed. Then special committees are constituted, numerous enough and large enough to provide places for as many of the individuals present as may wish to attend more meetings and to see their names printed on letterheads. If an organization of this kind accomplishes anything the marvel may safely be credited to the relatively intelligent effort of a few individuals who forget the by-laws, ignore the existence of their associates, and quietly do the things that have to be done, as occasion arises. Organizations of this type have become a public nuisance in American life.

Organization of the other kind comes not with observation. It grows. An individual sees a job that he thinks ought to be

done and that he thinks he can do. It may be a business enterprise, a charity, a religious or an educational work, or a scientific investigation. He takes off his coat and goes about it. Presently he finds the task too heavy for one man. He looks about and secures a competent assistant. As more help and yet more becomes imperative new lieutenants and subordinates are chosen. An effective working organization has now come into existence and it may grow to large dimensions. In this way our great business systems have grown. In this way our most efficient educational institutions have grown. Substantially this is the organization through which any competent democracy must work. If proof of this proposition is demanded it is at hand in the history of the radical organizations that deny personal superiority and try to submerge it. The I.W.W. itself revolves about the personalities of its Haywoods, its Giovanettis, and its Gurley-Flynnns. No radical organization could live a week if in its own practice it did not deny the plan which it tries to impose upon society.

In these facts lie all the possibilities of social control in a democracy. The superior individuals that initiate and organize on one plan or the other and that run all organizations, the bad ones no less than the good ones, are the controllers. Other men imitate them or obey them as may happen. The fundamental assumption of radical democracy is false in fact; it breaks down the moment an attempt is made to apply it, and the impossibility of conducting collective effort in accordance with it explains the incompetency, notorious and scandalous, of all democracies of this type.

Successful social control by the superior few who organize competent democracy and administer its affairs is by no means fully explained, however, by the facts thus far set forth. There is a further phenomenon of procedure to take account of.

Actual social control by the competent is like the line of battle in modern trench warfare. It is pushed forward or it is driven back, as the fortunes of conflict favor the forces of competent democracy or the opposing legions of a democracy that is absurd and incompetent but nevertheless both obstructive and destructive. To gain ground and to hold it year by year competent democracy must master and successfully follow a particular strategy.

That strategy consists in buying support. Lest this assertion should give offense or be misunderstood, let me hasten to add that buying what one wants is not necessarily more objectionable in politics than it is in economics. It may be quite legitimate. Competent democracy buys, and must buy, the support of a great body of voters by offering to the community honest goods which the community wants. It must offer enlightened legislation and efficient administration. It must offer sanitation and education. It must offer improved living conditions. These wares of the political market are familiar. They are the stock in trade of habitual reformers. It is time to recognize, however, that they are not adequate. They do not constitute a sufficient tender to win and to hold the loyal co-operation of millions of men who are easily caught by the patent medicine advertisements of radical groups that make up our amorphous but vast incompetent democracy. If competent democracy is to push its political offensive it must offer and give to the wage-earning masses an increasing share of the economic, no less than of the intellectual and the moral, product of socially organized effort. How this shall be done, whether through agreement or through governmental intervention, whether through profit-sharing or through a more extensive public ownership of the means of production, is debatable; but the condition itself is a fact which debate can no longer affect. Competent democracy can win its way against incompetent democracy only on these terms.

On these terms it can win its way and make the world safe. But one thing more it must do before it can become, in Mr. Carnegie's grandiloquent words, triumphant. In final analysis, its power and effectiveness and its achievements through social control are determined by the ratio of gifted men and women to deficient or otherwise inadequate men and women in the population. This ratio, if we may believe the biologists, cannot be affected by education or ignorance, justice or injustice, religion or irreligion, nor any such thing, except as these, by influencing marriages, births, and deaths, selectively affect the various lines of good and bad heredity. Society is not yet ready—perhaps it never will be ready—for a radical eugenics program. But, let

us venture to hope, it is beginning to understand how enormously life might be ameliorated through an immediate adoption of one simple measure, namely, prevention of the reproduction of the feeble-minded. No one can study the relation of feeble-mindedness to vice, crime, pauperism, ineffectiveness, and political corruption in this country without asking himself the question whether these ancient ills, chief obstacles to human happiness and to the potential achievements of a competent democracy, could not largely be done away with in two or three generations by a little courageous application of common sense.

SOCIAL CONTROL IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

CHARLES HORTON COOLEY
University of Michigan

What ground have we for hoping that a society of nations has become possible in our time, when all previous history shows failure to attain it? Mankind has always cherished this aspiration, and if it is at last to be realized, there must be some general change in conditions, making practicable what has heretofore been merely visionary. I wish, therefore, to recall certain developments in the social situation which have taken place during the past century and seem to me to justify our belief that the problem of international order may be not far from solution. They are in the nature of a general growth in that organization of human life of which international order is but one phase.

I may note first that there has been a revolutionary change in the social mechanism. The means of communication have been transformed, enlarging and animating social relations and making possible, so far as mechanism is concerned, any degree or kind of unity that we may be able to achieve. In this respect alone we have a new world since the failure of Prince Metternich's scheme of pacification after the Napoleonic Wars.

The second change is the growth, and what appears to be the establishment, of nationalism as the principle animating those members of which a world-organism must be composed. This change is bound up with the preceding, since nations are masses of men united by language, literature, tradition, and local associations, and it is through the growth of communication that they have come to feel their unity more and more and to demand expression for it in a political whole.

I know there are some who hold that the national spirit is hostile to world-organization and who picture the present state of things as a struggle between nationalism, on the one hand, and a

higher principle, such as internationalism, fraternalism, or socialism, on the other. It seems, however, that, although the national spirit must be chastened and regenerated before it is fit for the larger order, there is no possibility of dispensing with it. Sound theory calls for a type of organism intermediate between the individual or the family and the world-whole which we hope to see arise.

A ripe nationalism is favorable to international order for the same reason that a ripe individuality is favorable to order in a small group. It means that we have coherent, self-conscious, and more or less self-controlled elements out of which to build our system. To destroy nationality because it causes wars would be like killing people to get rid of their selfishness. Our selves are poor things, but they are all we have, and so with nations in the larger whole. So far as the world is nationalized it is organized up to the point where supernationalism must begin. Having achieved the substructure we are ready to add the upper stories. We seek a synthesis, and anything synthetic already achieved and not hopelessly unavailable is so much gain. It is only too obvious that, on account of their incoherence, those regions where a national consciousness has not yet developed are a peril to any system we may erect. The national state, supported by patriotism, is our central disciplinary institution, the backbone of historical structure, which could decay only at the cost of a vast collapse and disintegration involving the degradation of human character. Even intermittent war would be better than this.

And just as it takes ambitious and self-assertive persons to make a vigorous group, so we need national emulation and struggle in a greater society. A world-life that was altogether supernational, without aggressive differentiation, would, I believe, be enervating, and I agree with the militarists in so far as to find this an unsatisfying ideal. We sometimes think of the Commonwealth of Man as likely to resemble the United States on a greater scale; but it would not be well to have the nations of the world so much alike, or even so harmonious, as our states; nor is it likely that they will be. We need a more energetic difference.

Another favoring change is the rise of democracy. This has been contemporaneous with the rise of nationalism and is likewise

based upon the new communication and education that have made it possible to organize social consciousness on a great scale. Indeed nationalism and democracy, although they may at times conflict, are phases of the same development. In both the individual gets a congenial sphere of expression. The people, awakened by the new intercourse, are no longer inert and indifferent to the larger relations of life, but live more in these relations and aspire to feel themselves members of great sympathetic wholes. They find these in democratic groups united by the spiritual bonds of language, ideal, and tradition; and strive, accordingly, to make the actual organization correspond to such groups.

The view that democracy will insure international peace is, in my opinion, not so certainly true as many think. It is not impossible that a whole nation may become possessed by military ideals and passions, as has at times been measurably true of France. And democracy affords no guaranty that an energetic militant faction, even though a minority, may not grasp the lead and rush a nation into war. Something of this kind took place in the southern states at the outbreak of the rebellion. Would the world-war have been impossible if Germany had been as democratically organized as France? I do not see that it would, though it must, no doubt, have come on in a different way. The conflict of ideas and ambitions would still have been there, with no adequate way to settle it.

Yet there are practical reasons for thinking that democracy, on the whole, will be pacific. It gives power to the masses, who are the chief sufferers from war and normally the most kindly in sentiment. Homely and friendly ideals of life have always had their stronghold among the common people, and war has been fostered mainly by rulers and upper classes, not merely for aggrandizement, but as a kind of sport to which they were addicted for its own sake. It may safely be assumed that modern democracy will not share this taste, but, although still subject to martial excitement, will pursue, in the main, ideals more likely to promote everyday happiness.

Another reason why democracy tends to international peace is that under modern conditions it is necessary for content and equilibrium within a nation. One of the main causes of recent wars

has been the need of sovereigns and ruling classes to forestall internal revolution by the pressure of external conflict. Napoleon III, not only once but several times, sought war in the hope of supporting his power by the prestige of victory, and there is reason to believe that Russia, Germany, and Austria were all influenced by this motive in the year 1914. Extending radicalism was threatening to split these countries, and it was felt that conflict without would close the rift within. We all know how true, for the time at least, this proved to be.

As a fourth of these general changes favorable to the prospect of enduring peace I would reckon the diffusion of organizing capacity among the people, not only by education and political democracy, but quite as much through economic experience. The administration of business in its innumerable branches and the participation in labor unions and other economic groups have developed on a great scale that power of the individual to understand and create social machinery which is essential to any well-knit organization. The industrial nations, at least, are equipped with all kinds and degrees of organizing ability, and if they do not organize peace it will be because they do not want to.

The changes I have mentioned may all be summed up in the statement that the world has been taking on a larger and higher organization, which now demands expression in the international sphere. There is no doubt of the preparation, and the time seems fully ripe for achievement.

And, finally, we have the lessons of the Great War. I am far from presuming to expound these, but it is certain that there is scarcely anything in the way of social ideas and institutions that has not been tested and developed. We know the extent and disaster of modern war as we could not before, and a fierce light has been cast upon all its antecedents.

We believe that the war is establishing at least one great principle, fundamental to any tolerable plan of peace, namely, that no nation, however powerful, can hope to thrive by power alone, without the good will of its neighbors. From this point of view the main purpose of the war is to vindicate the moral unity of mankind against self-assertion. We are resolved that it shall register the

defeat of self-sufficiency and domination, and so point the way to an international group within which national struggle can go on under general control. In order that this may come to pass there are two great requirements regarding the issue of the war: first, that the chief aggressor against moral order shall be thoroughly beaten and humbled, not before other nations, but before the collective right; and, secondly, that no other nation shall take advantage of the situation for private aggrandizement. If the latter is done, or permitted, the whole moral outcome is vitiated.

Assuming that the general conditions have become favorable, I wish further to inquire whether it is reasonable to expect that a society of nations may be formed upon the same principles that we rely upon in the association of individuals. How far is a group of nations like a group of persons? Can we anticipate that the members will be guided, for better or worse, by the ordinary impulses of human nature, or must we have a new psychology for them?

Whether the behavior of a social whole will be personal or not depends upon whether the members identify themselves heartily with it. If they do, then, in times of aroused feeling, those sentiments and passions which are similar in all men and are easily communicated will inflame the whole group and be expressed in its behavior. It will act personally in the sense that it is ruled by the live impulses of human nature and not by mere routine or special interest. Most groups are far from answering to this description, which, as a rule, applies only to those that are small and intimate, like the family. But the case of the nation is peculiar, since it is known to evoke the emotion of patriotism, which has a special power to draw into itself the whole force of personality. •

The psychological background of patriotism I take to be the need of human nature to escape from the limitations of individuality and to immerse the spirit in something felt to be larger, nobler, and more enduring. This need is expressed also in devotion to leaders, like Napoleon or Garibaldi; in the passion for causes, like socialism and the labor movement, and in many forms of religious service. Its main object in our time, however, is one's country; and it is because of the wholeness with which men put themselves into it

that a nation comes to have a collective self in which such sentiments as pride, resentment, and aspiration are fully alive. A self-conscious nation is a true *socius*, and consequently may unite with others in a social and moral group. The whole doctrine of international relations might well start from this point, that the units with which we deal are truly human and not mere corporations or sovereignties.

It is true that their relations have been mostly selfish or hostile in the past, but this is true also of persons except in so far as, by working together, they have acquired habits and sentiments of co-operation. And nations, even in their conflicts, confess their unity by seeking one another's admiration. Each wants to distinguish itself in the eyes of the international audience, and war itself is waged largely from this motive. We want our country to be glorious, to excel in the world-game; and the fact that the game is destructive does not destroy the social character of the impulse. If this were not present, we should not find our leaders instigating us by appeals to national honor, resentment, and pride. Perhaps there is no better proof of the personal nature of national feeling than the large part which "insults" play in arousing it. An entity that can be insulted is essentially human.

If the national spirit is truly human and social it should be capable of a moral development and of participating in a moral order similar to that which prevails in personal relations. And perhaps the surest proof that international social control is possible is that nations have shown themselves capable of feeling and acting upon a disinterested indignation at aggression upon other nations, as in the case of Belgium. Such indignation is in all societies the most active impulse making for the enforcement of justice. There is an incredible doctrine taught by some writers that the national self can feel greed and hate, but cannot rise to justice, friendship, and magnanimity. Why should its human nature be so one-sided? Is it not quite conceivable that we might come to demand an even higher standard of honor and conduct from our country than we do from ourselves, because the idea of country, like the idea of God, is the symbol of a higher kind of life? The gods have been in the mud too, and as they have risen from it to an ethical plane we may hope the same of the nations.

If this view is sound, it follows that if we can change the ruling ideal so that nations come to admire one another for being righteous, magnanimous, and just, as well as strong and successful, we shall find them as eager to live up to *this* ideal as they now are to conform to a lower one. It is all a matter of the standards of the group.

If there is a nation that has deliberately set out to be unsocial by adopting a theory of national aggrandizement by *Macht* alone, that nation is believed to be Germany; but even here, however unlovely the resulting type of self may appear to be, there can be little doubt that it is a social self, ambitious to shine in the eyes of the world. Strange as we may think it, the self-conscious part of Germany felt that she was doing a glorious thing when in 1914 she assailed two great nations and defied a third; and she looked confidently to others for admiration. Perhaps we may expect that, having learned where she misjudged the sentiment of the group, she will in the future conduct herself in a manner more acceptable to it.

Nations, then, are normally moral agents, subject to control by the ruling opinion of the period as to what is honorable and praiseworthy. The trouble has been, in great part, that this ruling opinion has set barbaric standards and approved a style of conduct such as prevails among savage tribes or lawless frontiersmen in a new country. A nation was held to be great in proportion as it extended its possessions, its rule, and the dread of its arms. The expression "national honor" in the history of the nineteenth century will be found to mean chiefly warlike prestige, a reputation for valor and success, the power to punish enemies or reward friends. It was sullied by failure to take revenge, by declining a challenge or deserting an ally, but not by lawlessness, arrogance, or greed. The ideal from which honor took its meaning was national prowess, not the welfare of a group of nations; there was no reference to a general right springing from organic unity. It was the honor of Achilles or Rob Roy, not the team-work honor of a modern soldier.

Temporary peace was obtained by a balance of power, that is, not by any real unity, but by the clans being so nearly matched that each hesitated to start a fight. Such hesitation might be expedient, but it was not in itself honorable. Honor was to be won mainly by victorious conflict, on no matter what occasion, and by

displaying the power which followed. Napoleon shone in this way and dazzled all Europe, including Goethe, who was in many things the wisest man of his time. His nephew tried to do the same and had no lack of honor so long as he seemed to succeed. Bismarck did succeed, and the German Empire became the standard-bearer of this type of honor, continuing to uphold it after it had been partly abandoned by other nations.

The organic unity of Europe, real as it had become, was slow to transform national idealism, and diplomacy as well as war remained a game for mutual injury and humiliation. England, who was in a position to lead the way, took some steps in a better path, but not enough to convince the world. The old ways were too strong upon her; she upheld Turkey and crushed the Boer Republics, giving an indifferent example to Germany, whose imperialism is largely an imitation, however distorted, of that of England. The accepted ideal continued to be one which implied war, open or covert, as the road to honor and success.

It is clear that this ideal is no longer congruous, as it once was, with the general state of the world, but is a pernicious survival, unfit, unevolutionary, and ripe for elimination. The obstacles to this are institutional, not inherent in human nature, and if the momentum of custom and the glamor of honor can be transferred from the ways of war to those of peace, the hardest of the work will be done.

The logical outcome is an organic international life, in which each nation and each national patriotism will be united, but not lost, as individuals are united in an intimate group. Our national individuality will subsist, but will derive its guidance and meaning from its relation to the common whole, finding its ambition, emulation, and honor in serving that, as a boy does in the play group or the soldier in his regiment. A spirit of team work will be substituted, we may hope, for that of unchastened self-assertion. There will be rivalry, not always of the highest kind, and even war may be possible until we have worked out the rules of the game and the means of applying them, but the moral whole will assert itself with increasing power. The new system means bringing the

national state under social discipline, making it a responsible member of a larger society. Its significance is, not to diminish, but to become of a somewhat different kind, like that of a woman when she marries. Hitherto not Germany alone but all the nations have clung to an individualism incompatible with any permanent international order and with any discipline except force.

I do not look for any disappearance of national selfishness, even of the grosser kinds. Human nature has various moods, most of them unedifying, and the everyday, grumbling, quarreling routine of life will no doubt go on among nations as among individuals. But in spite of this we have idealism and a social order among persons, and we may expect that nations will have them also. We must organize both ideals and selfish interest, so that the former may work with as little friction on account of the latter as possible. Fundamentally both depend for their gratification upon a social order.

The unity of the international whole will be of a different quality from that of the nation. It will be less intimate and passionate and will lack the bond of emulation and conflict with other wholes like itself. There is a kind of conflict, however, which even an all-inclusive whole must undergo, namely, that with rebellious elements within itself, and this struggle for unity will enhance self-consciousness, as the Civil War did for the United States. The league of nations will not be merely utilitarian, though its utility will be immense, but will appeal more and more to the imagination by the grandeur of its ideal and the sacrifices necessary to attain it; and, as it achieves concrete existence in institutions, symbols, literature, and art, human thought and sentiment will find a home in it. And just as patriotism is akin to the more militant and evangelistic type of religion, so international consciousness corresponds to religious feeling of a quieter and more universal sort, to the idea of a God in whom all nations and sects find a various unity.

I realize something of the immense importance and difficulty of the economic and political problems, involved with the question of an international social order, which I must leave to abler hands. We must do our best to provide equal economic opportunity for all

nations, to establish at least the beginnings of an international constitution, with judicial, legislative, and executive branches, and also to provide a process of orderly change by which the world may assimilate new conditions and thus avoid fresh disaster. I think, however, that all these questions need to be dealt with in view of the more general social problem. We shall not have an international society unless we have political and economic justice; but neither can these endure except as the fruits of a real international solidarity.

We are likely to overestimate the part that force can play in keeping international order. It will no doubt be necessary, especially at first, to have a reserve of force to impress the less civilized nations, and possibly the more civilized at times of exceptional tension. But our discipline will fail, as it does in schools and families, unless we can get good will to support it. Force cannot succeed except as the expression of general sentiment, and if we have that it will rarely be necessary. To exalt it by brandishing a club is to exalt an idea whose natural issue is war. A single powerful nation, whose heart remains hostile to the system, will probably be able to defeat it, and certainly will prevent its developing any spirit higher than that of a policeman. The Commonwealth of Man must have force, but must mainly be based on something higher; on tolerance, understanding, common ideals, common interests, and common work.

DISCUSSION

L. M. BRISTOL, WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY

I desire to confine my discussion to Professor Cooley's paper, for one reason because it fits in so well with my own ways of thought and expression, and in the second place because the conception of nationalism and the relation of nationalism to peaceful internationalism are expressed in terms that need to be emphasized in these days when men are prone to think either in terms of a narrow, antagonistic nationalism, or in terms of a humanitarianism that fails to give due consideration to any type of social self-consciousness and activity. I find myself in such general agreement with the point of view and principles of social control set forth that my discussion will have to take the form largely of emphasizing certain aspects of the paper and developing

his thought somewhat further and in a way, I trust, which will meet his general approval.

There is one point in the paper, however, with which I find myself somewhat in disagreement, and that is the analysis of patriotism. Professor Cooley says: "The psychological background of patriotism I take to be the need of human nature to escape the limitations of individuality and to immerse the spirit in something felt to be larger, nobler, and more enduring." Now if we seek the psychological origin of patriotism we shall probably find that it is the sentiment connected with such co-operation within the group as has proven on the whole of adaptive value; or, again, it is loyalty to that political unity on which so much of personal welfare is felt, more or less consciously, to depend. Patriotism, in its earliest stages of development, is closely related to that type of religion which Ward characterizes as "the group sentiment of safety," but later it is confined, largely, to a certain kind of feeling and activity connected with a political unit. It seems to me that Professor Cooley gives a justification for patriotism rather than a psychological explanation.

The argument of the paper is based largely on the analogy of a nation among a group of nations, to an individual among a group of individuals. "How far is a group of nations like a group of persons?" he asks, and answers in a later paragraph, "A self-conscious nation is a true *socius*, and consequently may unite with others in a social and moral group." "The whole doctrine of international relations," he continues, "might well start from this point, that the units with which we deal [that is, nations] are truly human and not mere corporations or sovereignties."

Professor Cooley goes on to argue that social control in international relations will be much the same as social control of individuals in a society—largely a matter of restraint exercised by public opinion; in this case, the opinion of other nations forming some kind of a psychical unity. Now this method of reasoning by analogy, so prominent in the writings of Spencer, Lillienfeld, Schäffle, and a host of others, has been used little for some years until recently; but there seems to be a growing tendency to liken a social group, especially a nation, not to a biological organism, but to a person. While fully recognizing the dangers connected with the use of this method, and appreciating its limitations, its value is so unquestionable that I believe Professor Cooley is fully warranted in its use, and I propose to go a step further in the discussion of social control in international relations based on the conception of a nation as a social quasi-personality. I prefer this expression to "truly human" as used in the paper.

From this point of view, we may get some light on methods of social control in international relations, by a study of social control as actually exercised by a group on its members, and as it might be exercised still more effectively by rational social organization. But first we should note that as there are two general types of individuals, the one self-assertive, over against other individuals, the other assertive of self only as a member of a more inclusive

group, developing self by service, so there are two general types of nations, the one seeking self-aggrandizement at the expense of other nations, with emphasis on territorial expansion, wealth, and numbers, the other seeking self-enlargement and admiration chiefly through a reputation gained for its enlightened system of government and social policy, and for its influence over the ideas, ideals, and institutions of its fellow-nations, relying for success, not on physical force, but on the attractive power of example and peaceful propaganda.

The reason that nationalism is in such ill-repute in certain circles is that the world for the most part has seen but one type—the narrow, self-centered, antagonistic type. In the Spanish-American War and in the endeavor to solve the problems arising from it, the conduct of the United States has been a puzzle to nearly all the other nations because they have been accustomed to see nations acting for the most part only as selfish individuals. Our attitude toward our sister states of South America has been interpreted by them in accordance with this same principle—and unfortunately at times with good reason. But on the whole, in recent years, the United States has conducted herself as one among a family of nations. The action of our country in returning to China, with conditions, the indemnity awarded at the close of the Boxer uprising was in such conspicuous contrast with that of the other nations that it was not only misunderstood but interpreted in a way to cause resentment.

Now, as Professor Cooley has so well pointed out, social control among a family of nations will be largely by public sentiment. This may remain diffused; it may be formulated into an international code of ethics; it may be crystallized into international law; but in any event each nation will be responsive to restraint exercised by what might be called international public opinion. Of course, in so far as the selfish, aggressive, Prussian type of national egoism prevails, the only possible method of peaceful social control will be by some international organization backed by force—and peace might not reign even under such conditions. The present world-war in some of its aspects illustrates the possibilities of restraint exercised on a nation by the opinion of other nations. Germany's greatest blunder has been in her failure to estimate correctly the power of international public opinion. Surely "the wheels of the gods grind slowly, but they grind exceedingly small," and probably neither Germany nor any other enlightened state will make so serious a mistake again.

Professor Cooley has done well, also, to insist that nationalism of some type is essential to efficient internationalism. And here, again, our simile is suggestive. Individual self-consciousness is necessary to rational activity; nor is an intense consciousness of self as distinct from other selves inconsistent with the highest social service. Indeed much might be said in favor of a vivid self-consciousness as a prerequisite to the highest self-development and most efficient service. The same may be true of a nation in relation to other nations. The important question concerning an individual or a nation is as to its type,

whether it is antagonistic or co-operative, and the problem presents itself as to the development of a national self-consciousness of the co-operative type.

As many social psychologists have pointed out, the individual self and the social self develop together; but as to which shall be the more prominent in feeling and conduct depends somewhat on heredity, but even more on early training. Conditions surrounding the child in his plastic years determine largely whether he will become a self-centered, antagonistic individual, or a social, co-operative individual. Co-operative endeavor in the home, at school, on the playground, and in economic and social activity is the best training for altruism. Moreover, where this kind of endeavor is carried on under division of labor, especially where this is based on natural aptitudes and specialized training, the group unity based on consciousness of kind is intensified by a consciousness of supplementary difference. Under these conditions, too, the unity of the group approximates so much more the unity of personality. But a group made up of this type of co-operating individuals will not necessarily be a co-operative group in relation to other groups, for co-operation within the group may be fostered as a means of strengthening the group in antagonistic competition with other groups. There needs to be special training, then, to make for efficient membership in a nation that is to be a part of an international family. Of first importance in this training is a humanitarian as distinct from a mere national ideal, or, even better, a national ideal that somehow includes humanity. Under the stimulus of this ideal, the children will be taught concerning the virtues and historic achievements of other races in such a way that opprobrious terms like "hunky," "sheeny," and "nigger" will not be found in their vocabulary. A universal ethics needs to be developed to displace the national and double standard that has prevailed so generally since the very dawn of social life. As rapidly as possible there should be wrought out an international polity making for the widest possible geographic division of labor and relatively free exchange of goods. Just such division of labor, it was, and exchange, which made for peace instead of war among neighboring groups in primitive times—a fact overlooked all too often, especially by the so-called social-Darwinians. Education for peaceful, efficient internationalism must train the developing child to think and act in terms of an ever-enlarging self-consciousness and self-regarding sentiment, first including the family, then the community and various social organizations, as the public school and Sunday school, then including the state and nation, but eventually all humanity. But the most important factors in this training will be the social ideal of each successive group of which he becomes an active member, and the purposeful endeavor of each group to function as efficiently as possible in a more inclusive group. Every family should endeavor to find its place in the social life of the community and its social institutions. Every community should seek to fill its place in the work of the state and nation. Every nation should have a supreme ambition to fulfil its appointed mission in the development of the highest well-being of humanity.

Methods of social control making for an efficient democracy and for peaceful internationalism will develop with the development of such a type of education and social organization. There will function, in the interaction of groups, just such principles of social control as have been analyzed so ably by Professor Ross: sympathy, sociability, sense of justice, individual reaction, public opinion, customs, ideals, beliefs, ceremonials, education, personality, law, social religion; and although, as both Professor Ross and Professor Cooley point out, we have reason to believe that public opinion will function with increasing power, we may well be prepared to continue for many years yet under the sway of national selfishness and prejudice resulting in intergroup friction and calling for some organized method of enforcing peace.

The final outcome of the present dualistic movement for nationalism on the one hand, requiring some kind of intergroup rivalry as a means of securing national character and unity, and on the other hand the movement for internationalism and peace, is not so happily formulated by Professor Cooley, it seems to me, as by that great prophet of internationalism, Jacques Novicow, who looked forward to a time when bitter intergroup struggle for means of subsistence, for territory and political power would give way to a rivalry in excellence; and when the measure of group success would no longer be in terms of territory and wealth and population acquired by physical force or diplomatic strategy, but in terms of power to provoke imitation, to attract immigrants, and to induce annexations, all of these processes resulting in territorial expansion, wealth, and numbers. Had Germany been content to pursue a policy of peaceful expansion and to become the teacher of all nations by the efficiency of her school system, her municipal government, and her methods of social insurance, in thirty years, as Professor Giddings once remarked, she might have possessed some of the most important territory she has hoped in vain to secure by this awful world-carnage.

Rivalry in excellence between nations and between lesser social groups, I believe, is the kind that should be fostered by all sociologists who believe in nationalism as well as internationalism. This kind of rivalry has the potency of developing that unity and loyalty in the group that is so essential to purposeful endeavor. It will provide, also, an objective test for social progress so greatly needed in social science and social philosophy.

But I hear the oft-repeated criticism: a beautiful dream, but Utopian! We must keep our feet on the ground, deal with social forces and problems as we find them, and go only so far as we are warranted by inductive study. In reply let me suggest that the social dreamer may prove to be the social seer; that the social philosopher who endeavors to see the end, however distant, and tries to arouse human forces and correlate them in such a way as to bring about the end desired, has his place as well as the social scientist or the social engineer; indeed, that the idealist has inspired some of the greatest achievements in social progress. Every educational system is based on an educational ideal. Every thoroughgoing system of social amelioration or reconstruction

should be based on a social ideal that is the outgrowth of a consistent social philosophy.

We are at the dawn of a period of social reconstruction such as the world has never before seen, and the supreme need of the hour is for a social philosophy which will enable us to "see life steadily and see it whole." This is one great merit in the paper by Professor Cooley, for it is but the application to one subject of a thoroughgoing system which has found no finer expression, I believe, than in the paper under discussion, in which prominence is given to the concept of nations as quasi-personalities and to the social ideal of humanity organized ultimately into a family of nations.

CECIL C. NORTH, OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

I have the same reason for not discussing Professor Cooley's paper that the previous speaker had for discussing it, namely, because I find myself in such hearty agreement with it. I choose to discuss Professor Giddings' paper because there are several things in it with which I wish to take issue. I agree entirely with Professor Giddings in his judgment of radical democracy, a kind of social organization that pretends that masses, or groups of people, are competent as masses to direct the affairs of group life.

But there are two points in which I cannot follow him. The first is his belief that social control depends vitally on the effort to increase by positive social action the proportion of gifted or exceptional individuals. Of course, we all believe in negative eugenics, that is, the elimination of the unfit. I doubt very much, however, that feeble-mindedness is much of a factor in political corruption. I do not see that our failure at political control is due, in very large measure, to the presence of subnormal individuals. But any attempt at positive eugenics, that is, efforts to increase the number of gifted individuals, has very definite limitations. To mention but one, we have no standard of the most desirable elements in a democracy. Being an organic whole, the democracy needs brawn and muscle and nervous energy and mechanical ability and artistic qualities and capacity for organization and leadership. To attempt to evaluate such different types of ability in comparison with one another is an extremely difficult task, and any program of positive eugenics must assume responsibility for such comparisons of worth. I think it has been well shown by Lester F. Ward and others that a program of education, considering that term in its broadest sense, and of distribution of the spiritual goods equally to all classes has much more hopefulness of increasing the available number of useful citizens than has any scheme of positive eugenics.

I do not care to argue this point at any length, however, since my difference with Professor Giddings on this point is a minor consideration. I think there is a more vital weakness in his theory of social control in a democracy than in his theory of eugenics.

He does indeed in the early part of his paper state an organic conception of the relation of leaders and lead in a competent democracy. He states a correct theory of leadership but ignores its implications when he describes its method of operation. Competent democracy must do more than purchase support for its leaders from the masses by competent legislation, administration, and justice in the distribution of goods. It must continually win their intellectual and moral support for the policies of the leaders. The people must always be convinced that what the leaders are doing is an expression of the people's own will.

I do not see that Professor Giddings has stated anything different from a benevolent despotism. What Germany was doing before the war for the masses of the people was to a considerable degree, at least, the sort of thing that Professor Giddings describes. If democracy means anything, it means power exercised by the whole organic people, and we must recognize the fact that the people are going to exercise it. Whether they do it wisely depends on how they are guided by their leaders. Any theory or practice of social organization that assumes that the masses are going to sit by content with enjoying the goods distributed to them, by however competent and benevolent controllers, is doomed to bitter disappointment. Only by carrying the people with them every step of the way and making the decision of the controllers identical with some expression of the will of the people can the leaders hope to maintain their position.

We have had a striking illustration of this in the recent election in the national metropolis. If the news comments have any foundation at all, this seems to have been clearly demonstrated: that no government, however efficient and honest and just, can continue in power which does not keep the people so informed that they intellectually and morally assent to the policies of the leaders.

Other examples are abundant. No one who has considered at all thoughtfully the labor movement of recent years can escape the fact that labor problems have been brought on by something more than an unfair distribution of goods. The laborer insists that the control of industry shall in some way express his own will and personality. The feminist movement is also significant. It has had its most pronounced expression in those countries where the women are already receiving at least their share of the goods of the community. The movement is especially an expression of a claim for the expression of personality and, as such, is a genuinely democratic movement.

To assert that the people must have a real voice in the shaping of social policies is not to say that that form of control which Professor Giddings calls "radical democracy" can be competent. He is entirely right in holding that leadership is absolutely necessary. There is no thinking in the mass. A university faculty meeting is generally an expression of disorganized incompetency, when questions of detail are to be settled and policies put into execution, and this is equally true of any attempt to think out details or execute

policies by any groups or masses of people. How then do the people rule? They rule by furnishing the fundamental convictions and sentiments and purposes. Professor Cooley and others have well stated this in their discussions of the relation of leader and lead. A leader must be an interpreter of those undefined and yet powerful convictions that well up from the souls and minds of the masses. The people are more liable to be right on fundamentals of social policy than are individual thinkers, and real competency on the part of leaders in a democracy consists in the ability to catch up and say for the people what is in the hearts and minds of the people to say, but for which they have not yet found a voice. These convictions and purposes and sentiments of the people, which in the long run must be the controlling factors, are indeed susceptible of modification and change through education. But in the last analysis the leaders in a democracy must take from them their cue.

This same theory of social control must apply to the control of the relation of one nation to another. I am sorry that we have not had presented a discussion of the question as to how far the foreign relations of a nation may be democratized. There is a party in the United States that seems to think that there is some way by which the people can directly deal with their relations to other nations. But there is no magic by which the people can directly control foreign relations when they are unable to do so in domestic affairs. It is preposterous, therefore, to assume that the people in any direct way can undertake to decide the issues of foreign relations. A direct submission to the people of a particular issue to be voted upon can never secure competent judgment unless it is an exceedingly simple and uncomplicated one. But if the leaders are really competent to express the will of the people in any affairs, there is no reason why they should not also express them in foreign relations. Popular control of international relations, therefore, must come by the same road as popular control of domestic affairs.

This all means that there is no short cut to democracy. We have made the mistake of regarding democracy as a form of government rather than as a spiritual attainment. Competent democracy can only be attained along the hard road of the education of the people, the inculcation of right ideals, and the keeping of the masses so informed of the activities of the government that they shall be able, intelligently, to decide whether or not this or that policy is to be followed. This spiritual attainment, which we call "democracy," lies, of course, still before us. Professor Giddings speaks truthfully when he says that it comes not by observation. He might well have added that it comes only by prayer and fasting.

L. L. BERNARD, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

The contention of these few comments upon the papers of the afternoon is, briefly, that it will do little good to state what we want unless we know how to get it. We do want peace; we do desire to destroy autocracy in national

and international relations; we are fighting a war for democracy; we do hope that a better and more just social order will arise. But how are these things to be achieved? There seems to be too much blind faith that they will come through magic, as it were, regardless of effort and planning. I am not one of the optimists in this regard. I believe that just as our social order has largely degenerated into the present international crisis because we had no adequate plan, so will the social order after the war is over fall further into a condition of chaos unless we can evolve and plan an order which is more than a patchwork of the past.

Through the past hundred years or so we in America have made a religion of democracy, though our worship of it has been rather formal and lifeless. Since the war there are many people who do lip service to democracy because it is a popular term with which to appeal to those who contribute blood and sweat to war machines. But the fact remains that in great national and international crises democracy breaks down, becoming a phrase rather than a fact. Whether this shelving of democratic control in favor of autocracy is due to the defects and weaknesses of democracy itself or to the ever-watchful selfishness of the classes in strategic positions who are unfriendly to democratic society, the fact remains that democracy itself is not able to prevent it. This breakdown of historic democracy in crises is not different in kind from its failure in less critical times; it is merely more marked, more spectacular.

The difficulty is doubtless not with democracy as the ideal of placing the welfare of all above the welfare of the few. It consists in the failure of historic democracy (1) to keep consistently to this ideal, (2) to establish a criterion or method by means of which this ideal may be attained. Our democracy in America, and apparently elsewhere, has historically been but little conscious of the social welfare ideal. It has rather represented a tendency for the struggle for the satisfaction of interests to expand so as to include more people—all the people, all classes. The dominant aim of democracy is still distributive individualism, a free field for a hard fight, the hope of each being to obtain the largest possible share in distribution regardless of the rest of society. Localism, the theory of the class struggle (practiced by both labor and capital), reaction against restraining institutions whatever their social functions, have been the order of the day. All the way from capital's defense of the economic order as it is to the anarchist's blind reaction against external control in toto we have the same philosophy of democracy: an order in which I can satisfy my desires, caring little or nothing for this thing we call society. Political science, sociology, economics, ethics, have accepted the individual interest or group struggle theory of social control, not merely as what exists, but as the normal condition. Discreteness of activity, rather than synthesis of aim, has been preached everywhere from the field of religion to that of economics. We have had an apotheosis of individualism and because it was a free fight for all, in which everybody hoped to get at least his share, we have called it democracy.

We have had no consistent objective criterion of social action or control for common ends. Each one's own subjective desires, uneducated and unmolded, have been considered the legitimate motive forces in this pseudo democracy. We have reached a point in social disintegration where we are dazedly looking about and trying to take stock. We are talking about pulling together. We have been looking for a goat to bear the sins of the present world-catastrophe. A certain amount of the blame will have to come home to every civic fireside before we can arrive at a lasting solution. That solution must be found in an objective criterion of social welfare which will take the place of the old subjective criterion leading to distributive individualism upon which our present social order is based.

What is this objective criterion? It is simple. It consists of the application of the facts and principles of science to the control of social relationships, just as all other phenomena are normally regulated according to science. Industry, transportation, exchange, all the fundamental economic interests of life, are controlled through scientific method on their operative side. Shall not the great business of society on its operative side—social contacts, organizations, and controls—be subjected to the same methods? How, then, can the control of society through science be instituted? The method is simple enough, for it is the same method which is applied to those fields where science is already operative. (1) The pertinent facts in the other sciences must be applied in the social sciences. To illustrate: Wherever a fact of bacteriology, of physiology, of physiological chemistry, of psychology, or of any other science is found applicable to the better organization of human controls, that fact must be applied resolutely, regardless of personal preference, likes or dislikes, the cry of suppression of liberty or what not. Such applications are already being made slowly on a voluntary basis through the gradual discovery and dissemination of the facts of science among the masses. But we must go beyond voluntary application, if we are to turn from social disorganization to social control for welfare purposes. (2) Not all scientific facts can be tested in the laboratory and borrowed directly from the sciences antecedent to sociology. Some of them we must test out through a statistical study of results. The survey method, using statistics in order to standardize social facts and obtain an analytical appreciation of social values, often can do for us by way of enlightening us what the antecedent sciences cannot do. Together these two methods can provide us with the data on which we can build an objective social order, an organization of society dictated by science, instead of our present social disorganization based on individual preferences merely.

It may be objected that everybody knows this; that we take it for granted that we desire scientific social control; that the real question which requires an answer is, How can we secure the objective social control on the basis of science instead of the distributive individualism of the present? The first two contentions I deny. I do not know of any general textbook in sociology, political science, or economics which states the ideal society, the society which

we are striving for, as a society objectively organized on the basis of science. Furthermore, there is at the present day no textbook in these three sciences which develops its subject-matter wholeheartedly from this standpoint. The absolutism of religious, political, and metaphysical dogma has so frightened us that we are afraid to take advantage of the facts of science to construct a consistent social order for the common good. We are still for the most part in the descriptive stage of the social sciences and many of those among us are violently opposed to going beyond that stage. The social worker is often in bad odor because he has at points advanced from description to construction. And what is this description? The social sciences now describe primarily the techniques of present contacts or past organizations and institutions and these contacts are primarily those of individualism—a struggle for personal ends rather than organization for social welfare.

Not only do the social sciences hesitate short of constructive attempts. The great mass of opinion is yet almost entirely individualistic and opposed to an objective criterion. It accepts only the subjective test of moral worth based on intention or feeling and repudiates the objective criterion that all social and moral right must be objectively and scientifically determined on the basis of what will promote the common welfare. The fundamental conflict between public and private interest must be recognized before this criterion can be changed from an individualistic to a social welfare one.

Granted the desirability of this change of criterion, how can we secure its acceptance? Is not the old individualistic attitude innate, instinctive? Individualism is not instinctive, nor is altruism instinctive. Where man lives close to nature, as in savagery, where he takes his sustenance mainly directly from nature, where the mechanism of mutual aid is little developed in society—in other words, where the interdependence of man is little recognized because it little exists—individualism is common sense. It is the result of experience instead of instinct. The old type of farmer, self-sufficing, finding a competitor rather than a co-operator in a too-near neighbor, was individualistic. The modern farmer is a co-operator, just as the business man and the city dweller are co-operators. These old individualistic attitudes became institutionalized. They were *the* philosophy of life. They permeated every institution—religion, the state, the family, industry, education, everything. Like all traditional dogmas with unanimous institutional support they are difficult to choke off. They dominate our social science, our ethics, our everyday philosophy, and to a large extent our religion.

But society has evolved into a new era. The individual is no longer self-sufficing. He is but a cog in a complex industrial and social machine. It is the organization which counts, is directive, is dominant; the individual is an appendage, literally made and remade, exalted or depressed, to fit the needs of the great interdependent organization, society, in which he lives. Fret about it as we will, like it or hate it, that is the new order of things and such it will remain. Under such an order individualism is as anachronistic as

savagery and as dangerous as sabotage. Such being the case, the philosophers need but interpret the times, understand the world in which they live, and teach the social criterion in all affairs instead of the individualistic. All the teaching and molding institutions, especially religion, education, the family, government, will have to be worked over from the standpoint of the objective social criterion of science and made to preach its gospel. Neither the gospel of individualism nor of altruism (for both are alike subjectivistic and therefore individualistic), but the gospel of impersonal social control through science instead of through the subjective desires of the individual, whether these desires seek the happiness of self or of another, must be the guide. If the molding institutions teach this criterion it will be accepted. For nothing is truer—no lesson back of this war is more patent—than that people believe and act upon whatever they are persistently taught from the cradle up.

But how can the criterion be enforced, even when accepted? Can it be made more than an abstract philosophy? Can we secure legislatures which will use this method in making laws instead of the old individualistic method of balancing interests which is utterly repugnant to it? Doubtless this will be difficult, but we may be able to modify our legislative system in the direction of the utilization of the expert through legislative reference, submission to referendum, and intelligent public discussion. Perhaps there are other checks which we can utilize, such as the dissociation of the legislator from personal interest in the subject of his legislation. Can we secure an administrative personnel which will apply the scientific criterion to social welfare instead of playing politics for personal interests? Can we induce the courts to make decisions on the basis of science instead of tradition? We are making some progress in these directions, and we can make more, vastly more, when we have made up our minds to remove the temptations to individualistic interest struggles which promote partisan or class government by substituting collective welfare for individual interests. Our whole economic and social organization still places the premium upon individual satisfaction rather than upon social welfare, though the whole basis of our existences—economic and social—has changed to the latter.

But my task in this discussion is not so much to forecast political and other institutions as to point out the criterion which we must adopt and adopt in earnest, if we are to prevent the social disasters which we have in part come here to deplore. Individualism was not so dangerous in primitive society; it was often helpful. It has remained dominant into our day but can no longer continue so without destroying the social fabric.

It will be objected that such a system will destroy the democracy which we are struggling for and substitute the most repugnant type of autocracy; that liberty would disappear altogether. Liberty in the sense of license would disappear. The liberty of a man with dynamite which is harmless to others and possibly a source of pleasure to himself in a forty-acre field may become an intolerable license on Broadway. Such is the problem of individualism

in modern society. Indeed, there is every reason to suppose that men will have greater freedom of action and wider range of movement and expression if they act according to the facts of science than if they violate those facts and therefore continually run amuck socially. Will this shift to the objective criterion therefore destroy democracy? On the contrary, it is the only condition of effective democracy. A social order in which all things are decided from the standpoint of the public welfare, utilizing the experts in the sciences for the common welfare instead of the expert in intrigue for personal benefits, is the order in which all men can come nearest to a complete development of personality. The old democracy was, and is, an illusion. Its central principle causes it to play into the hands of autocracy and special interest. It is unable to defend itself, because its weapon is also the weapon of its foes and they wield it better.

C. J. BUSHNELL, PENNSYLVANIA MILITARY COLLEGE

As I have sat through the sessions of this convention I have been reflecting that America is today asking several hundred thousand of her finest young men to go to France and die for democracy. In view of that fact, the country is facing a most important question: Are we Americans going to stand squarely for the democracy for which we are asking those boys to die? What is democracy? That is the supreme question before the world today; and it is a question which we who are supposed to be intellectual leaders are especially obligated to answer. We owe it to "the boys" to give an intelligent, honest, courageous, constructive answer—without any sham in it.

Democracy has been defined as government of, by, and for the people. It is that; and we know it is more than merely that. I think we shall not far miss the truth pertinent for the present time, if we say that democracy is a social order that does not legalize nor tolerate spoliation. In this great war the world is crying out for freedom from robbery, from graft, from spoliation, from enforced contributions. The watchwords of the Allies are becoming: "No forced annexations; no forced contributions; government by the consent of the governed."

What freedom from spoliation implies, there is no time to suggest here in detail. Much of what it means was indicated in the *Journal of Sociology* (November, 1917), in the article from the writings of Novicow, in which he described a normal society as a system of exchanges in which the values given and received are substantially equal. The important point at which Novicow leaves that description incomplete, and practically inadequate, is his failure to indicate what is meant by an equal, equivalent, or equitable exchange. If there were time I think it would be worth our while to try to define that conception more exactly and inquire from various points of view what it implies. But, after all, the idea refers to an experience that is familiar to everybody. We all know what it is to feel that we have given and received a "square deal"

and "good value" at the grocery store or at the concert or in our professional relations. This conception is the foundation of all law, as expressed in the contract; is the heart of all systems of morality, as expressed in the Golden Rule; and is, I take it, the most essential aspect of the question of democracy for our time.

Now, the practical question for us is: To what extent does American democracy measure up to the standard of a land of fair exchanges, free from legalized or tolerated spoliation? We know it does not fully measure up to that standard. It is not enough to point out that no country in the world is free from legalized spoliation. That does not excuse us from the effort to make America free. It only increases our obligation to make the effort. And surely, if we require thousands of our boys in uniform to die for democracy, we are under obligation honestly to live for it!

What, then, are some of the undemocratic conditions in America? During this convention several of the speakers have vigorously grappled with that question. This was the point of the papers of Professors Kelsey, Hayes, North, Miss Abbott, and others. On this point let me indicate just two or three important facts, now becoming well known to social students. The average working man in the United States does not receive a wage upon which he can support the average workingman's family of man, wife, and three children. Such researches as Lauk and Sydenstricker's recent book on *Conditions of Labor in American Industry* sum up conclusively the facts: that up to 1916, in the "free" states north of Mason and Dixon's line, at any rate, one-third of all male wage-workers, eighteen years of age and over, received less than \$400 a year, and two-thirds received less than \$600; while at least \$800 was necessary to support the average family in bare "physical efficiency." So, of course, the women and children have been rapidly going into industry. But nearly three-fourths of women wage-earners toil for less than \$8 a week, whereas more than \$8 is necessary to support an independent woman in decency. Again, the total income of the wage- and salary-earners of the country has for years been hardly one-third of the total selling value of the products they produced. And yet there are powerful organizations in America whose avowed purpose is to break up all labor organizations, destroy collective bargaining, and prevent further increase of wages, or at least to govern workmen by determining their wages without their voice or consent.

These conditions cannot last. The returning boys from France and their associates in industry here are going to demand a more real democracy. Nearly all informed people today realize we are "between eras," in a transition from capitalism to democracy. And it behoves us frankly to face the situation and clearly to define the steps in that transition, so we may guide our advance without great confusion and loss.

Already the rush of events is almost beyond our power of orderly control. The war itself is a huge warning that we have not understood the meaning of the coming democracy: we have not perceived that liberty is achieved through

union rather than through hostile disunion. In all nations the present rapid increase of collective ownership and control of public utilities is significant of a coming change of heart about this matter of union. Many of the new forms of intercourse thus established will be permanent. The growing mortality rate of business firms today under hostile competition has been pushing us in the same direction. If recent investigations published in *System* are correct, more than 50 per cent of business enterprises die within five years of the time they are started. There are other signs of the transition. The growing difficulty of paying dividends (often on watered stock) after paying the increasing wage bill; the opposition of organized labor to the inevitable new "scientific management," unless its standards be determined and applied by impartial "public" authorities; and the way in which increasing machine production in all lands is gradually limiting "foreign markets" for the "surplus" products of the periodic "hard times" of capitalistic countries—all are signs of the increasing necessity of more democratic union—in both national and international areas.

If we are to achieve a real democracy, then, let me suggest there are two distinctions we are being forced to make in regard to the distribution of income. If just exchange, as the heart of democracy, means giving a fair equivalent for what one gets, then to achieve democracy we are being compelled to ask: first, concerning the method of securing an individual income, is it derived by personal social service or merely by property ownership? and, secondly, concerning the method of using an individual income, is it to be used for personal consumption or is it to be used for controlling the lives of others in industry or elsewhere? With the increasing size of industrial units and area of industrial exchange, the latter use is clearly becoming governmental. Some time we may be able justly to say where personal or true individual income ends and governmental or collective income begins. At any rate, we must honestly face that problem if we are to do honor to the soldiers of democracy and give meaning to the motto on our dollar: *E Pluribus Unum*.

EDWIN L. EARP, DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

It seems to me that Professor Giddings has made it very clear to us that there are two types of democracy, the incompetent and the competent type. We hear a great deal in these days from the small groups that represent incompetent democracy, the pacifists, the I.W.W., the Bolsheviki, and the like. I think it is high time that we as educators, and all high-minded patriotic citizens, should get busy with that propaganda which will make clear to the masses of the common people what is a competent democracy. If we are in this war to help make the world safe for democracy, we certainly ought to make it clear to every soldier who will be fighting over there as well as to every

citizen doing his bit over here that it is to be a competent democracy that we are to safeguard.

FRANK D. WATSON, HAVERFORD COLLEGE

There is one aspect of the subject of Professor Giddings' paper which I wish he had developed at greater length, if indeed he touched upon it at all, namely, how we are to know who are the superiors, the innately capable, the so-called "born leaders," in a world in which we have failed so miserably to equalize opportunity. In short, how are we to know our "mute inglorious Miltons"? We all, I am sure, sympathize with the conception of an efficient democracy. We cannot, however, sympathize with such a conception if its leadership is in the hands of those with more or less ability plus opportunity while the services of others with equal or even greater potential ability are lost to society and social progress, because of our present social organization with its handicap on many who could and would share in the responsibility and joy of leadership and service. Does not the study by Odin, familiar to all readers of Lester F. Ward, still stand? His researches established a definite correlation between opportunity and achievement which is the indispensable test of innate ability. In my judgment the conclusions of his study have not been challenged with success.

D. W. GARRIGUES, CAMDEN, N.J.

I have had very great pleasure in listening to the learned addresses this afternoon (by Professors Giddings, Cooley, Bristol, North, Bernard, and others), and through them all I see recognition of defects in our exemplification of what true democracy should be and for which errors no concrete remedies are seriously proposed.

A claim was made that leaders having the right motives are necessary. But nothing was said about the average political leaders of today who usually follow the olden methods, when "to the victor belonged the spoils" was always the first to be put into practice. Now the typical political leaders, ward, city, and state, become spoilers of the worst type and dominate the financial control where "pickings are the best."

We can trace the reasons for those dominant traits to the child beginning with marbles "for keeps." The exhilaration of the splendid exercise—in stooping and rising—is lost in the child's eagerness to win his playfellow's marbles without an equivalent exchange, thus learning his first lesson of deviation from playing "fair." A boy must learn to play "fair" and continue, or he will not become "fair" in any of his future doings.

On the ballground he will violate the rules "risking getting caught and disgraced," thus taking undue advantage of his opponent.

And should he become a professor, will ridicule his neighbor for some (as he thinks) defective argument, not thinking that his professional brother has spent possibly years in order to be able to give to the world his best work, and was thus robbed of his due reward.

In entering other walks of life his unfairness will crop out at every opportunity.

Will you, kind professors—teachers of the coming generation—take these thoughts home with you and instil a desire in the hearts of your students to “play fair,” and you will then be helping to solve the problems and overcome the leading defects in our democracy, and we will all obey the golden rule as so ably referred to by our friend from the military academy, and ours will be the true democracy.

PROGRAM OF THE TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING,
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA,
DECEMBER 27-29, 1917

General Subject: "Social Control"

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27

1:00 P.M. Subscription Luncheon, all associations invited. \$1.00. Speaker:
PROFESSOR GUY S. FORD, "A Government Experiment in War
Publicity."

8:00 P.M. Joint session with the American Economic Association and the
American Political Science Association, Hotel Adelphia, Gold
Room.

Chairman, PROFESSOR EDGAR F. SMITH, Provost of the University
of Pennsylvania.

Presidential Addresses:

"Ideals as a Factor in the Future Control of International
Society," PRESIDENT GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD, of the
American Sociological Society.

"The Nature and Future of International Law," PRESIDENT
MUNRO SMITH, of the American Political Science Asso-
ciation.

"Economic Reconstruction," PRESIDENT JOHN R. COMMONS,
of the American Economic Association.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28

9:00 A.M. Meeting of the Executive Committee, Hotel Adelphia, Green
Room.

10:00 A.M. Hotel Adelphia, Green Room. Chairman, PRESIDENT GEORGE
ELLIOTT HOWARD.

General Topic: "Agencies and Fields of Social Control"

"Social Direction of Child Welfare," DR. SOPHONISBA P. BRECKIN-
RIDGE, University of Chicago.

"The War as a Crisis in Social Control," PROFESSOR CARL KELSEY,
University of Pennsylvania.

Discussion: DR. LUCILE EAVES, Women's Educational and In-
dustrial Union, Boston; PROFESSOR CHARLES W. COULTER,
Western Reserve University; DR. EDITH ABBOTT, Chicago
School of Civics and Philanthropy.

- 1:00 P.M. Luncheon tendered by the University of Pennsylvania. Weightman Hall, University Gymnasium, 33d and Spruce streets.
- 2:00 P.M. Harrison Laboratory, University of Pennsylvania, 34th and Spruce streets. Chairman, PROFESSOR FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS, Columbia University.

General Topic: "Primitive Social Control"

- "Primitive Individual Ascendancy," PROFESSOR HUTTON WEBSTER, University of Nebraska.
- "Primitive Social Ascendancy," PROFESSOR F. STUART CHAPIN, Smith College.
- "Survival of Primitive Controls in Frontier or Retarded Communities," DEAN J. E. CUTLER, Western Reserve University.
- "Social Structure among the Northern Algonkian," PROFESSOR FRANK G. SPECK, University of Pennsylvania.
- Discussion: PROFESSOR A. E. JENKS, University of Minnesota; PROFESSOR MAX S. HANDMAN, University of Texas.
- 6:00 P.M. Supper-Smoker given by the University of Pennsylvania. Ladies invited. Weightman Hall, University Gymnasium, 33d and Spruce streets.
- 8:00 P.M. Hotel Adelphia, Green Room. Joint Session with the American Economic Association. Chairman, PROFESSOR JOHN R. COMMONS, University of Wisconsin.
- General Topic: "Social Control of Wealth"*
- "Social Control of the Acquisition of Wealth," PROFESSOR E. C. HAYES, University of Illinois.
- "Motives of Economic Life," PROFESSOR CARLETON H. PARKER, University of Washington.
- Discussion: PROFESSOR BENJAMIN M. ANDERSON, JR., Harvard University; PROFESSOR WESLEY C. MITCHELL, Columbia University; PROFESSOR FRANK A. FETTER, Princeton University.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29

- 9:00 A.M. Annual Business Session of the American Sociological Society. Haverford College, The Union. Chairman, PRESIDENT GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD.
- Report of the Special Committee on Government Statistics.
- 10:00 A.M. Haverford College, The Union. Chairman, PROFESSOR J. P. LICHTENBERGER, University of Pennsylvania.
- General Topic: "Social Control of Immigration"*
- "Immigration as a Problem in Social Control," PROFESSOR HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD, Yale University.
- "The Immigrant in America as a Factor in Community Planning," MISS GRACE ABBOTT, Federal Children's Bureau.

"Control of Immigration Based upon the True Demand for Labor," PROFESSOR A. J. TODD, University of Minnesota.

Discussion: PROFESSOR HATTIE P. WILLIAMS, University of Nebraska; PROFESSOR HERBERT A. MILLER, Oberlin College; DR. WARREN S. THOMPSON, University of Michigan.

1:00 P.M. Complimentary Luncheon, tendered by Haverford College at Founders Hall.

2:00 P.M. Haverford College, The Union. Chairman, PRESIDENT GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD.

General Topic: "Social Control of Political Relations"

"Social Control in a Democracy," PROFESSOR FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS, Columbia University.

"Social Control in International Relations," PROFESSOR CHARLES H. COOLEY, University of Michigan.

Discussion: PROFESSOR LUCIUS M. BRISTOL, University of West Virginia; PROFESSOR CECIL C. NORTH, Ohio State University; PROFESSOR LUTHER L. BERNARD, University of Minnesota.

8:00 P.M. Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, Ballroom. Joint Session of the American Sociological Society with the American Economic Association, American Political Science Association, and American Historical Association.

"The British Commonwealth," R. H. BRAND, Deputy Vice-Chairman of the British War Mission.

"The Pan-German Use of History," PROFESSOR WALLACE NOTESTEIN, University of Minnesota.

"Economic Alliances," MR. EDWARD P. COSTIGAN, United States Tariff Commission.

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY FOR THE FISCAL YEAR,
DECEMBER 20, 1916, TO DECEMBER 17, 1917

Free Distribution of the January "Journal of Sociology" Discontinued

For the first time in the history of the Society, in the year 1917, the January number of the *American Journal of Sociology* was not mailed to the persons who were members of the Society the previous calendar year, but only to those who were bona fide members and had paid their dues for the current calendar year of 1917. This meant a decided saving to the Society, namely, the cost of the January *Journal* to all those who either resigned or were dropped for 1917.

Membership Statement

The total membership of the American Sociological Society for the year 1917 numbers 817. The membership for 1916 was 808. This latter number has been altered by the following changes in our membership lists:

Members in 1916.....	808
Members resigning.....	81
Members dropped.....	112
Members deceased.....	4
Total lost.....	197
Members renewing, ex officio.....	1
Members renewing, exchange.....	6
Members renewing, paid.....	614
New members for 1917.....	196
Total membership for 1917.....	817

An analysis of the membership by date of joining for the years such analysis was made, namely, 1912 to 1917, presents these results:

Year joining	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917
Prior to 1910.....				141	133	124	114	106	99
1910.....				47	44	37	33	31	31
1911.....				114	94	75	67	61	50
1912.....				101	72	53	38	37	35
1913.....					278	182	129	99	85
1914.....						108	70	53	40
1915.....							300	185	152
1916.....								236	129
1917.....									196
Total.....	187	256	357	403	621	597	751	808	817

NOTE.—The heavy line shows membership statement since the present secretary has been in office.

Reasons Why Members Do Not Renew

After the fourth notice had been sent at the first of the present calendar year, asking the 1916 members to renew; to those who still were on the list and had failed to send a remittance, the Secretary sent a letter asking if they were dissatisfied with our publications, or if they had any complaint. Needless to say, several did not reply. However, a number of persons answered, the majority of whom stated that financial stringency was the cause of their failure to renew.

Society Archives

The Secretary has prepared during the year manila-bound files of the printed forms, stationery, etc., used by the Society, and classified them into the following files: (1) descriptive leaflets; (2) membership lists; (3) recommendation forms for membership; (4) program of the annual meetings; (5) printed reports; (6) form letters for the collection of dues; (7) due-bill forms; (8) envelopes and post cards; (9) campaign materials; (10) data on the 1917 campaign; (11) miscellaneous. Inspection of these is invited with a view to their improvement. They are here at the annual meeting in the Secretary's room at the Adelpia Hotel. The Secretary urges the Executive Committee or a subcommittee to study carefully all these printed forms, due bills, etc., with a view of making them the most fitting for a learned society such as ours, and at the same time the most efficient in producing results.

Campaign for New Members

On September 15 the Secretary addressed a letter asking the expression of the Executive Committee regarding a campaign for new members, and also asking for suggestions on whom to invite, and what amount of money should be spent for this purpose. Five members of the committee made no reply, one was indefinite, and eight were favorable. Upon the basis of this, as well as the custom of the Society to have a joint campaign with its publishers every two years, thirty-seven hundred (3,700) invitations were issued. This list had been collected in the office covering a period of five years. A triplicate card was used in this campaign. The type of the reprinted Volume X was kept standing by our publishers until prospects had time to ask for reprints. These were mailed together with a personal letter on December 1. Seventy-six (76) persons asked for the Roosevelt paper; seventy-six (76) for the one by Miss Balch; sixty-eight (68) for the one by Mr. Adams; and seventy-one (71) for Mr. Baldwin's paper. One hundred seventy (170) different persons asked for reprints. Fifty-five (55) of these have joined and nineteen (19) have applied for membership, but had not remitted when this report was composed. One of the folders of the records of the Society here at this meeting gives complete data on this campaign: namely, items, cost, and results as

far as we were able to compile them when this report was written. The cost to the Society was \$107.55. Our publishers paid one-half of the entire cost of the campaign.

In addition to this effort, President Howard prepared a letter, and the Secretary's office mailed it on October 20 to the 288 teachers of sociology in the United States, asking them to present the claims of the Society to their students. Up to the time of leaving Chicago the following teachers had responded with the number of paid-up members indicated, as follows: Professor Cooley, 3; Professor Chapin, 1; Professor Sumner, 3; Professor Lichtenberger, 3; Professor Small, 2; Professor Webster, 1; and Professor Todd, 1. Total additions from this source, 14. Of course others were recommended but had not yet paid. The money received from these fourteen new members does not pay the postage for sending out the letters. It seems to the Secretary that the teachers of sociology should take more interest in extending membership in the society which may be considered the principal group of their profession.

List of Teachers of Sociology

The Secretary has attempted during the last three years to keep in the office an up-to-date list of the teachers of sociology in American colleges. This has been secured by sending out a letter and return envelope to college presidents. This list has answered many calls of the government, societies, and individuals for a list of sociology teachers.

Membership Lists to Publishers

The Secretary sends each year reprints of the membership list in the *Proceedings* to about eighty (80) foreign and domestic publishers. This enables our members to receive announcements of new books and other publications.

Inactive Committees

The Secretary directs attention to two committees appointed at the meeting in Minneapolis in 1913, which have become inactive, and he suggests that in order to make the minutes of the Society complete, the committees be discharged. The committees referred to are: the Committee on Photographs of Sociologists (A. W. Small, *Chairman*); and the Committee on Translations of Sociological Works (C. A. Ellwood, *Chairman*).

Invitations for the 1918 Meeting

Invitations for the meeting next year have been received from Asbury Park, New Jersey (Board of Commissioners); St. Joseph, Missouri (Commercial Club); Cleveland, Ohio (Chamber of Commerce and the Mayor); San Francisco (Convention League); Chicago (Chamber of Commerce); Springfield, Massachusetts (Chambers of Commerce, Colleges of the Con-

necticut Valley, and Local Alumni Associations); New York City (The Merchants Association). This latter invitation has been supplemented by personal letters to the Secretary from fifteen of our members living in New York City.

Deaths

The Secretary reports with regret that he has learned of the death of the following 1917 members: W. K. Tate, Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee; Philo C. Hildreth, Parsons College, Fairfield, Iowa; and George Thompson, publisher and editor, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Respectfully submitted,

SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, *Secretary*

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE FISCAL YEAR,
DECEMBER 20, 1916, TO DECEMBER 17, 1917

An Error in the Published Financial Statement

A mistake was discovered in the Financial Report as published in the *Papers and Proceedings*, Volume XI, under "Receipts, Dues for 1917, \$572.43." It should have read \$100.00 more, namely, \$672.43. This was a clerical error in transcribing from the ledger, and makes no difference in the balances.

Audit of the Accounts

The Executive Committee at its last meeting authorized the Treasurer to secure a public accountant to audit the accounts at the close of the present fiscal year, such services not to cost over \$25.00. Inquiries were addressed to two Chicago certified public accountants. Ernest Reckitt & Co. were employed, and the result of the audit is shown in the accompanying financial statement. The original papers, signed by the Auditor, are in the hands of the Treasurer for the inspection of any one desiring to avail himself of the opportunity to do so.

STATEMENT OF THE AUDITOR

"Chicago, December 19, 1917

"The American Sociological Society, Chicago, Illinois

"GENTLEMEN: In accordance with the request of your Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Scott E. W. Bedford, we have audited your Books of Account for the year ended December 17, 1917, and submit herewith our report thereon, together with Exhibits as follows:

Exhibit "A," Balance Sheet as at December 17, 1917.

Exhibit "B," Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements
for the year ended December 17, 1917.

"We verified the accuracy of the total Cash Receipts and Disbursements with the Bank Statements of Deposits and Checks paid and found them correct.

"We verified the principal items of Cash Disbursements by the original invoices supporting them and tested the accuracy of the checks issued and entered on the Cash Disbursements.

"We cannot certify to the accuracy of the Membership Cash Receipts, as there is no system in force that would enable us to fully verify this account. In this connection, however, we tested the postings from the Cash Received on account of 1917 memberships with the last published List of Members and the Society's Trial Balance of the members' cards, and found the items examined to be correct. We examined the Minutes of Meetings, but found no special Resolutions within our province which require comment. We have given Mr. Bedford a sketch for permanent Membership Register which, if installed, as we recommend, will provide a much more satisfactory record than is at present maintained. The Register will also result in interesting comparative information regarding memberships.

"We examined a memorandum schedule showing 1,208 copies of *Papers and Proceedings* on hand and in storage with the University of Chicago Press. We did not verify this statement by a physical examination, but have received an Inventory Certificate from the University of Chicago Press to the effect that the copies mentioned are held in stock by them. The *Papers and Proceedings* above mentioned have been printed at the expense of the Society and when sold bring in a net amount of seventy-five cents per copy.

"We received the verbal assurance of Mr. Bedford that the Society had no unrecorded liabilities as at December 17, 1917.

"Respectfully submitted,

Ernest Reckitt & Co.,
Certified Public Accountants"

Exhibit "A"

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
 BALANCE SHEET AS AT DECEMBER 17, 1917
 (Subject to report herewith)

Assets

CASH IN BANK.....	\$1,179.78
NORTHWESTERN ELECTRIC Co. 6 per cent Sinking Fund Bond.....	500.00
OFFICE FURNITURE	
Remington Typewriter.....	\$60.00
Cabinet File.....	58.65
	<hr/>
	118.65
	<hr/>
	\$1,798.43

Liabilities

Surplus, including dues of \$799.13 paid in 1917 on account of 1918 Memberships.....	\$1,789.43
--	------------

Exhibit "B"

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS YEAR ENDING

DECEMBER 17, 1917

(Subject to report herewith)

Cash Receipts

Dues from members for 1918.....	\$ 799.13
Dues from members for 1917.....	1,760.84
Exchange on checks received.....	11.16
Royalties on publications.....	332.75
Interest on bond owned.....	30.00
Sale of papers on "Immigration".....	2.76
	<hr/>
Total cash receipts.....	\$2,936.64

Cash Disbursements

Publication expense of <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> ..	\$1,026.96
Publication expense of <i>Papers and Proceedings</i>	713.21
Publication expense of reprinting <i>Papers and Proceedings</i> , Vol. X.....	300.67
Office salaries—clerical and stenographic.....	273.70
Campaign for new members, 1917.....	16.76
Campaign for new members, 1918.....	107.55
Secretary's expense to Columbus meeting.....	42.20
Postage, telegrams, and express.....	190.61
Printing.....	85.13
Office equipment.....	26.00
Stationery.....	64.80
Exchange on checks.....	22.95
Advertising.....	1.50
Insurance on <i>Papers and Proceedings</i>	1.45
Membership refund.....	3.00
	<hr/>
Total cash disbursements.....	\$2,876.49
	<hr/>
Cash receipts in excess of cash disbursements...	\$ 60.15

Cash Summary

Cash in bank December 20, 1916.....	\$1,119.63
Total cash receipts for year ended December 17, 1917.....	2,936.64
	<hr/>
	\$4,056.27
Less total cash disbursements for the year ended December 17, 1917.....	2,876.49
	<hr/>
	\$1,179.78
Cash in bank, December 17, 1917 (See Exhibit "A").....	1,179.78

Respectfully submitted,

SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, *Treasurer*

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MANAGING EDITOR FOR THE FISCAL YEAR,
DECEMBER 20, 1916, TO DECEMBER 17, 1917

Cost of Printing Volume XI

The financial statement will show that the cost of printing the edition of thirteen hundred (1,300) copies of Volume XI (The Columbus Meeting) of the *Papers and Proceedings* was \$713.21

Reprinting Volume X

In midsummer it became evident that the supply of Volume X of the *Papers and Proceedings* of the Society, "War and Militarism in Their Sociological Aspects," would soon be exhausted. Letters were sent to the Executive Committee, asking the advisability of reprinting the volume. The returns were as follows:

- Unfavorable, but not necessarily opposed 2
- Out of the country, no response 1
- No response to the letter 1
- Favorable 9

The number suggested ranged from 250 to 500. The editor, relying upon this vote and the advice of our publishers, had 250 copies reprinted. The cost of such reprinting amounted to . . . \$300.67

In view of this experience, the editor recommends that a certain number of complete sets of the papers be set aside and sold only in sets. This will avoid in the future exhausting the supply of one volume and being unable to sell complete sets to libraries, institutions, etc. This reserve rule should be applied probably only after current interest in the volume has had time to subside, possibly after the volume is three years old. The editor suggests a reserve of about twenty-five or thirty-five complete sets.

Proceedings in Stock on December 17, 1917

There were on hand at this date the numbers indicated of the different volumes of the *Proceedings*:

Vol. I, 134	Vol. VII, 105
Vol. II, 65	Vol. VIII, 140
Vol. III, 81	Vol. IX, 90
Vol. IV, 94	Vol. X, 261
Vol. V, 89	Vol. XI, 96
Vol. VI, 53	

Preprints to Discussors

The editor has made a serious effort this autumn to get preprints of the papers for this meeting into the hands of the discussors previous to their coming to Philadelphia. President Howard asked the writers to get their manuscripts to the editor as soon as possible, in a letter dated July 20, 1917. On October 12 the editor sent an urgent letter to all the writers asking for their manuscripts as soon as possible. On December 1 galley proofs of the five papers in hand were sent to the discussors concerned. To the eight other persons who were to write main papers, letters were sent asking them to send direct to the discussors typewritten copies. At the same time a letter was sent each person who was to have a pre-arranged discussion, explaining that the manuscript had not reached the editor's office, but that it was hoped the writer would send direct a type-written copy in plenty of time before the meeting.

Professor Cooley raised the question as to whether copies of the papers could not be promised to all persons in advance of the meeting. It would be an easy matter for the editor to fulfil such a promise if the writers would get their manuscripts to him in time.

To this meeting the editor has brought sufficient galley proofs to furnish the Press with copies of the papers which had been sent to him.

Free Copies of the "Proceedings" to the Public Affairs Information Service

The Public Affairs Information Service, managed by the H. W. Wilson Company, has two or three times asked the Society to present it gratis with two (2) copies each year of the *Papers and Proceedings* for use in listing in its bibliography bulletins. This may be a valuable way of advertising our publications. Accordingly, the editor asks the instruction of the Executive Committee upon this point.

Printing Papers of the Joint Sessions

Another question which it is desired to raise is: Should the *Papers and Proceedings* publish the papers and discussions on Friday and Saturday evenings of this annual meeting? It will be noted that these are joint sessions with other societies. The editor asks the instruction of the Executive Committee.

Papers and Discussions of Persons Not Present at the Meeting

Another question raised this year is whether papers, and particularly the discussions, of persons who have been asked to participate in the meeting and who have prepared their manuscripts, but who are unable to attend the meeting in person, should be printed in the *Proceedings*. The editor asks the instruction of the Executive Committee.

General Questions Regarding the "Proceedings"

1. Should the complete program of our annual meeting be printed showing the hospitalities, rooms, buildings, and other details? We have not done this in the past.
2. Should a complete list of papers presented at each annual meeting from the date of the organization of the Society be printed in the back of each volume of the *Proceedings*? Recently we have printed only the latest of these lists.
3. Should the date of joining of each member be printed in the *Proceedings* after the name? We have been doing this. The question is whether its value justifies the clerical work and expense involved.
4. Should the table in the Annual Report of the Secretary, showing the membership classified by date of joining, be printed in the volume of the *Proceedings*? It has not been done heretofore.
5. Is the color of the binding on the *Papers and Proceedings* satisfactory?
6. Should the outside cover of the *Papers and Proceedings* contain simply the title or a complete list of the titles of the papers and their writers printed, including the name of the managing editor? We have done this the past three years.
7. Should a complete set of the *Papers and Proceedings* be brought each year for display at the annual meeting? Does the Society care to advertise to that extent?
8. Should the last six (6) issues of the *American Journal of Sociology* be brought to the annual meeting for display? Is such advertising desirable?
9. Is the editor allowed any copies of the *Papers and Proceedings* for personal distribution? If so, how many?

Respectfully submitted,

SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, *Managing Editor*

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING, PHILADELPHIA,
PENNSYLVANIA, DECEMBER 28, 1917

The meeting of the committee was called to order by President Howard in the Green Room of the Adelphia Hotel. The following members were present: Professors Howard, Small, Hayes, Kelsey, Cutler, North, Cooley, Woolston, and Bedford.

The minutes of the last meeting were ordered approved and filed without reading.

The annual reports of the Secretary, Treasurer, and Managing Editor, which had been handed to the members in typewritten form previous to the meeting, were read in part and ordered filed.

It was moved and carried that the committee express a preference for holding the next annual meeting in Cleveland, Ohio.

It was moved and carried that two (2) complimentary copies of the *Papers and Proceedings* of the Society be given each year to the Public Affairs Information Service.

The following decisions regarding the details of the *Papers and Proceedings* were made:

1. The dates of members joining the Society should not be kept or printed in the *Proceedings*.

2. The complete program of the annual meeting should be printed in the *Proceedings*.

3. A complete list of the topics of papers presented at each meeting of the Society since its organization should be printed in the back of the *Papers and Proceedings*.

4. The table analyzing membership by date of joining should be omitted from the *Proceedings*.

5. The color of the paper used in binding the *Proceedings* is satisfactory.

6. The following points were left to the discretion of the editor:

- a) The matter on the outside cover.

- b) The number of copies of the *Papers and Proceedings* for personal distribution by the editor.

- c) The display of *Papers and Proceedings* and also the *American Journal of Sociology* at the annual meeting, for advertising purposes.

The suggestions of the auditor regarding forms to be used in keeping the accounts of the Society were left to the discretion of the Treasurer.

The committee then adjourned.

SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, *Secretary*

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING, HAVERFORD, PENNSYLVANIA,
DECEMBER 29, 1917

The annual business meeting of the Society was called to order by President Howard at The Union, at Haverford College. About twenty-five (25) persons were present.

The minutes of the last meeting were not read, but ordered approved and filed.

The annual reports of the Secretary, Treasurer, and Managing Editor were read in part. They were accepted and ordered filed.

President Howard made an oral report of his work for the year.

It was moved and carried that the Committee on Photographs of Sociologists be discharged, with the understanding as presented by the chairman of the committee, Professor Small, that photographs of certain sociologists would be distributed as inserts in the *American Journal of Sociology* in the future.

It was moved and carried that, in accordance with the letter from P. P. Claxton, Federal Commissioner of Education, the President appoint, to represent the Society, two (2) persons, who would co-operate with a similar committee from the other social science societies to form a joint committee to study the adaptation of present social science courses to war conditions.

The Society's members on this Committee are Professors F. H. Giddings and Carl Kelsey.

The Committee on Statistics, reporting through its chairman, Professor W. M. Adriance, said that it was working with similar committees from the Economic and Statistical Associations with a view of forming a co-ordinating committee to make suggestions regarding the forthcoming census. It was asked that the committee be increased by two (2) persons.

It was moved and carried that the preliminary report of this committee be accepted, the committee continued, and that the President add two (2) other persons to the committee, preferably persons now doing work in Washington, D.C.

The Committee on Nominations reported the following persons for the offices indicated: President, Charles H. Cooley, University of Michigan; First Vice-President, Frank W. Blackmar, University of Kansas; Second Vice-President, James Q. Dealey, Brown University; Secretary-Treasurer and Managing Editor, Scott E. W. Bedford, University of Chicago; for Executive Committee, F. Stuart Chapin, Smith College, and William J. Kerby, Catholic University.

Respectfully submitted,

J. P. LICHTENBERGER, *Chairman*
JAMES E. HAGERTY
U. G. WEATHERLY

The Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the Society for the persons for the offices indicated.

The Committee on Resolutions presented the following Report:

Resolved, That the American Sociological Society hereby expresses its hearty appreciation of the courtesies extended by the University of Pennsylvania, by Haverford College, and by the citizens of Philadelphia, and especially its appreciation of the efficient labors of the local committee on arrangements; and it hereby directs its Secretary to record this action in the minutes of the Society and to communicate it to the heads of the two institutions and of the committee above designated.

Respectfully submitted,

E. C. HAYES, *Chairman*
HUTTON WEBSTER
F. STUART CHAPIN

It was moved and carried that the report of the Committee on Resolutions be adopted.

The following resolution was presented by Miss Lucile Eaves:

WHEREAS, (1) The Sociological Society about five years ago appointed a research committee for the purpose of securing the co-operation of its members in country-wide investigations, and

(2) The plans made at that time failed to mature because of the death of its chairman, Professor C. R. Henderson.

Be it resolved, That this committee be revived, and that the President be authorized to appoint such a committee, whose duties shall be the correspondence with college teachers and other members of the Society interested in such research, with a view to the collection of data which may be prepared for presentation at the next annual meeting of the Sociological Society.

It was moved and carried that the resolution be adopted and the President appoint the committee. The Society then adjourned.

The committee appointed consists of J. L. Gillin (Chairman), Miss Lucile Eaves, Eugene T. Lies, George B. Mangold, Robert S. Park, A. J. Todd, and Howard B. Woolston.

SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, *Secretary*

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ARTICLE I—NAME

This Society shall be known as the American Sociological Society.

ARTICLE II—OBJECTS

The objects of this Society shall be the encouragement of sociological research and discussion and the promotion of intercourse between persons engaged in the scientific study of society.

ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP

Any person may become a member of this Society upon payment of Three Dollars and may continue such by paying thereafter annually a fee of Three Dollars.

By a single payment of Fifty Dollars any person may become a life member of the Society.

Each member is entitled to a copy of the current publications of the Society.

ARTICLE IV—OFFICERS

The officers of this Society shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer—elected at each annual meeting—and an Executive Committee consisting of the officers above mentioned *ex officio*, together with six elected members whose terms of office shall be three years; except that of those chosen at the first election two shall serve for but one year and two for two years.

The offices of Secretary and of Treasurer may be filled by the same person.

ARTICLE V—ELECTION OF OFFICERS

All officers shall be elected only after nomination by a special committee of the Society appointed by the Executive Committee; except that the officers for the first year shall be nominated by a committee of three to be appointed by the chairman of the meeting at which this constitution is adopted.

All officers shall be elected by a majority vote of the members of the Society present at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI—DUTIES OF OFFICERS

The President of the Society shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Executive Committee, and shall perform such other duties as the Executive Committee may assign to him. In his absence his duties shall devolve,

successively, upon the Vice-Presidents in the order of their election, upon the Secretary, and upon the Treasurer.

The Secretary shall keep the records of the Society, and perform such other duties as the Executive Committee may assign to him.

The Treasurer shall receive and have the custody of the funds of the Society, subject to the rules of the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee shall have charge of the general interests of the Society, shall call regular and special meetings of the Society, appropriate money, appoint committees and their chairmen, with suitable powers, and in general possess the governing power in the Society except as otherwise specifically provided in this constitution. The Executive Committee shall have power to fill vacancies in its membership occasioned by death, resignation, or failure to elect, such appointees to hold office until the next annual election.

Five members shall constitute a quorum of the Executive Committee, and a majority vote of those members in attendance shall control its decisions.

ARTICLE VII—RESOLUTIONS

All resolutions to which objection is made shall be referred to the Executive Committee for its approval before submission to the vote of the Society.

ARTICLE VIII—AMENDMENTS

Amendments to this constitution shall be proposed by the Executive Committee and adopted by a majority vote of the members present at any regular or special meeting of the Society.

AMENDMENT I

(Adopted in 1914)

The Executive Committee shall appoint each year a Managing Editor for the annual volume of *Papers and Proceedings*. It shall be his duty to collect, edit, and arrange the material for the *Papers and Proceedings* of the annual meeting.

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

MEMBERSHIP LIST FOR THE YEAR 1918

- Abbott, Edith, Hull-House, 800 S. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.
Abbott, Grace, The Ontario, Washington, D.C.
Adams, James F., 158 Robinson St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Adams, Rev. Myron E., 5517 University Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Adams, Samuel E., 205 Gaston St., East, Savannah, Ga.
Addams, Jane, Hull-House, 800 S. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.
Adriance, W. M., 202 West Wardman Courts, 14th and Clifton Sts., Washington, D.C.
Akahori, Paul J., Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa.
Allaben, M. C., 156 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y.
Alling, Mortimer H., Box 1232, Providence, R.I.
Anderson, Charles H., Route 1, Box 32, Brownstown, Ind.
Anderson, Rev. George N., 2717 Bloomington Ave., South, Minneapolis, Minn.
Andrews, Helen H., 3224 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Andrews, John B., 131 East 23d St., New York, N.Y.
Armstrong, Samuel Treat, Hillbourne Farms, Katonah, N.Y.
Arvold, A. G., Agricultural College, N.D.
Aston, David H., Holdenville, Okla.
Athey, Mrs. C. N., 100 S. Patterson Park Ave., Baltimore, Md.
Austin, Charles Burgess, 419 W. 119th St., New York, N.Y.
Avery, Samuel P., 61 Woodland St., Hartford, Conn.
Babson, Roger W., 31 Abbott Road, Wellesley Hills, Mass.
Badanes, Saul, 565 Madison St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Baker, Alfred L., 141 S. LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill.
Baker, O. E., 3614 Newark St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Baldwin, Simeon W., New Haven, Conn.
Ballard, Lloyd Vernon, 915 Park Ave., Beloit, Wis.
Barnes, Harry E., 420 W. 118th St., New York, N.Y.
Barstow, George Eames, Barstow, Tex.
Batten, S. Z., 1701 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Bauman, LeRoy E., 105 E. 22d St., New York, N.Y.
Baumgartel, Walter H., Agricultural College, N.D.
Beach, Walter G., State College, Pullman, Wash.
Beck, Edward J., Box 532, M.T.O.C., Camp Greenleaf, Fort Oglethorpe, Ga.
Bedford, Scott E. W., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Beer, William, Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans, La.
Belcher, Alice E., Milwaukee-Downer College, Milwaukee, Wis.
Beller, William F., 51 E. 123d St., New York, N.Y.
Beneke, H. H., North Carolina State Normal College, Greensboro, N.C.
Bengston, Caroline, 1201 E. 60th St., Chicago, Ill.
Benton, Andrew A., 79 Wall St., New York, N.Y.
Benz, Virginia, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
Berger, Victor L., 980, 1st St., Milwaukee, Wis.
Berks, Lothar von, German Savings Bank, 157, 4th Ave., New York, N.Y.
Bernard L. L., 509 South E. 6th St., Minneapolis, Minn.

- Bettman, Alfred, 1514 First National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio
 Bever, James, 614 Ivy St., Bellingham, Wash.
 Beyle, Herman C., 1112 S. 6th St., Fargo, N.D.
 Bidgood, Lee, P. O. Box 416, University, Ala.
 Biery, C. J., 307 N. Summit St., Bowling Green, Ohio
 Binder, Rudolph M., New York University, Washington Square, New York, N.Y.
 Binnewies, W. G., Fairmount College, Wichita, Kan.
 Bittner, W. S., 411 S. Fess St., Bloomington, Ind.
 Bixby, W. H., U. S. Engineer Office, 428 Customhouse, St. Louis, Mo.
 Bizzell, William B., A. and M. College, College Station, Tex.
 Black, John D., 515 Harvard St., Minneapolis, Minn.
 Blackburn, Wm. J., Jr., 130 E. Woodruff Ave., Columbus, Ohio
 Blagden, Edward S., 144 E. 84th St., New York, N.Y.
 Blaine, Anita McCormick, 101 E. Erie St., Chicago, Ill.
 Bodenhafer, W. B., Lawrence, Kan.
 Boettiger, Louis A., 512 Delaware St., S.E., Minneapolis, Minn.
 Bogardus, Emory S., 1133 W. 41st St., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Bohn, Mrs. R. M., 1232 Hood Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Bond, Jesse H., 308 N. Howard St., Indianola, Iowa
 Bonney, Ethelind M., 1213 S. California St., Stockton, Cal.
 Bossard, James H. S., 1311 Hamilton St., Allentown, Pa.
 Bowerman, George F., Public Library, Washington, D.C.
 Bowers, L. B., 1017 Market St., Parkersburg, W.Va.
 Bowman, C. A., Albright College, Myerstown, Pa.
 Bowne, J. T., International Y.M.C.A. College, Springfield, Mass.
 Boyd, Mabel, 61 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y.
 Brackett, Jeffrey R., 18 Somerset St., Boston, Mass.
 Breckinridge, Sophonisba P., Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, Chicago, Ill.
 Bridge, Norman, 718 W. Adams St., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Bristol, Lucius Moody, Morgantown, W.Va.
 Bronk, Mitchell, 562 Congress St., Troy, N.Y.
 Brooks, John Graham, 8 Francis Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
 Bruce, John M., Berton, Manitoba, Canada
 Brunner, Edmund De S., 225 N. 10th St., Easton, Pa.
 Bruno, Frank J., 3647 Lyndale Ave., South, Minneapolis, Minn.
 Bucklin, Harold Stephen, 135 Glenwood Ave., Pawtucket, R.I.
 Bullock, Charles E., Canton, Pa.
 Burdette, Mrs. Robert J., 801 Orange Grove Blvd., Pasadena, Cal.
 Burgess, E. W., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Burns, G. Armour P., 2 W. 47th St., New York, N.Y.
 Burton, Ernest R., Independence Bureau, 137 S. Fifth St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Bushee, Frederick A., University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.
 Bushnell, C. J., 806 E. 18th St., Chester, Pa.
 Butterfield, Kenyon L., Amherst, Mass.
 Byrne, Mary Gertrude, 1432 8th St., New Orleans, La.
 Campbell, Walter J., Y.M.C.A. College, Springfield, Mass.
 Canis, Edward N., Route A-2, Box 372-A, Indianapolis, Ind.
 Cape, Mrs. E. P., care of Henry Cape, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York, N.Y.
 Capen, Edward W., 146 Sargeant St., Hartford, Conn.
 Caples, Martin J., 50 E. Broad St., Columbus, Ohio
 Carlson, Robert Clarence, Box 166, Bayport, N.Y.

Carpenter, Allan, Jamestown, N.D.
Carpenter, S. J., 8 W. 40th St., New York, N.Y.
Carstens, C. C., 43 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.
Carter, W. S., 901 Guardian Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio
Carver, Thomas N., 7 Kirkland Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
Case, Clarence M., River St., West Side, Iowa City, Iowa
Case, Mills E., 315 Lincoln Place, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Casis, Lilia M., University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
Cater, James, Lincoln University, Pa.
Chaddock, Robert E., Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Chamberlain, Elizabeth, Green Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Chaney, Lucien W., Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.
Chapin, F. Stuart, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
Chapman, Ira T., Superintendent of Schools, New Brunswick, N.J.
Charbonneau, Genevieve, McElwain Lake Factory, Nashua, N.H.
Childs, Edward P., Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tenn.
Church, C. C., Central College, Pella, Iowa
Clapp, C. B., 5 Elm St., Hanover, N.H.
Clark, F. B., College Station, Tex.
Clark, Robert Fry, Pacific University, Forest Grove, Ore.
Clarke, Ford Stillman, Alfred University, Alfred, N.Y.
Clayton, Claud F., 33 Lowry Hall, Columbia, Mo.
Clow, Frederick R., Oshkosh, Wis.
Cochran, T. E., Wake Forest College, Wake Forest, N.C.
Coen, B. F., Fort Collins, Colo.
Colbert, Roy J., Toledo University, Toledo, Ohio
Cole, William I., Wheaton College, Norton, Mass.
Collin, Rev. Henry P., 98 E. Chicago St., Coldwater, Mich.
Comstock, Alzada, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
Conyngton, Thomas, 174 Wildwood Ave., Montclair, N.J.
Cooley, Charles H., 703 Forest Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich.
Coray, G., University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah
Corbett, Virginia H., 426 Garfield St., Fort Collins, Colo.
Coulter, Charles W., Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
Cowper, Mrs. Mary O., 609 Leonard St., Madison, Wis.
Cowperthwaite, Claire, 969 Ashland Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
Craig, Wallace, University of Maine, Orono, Me.
Crampton, H. E., Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Cromwell, Mary E., 1815, 13th St. NW., Washington, D.C.
Cross, William T., 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago, Ill.
Cummings, F. L., 1007 West Blvd., Lewiston, Mont.
Cutler, J. E., Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
Cutler, U. Waldo, 63 Lancaster St., Worcester, Mass.
Dailey, Dew, 501 W. 121st St., New York, N.Y.
Dalke, Diedrich L., Rockport, Mo.
Daniel, J. W. W., Wesleyan Female College, Macon, Ga.
Davies, G. R., University, N.D.
Davis, C. F., 320 Plum St., Fort Collins, Colo.
Davis, Edward H., Purdue University, La Fayette, Ind.
Davis, Michael M., Jr., 58 Shepard St., Cambridge, Mass.
Davis, Otto W., 1120 N. Vincent Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
Day, Jane, 512 W. 123d St., New York, N.Y.
Dealey, G. B., care of *The News*, Dallas, Tex.

- Dealey, James Q., Brown University, Providence, R.I.
 Dean, Mrs. George R., 1125, 137 S. LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill.
 Debs, Eugene V., Terre Haute, Ind.
 Deibler, Frederick Shipp, 2119 Sherman Ave., Evanston, Ill.
 Dennis, H. K., 1008 Oregon St., Champaign, Ill.
 Dennison, Henry S., Dennison Mfg. Co., Framingham, Mass.
 Devine, Edward T., Kent Hall, 116th St. and Amsterdam Ave., New York, N.Y.
 Dewell, James S., Missouri Valley, Iowa
 Dewey, Melvil, Lake Placid Club, New York.
 Dickman, J. W., Upper Iowa University, Fayette, Iowa
 Deitz, Lorna, 264 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.
 Dillard, James H., Box 418, Charlottesville, Va.
 Dimock, George E., Elizabeth, N.J.
 Dittmer, C. G., University Club, Madison, Wis.
 Doerr, Lester C., 209 E. 12th St., Traverse City, Mich.
 Douge, Robert F., 108 W. 141st St., Apt. 55, New York, N.Y.
 Dougherty, Rev. M. Angelo, Cambridge, Mass.
 Dow, G. S., Olivet College, Olivet, Mich.
 Dowley, Almena, Laboratory of Social Hygiene, Bedford Hills, N.Y.
 DuBois, Charles G., 195 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
 Dudley, A. W., 6303 N. 11th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Duke, Emma, Children's Bureau, Washington, D.C.
 Dummer, Mrs. W. F., 679 Lincoln Park Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
 Duncan, Kenneth, Canton Christian College, Canton, China
 Dunham, Inez D., 4617 Central Ave., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Dutton, Samuel T., Walworth Ave., Hartsdale, N.Y.
 Earp, E. L., Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N.J.
 Eastman, Sidney Corning, Kenilworth, Ill.
 Eaton, Allen B., Boise, Idaho
 Eaton, T. H., Connecticut Agricultural College, Storrs, Conn.
 Eaves, Lucile, 111 Davis Ave., Brookline, Mass.
 Eddy, Sarah J., Bristol, R.I.
 Edwards, Lyford P., Rice Institute, Houston, Tex.
 Egartner, Z. T., Navy Club, Waukegan, Ill.
 Elkus, Abram I., 111 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
 Ellis, George W., 3262 Vernon Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Ellwood, Charles A., 407 College Ave., Columbia, Mo.
 Elmer, M. C., University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.
 Elmore, Wilber T., Hamilton, N.Y.
 Emerson, Elliot S., 395 Broadway, Cambridge, Mass.
 Eshelman, Rev. E. E., R.F.D. No. 2, Preston, Minn.
 Esson, Victor E., Overly, N.D.
 Estabrook, Arthur F., 15 State St., Boston, Mass.
 Eubank, E. E., Y.M.C.A. College, 5315 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Evans, Ira Hobart, Austin, Tex.
 Ewer, Nathalie Drew, 16 Elm St., Dover, N.H.
 Ewing, James Rees, Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa
 Fairchild, H. P., 185 St. Ronan St., New Haven, Conn.
 Fairchild, Milton, 3720 McKinley St., Washington, D.C.
 Farnam, H. W., 43 Hillhouse Ave., New Haven, Conn.
 Farnum, Mrs. P. E., 122 E. 82d St., New York, N.Y.
 Faust, Charles J., Valley City, N.D.

Fehlandt, August F., Ripon, Wis.
Felton, Ralph A., Roselle, N.J.
Ferris, Woodbridge N., 515 Elm St., Big Rapids, Mich.
Feuerlicht, Morris M., 3034 Washington Blvd., Indianapolis, Ind.
Field, James A., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Fieser, James L., 1596 Grace Ave., Lakewood, Ohio
Fischer, E. G., R.R. No. 2, South Germantown, Wis.
Fisher, Irving, 460 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn.
Fisk, D. W., 1516 College Ave., Topeka, Kan.
Fisk, Harvey E., Bankers Trust Co., 16 Wall St., New York, N.Y.
Fiske, G. Walter, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio
Fiske, H., 1 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y.
Fitz, Margaret, Judge Bonar Foundation, 40 Court St., Boston, Mass.
Foley, Roy William, Colgate University, Hamilton, N.Y.
Follett, Mary P., 5 Otis Place, Boston, Mass.
Folsom, Joseph Kirk, 912 S. 16th St., Newark, N.J.
Fonkalsrud, Alfred O., 1333, 75th St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Forbes, Cornelia B., 23 Trowbridge Road, Worcester, Mass.
Forrest, J. D., 3101 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Foster, Solomon, 90 Tracy Ave., Newark, N.J.
Fox, Hugh F., 50 Union Square, New York, N.Y.
Frailey, P. L., 509 Stambaugh Bldg., Youngstown, Ohio
Frankel, Edward T., 506 W. 135th St., New York, N.Y.
Frankfurter, Felix, Room 237, War Department, Washington, D.C.
Franklin, J. E., 1130 N. Cascade Ave., Colorado Springs, Colo.
Freer, H. H., Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa
Fretz, F. K., 330 Feny St., Easton, Pa.
Friedman, H. G., 509 W. 122d St., New York, N.Y.
Fuller, Frederic Henry, 277 Brook St., Providence, R.I.
Furth, Jacob, 5243 Waterman Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Galpin, C. J., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Gardner, G. S., North Hall, Louisville, Ky.
Garst, Julius, 29 Oread St., Worcester, Mass.
Gary, Frank E. H., 10 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.
Gautz, W. L., Box 207, Claremont, Cal.
Gavisk, Francis H., 126 W. Georgia St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Gehlke, C. E., Adelbert College, Cleveland, Ohio
Geisse, W. F. G., R.F.D. No. 2, Great Barrington, Mass.
Gephart, A. R., 238 E. 53d St., Portland, Ore.
Gerin, Leon, Coaticooke, Quebec, Canada
Gibbs, Harold Leslie, 903 N. Adams St., Wilmington, Del.
Giddings, Franklin H., Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Gilbert, Richard H., 111 E. Front St., Berwick, Pa.
Gillette, John M., North Dakota University, Grand Forks, N.D.
Gillin, J. L., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Gilman, Charlotte P., 627 W. 136th St., New York, N.Y.
Gilmore, Nettie C., Scottsbluff, Neb.
Giltner, Emmett E., Giles Place, Kingsbridge, New York, N.Y.
Glenn, John M., 136 E. 19th St., New York, N.Y.
Godard, George S., State Librarian, Hartford, Conn.
Gompers, Samuel, A.F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D.C.
Good, Alvin, 5419 University Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Gottschall, Robert J., Pennsburg, Pa.

- Goucher, Elizabeth, Ging Ling College, Nanking, China
 Gravelle, J. Silas, Y.M.C.A., Joplin, Mo.
 Graves, William C., Pontiac, Ill.
 Gray, R. S., Commonwealth Club, 153 Kearny St., San Francisco, Cal.
 Green, Eleanor B., 14 John St., Providence, R.I.
 Greene, Elizabeth, 269 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.
 Greenman, Marion E., 1056 Goodrich Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
 Grimme, George, 51 Sanford Ave., Irvington, N.J.
 Griscom, Anna B., 331 Chester Ave., Moorestown, N.J.
 Grönlund, J. E., 6829 S. May St., Chicago, Ill.
 Grossman, Louis, 528 Camden Ave., Avondale, Cincinnati, Ohio
 Groves, E. R., New Hampshire College, Durham, N.H.
 Hackbusch, Florentine, Sterling Mines, Sterlington, N.Y.
 Haggard, Barton J., First Lieut. 342d F.A., Camp Sherman, Ohio
 Hahne, E. H., Dakota Wesleyan University, Mitchell, S.D.
 Hale, Robert L., Hamilton Hall, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
 Hall, Arnold B., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
 Hammond, James B., Bolivar, Pa.
 Handman, M. S., 1305½ Rio Grande St., Austin, Tex.
 Hankins, Frank H., Clark College, Worcester, Mass.
 Hanson, J. M., Youngstown, Ohio
 Harriman, Edward A., 800 Second National Bank Bldg., New Haven, Conn.
 Harris, Thomas L., 310 E. Church St., Oxford, Ohio
 Harris, W. A., Penn Building, Erie, Pa.
 Harry, Sidney Blair, 2330 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.
 Hart, Hastings H., Russell Sage Foundation, 130 E. 22d St., New York, N.Y.
 Hartmann, George Edgard, 5552 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Harward, George N., Coraopolis, Pa.
 Haskins, Theresa H., 299 Sherman St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
 Hastings, George A., 105 E. 22d St., New York, N.Y.
 Havemeyer, Loomis, 90 Wall St., New Haven, Conn.
 Hawthorn, H. B., Castana, Iowa
 Hayes, E. C., 915 W. Nevada St., Urbana, Ill.
 Hayes, John R., P.O. Box 343, Bryan, Tex.
 Hayford, F. Leslie, 10 Raymond Ave., West Somerville, Mass.
 Haynes, Fred Emory, State Historical Society, Iowa City, Iowa
 Haynes, George Edmund, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.
 Heard, Mrs. Dwight, Casa Blanca, Phoenix, Ariz.
 Hebard, Grace Raymond, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyo.
 Heberd, Charles, 428 W. 18th St., Spokane, Wash.
 Hefner, N. C., 3312 Woodland Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Hendricks, George B., 180 W. 1st St., North, Logan, Utah
 Henry, Edna G., 1414 Broadway, Indianapolis, Ind.
 Herron, Stella, 1933 Elysian Fields, New Orleans, La.
 Hertzler, C. W., 164 E. Center St., Berea, Ohio
 Hertzler, Joyce O., 308 N. Carroll St., Madison, Wis.
 Heublin, C. M., Fox Lake, Wis.
 Hibbs, H. H., Jr., Virginia School of Social Work, 1112 Capitol St., Richmond,
 Va.
 Hickey, D. T., 350 Federal Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
 Hiester, A. V., Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa.
 Hill, Fred B., Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.
 Hill, Robert T., Union College, Schenectady, N.Y.

- Hiller, E. T., Internment Station, Amherst, Nova Scotia, Canada
Hintzman, W. F., 206 University Extension Bldg., University of Wisconsin,
Madison, Wis.
Hitchcock, J. E., Oberlin, Ohio
Hoben, Allan, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Hodson, Casper W., Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.
Hodson, William W., Children's Bureau, State Board of Control, St. Paul,
Minn.
Hogg, William C., 4410 Rossmoyne Blvd., Houston, Tex.
Hollingshead, George G., 216, 3d St., Jersey City, N.J.
Holmes, George K., 1323 Irving St., Washington, D.C.
Holmes, Roy H., Hillsdale, Mich.
Holt, Lt. Col. L. H., West Point, N.Y.
Hooker, George E., 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago, Ill.
Hoover, D. H., S. Divinity Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Hoover, H. D., Carthage, Ill.
Hopkins, Louis J., Winnetka, Ill.
Hopper, Mary J., 666 W. 207th St., New York, N.Y.
Horn, Franklin L., 1342 Prospect Ave., Toledo, Ohio
Hosford, George Lewis, Box 615, Wichita, Kan.
House, J. T., State Normal School, Wayne, Neb.
Hoverstad, T. A., Soo Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn.
Howard, Bertha J., 930 Court St., Port Huron, Mich.
Howard, George E., Midwest Life Insurance Co., Lincoln, Neb.
Howard, R. V., English School for Foreigners, Vegreville, Alberta, Canada
Howat, William F., 832 Hohman St., Hammond, Ind.
Howerth, I. W., 1421 Scenic Ave., Berkeley, Cal.
Hubbard, William P., Elm Grove, Wheeling, W.Va.
Hubbell, George A., Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tenn.
Huston, Charles A., Law School, Stanford University, Cal.
Ingersoll, C. H., 315, 4th Ave., New York, N.Y.
Ingersoll, Raymond V., 149 S. Oxford St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Irving, Bertha A., 102 Henderson Ave., New Brighton, N.Y.
Israel, Henry, 124 E. 28th St., New York, N.Y.
James, Ellen T., Hillcrest Farm, R.R. No. 3, St. Joseph, Mo.
Jenkins, W. E., Indiana University Library, Bloomington, Ind.
Jenks, Albert E., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis Minn.
Jensen, Jens P., 5800 Maryland Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Jeremiah, J., 117 W. 58th St., New York, N.Y.
Johnson, Axel, Towaoc, Colo.
Johnson, F. H., 3820 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Johnson, Harriet E., 32 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass.
Johnson, James Welden, 70 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y.
Johnson, Dr. W. Dawson, Public Library, St. Paul, Minn.
Jones, Cheney C., 135 S. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Jones, Lillian I., Park Place, Circleville, Ohio
Jones, S. Paul, Farmers' State Bank Bldg., Waukesha, Wis.
Jones, Thomas Jesse, U.S. Bureau of Education, Washington, D.C.
Jordan, Thomas Guy, Lexington, Miss.
Joseph, Isaac, 1827 E. 82d St., Cleveland, Ohio
Justis, Guy T., 251 Coronado Bldg., Denver, Colo.
Kallen, Dr. John, 234 S. Center St., Schenectady, N.Y.
Kaufman, Imogene Hope, 1004 Poplar St., Huntington, Ind.

- Kehew, Mrs. M. M., 29a Chestnut St., Boston, Mass.
 Keller, A. G., 55 Huntington St., New Haven, Conn.
 Kellogg, Angie L., Bryn Mawr, Pa.
 Kelsey, Carl, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Kepecs, Jacob, 1019 Robbins Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Kerby, Wm. J., Catholic University, Washington, D.C.
 Kern, R. R., George Washington University, Washington, D.C.
 Ketcham, Dorothy, 4133 N. Capitol Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
 Kieffer, George Linn, Rosedale, Long Island, N.Y.
 Kiekhofer, Wm. H., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
 Kingsbury, Susan M., Roberts Road and Montgomery Ave., Bryn Mawr, Pa.
 Kirk, William, University of Rochester, Rochester, N.Y.
 Klee, Max, 1340 E. 48th St., Chicago, Ill.
 Kleihege, George W., 1201 New Jersey St., Lawrence, Kan.
 Klein, Philip, 135 E. 15th St., New York, N.Y.
 Knight, Howard Roscoe, Locust Valley, Long Island, N.Y.
 Knight, M. M., 35 Beaver St., Worcester, Mass.
 Kolb, John Harrison, University Farm, St. Paul, Minn.
 Krebs, Henry J., Newport, Del.
 Kuh, Sidney, 30 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Kulp, Daniel Harrison, II, Shanghai Baptist College, Shanghai, China
 Kursheedt, M. A., 302 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
 Laidman, Charles S., 1220 Altgeld St., Chicago, Ill.
 Lamb, B. F., Portsmouth, Ohio
 Landis, Benson Y., Coopersburg, Pa.
 Lantis, L. O., 175 Chittenden Ave., Columbus, Ohio
 Lathrop, Julia C., The Ontario, Washington, D.C.
 Lauder, Frank, 803 Long Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.
 Laufer, Barthold, Field Museum, Chicago, Ill.
 Lautner, J. E., Marquette, Mich.
 Lawson, Victor F., 1500 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Ill.
 Leach, Floyd S., 416 Fort Washington Ave., New York, N.Y.
 Lee, Guy Carleton, 172 W. High St., Carlisle, Pa.
 Lee, Ivy L., 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
 Lefavour, Henry, 119 Bay State Road, Boston, Mass.
 Leiser, Rabbi Jacob, No. 1 Taylor Bldg., Joplin, Mo.
 Lewis, E. St. Elmo, 98 McLean Ave., Highland Park, Wayne Co., Mich.
 Lewisohn, Sam A., 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
 Lichtenberger, J. P., Logan Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Lies, Eugene T., 437 Keystone Ave., River Forest, Ill.
 Lindsay, Samuel M., Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
 Lindsey, Edward, National Bank Bldg., Warren, Pa.
 Linfield, F. B., 719 S. 3d Ave., Bozeman, Mont.
 Lively, Charles, 327 N. 13th St., Lincoln, Neb.
 Loeber, Maud, 2315 Carondelet St., New Orleans, La.
 Logan, Joseph C., Southern Division A.R.C., 402 Healey Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.
 Loring, A. P., 40 State St., Boston, Mass.
 Lovejoy, Owen R., 105 E. 22d St., New York, N.Y.
 Low, Marie L., 4809 Pleasant Ave., S., Minneapolis, Minn.
 Lowber, James W., 1706 Brazos St., Austin, Tex.
 Lowden, Frank O., Oregon, Ill.
 Lowrie, S. Gale, 3411 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio
 Lubin, Isador, 801 Locust St., Columbia, Mo.

- Lucas, Robert D., 324 W. 25th St., Norfolk, Va.
Luce, Robert, 8 Bosworth St., Boston, Mass.
Luehring, F. W., Princeton, N.J.
Lull, Herbert G., Kansas State Normal School, Emporia, Kan.
Lum, Charles M., 786 Broad St., Newark, N.J.
Lumley, F. E., College of Missions, Indianapolis, Ind.
Lundeen, Ernest W., Station A, Lincoln, Neb.
McBride, Anna Christine, Low Bldg., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
MacBride, Rev. Robert J., Collingwood, N.J.
MacClean, E. A., 311 W. 154th St., New York, N.Y.
McClellan, Lee D., 30 McLellan St., Brunswick, Me.
McClelland, George Hamilton, 201 Wilbraham Road, Springfield, Mass.
McCoy, J. P., Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill.
McCracken, H. Linneus, 320 E. 7th St., Hastings, Neb.
McDevitt, Philip R., Bishops' House, Harrisburg, Pa.
McDowell, Mary, 4630 Gross Avè., Chicago, Ill.
MacFarland, Charles S., 105 E. 22d St., New York, N.Y.
McGraw, Dorothy, 1716 W. Lake St., Minneapolis, Minn.
McGregor, Tracy W., 239 Brush St., Detroit, Mich.
MacIver, Robert Morrison, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada
McKenzie, F. A., Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.
McKinlock, George A., 320 S. Wells St., Chicago, Ill.
McKinney, Margaret E., 401, 1st St., Fairmont, W.Va.
MacLean, Annie Marion, 902 Elmwood Ave., Evanston, Ill.
McMahon, Theresa S., Fernald Hall, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
MacVeagh, Franklin, 333 W. Lake St., Chicago, Ill.
Macy, V. Everit, 68 Broad St., New York, N.Y.
Madeira, Lucy, 1330, 19th St., Washington, D.C.
Magnusson, P. Magnus, State Normal School, St. Cloud, Minn.
Mangold, George B., 4002 Lexington Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Manley, R. G., Republic, Pa.
Mann, A. R., Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
Mann, A. Z., 1212 W. Washington Ave., Madison, Wis.
Mariano, John H., 80 Washington Place, New York, N.Y.
Marrs, R. M., Lead, S.D.
Marrs, Wyatt, 5700 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Marshall, Agnes M., 541 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Marshall, L. C., 1320 E. 56th St., Chicago, Ill.
Marston, Edwin S., Box 72, Florham Park, N.J.
Marvin, Donald, 3602 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Mason, Jarvis W., Oakwood Ave. and Hawthorne Terrace, Corcoran Manor,
Mount Vernon, N.Y.
Masselink, G., 215 Woodward St., Big Rapids, Mich.
Mather, Samuel, Western Reserve Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio
Maxson, C. H., Bishop College, Marshall, Tex.
Maymon, Thomas B., 55 Eddy St., Providence, R.I.
Mead, Daniel W., 120 Gorham St., Madison, Wis.
Mehl, Paul, 29 E. Dayton St., Madison, Wis.
Meloy, Luella P., Pennsylvania College for Women, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Meredith, W. V., Y.M.C.A., Muncie, Ind.
Miller, Elmer, Manti, Utah
Miller, G. R., State Teachers' College, Greeley, Colo.
Miller, H. A., 124 Morgan St., Oberlin, Ohio

- Miner, Elizabeth R., Lawrence House, Northampton, Mass.
 Mitchell, Harry W., State Hospital, Warren, Pa.
 Mohr, Lewis, 349 W. Illinois St., Chicago, Ill.
 Moncrief, J. W., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Monroe, Paul, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
 Moore, G. W., International Committee, Y.M.C.A., 124 E. 26th St., New York, N.Y.
 Moore, P. R., W. Main St., Patchogue, N.Y.
 Morgan, Walter P., 304 N. Ward St., Macomb, Ill.
 Morrison, H. C., 168 Church St., Middletown, Conn.
 Mortenson, Clara E., Law Bldg., Bryn Mawr, Pa.
 Mounts, Lewis H., Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn.
 Mueller, R. G., Seneca, Kan.
 Munsell, Mrs. A. H., Chestnut Hill, Mass.
 Nash, Marion E., Training School, Vineland, N.J.
 Nasmyth, George W., 4933 Conduit Road, Washington, D.C.
 Naumburg, Mrs. Elsa, 142 W. 77th St., New York, N.Y.
 Nealley, E. M., R.F.D. No. 1, Santa Ana, Cal.
 Neergaard, Paul, 167 N. College St., Lindsborg, Kan.
 Newell, Jane I., Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
 Newman, Stephen M., Howard University, Washington, D.C.
 Newsom, Vida, 814 Franklin St., Columbus, Ind.
 Nichols, C. A., Georgetown, Tex.
 Nicklaus, Frank E., Friendly House, Mansfield, Ohio
 Nieman, L. W., care of *Milwaukee Journal*, Milwaukee, Wis.
 Noll, Albert W., Stanford Park, Union Ave. and 14th Place, Chicago, Ill.
 North, Cecil C., 2612 Indianola Ave., Columbus, Ohio
 Northcott, C. V., 269 W. 118th St., New York, N.Y.
 Nystrom, Paul H., 119 W. 40th St., New York, N.Y.
 O'Connor, J. J., Jr., University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Odum, Howard W., University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.
 Ogburn, W. F., University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
 O'Grady, John, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.
 Orr, Ernest A., 3941 N. 30th St., Tacoma, Wash.
 Oseroff, Abraham, 356, 2d Ave., New York, N.Y.
 Osler, Rebecca T., Elmira College, Elmira, N.Y.
 Page, Edward D., Oakland, N.J.
 Park, Robert E., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Parker, Arthur C., Education Bldg., Albany, N.Y.
 Parmelee, Maurice, 27 W. 128th St., New York, N.Y.
 Parrish, C. H., 807, 6th St., Louisville, Ky.
 Parsons, Mrs. Elsie Clews, 115 E. 72d St., New York, N.Y.
 Parsons, Philip A., Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y.
 Patch, LeRoy C., 751 Lewis St., Columbus, Wis.
 Paterson, Robert G., 91 E. Deshler Ave., Columbus, Ohio
 Patten, Frank C., Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Tex.
 Patten, Simon N., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Patterson, Gaylord H., 57 S. College St., Carlisle, Pa.
 Pattison, Francis Wayland, Box 216, East Northfield, Mass.
 Payne, E. George, 5111 Vernon Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
 Peak, George A., Central Life Assurance Co., Des Moines, Iowa
 Pearce, J. E., 2607 University Ave., Austin, Tex.
 Peskind, A., 13035 Euclid Ave., East Cleveland, Ohio

- Peters, James C., 1021 E. University Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich.
 Phelan, John, Massachusetts Agricultural College, Amherst, Mass.
 Pillsburg, A. J., 224 Pala Ave., Piedmont Station, Oakland, Cal.
 Pitlik, Samuel, 54 Snell Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Plaisted, Elizabeth, 126 E. 19th St., New York, N.Y.
 Poland, Earl W., R.F.D. No. 2, Hamilton, Ill.
 Potter, Blanche, 410 Park Ave., New York, N.Y.
 Pound, Roscoe, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass.
 Powell, Hannah B. Clark, 5227 Blackstone Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Powlison, Charles F., 70, 5th Ave., New York, N.Y.
 Pratt, Anna B., 3804 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Pratt, Nathaniel M., 80 Bible House, Astor Place, New York, N.Y.
 Price, Maurice T., care of Edward Evans & Sons, Shanghai, China
 Putnam, Bertha Haven, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
 Raddatz, W. G., 640 Mineral St., Milwaukee, Wis.
 Ranck, Samuel H., Public Library, Grand Rapids, Mich.
 Randall, J. Harvey, Bacone College, Bacone, Okla.
 Randolph, E. D., 1717, 11th Ave., Greeley, Colo.
 Randolph, E. F., 1654 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
 Ransom, John E., 1744 W. Harrison St., Chicago, Ill.
 Rantoul, Mrs. Lois B., 101 Forest Hill St., Jamaica Plain, Mass.
 Rath, James A., Box 514, Honolulu, Hawaii
 Redstone, Edward H., Social Law Library, Boston, Mass.
 Reinemund, J. A., Box 95, Muscatine, Iowa
 Reuckert, Frederick, 7 Marlborough Ave., Providence, R.I.
 Reuter, E. B., Lincoln, Cal.
 Reynolds, James Bronson, 151 Central Park, West, New York, N.Y.
 Rhoades, Mabel C., Wells College, Aurora, N.Y.
 Riddell, W. A., 15 Queens' Park, Toronto, Ontario, Canada
 Riley, Morgan T., 604 W. 112th St., New York, N.Y.
 Ritter, William E., Lajolla, Cal.
 Robbins, Jane E., Wethersfield, Conn.
 Roberts, Frank H. H., New Mexico Normal University, East Las Vegas, N.M.
 Roberts, R. H., Vermilion, Alberta, Canada
 Robinson, Clarence C., 124 E. 29th St., New York, N.Y.
 Roeder, Herbert J., 174 E. 95th St., New York, N.Y.
 Rolf, A. A., Room 1212, 72 W. Adams St., Chicago, Ill.
 Rom, Roy George, 977, 2d St., Milwaukee, Wis.
 Romer, John C., 107, 16th St., Sioux City, Iowa
 Rosenwald, Julius, Sears, Roebuck & Co., Chicago, Ill.
 Ross, Edward A., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
 Ross, J. Elliot, 401 W. 21st St., Austin, Tex.
 Ross, Sarah Gridley, Skidmore College of Arts, Saratoga Springs, N.Y.
 Sachs, R. L., Box 25, Madison Square Station, New York, N.Y.
 Samson, Harry G., 433, 6th Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Sanderson, Dwight, 1109 E. 54th Place, Chicago, Ill.
 Sawtelle, Donald W., 932 Clymer Place, Madison, Wis.
 Scheeline, Mrs. Julia, 2005 Maple Ave., Altoona, Pa.
 Schively, Mary Alice, 318 Winona Ave., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Schmitt, Mrs. S. A., Sidney, Neb.
 Scholefield, E. O. S., Victoria, British Columbia, Canada
 Schuh, Richard E., Howard University, Washington, D.C.
 Scott, Elmer, 1306½ Commerce St., Dallas, Tex.

- Scott, H. Miller, Port Leyden, N.Y.
 Scroggs, William O., Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.
 Scudder, Rita Lord, 1119 S. 60th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Seligman, E. R. A., 324 W. 86th St., New York, N.Y.
 Selinger, Hugo P. G., Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio
 Seliskar, John, St. Paul Seminary, Groveland Park, St. Paul, Minn.
 Seymour, A. H., 1518 S. Grant St., Aberdeen, S.D.
 Sharpless, Helen, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
 Sheffield, W. P., 223 Thames St., Newport, R.I.
 Sheldon, A. E., Nebraska Legislative Reference Bureau, Lincoln, Neb.
 Sheldon, Phebe, Claremont, Cal.
 Shenton, H. N., Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
 Shideler, Ernest, Co. E., 410th Telegraph Battalion, Fort Leavenworth, Kan.
 Shollenberger, Helen O., 5822 Springfield Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Short, Wm. Harrison, 339 S. 10th Ave., Mount Vernon, N.Y.
 Sibley, Florence, 135 S. 18th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Siddall, Margaret L., Claremont, Cal.
 Siedenbug, Frederic, 617 Ashland Block, Chicago, Ill.
 Sigmund, S. O., 411, 46th St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
 Simons, Sarah E., 1528 Corcoran St., Washington, D.C.
 Simpson, Joshua Baker, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.
 Sims, Newell L., 409 E. Lassiter St., Gainesville, Fla.
 Skoss, Solomon L., 2471 Lowell Blvd., Denver, Colo.
 Small, Albion W., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Smith, Alice M., Mountain View Sanitarium, Lakeview, Wash.
 Smith, C. Henry, Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio
 Smith, Francis W., 208 N. Washington St., Wheaton, Ill.
 Smith, Franklin O., University of Montana, Missoula, Mont.
 Smith, Frederick M., Box 255, Independence, Mo.
 Smith, James B., California, Pa.
 Smith, L. Emory, Hermanville, Miss.
 Smith, Walter R., 422 W. 8th St., Emporia, Kan.
 Smith, William C., 1020 E. 62d St., Chicago, Ill.
 Smith, W. Wilberforce, 151 N. Fairview Ave., Decatur, Ill.
 Snedden, David, Teachers College, W. 120th St., New York, N.Y.
 Snell, Hazel F., 3318 Randolph St., Lincoln, Neb.
 Snow, Alpheus Henry, 2013 Massachusetts Ave. NW., Washington, D.C.
 Snyder, C. J., 55 S. Maple Ave., Ridgewood, N.J.
 Solenberger, E. D., 409 S. 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Souther, Susie, 1331 F St., Lincoln, Neb.
 Spaeth, J. Duncan, Princeton, N.J.
 Spencer, Mrs. Anna Garlin, 593 Chestnut St., Meadville, Pa.
 Spencer, W. L., 160 S. Main St., Bowling Green, Ohio
 Spielman, W. C., Carthage College Library, Carthage, Ill.
 Splawn, W. M. W., Belton, Tex.
 Stahl, Frances Starr, 1203 E. 60th St., Chicago, Ill.
 Stahl, John Meloy, 6063 Harper Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Stapleford, F. N., 12 Howland Ave., Toronto, Ontario, Canada
 Stebbins, Lucy Ward, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
 Steiner, B. C., Enoch Pratt Library, Baltimore, Md.
 Steiner, Jesse F., University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
 Sternheim, Emanuel, Sioux City, Iowa
 Stevens, James G., 1008 W. Oregon St., Urbana, Ill.
 Stewart, Anna, 852 W. 35th Place, Los Angeles, Cal.

- Stoddard, T. Lothrop, 310 Tappan St., Brookline, Mass.
 Stokes, J. G. Phelps, 100 William St., New York, N.Y.
 Stone, Alfred H., Dunleith, Miss.
 Straus, Percy S., care of R. H. Macy & Co., Herald Square, New York, N.Y.
 Stridsberg, Carl, 223 Terrace Ave., Hasbrouck Heights, N.J.
 Sullivan, Daniel R., Seton Hill, Greensburg, Pa.
 Sullivan, Richard Thomas, care of M. & S. Railway & Light Co., Youngstown,
 Ohio
 Sumner, G. S., Pomona College, Claremont, Cal.
 Sutherland, E. H., William Jewell College, Liberty, Mo.
 Suzzalo, Henry, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
 Swanson, Simon, 1409 Rhode Island St., Lawrence, Kan.
 Swanton, John R., Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
 Swift, Harold, Union Stock Yards, Chicago, Ill.
 Taft, Donald, 2322 Indianola Ave., Columbus, Ohio
 Taggart, A. Maude, Peterborough, N.H.
 Talbert, E. L., University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
 Talbot, Marion, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Taudy, Elizabeth, 548 East Drive, Woodruff Place, Indianapolis, Ind.
 Tawney, G. A., University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
 Taylor, A. W., Bible College of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
 Taylor, F. B., Jamestown College, Jamestown, N.D.
 Taylor, Graham, Chicago Commons, Chicago, Ill.
 Tenney, Alvan A., Columbia College, New York, N.Y.
 Thomas, Bernard G. H., 2412 Washington St., Lincoln, Neb.
 Thomas, Franklin, 105 E. 22d St., New York, N.Y.
 Thomas, Joseph J., Central High School, Washington, D.C.
 Thompson, Warren S., 817 McKinley Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich.
 Thrasher, F. M., Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
 Tinney, Mary C., 258 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
 Todd, A. J., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
 Towne, Arthur W., 105 Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
 Towne, E. T., 504 S. 6th St., Grand Forks, N.D.
 Trafford, Frederick T., Moravian College, Bethlehem, Pa.
 Trainum, W. H., 804 Freeman St., Valparaiso, Ind.
 Trawick, A. M., 1005 Independence Life Bldg., Nashville, Tenn.
 Tufteland, Marcus, Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn.
 Tungeln, George H. von, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa
 Tunicliffe, R. M., Potsdam, N.Y.
 Turner, Mrs. Lillian A., 17 Melbourne Ave., S.E., Minneapolis, Minn.
 Tyson, Francis D., University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Uchikata, Henson M., 1111, 11th Ave., S., Seattle, Wash.
 Ueland, Elsa, 717 Witherspoon Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Underwood, J. H., University of Montana, Missoula, Mont.
 Unger, Mrs. J. O., 3344 Broadway, Chicago, Ill.
 Vanderlip, Frank A., 55 Wall St., New York, N.Y.
 Vander Poel, Mrs. S. O., 123 E. 72d St., New York, N.Y.
 Van Driel, Gertrude R., 4508 Oakenwald Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Van Ingen, Philip, 125 E. 71st St., New York, N.Y.
 Vassardakis, Cleanthes, The Valberk-Leighton, Leighton Ave. 1, South
 Yonkers, N.Y.
 Veditz, C. W. A., Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.
 Veiller, Lawrence, 102 E. 22d St., New York, N.Y.
 Vincent, George E., Rockefeller Foundation, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

- Waggoner, Alvin, Philip, S.D.
 Walker, Edwin C., 211 W. 138th St., New York, N.Y.
 Walker, Sarah W., Fairview Ave., Tarrytown, N.Y.
 Walling, William English, 116 Field Point Road, Greenwich, Conn.
 Walton, Thomas W., 1736 G St. NW., Washington, D.C.
 Wander, Paul, 11 Maple Place, Ossining, N.Y.
 Ward, Harry F., 219 Homer St., Newton Center, Mass.
 Warfield, G. A., 2131 S. Columbine St., Denver, Colo.
 Warner, Mason, 3848 Byron St., Chicago, Ill.
 Warren, Howard C., Princeton, N.J.
 Waterman, Miss Lesley, 65 Paradise Road, Northampton, Mass.
 Waters, Chester C., 133 Chiswick Road, Brighton Station, Boston, Mass.
 Watrous, Richard B., 913 Union Trust Bldg., Washington, D.C.
 Watson, Frank D., 6 College Ave., Haverford, Pa.
 Watson, Mrs. Frank D., 5 College Ave., Haverford, Pa.
 Weatherly, U. G., 527 E. 3d St., Bloomington, Ind.
 Webster, D. Hutton, Station A, Lincoln, Neb.
 Weeks, Rufus Wells, 346 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
 Weiffenbach, Eugene, Warrenton, Mo.
 Welch, A. A., 21 Woodland St., Hartford, Conn.
 Welding, Rhoda May, 120 W. 12th St., Indianapolis, Ind.
 Wheeler, Joseph L., Reuben McMillan Free Library, Youngstown, Ohio
 Whitcomb, Selden L., Lawrence, Kan.
 Wilder, Constance P., 53 Fairmont Ave., Newton, Mass.
 Willcox, Walter F., Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
 Williams, Mrs. C. D., 90 Lake Ave., Newton Center, Mass.
 Williams, James M., Hobart College Library, Geneva, N.Y.
 Williams, Jesse Lynch, 152 W. 57th St., New York, N.Y.
 Williams, Mrs. T. F. A., University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
 Wills, Harry S., 30 W. 10th St., Columbus, Ohio
 Wilson, J. E., 528 S. Wells St., Chicago, Ill.
 Wilson, M. L., Bozeman, Mont.
 Wilson, Warren H., 156, 5th Ave., New York, N.Y.
 Winger, R. C., West De Pere, Wis.
 Wolf, Rev. B. C., First M.E. Church, Kensington, Kan.
 Woltz, James M., Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co., Youngstown, Ohio
 Woodruff, Clinton Rogers, North American Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Woods, Erville B., Hanover, N.H.
 Woods, Frederick Adams, 1006 Beacon St., Brookline, Mass.
 Woods, Robert A., South End House, Boston, Mass.
 Woodward, Comer M., 6126 University Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Woodworth, A. H., Hanover College, Hanover, Ind.
 Woolston, H. B., 504 W. 122d St., New York, N.Y.
 Work, Monroe N., Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.
 Works, George A., 501 Dryden Road, Ithaca, N.Y.
 Wright, Jonathan, Windy Rock, Pleasantville, Westchester Co., N.Y.
 Yockey, F. M., Alexandria, Minn.
 Young, Allyn A., Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
 Young, E. F., 98 Middle Divinity Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Young, Frederick George, 599 E. 9th Ave., Eugene, Ore.
 Ytrehus, O. B., 6032 Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Zeller, J. C., R.F.D. No. 2, Yazoo City, Miss.
 Zumbrunnen, A. C., 7300 Blackstone Ave., Chicago, Ill.

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUMES I-XII

VOL. I. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST ANNUAL MEETING

The American Sociological Society	Editorial
The Establishment of Sociology	Lester F. Ward
How Should Sociology Be Taught as a College or University Subject ?	
	Charles A. Ellwood
Western Civilization and the Birth-Rate	Edward A. Ross
Points of Agreement among Sociologists	Albion W. Small
The Fine Arts as a Dynamic Factor in Society	Mrs. J. Oldenwald-Unger
Social Consciousness	Charles H. Cooley
Social Darwinism	D. Collin Wells

VOL. II. SOCIAL CONFLICTS. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

Social Classes in the Light of Modern Sociological Theory	Lester F. Ward
The Basis of Social Conflict	Thomas N. Carver
Competition	Lindley M. Keasbey
Is Sectionalism in America Dying Away?	Frederick J. Turner
Is Race Friction between Blacks and Whites in the United States Growing and Inevitable?	Alfred H. Stone
The Significance of the Orient for the Occident	William I. Thomas
Is Class Conflict in America Growing and Inevitable?	John R. Commons
Are Contradictions of Ideas and Beliefs Likely to Play an Important Group- Making Rôle in the Future?	Franklin H. Giddings

VOL. III. THE FAMILY. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING

The Family and Social Change	William G. Sumner
How Home Conditions React upon the Family	Charlotte Perkins Gilman
The Effect on Woman of Economic Dependence	Charles Zueblin
The Relations of Social Diseases to the Family	Prince A. Morrow
The Influence of Income on Standards of Life	R. C. Chapin
The Family in a Typical Mill Town	Margaret F. Byington
Results of the Pittsburgh Survey	Edward T. Devine

- Are Modern Industry and City Life Unfavorable to the Family?
Charles Richmond Henderson
- Rural Life and the Family Kenyon L. Butterfield
- Some Questions concerning the Higher Education of Women . . . D. Collin Wells
- How Does the Access of Women to Industrial Occupations React on the
Family? U. G. Weatherly
- Is the Freer Granting of Divorce an Evil? George Elliott Howard
- How Far Should Members of the Family Be Individualized?
James E. Hagerty
- How Far Should Family Wealth Be Encouraged and Conserved?
George K. Holmes

VOL. IV. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH
ANNUAL MEETING

- Religion and the Mores William G. Sumner
- History of the American Social Science Association F. B. Sanborn
- Changes in the Census Methods for the Census of 1910 E. Dana Durand
- The Outlook for American Statistics Walter F. Wilcox
- The Social Marking System Franklin H. Giddings
- The Psychological View of Society Charles A. Ellwood
- Outline of a Theory of Social Motives James M. Williams
- The Study of Homeric Religion Albert C. Keller
- The Rôle of Magic James Thomson Shotwell
- Influence of Superstition on the Evolution of Property Rights
Hutton Webster
- Notes on the Recent Census of Religious Bodies George A. Coe
- The Teaching of Sociology James Quayle Dealey
- Sociology and the State Lester F. Ward
- The Sociological Stage in the Evolution of the Social Sciences
Albion W. Small

VOL. V. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH ANNUAL
MEETING

- The Relation of Social Theory to Public Policy Franklin H. Giddings
- Sociological Observations in Inner China Edward A. Ross
- Sociological Appraisal of Western Influence in the Orient
Edward Warren Capen
- The Racial Element in Social Assimilation U. G. Weatherly
- The "Social Forces" Error Edward Cary Hayes
- Some Suggestions regarding the Organization of a Department of Sociology
in an Urban University J. E. Cutler
- Report on Questionnaire of Committee on Teaching F. Stuart Chapin
- The Drift to the City in Relation to the Rural Problem John M. Gillette

Leadership in Reform Frank W. Blackmar
 The Church and the Rural Community Warren H. Wilson
 The Church and the City Community Walter Laidlaw
 Social Control of the Domestic Relations George Elliott Howard
 Sociology and Social Surveys Thomas J. Riley
 The Rivalry of Social Groups George E. Vincent

VOL. VI. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING

The Quality of Civilization Franklin H. Giddings
 The City as a Socializing Agency Frederic C. Howe
 The Urban Habit of Mind Howard B. Woolston
 Recreation as a Public Function in Urban Communities Jane Addams
 The Restriction of Immigration Henry Pratt Fairchild
 The Application of the Social Survey to Small Communities John Lewis Gillin
 Agricultural Education and Its Relation to Rural Sociology A. F. Woods

VOL. VII. THE CONCEPTION OF HUMAN INTERRELATIONS AS A VARIANT OF SOCIAL THEORY. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

The Present Outlook of Social Science Albion W. Small
 Social Phases of Psychology G. Stanley Hall
 Influence of the Growing Perception of Human Interrelationship on Education Paul Monroe
 Some Aspects of the Influence of Social Problems and Ideas upon the Study and Writing of History Carl Becker
 Outlook for Social Politics in the United States Charles E. Merriam
 The Background of Economic Theories Simon N. Patten
 Legislation as a Social Function Roscoe Pound
 Some Implications of Remedial and Preventive Legislation in the United States Eldon R. James
 Social Ideas Implied in Present American Programs of Voluntary Philanthropy Edward T. Devine
 The Socialization of Religion Francis G. Peabody

VOL. VIII. PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL ASSIMILATION. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING

A Vision of Social Efficiency Albion W. Small
 The Neighborhood in Social Reconstruction Robert A. Woods
 The Assimilation of the American Indian Fayette Avery McKenzie
 The Rising National Individualism Herbert Adolphus Miller
 Racial Assimilation in Secondary Groups Robert E. Park
 The Prussian-Polish Situation: An Experiment in Assimilation

William I. Thomas

An Outline of Social Study for Elementary Schools John M. Gillette
 Round Table: Sociology in the Normal School.

By F. R. Clow. Remarks as Chairman

F. R. Clow. Content of the Course of Sociology Given in the State
 Normal School at Oshkosh, Wisconsin

"Social Assimilation": America and China Charles R. Henderson
 Assimilation in the Philippines, as Interpreted in Terms of Assimilation in
 America Albert E. Jenks

Informal Conference: Is It Possible for American Sociologists to Agree upon a
 Constructive Program?

VOL. IX. FREEDOM OF COMMUNICATION. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

Freedom of Communication and the Struggle for Right Edward A. Ross

Freedom of Assemblage and Public Security John Graham Brooks

Reasonable Restrictions upon Freedom of Assemblage Arthur Woods

Reasonable Restrictions upon Freedom of Speech James Bronson Reynolds

Freedom of the Press in the United States Henry Schofield

Reasonable Restrictions upon Freedom of the Press Charles H. Grasty

Freedom of Teaching in the United States Ulysses G. Weatherly

Reasonable Restrictions upon the Scholar's Freedom Henry Pritchett
 Reports of Committees:

Report of the Committee on Investigation and Research.

Preliminary Report of Joint Committee on Academic Freedom and
 Academic Tenure.

Report of the Committee on Sociology in the Training of Teachers.

VOL. X. WAR AND MILITARISM IN THEIR SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE TENTH ANNUAL MEETING

War as Determiner Edward Alsworth Ross

Social Values and National Existence Theodore Roosevelt

The Effect of War and Militarism on the Status of Women Emily G. Balch

War and Militarism in Relation to Government and Politics

Simeon E. Baldwin

Nationalism and State Socialism William English Walling

Can War Be Done Away With? Brooks Adams

VOL. XI. THE SOCIOLOGY OF RURAL LIFE. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

Countryside and Nation George E. Vincent

Country versus City Warren H. Wilson

Folk Depletion as a Cause of Rural Decline Edward Alsworth Ross

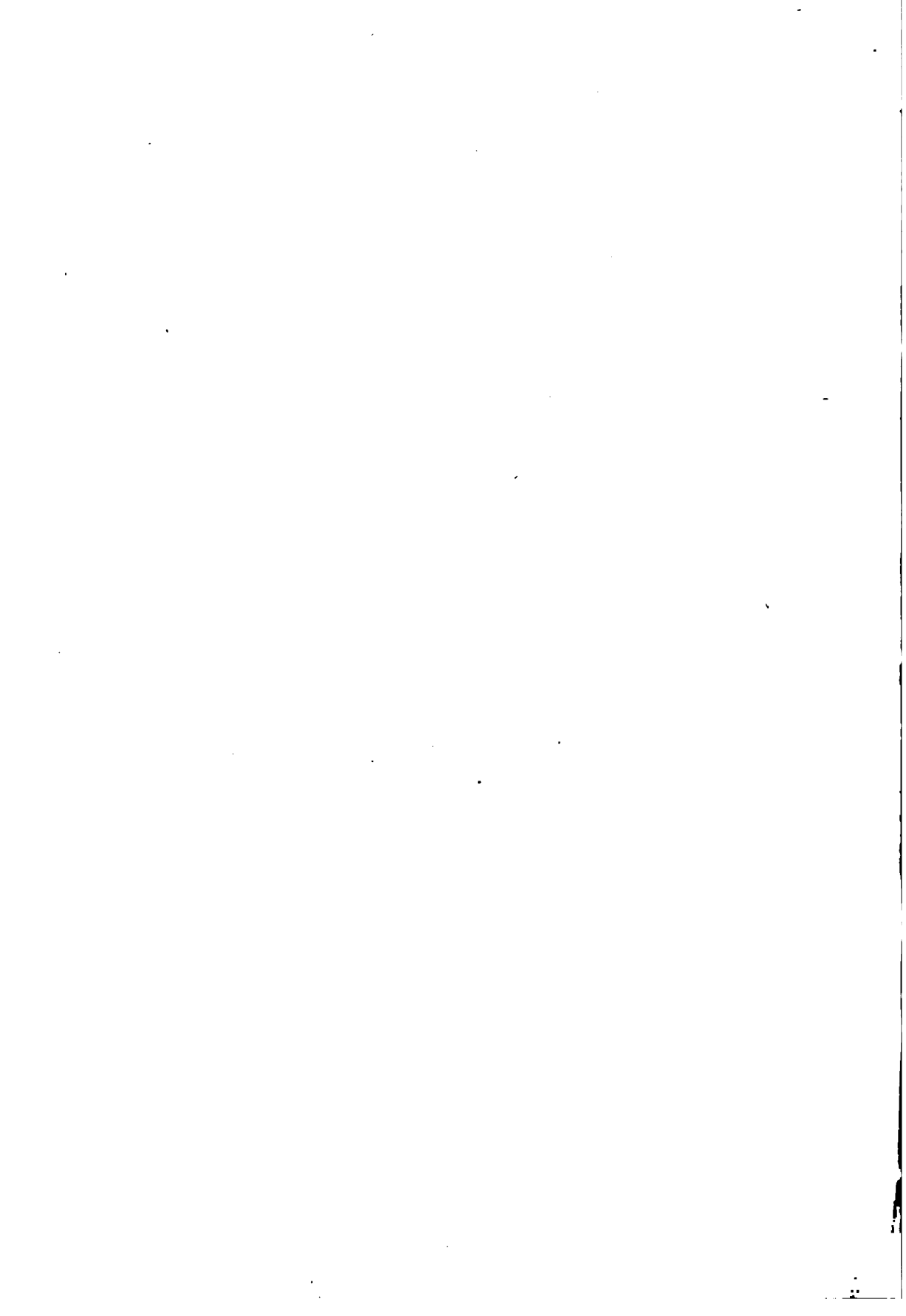
The Non-Partisan League.....Charles Edward Russell
 The Mind of the Farmer.....Ernest R. Groves
 The Development of Rural Leadership.....G. Walter Fiske
 The Land Problem and Rural Welfare.....Paul L. Vogt
 The Consolidated School as a Community Center.....John H. Cook
 Social Control: Rural Religion.....C. O. Gill
 Co-operation and Community Spirit.....A. D. Wilson
 Rural Surveys.....C. W. Thompson
 The Results of Some Rural Social Surveys in Iowa...George H. von Tungeln
 The Scope and Methods of Instruction in Rural Sociology...John M. Gillette
 The Teaching of Rural Sociology: Particularly in the Land-Grant Colleges
 and Universities.....Dwight L. Sanderson

VOL. XII. SOCIAL CONTROL. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF
 THE TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING

Ideals as a Factor in the Future Control of International Society
 George Elliott Howard
 Social Control of Child Welfare.....Sophonisba P. Breckinridge
 War as a Crisis in Social Control.....Carl Kelsey
 Primitive Individual Ascendancy.....Hutton Webster
 Primitive Social Ascendancy Viewed as an Agent of Selection in Society
 F. Stuart Chapin
 Survival of Primitive Controls in Frontier or Retarded Communities
 James Elbert Cutler
 Social Structure of the Northern Algonkian.....Frank G. Speck
 The Social Control of the Acquisition of Wealth.....E. C. Hayes
 Motives of Economic Life.....Carleton H. Parker
 Immigration as a Problem in Social Control.....Henry Pratt Fairchild
 The Immigrant as a Problem in Community Planning.....Grace Abbott
 Control of Immigration Based upon the True Demand for Labor
 Arthur J. Todd
 Social Control in a Democracy.....Franklin H. Giddings
 Social Control in International Relations.....Charles Horton Cooley

Address all orders for the Papers and Proceedings to the publishers, The University of Chicago Press.

Applications for membership and inquiries about the American Sociological Society should be addressed to American Sociological Society, 58th Street and Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill.



Econ P 10.41

Publications

OF THE

American Sociological Society



Volume XIII

Sociology and Education

Managing Editor
SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD

- A Primary Culture for Democracy . . . CHARLES H. COOLEY
- The Social Education of Women . . . ANNA GARLIN SPENCER
- Education in Its Relation to Cultures . . . ROBERT E. PARK
- Sociology in the Education of Teachers . . . FREDERICK R. CLOW
- The Vocational Concept JOHN M. GILLETTE
- Social Education in the Schools through Group Activities
WALTER R. SMITH
- The Community Center in Social Education . . . JOHN COLLIER
- Extension Teaching of Sociology in Communities CECIL C. NORTH
- The Teaching of Sociology to Undergraduates . . . A. J. TODD
- The National Spirit in Education E. A. ROSS
- Education and the National Ideal L. M. BRISTOL
- The American Spirit and the Organization of Mid-Europe
H. A. MILLER

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Organized at Baltimore, December 1905

OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1919

President: FRANK W. BLACKMAR, University of Kansas
First Vice-President: JAMES Q. DEALEY, Brown University
Second Vice-President: E. C. HAYES, University of Illinois
Secretary-Treasurer: SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, University of Chicago

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(IN ADDITION TO THE OFFICERS)

FORMER PRESIDENTS

FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS, Columbia University
ALBION W. SMALL, University of Chicago
EDWARD A. ROSS, University of Wisconsin
GEORGE E. VINCENT, Rockefeller Foundation
GEORGE E. HOWARD, University of Nebraska
CHARLES H. COOLEY, University of Michigan

ELECTED

CECIL C. NORTH, Ohio State University
J. ELBERT CUTLER, Western Reserve University
F. STUART CHAPIN, Smith College
WILLIAM J. KERBY, Catholic University
E. L. EARP, Drew Theological Seminary
GRACE ABBOTT, Federal Children's Bureau

The American Sociological Society was organized at Baltimore in 1905. It is composed of persons interested in the study and correct interpretation of social questions. The Society is not a reform organization, nor does it champion any sect, party, or school of thought. It stands for free discussion, in a scholarly and scientific way, of all shades of thinking on social questions.

Its membership is composed of business men, ministers, lawyers, publicists, journalists, men of affairs, social workers, and students and teachers of all the social sciences in our leading colleges and universities. At present there are over eight hundred members in the Society, and these persons, whether engaged in research, teaching, industry, business, or the investigation of specific problems of social amelioration, find opportunities for the exchange of thought in the annual meetings and through the publications of the Society.

The Society owes its inception to the conviction of its founders and present members that persons interested in the sane, permanent progress of society should have opportunity to meet regularly for the discussion of subjects of common interest. The meetings thus far have proved of great value by furthering the unification of sociological theory, by increasing knowledge of particular problems, and by bringing members of the Society into personal relations with one another.

The purpose of the Society as stated in the constitution is: "The encouragement of sociological research and discussion, and the promotion of intercourse between persons engaged in the scientific study of society."

The membership fee is Three Dollars a year, or Fifty Dollars for Life Membership. Each member will receive a copy of the current publications of the Society. Application blanks, as well as further information concerning the Society, may be obtained from the Secretary, PROFESSOR SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, 58th Street and Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME XIII

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE BAKER & TAYLOR COMPANY
NEW YORK

THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON AND EDINBURGH

THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA
TOKYO, OSAKA, KYOTO, FUKUOKA, SENDAI

THE MISSION BOOK COMPANY
SHANGHAI

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS
THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING
AMERICAN
SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

HELD AT RICHMOND, VA.

DECEMBER 27-28, 1918

VOLUME XIII

SOCIOLOGY AND EDUCATION

PUBLISHED FOR THE
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
BY
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS



Walcott fund
(13)

COPYRIGHT 1919 BY
THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

All Rights Reserved

Published March 1919

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
A PRIMARY CULTURE FOR DEMOCRACY. <i>Charles H. Cooley</i>	I
GENERAL TOPIC: Sex and Race Aspects of Education	
THE SOCIAL EDUCATION OF WOMEN. <i>Anna Garlin Spencer</i>	II
DISCUSSION:	
By <i>Lucile Eaves</i>	28
<i>Marion Talbot</i>	34
<i>Thomas D. Elliot</i>	36
EDUCATION IN ITS RELATION TO THE CONFLICT AND FUSION OF CULTURES; WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE IMMIGRANT, THE NEGRO, AND MISSIONS. <i>Robert E. Park</i>	
	38
GENERAL TOPIC: Sociology in the Common Schools	
SOCIOLOGY IN THE EDUCATION OF TEACHERS. <i>Frederick R. Clow</i>	64
THE VOCATIONAL CONCEPT. <i>John M. Gillette</i>	70
SOCIAL EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOLS THROUGH GROUP ACTIVITIES. <i>Walter R. Smith</i>	81
DISCUSSION:	
By <i>Monroe N. Work</i>	95
<i>F. Stuart Chapin</i>	97
<i>Ross L. Finney</i>	101
<i>Edward T. Devine</i>	104
<i>Emily Palmer Cape</i>	106
<i>Edwin L. Earp</i>	106
<i>Warren H. Wilson</i>	107
<i>Newell L. Sims</i>	108
<i>Carol Aronovici</i>	109
<i>Earle E. Eubank</i>	110
<i>Frederick R. Clow</i>	110
GENERAL TOPIC: Social Education through the Community	
THE COMMUNITY CENTER IN SOCIAL EDUCATION. <i>John Collier</i>	111
EXTENSION TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY IN COMMUNITIES. <i>Cecil C. North</i>	116
DISCUSSION:	
By <i>John L. Gillin</i>	121
<i>W. S. Bittner</i>	123
<i>Paul L. Vogt</i>	125
<i>Carol Aronovici</i>	126
<i>J. F. Steiner</i>	127
<i>Earle E. Eubank</i>	128

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY TO UNDERGRADUATES. <i>A. J. Todd.</i>	129
DISCUSSION:	
By Manuel C. Elmer	142
William J. Kerby	143
F. Stuart Chapin	148
Carol Aronovici	151
Newell L. Sims	152
Walter R. Smith	153
Thomas D. Elliot	154
Susan M. Kingsbury	155
GENERAL TOPIC: National Aspect of Education	
THE NATIONAL SPIRIT IN EDUCATION. <i>Edward Alsworth Ross</i>	156
EDUCATION AND THE NATIONAL IDEAL. <i>L. M. Bristol</i>	165
THE AMERICAN SPIRIT AND THE ORGANIZATION OF MID-EUROPE. <i>Herbert Adolphus Miller</i>	180
DISCUSSION:	
By Albion W. Small	187
PROGRAM OF THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING	190
REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, FROM DECEMBER 17, 1917, TO DECEMBER 19, 1918	192
REPORT OF THE TREASURER	194
REPORT OF THE MANAGING EDITOR	197
MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING, DECEMBER 27, 1918.	199
MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING, DECEMBER 28, 1918	200
CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY	202
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, MEMBERSHIP LIST FOR THE YEAR 1919	204
CONTENTS OF THE PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIO- LOGICAL SOCIETY, VOLUMES I-XIII	219

A PRIMARY CULTURE FOR DEMOCRACY

CHARLES H. COOLEY
University of Michigan

One who looks even a little beneath the surface of things may see that there is no question more timely than that of culture, and none which has more need of fresh and fundamental conceptions. It is by no means a question merely of the decoration of life, or of personal enjoyment; it involves the whole matter of developing large-minded members for that strong and good democracy which we hope we are building up. Without such members such a democracy can never exist, and culture is essential to the power and efficiency, as well as to the beauty, of the social whole.

We may all agree, I imagine, that culture means the development of the human and social, as distinct from the technical, side of life. Our recent growth, so far at least as it is realized in our institutions, has been mainly technical, the creation of an abundant economic system and a marvelous body of natural science, neither of them achievements of a sort to center attention upon what is broadly human.

It is true that along with these has come a growth of humane sentiment and aspiration, of a spirit Christian and democratic in the largest sense of those words; but this remains in great part vague and ineffectual. To give it clearness and power is one of the aims of the culture we need.

There is also, I am sure, a growing *demand* for culture. In the course of the greatest struggle of history, which is also a struggle for righteous ideals, the people everywhere have learned that the social order needs reconstruction, and that the popular will has power to transform it, as has actually been seen in molding nations to efficiency in war. All this gives rise, especially in the young, to large and radical thinking, which permeates the armies, the press, the labor unions, and other popular associations; and

among the first results of this thinking is a demand for a new sort of liberal education, through which all members of the coming order shall get a wider outlook, a higher and clearer idealism, and so be prepared to create that free, righteous, and joyful system of life to which they aspire.

Indeed our democracy, in spite of its supposed materialism, has long had at heart the ideal of culture. Culture has been a god that we somewhat ignorantly worshiped. We are not satisfied with beholding the multiplication of material things, nor even with the hope of greater justice in their distribution; we want joy, beauty, hope, higher thoughts, a larger life, a fuller participation in the great human and divine whole in which we find ourselves. Even those popular movements which formulate their aims in material terms are not really materialistic but get their strongest appeal from the belief that these aims are the condition of a fuller spiritual life.

Another reason for turning our thoughts to culture is that the economic outlook demands it. We are apparently entering upon a period of cheap, standardized production upon an enormous scale, which will multiply commodities and perhaps increase leisure but will make little demand upon the intelligence of the majority of producers and offer no scope for mental discipline. Work is becoming less than ever competent to educate the worker, and if we are to escape the torpor, frivolity, and social irresponsibility engendered by this condition, we must offset it by a social and moral culture acquired in the schools and in the community life.

Our culture must be a function of our situation as a whole. Just as the arts, like literature, painting, and sculpture, cannot be merely traditional but must spring fresh and creative from the living spirit of the time, so also must culture, which is likewise an expression of the general life. It may be contrasted with, perhaps opposed to, the apparent trend of things; but if so it is only because it is rooted in a deeper trend. If it does not function in the whole it is nothing.

I am in sympathy with those who cling to the great humanistic traditions of the past. There can be no real culture that is alto-

gether new; it can only be a fresh growth out of old stems; but it must be that; it must be new in the sense that it is wholly reanimated by the spirit of our own time. Any attempt to impose an old culture upon us merely because the educated class cherish it, or because it can be supported by general arguments having no reference to our actual needs, must fail. Through control of institutions the classicist, or the scientist, or the religionist may for a time force the forms of an old learning upon a new generation; but before long all that does not vigorously function in the life of the day will slough off and be forgotten.

Certainly no culture can be real for us that is not democratic. This does not mean, however, that it must be superficial, or commonplace, or uniform. These are traits which the enemies of democracy have endeavored to fix upon it, but which do not belong to its essence. Democracy is at bottom a more humane, inclusive, and liberal organization of life, and certainly a democratic culture will be one based on large and kindly conceptions, meeting the needs of the plain people as well as of the privileged classes, and worked out largely through the schools and other popular institutions. Because culture has in the past been inaccessible to the masses and still is so in great part, we must make it our very special business to bring it within their reach; but the idea that such a culture must lack refinement and distinction has no basis in sound theory and will be refuted as fast as we make democracy what it can and should be.

An undemocratic humanism, in our time, is not humanism at all but an academic retreat out of which no living culture can come—just as a dead-level democracy without humane depth and richness of life is not true democracy. Finer achievements get their vitality from the sympathy of a group, and an idealistic democracy, which includes a unique mingling of races, classes, and nationalities, should achieve a culture as rich in human significance as any the world has seen.

We should recognize, however, that such traditional culture as we have is not democratic for the most part, but involves the inheritance, through an upper class, of the conceptions of an outworn society. The very word "culture" is in somewhat bad odor

with people of democratic sympathies, because it suggests a parasitic leisure. Nothing could be more timely than that the plain people should take up the idea, reinterpret it from their point of view, and give it a chief place on the program of reform.

A living culture is not only an organic part of life as a whole, but it is a complex thing in itself. It must embrace, I think, two main aspects: a common or primary culture of knowledge and sentiment diffused through the whole people, and a variety of more elaborate culture processes, informed with the common spirit but developed by small groups in diverse fields of achievement. I mean by the former, to which I shall confine myself in this paper, such elements of culture as American children might get, in the schools or otherwise, before they have passed the age of compulsory attendance, or say sixteen years. This must supply the soil and atmosphere in which all our higher life is to grow, while the more specialized culture will give room for classical studies, sciences, philosophy, fine arts—what you will; nothing human need be lacking.

The aim of a common culture, I should say, must be a humane enlargement of the thought and spirit of the people, including especially primary social knowledge and ideals; inculcated in no merely abstract form but appealing to the imagination and assimilated with experience. The currents of such a culture will flow, in large degree, outside the channels of public guidance and formal institutions, working upon us through newspapers, popular literature, the drama, motion pictures, and the like. They will get much of their form and direction, however, from the common schools and other community institutions, and since these are within our control they call for peculiar attention.

Of the studies now pursued in our primary schools those most plainly suited to be the means of culture are language and history, because they deal directly with the larger human life; but it cannot be assumed that they are actually fulfilling the culture function. They do so in proportion as they impart the higher traditions and ideals of our country and of the world at large, awakening in boys and girls a hearty participation in this greater life.

Language studies should make the individual a member of the continuing organism of thought and enable his spirit to grow by interaction with it. For our people this means self-expression in the English language and a beginning appreciation of its literature. These studies should be disciplinary, requiring precision of understanding and expression, but they should also be joyous, for culture has no worse enemy than the sort of teaching that makes drudgery of them. Noble sentiment is of their essence, and if that is not imparted nothing worth while is.

Other languages, modern and ancient, belong to the more specialized culture, not to that of the whole people. They are essential to many kinds of higher leadership and production, and children who are believed to be destined for such functions may well begin their study in childhood; to ask more for them would be fanatical.

It might perhaps be thought that history would be a study of the humane development of mankind in the past, bringing home to our knowledge and sympathy the common life and upward struggle of the people, and so leading to an understanding of the social questions of our own day. But it is not that in any great degree at the present time, and there is little prospect that it will be in the near future. Although some teachers of history, perhaps many of them, are striving to reanimate their subject in accordance with modern social conceptions, it is my impression that this movement is only beginning, and that the study of history, as actually practiced in the schools, conduces little, if at all, to understanding of, or interest in, matters of social and economic betterment. I question whether this study can make its full contribution to culture without an almost revolutionary change in its underlying conceptions and in the training of its teachers.

The central thing in a study of the past common to all American children should no doubt be the history of our own country, conceived in a social spirit as our part in the universal struggle for humane ideals of life, political democracy and federation, economic opportunity, social freedom, and higher development of every sort. It should be easy to treat American history in this

way and to keep it in constant relation to the ideals and endeavors of our own day.

No aspect of history is better suited to the uses of culture than is the economic aspect, the age-long striving for material support, comfort, and leisure, along with the development and mutations of social classes, leading to our own problems of social justice. These are cultural because, on the one hand, they appeal to actual interest and daily observation, while, on the other, they lead directly to the most urgent questions of humane progress. One does not need to be an economic determinist to hold that here is one broad road to participation in the larger currents of life. The fact that history has slighted these things, and that men may pass as experts in it who have made no serious study of them, is itself explicable only by historical causes. Has not the pursuit of history become a kind of institution which, like many of our institutions, is still ruled by ideas impressed upon it in a former undemocratic state of society?

The very lowliness and homeliness of the daily life of the masses are one cause for its being somewhat neglected by research, and we must reckon also with the unconscious influence of an upper-class point of view unfavorable to studies that call in question the existing social order. I have sometimes fancied that our friends the historians, being for the most part accomplished men of the world, had for that reason a certain predilection for the upper circles of society, both past and present.

However this may be, it is clear that on grounds of culture every child ought to know something of the struggles of the unprivileged masses to gain a share of the opportunity and outlook achieved by a privileged few. Our middle and upper economic classes are still, for the most part, limited to a view of such matters that is both undemocratic and uncultured, and which the schools do little to correct.

It seems then that instruction in sociology and economics, of a simple and concrete kind, must be part of a universal democratic culture. How this should be related to history is perhaps an open question, but certainly the latter, as it is now understood,

is wholly inadequate. When all these studies are informed by a common spirit it may be possible to unite them.

So intimate and so animating is our relation to nature that natural science may well claim a place in any scheme for a basic humane culture. I would in fact include enough of this to impress the mind with the rule of law in nature and enable it to understand the experimental method by which man discovers this law and adapts it to his ends.

I must add that any school culture depends for its reality upon the personality of those who impart it. If the teachers and textbook writers were overflowing with those large views and sentiments that are culture, the students would invariably get them. This in turn depends somewhat upon that more adequate recognition by the public of the place of teachers as leaders and exemplars of cultures, from which intelligent selection and support would flow. The whole question is one we cannot solve by any mere change in the curriculum, but is implicated with the spirit and organization of the community.

Indeed our basic culture is likely to come quite as much from the social experiences of the school and community life as from culture studies. Culture is the larger mind that comes from the larger life, and the most direct and universal access to this is through association and co-operation with other people. No movements now going on promise more in this way than do those which aim at a livelier community spirit and expression in all the towns and neighborhoods of the land. When every locality has its center for social intercourse and discussion; its consciousness of its own past and ideals for the future; its communal music, sports, and pageants; its municipal buildings with noble architecture, painting, and sculpture; its local organization ready to take up voluntarily any responsibilities which the state or the nation may impose—then the child who learns to share in these things will not fail to get from them a social and spiritual enlargement.

The school especially can and should provide a group life, ideal, as far as possible, in its forms and spirit, participation in which will involve in the most natural way the elements of social,

moral, and even religious culture. As states of the human spirit democracy, righteousness, and faith have much in common and may be cultivated by the same means, namely by the group activities of the school, such as socialized class work, athletics, self-government, plays, and the like, into which the boys and girls eagerly put themselves, and from which they may get training for a larger life. And this larger mind should by no means be allowed to lapse with graduation but should be cherished in the reunions and festivals of the local Alma Mater.

I feel that what I have said deals only with the more immediate and perhaps the more superficial factors in the growth of a primary culture. The studies, the teachers, the social activities of the schools and the community, are all expressions of an underlying current of life which molds their character for better or worse and can only gradually be changed. It would be fatuous not to see that this current is largely unfavorable to the development of any real culture, either primary or secondary. The influence in our society which is organized and dominant is commercialism; the elements of culture are for the most part scattered, demobilized, and impotent. The very idea and spirit of it are starved and crowded out.

If we divide the sources of culture into two parts, those that derive from tradition and those that come to us more directly from participation in life, we shall find that the former especially are deficient. Perhaps the first requisite of progress is to face the fact that we are, as a people, in a state of semi-barbarism as regards participation in that heritage which comes only by familiarity with literature and the arts. And since this is lacking in the people at large, including the bulk of the educated classes, our schools, which are nothing if not an expression of the people, do not readily supply it. The wealthy and energetic men who have general control of education mean well, but their whole life-history, in most cases, has been such that words like culture, art, and literature can be little more to them than empty sounds, and whatever provision they make for them can hardly fail to be somewhat perfunctory and superficial.

I do not mean that culture is irreconcilable with commercial activities or with technical training in the schools. On the contrary, periods of commercial expansion have usually been those when arts and literature flourished most; and technical training, if moderate in its demands and enlarged by a constant sense of the social whole to which it contributes, may itself involve a most essential kind of culture. But our commercialism has been exorbitant and exclusive; and our technical training is rarely of a sort which makes the student feel his membership in the larger whole. Both must be transformed by a social spirit and philosophy before they can join hands with culture.

These are the underlying reasons for the unsatisfactory state of our schools and for the extreme difficulty of introducing any culture spirit into them. American education, on the culture side, is deadened by formalism from the first grade in the primary schools to and including the graduate departments of our universities. In spite of much sound theory and honest effort on the part of teachers the stifling gases of commercialism have passed from the general atmosphere into academic halls and devitalized almost everything having no obvious economic purpose. I doubt if there has on the whole been any progress in this way, perhaps rather a retrogression, during my own time.

When I contemplate the state of culture in our colleges I cannot wonder that it does not flourish in the elementary schools. Thus, to take only one indication, I have reason to think that serious spontaneous reading is far less common among university students than it was forty years ago. This is my own observation, confirmed by others and corroborated by the evidence of a veteran bookseller, who told me that he sold fewer books of general literature to, say, 5,000 students at the time of our conversation than he did to one-fourth of that number in the Victorian era.

I find the outlook somewhat more cheerful as regards that sort of culture which we get as a by-product of co-operation with our fellows. This is a plant which grows untended in a free and friendly life; and I think that democracy is giving our feelings, our manners, and our social perceptions an enlargement which is

truly, in its way, a kind of culture. That consideration, helpfulness, and ready sociability which, it appears, have endeared our soldiers to the villages of France are a part of our civilization and may well prove to be the first fruits of a new sort of culture. Let us cherish and diffuse this spirit in every possible way, especially through that school and community organization of which I have spoken. It is not only a fine thing in itself but will help us to appreciate and acquire that transmitted culture, akin to it in essence, which we now so sadly lack.

On the whole, our present condition as regards a popular culture, though unsatisfactory, is not unpromising. We have energy, good-will, and a sincere though vague idealism. We may expect these to work gradually upon all departments of life, our schools, our communities, our economic institutions, and the general atmosphere of the country, slowly bringing to pass a culture which will certainly be fresh, democratic, and human, and need not be deficient in those things that have to be learned from the past.

If I have not undertaken a discussion of the diversified higher culture, it is not because I doubt that democracy can and will develop in this direction. I say again that our ideal does not allow uniformity or limitation of any kind, but calls for utmost opportunity working out in utmost richness of life. In the way of culture, as in technical training, our higher schools should offer the best that the world has achieved, and should also foster specialized culture groups to kindle and support the individual in his struggle for a larger life.

THE SOCIAL EDUCATION OF WOMEN

ANNA GARLIN SPENCER
Meadville Theological School

Education is a process in the development of human personality. Social education is the shaping of that process toward useful functioning in the social order of which that personality is a part. The social education of women, therefore, is that type of training which has for its aim both the development of the individual life and its adjustment to the needs of the social whole.

There is no special problem in the education of girls and women unless there are permanently differing social demands upon the two sexes; otherwise there would be only the need to hasten at all points the full sharing by both of all educational opportunities. There is much denial of any other need and much claim that in education, as in all other social processes, the sexes be given "human" rights, identical training, and a fair field of endeavor. It is the purpose of this paper to indicate reasons why there is still a problem in the education of women "as women," and one worthy of the attention of this body of social students.

Education, we say, is a process of personal development, but also one by which individuals are fitted for serviceableness to group life; whether the individuals concerned are thought of as "classes," or "masses," or "sexes," in varying strata of human life. Education is not now for the first time "socialized" because we now theorize upon its social function in a new way. Each group of people, in each phase of social relationship, and in each era of historic change, have sought to realize, to express, and to perpetuate, through the training of the oncoming generations, the ideals, the customs, and the institutional forms deemed by them necessary and desirable. The educative process is indeed a personal one, teacher acting upon pupil directly to secure individualized results; but it has always been socially determined both

in purpose and in method by the group "mores" and the group needs. The family has been called "the first and primitive school" but hardly with accuracy; since, although the family is the first agency to begin the educative process, what each family has demanded in loyalty and in activity from each child has been determined, since the beginning of social organization, by what the group of which that family was a part had accepted as the right and useful end of child training. The limitations of the family, therefore, in early as in later education, have been as marked as its powers, as has been well shown by Dr. Todd in his book *The Primitive Family as an Educational Agency*. Any special problem of differentiation of the educative process as related to sex inheres, therefore, in the historic approach of men and women to social duties and opportunities. We have inherited the fruits of a long race experience in which men and women were for the most part so separated from each other in functioning that the education of boys and of girls was made wholly unlike after sex-differentiation began, and sometimes, as in Sparta, before that period. The difference in ideal and in method of training was not, as some have said, that "boys were trained for human and socialized work" and "girls were fitted for personal and generally menial service alone." Both were trained in personal character and for social ends. The men were tied to the land, and the political order, and the family responsibility for parenthood, and some distinct personal service in behalf of the group life, as were the women. The difference, the tremendous difference, was this: that the service demanded of men, whatever their part or lot might be, was early seen to require a definite schooling for some particular vocation, demanding some measure of intellectual concentration and technical skill; while the service demanded of women was supposed to be of a nature requiring only general apprenticeship within the family life. The specialization of labor, which, as is often shown, took from that family apprenticeship of women one by one its vocational elements of manual work until the house-mother seemed to need only that general ability which can quickly and wisely use the fruits of others' expert knowledge and technical training, as surely added for men, in every division of vocational alignment, an increasing differ-

entiation of training and of labor. The reaction upon the educative process of this specialization and organization of industrial and institutional life has been distinct and far-reaching. Leaving the girls to the experiential apprenticeship of the family, even the ancient education of boys was formal and definite, having at its core the group loyalties of secret military orders, of fraternal societies, and later of guilds and labor unions. When the state was born and these divided loyalties were united in patriotic devotion to "the collectivity that owned them all," women were not counted in as citizens. When, again, the peaceful industries which women had started in their primitive Jack-at-all-trades economic service to the family and clan life needed organization into separate callings of agriculture, manufacture, and commerce, and primitive means of transportation had to be perfected for interchange of products between nation and nation, women were again left out of control of the processes which man's organizing genius set in motion. Hence neither political nor industrial changes in the social order gave to popular thought any conception of the need for sending girls to school. In point of fact, as we need often to be reminded, the fine talk about an educated common people which underlies our public-school system referred for the most part to boys alone until near the middle of the nineteenth century. All that women needed to know it was believed "came by nature," like Dogberry's "reading and writing." Much of it did come by imitation and unconscious absorption, aided by the occasional better training of exceptionally able and fortunate women; but the general illiteracy of women was both a personal handicap and a social poverty. It is not true, however, as some have said, that women have been "left out of the human race" and have had to "break in" to man's more highly organized life in order to taste civilization. Men and women have stood too close in affection, girls too often "took after their fathers," the family, even under the despotic rule of men, bound all other social institutions to itself too vitally for the sexes to be wholly separated in thought and in activity. Even when most women had to make a cross instead of signing their names on official documents and could not have passed the fourth-grade examinations of a modern school, they often

became truly cultured and by reason of the very demands of family and group life upon them. The reason most women were denied formal school training so long after such denial became actively injurious to the family and group life was because the popular conviction still held that the most useful service which women could render the state did not require, would even find inimical to its best exercise, the kind of schooling which had been developed to fit boys for "a man's part in the world."

When the principle of democracy began to work in women's natures with an irrepressible yeast of revolt against longer denial of opportunity for individual achievement, and the vitally necessary and too-long-delayed "woman's rights movement" was born, its first pressure was against the closed doors of the "man-made" school. Enlightened women now demanded equal chance with men for preparation for vocations. The school they sought to enter was inherited from a past in which not only sex lines but class lines held the opportunities of higher education for a small clique. The ancient college and university did indeed lead toward vocations, but only the three "learned professions" and general training for commanding leadership in state and industrial affairs. When physical, economic, and social sciences were born the study disciplines they introduced into higher education appeared in answer to an imperious social demand that leadership should be provided in a vastly more varied range than the older civilization required. At first the leaders in the higher education of women, like all *nouveaux riche*, showed determination to prove themselves adept in the traditions of the scholastic world into which they had so recently entered, and classic curricula were strictly adhered to and all "practical" courses viewed with open distrust except those leading to the inherited professions and to teaching pushed upward toward college professorships. Happily, however, almost coincident with the entrance of women into larger educational opportunity was the broadening of that educational opportunity itself; and the marvelous growth of the state universities in the United States rapidly increased both the more varied vocational stimuli and the wider preparation for leadership now opening in our country for women as for men.

Two movements have resulted from the widening of the field of higher education, movements not yet recognized at their full social value, but already showing immense influence both upon the vocational alignment of trained women and upon the courses of study in colleges and universities. These two movements are, first, so to improve the social environment as to make average normal life more easily and generally accessible to the requirements for human well-being; and, secondly, the movement to put the social treatment, ameliorative and preventive, of abnormal or undeveloped life, under scientific direction. When it was discovered that to lose in death one baby out of every three born, to prematurely age or kill mothers in a hopeless endeavor to make good that waste, to leave the majority of the human race the helpless prey of preventable disease, poverty, feeble-mindedness, vice, and crime, was to show lack of rational social consciousness and effective social control, then it speedily became a recognized social duty to provide schools, both higher and lower in grade, which might do something to lessen ignorance and increase knowledge in the practical arts of race culture and of social organization for common human welfare. This conviction led on the one side to the introduction of courses of study in universities, colleges, normal and high, and even some elementary schools, which had bearing upon management of sanitation, food supply, housing, street control, recreation, economic reform, social engineering in politics, and kindred agencies for social betterment. It led on the other side to the attempt to make the office of the philanthropist a vocation, for which definite training and standardized compensation must be provided. So rapidly have these two elements of applied social science invaded the vocational field that today, outside of general and special teaching, they draw the majority of women seeking professional careers into work directly leading to social and personal betterment. A few women became lawyers, doctors, ministers, and now aspire to political leadership; but for the most part women are true to their sex-heritage now that they have a chance to choose and fit for their work; and the nurture of child life, the moral safeguarding of youth, the care of the aged, the weak, the wayward, and the undeveloped—these, which have been

their special tasks since society began to be rational and humane, are still their main business in the more complex situations of modern life.

When the departments of household economics were added to college courses they were hailed on one side as a needed attempt to "make the higher education fit women for wifehood and motherhood"; and on the other side they were opposed as a base concession to conservative views of woman's position, and as leading toward a lowering of standards in women's higher education. They were, and are, neither of these. The college courses in subjects related to the scientific improvement of human beings and their environment are courses leading toward new vocational specialties, which the newly outlined science of race culture demands. Women who excel in these specialties do so as paid social functionaries and are oftener unmarried than married. Nor are these studies limited to feminine students, although far more women than men choose them. The interrelation of the present social order by which a milk or a water supply has to do with "big business" and with law, and "a garbage can is a metal utensil entirely surrounded by politics," requires some knowledge of these things on the part of men, especially if they are to be "heckled" in political campaigns by women voters. There are, to be sure, now outlined in school training "departments of homemaking" intended to help individual women in their work in private homes; but such departments are generally of the nature of "extension courses." Regular college courses, especially those of four years and leading to a special degree, in household economics, as in other groups of studies, lead directly toward a vocational career, standardized and salaried, related to general social organization, and subject to the "factory" tendencies of the modern industrial order. Students in such courses graduate to take positions as expert dietitians, managers of hospitals and other public institutions, directors of laundries and restaurants, as trained nurses, assistants or directors in chemical laboratories, architects, interior decorators, landscape gardeners, and what not; all specialties essential to social progress, and all linked to family life in general but not particularly related to any one family group of one father,

one mother, and their children. They, therefore, while tending to make family life in general far more successful than of old, fit no woman surely for wifehood and motherhood; and they cannot do so unless omniscient social wisdom can tell in advance what girls will marry and have children and social control becomes despotic enough to oblige such girls to take these courses in preference to any others; or unless society returns to its old drastic compulsion for all to marry and bear active part in the race life as parents. No one seriously proposes return to an earlier social control; but Ellen Key comes near to it, except that she replaces compulsory laws with what Ward would call "attractive methods." Her argument is simple and straightforward. The most important gift women can make to society is a competent and successful motherhood. All women, *whether married or not*, should be not only permitted but encouraged to undertake and to fit for that social service. No woman should be hampered in the higher spiritual elements of her mother-office by economic dependence upon any one man; neither should she be obliged to bear the double burden of self- and child-support during her bearing and rearing of children; and hence society at large, through the state, should recognize and pay for her unique social service and secure its standardization by compulsory training and expert supervision; and all women not actively engaged in the mother-office should find their place and work in varied forms of assistance to individual mothers.

The fundamental social objection to this, or any other plan which makes socially negligible the legal marriage of mothers, is that it reduces fathers to a mere biologic necessity. There is no proof that this would be desirable. It has taken a tremendous social discipline to get man inside the family and so tie him to parental responsibility as to guarantee to children two parents instead of one. It cost the subjection of women, the legal slavery of children, the development in man of unsocial pugnaciousness and ruthless sacrifice of others' rights to the well-being of his own kin; but it has given man an ethical training in self-sacrificing, courageous, and persistent labor for the benefit of his group, and an institutional command of the resources of nature and of human

capacity, which have proved invaluable to social progress; and they have also contributed to the solidarity of the family what was most needed in its beginning to make a breakwater against sex-promiscuity and anarchic individualism. Facts indicate that it is still socially dangerous to relieve the average man from the obligations of the father-office as now understood and legally defined. Indeed the tendency in all social therapeutics is toward a more firm and constant hold upon the common run of fathers for the benefit of the children. There is, moreover, no class of social facts at command to prove that either men or women are as a rule competent to play at the same time the part of both parents; and really history does not give man such a bad showing as a father, in spite of his faults, that he can now be bowed off the stage so cavalierly! Ellen Key is right, and most thoughtful students of social needs agree with her in her contention that the mother should not be left to sole financial dependence upon any one man, even the father of her children. The hazards of marriage are too many and serious, the economic situation of the majority of wage-earners too hard and precarious, the dignity of women too necessary for a democratic order, and the requirements of a physically, mentally, and morally strong motherhood too great for such outworn domestic arrangements. The mother-service of competent women is indeed a social function to be recognized not by fine words alone, but by some insurance protection against personal ill-treatment, overwork, or financial disaster during the child-bearing and child-rearing period. We should, however, be careful that it is not independent "maternal insurance" we urge, but rather "family insurance" for successful child nurture and education by both parents, lest we make too many children half-orphans as of old.

It seems a far cry from Ellen Key's estimate of women as socially valuable almost exclusively in their mother-office, and hence to be trained for that supremely, to the claims of some leaders of the modern feminist movement that what is now most needed is personal development of the intellectual and ethical initiative of women, and hence that the social education of girls should fiber itself wholly upon preparation for self-direction and self-support.

The latter view tends to minimize the demands of wifehood and motherhood upon women and to look for such radical changes in the family life as will make it almost if not quite as easy for women as for men to continue uninterruptedly their chosen pursuits. The two views, however, coincide in this, that they make legal marriage less socially necessary as a precedent to child-bearing, and both tend to "theoretically differentiate mating and parentage" (to use the words of Mrs. Clews Parsons) as "separable facts" and facts susceptible of vitally different treatment by law and custom; "mating" in such "theoretical differentiation" being "private and self-centered as an expression of personality," and parentage "public and socially centered" about the child and its needs. In this view the "advertisement" and "the spirit of monopoly" in sex-relationship should both be "discountenanced," we are told; while the safety and well-being of children is to be safeguarded by allowing only those to be parents who are certified by competent judges to be fit to bear children, and by requiring a contract with the state, to be made at will either by the mother, the father, or both, that the child shall be "nurtured and educated in accordance with the accepted standards of child-welfare." The privacy and freedom of sex-relationship thus advocated would indeed, as has been said, "make adultery difficult to define." It would also make prostitution, even in its most sordid and vulgar phases, impossible to abolish; and prostitution has proved of all social evils the one most inimical to social well-being.

So far in the history of the family the public pledge of fidelity of one to one in the marriage bond as basis for legal and socially privileged parenthood has worked more effectively than has anything else to secure for children an early environment of truly social culture; an environment in which the vagrant impulses of an overdeveloped sex-instinct are chastened and held in check by a sense of moral responsibility of man toward woman and woman toward man, and in which regard for the welfare of children belonging to both, and binding each to the other in all permanent and successful marriages, is a truly lasting bond of race loyalty. To propose to throw all that away for the sake of "free motherhood," or "free development of womanhood," or "free sex-relationship as

a wider expression of a richer personality" than legal marriage affords, is to offer a hypothetical somersault and not a genuine guide in the difficult task of making over the ancient family to suit modern conditions. The social education of women, and of men also, must therefore take vital cognizance of the family as a durable institution demanding permanent if changing adjustment of the individual life to its solidarity and its perfecting.

What then? Can, or should, the family claims upon husbands and wives and upon fathers and mothers be so balanced, and society be made to so supplement private care of child life, that women may pursue a chosen vocational career through all the working period on practically the same terms as men? For answer it must be admitted that we are now in the midst of a social order in which the father-office and the mother-office do differ essentially in their requirements in the vast majority of families. The father-office leads directly toward specialization and achievement in some one calling. To be a good father is, in ordinary family conditions, not so much to give constant personal attention to his children as to do something well which the world wants done and will pay for and by which he may maintain and improve the economic and social standing of his family. To "give hostages to fortune in wife and child" may, indeed often does, hamper a man's idealistic relation to his vocation and oblige him to work for money when he wants to work for fame or for higher usefulness, but it serves almost always to keep him steady to his job. For the average mother this is not the case. Where there is a family of children more than large enough to make good the parent's share in life's ongoing stream, or where physical, mental, or moral peculiarities demand special attention to one child or more, or where aged, delicate, or incompetent members of the family circle call for special consideration, or where the environment does not provide, or the income cannot pay for elaborate aids to domestic comfort from without, the average conscientious house-mother must give the best of strength and the most of time in the service of the private family for many years of life; that is to say, getting a group of children up to adult independence and saving the social whole the more intimate duties

of care of the aged and the weak, while it calls upon the man-head of the family for greater activity in his special line, calls upon the woman-head of the family for a general and personal service as a primary duty and puts any vocational specialty she has chosen in a secondary place while the family obligation is most pressing. The result of this obvious fact is that the average woman has a double choice to make when marriage offers—a choice for or against the man, and a choice for or against her vocation. In proportion as women are highly educated or industrially trained they have been pressed toward some one calling for which they can be definitely prepared and in which they may hope to rise in personal achievement and in financial compensation. On the other hand marriage and motherhood appeal to the deepest instincts of human nature; and if the man seems worth it women will generally risk vocational impediment and awkwardness of economic adjustment for the sake of a congenial mate and children of her own. But there are not enough superior men to go around; and although, as Ellen Key assures us, there are many women who would be glad to have children of their own if they could do so without being permanently bound to the men available as fathers, these are the women least likely to go against the prevailing social rules. Hence there is a real, often a poignant, difficulty of decision, and there is in consequence a social problem to openly approach. Too many women especially fitted to bear and rear children choose their work instead of marriage and maternity. That this is the fault of men more than of women is undoubtedly true. As Professor Wells has said in his *Treatment of Some Questions Concerning Higher Education of Women*, "If there were more men of spiritual insight and moral elevation more college women would wish to marry"; and we may add more superior women, whether or not college-bred, would be willing to sacrifice personal achievement for the family life. As it is, the fact that few women now have to marry as a means of support, and that so many men are not of the sort the best women want to marry, and the fact that an increasing number of women can demonstrably have more leisure and surer gratification of refined tastes through the rewards of a vocational service by not marrying, give a dangerous social drift away from marriage and maternity

in the case of many most competent, strong, and idealistic of the sex. This is a tendency toward "race suicide" far more sinister than is a falling birth-rate in the general population. All social students know what happened to the main currents of heredity as a result of the celibacy of the religious orders of both men and women in the Middle Ages. In this, which I have ventured in another connection to call "The Age of the Spinster," we note something analogous in this voluntary withdrawal from family life of many superior women; and also, of course, but in lesser degree the bachelor proclivities of superior men. There is a by-product of immense social advantage in the case of unmarried women of trained capacity. It had to be demonstrated that society was failing to use women to the best advantage, and the "unattached women" could most easily and quickly show what women in general might be and do, and how society could use their powers more thriftily. From the Lady Abbess of old to the "three maiden aunts of Chicago," the line of gifted spinsters has made way for liberty and for personal achievement of women and so for the race uplift that waits for a stronger and nobler womanhood. As a permanent condition, however, no serious sociologist can view with satisfaction so many women of the highest type of whom it must be said:

"They are their own posterity
Their future in themselves doth lie."

What then, again? A chorus of voices led by our brilliant Mrs. Gilman assure us that all this confusion and difficulty in the adjustment of women's special work to the family needs will pass when specialization has had its perfect work and is applied with equal power of organization to the various sorts of service now demanded of the house-mother. When "the home is no one's workshop" but a place of equal rest and refreshment to both husband and wife, and better fitted to children's needs because providing for them only experts in physical, mental, and recreational care, women will not only be able to pursue their vocational way unhindered, but will be able to raise the standard of human quality by a finer and more powerful sex-selection of fathers, and the race will be speeded onward as never before. Much of the profoundest truth

inheres in this position. The age-long pretense that individual women are supported by individual men, when giving all time and strength to serving the family as house-mothers, must go. The obsolete and socially harmful conventional rules that make it "bad form" for a married woman to earn money even to hire the family washing done, but highly proper and virtuous for her to work beyond her strength in the privacy of her home at any most uncongenial task, must be shamed out of existence. The necessity of marrying "as a means of subsistence" is going fast; and the holding of women in marriage to men unfit to live with is going with it. The social backset that came when the private-property rights of man were made to legally include wives, and the terms of mating and of parentage alike fixed by men alone as the economic masters, must be overcome by hastening with vigor the day when in freedom of self-support as unmarried and in full social support as mothers all women shall be able to dictate the qualities desirable in marriage and in parenthood on a plane necessary to true race culture. Society must end the hypocritical inconsistency that puts wifehood and motherhood on a pedestal as the ethical ideal for women, and then penalizes marriage and maternity, as in the case of woman teachers, whose vocation is nearest the family and for whose work family experience is most helpful. Above all, the democratizing of the family must go on until, in the wise words of Dr. Lucy Salmon, "the equal right of men and women to work for remuneration and the equal privilege of both to render unpaid service" shall be established, both inside and outside its limits. As aids toward that condition changes in the industrial and professional world are fast contributing. Almost daily some element of domestic work becomes a business and offers specialized labor outside the home; and this with "hour-service" of experts in nursing, teaching, play-directing, and housework releases house-mothers for permanent "careers." It must be noted, however, that these tendencies operate for urban dwellers almost exclusively; and it is still true, and in any future in sight likely to remain true, that the majority of homes are in the country and the majority of children are brought up in rural, small village, or industrially undeveloped communities. Also, it must be noted, that "substitutes" for the house-mother's

all-round service "come high," and family budgets prove that only women of creative gifts, whose work is of so personal a nature that it is a "craft," can earn enough to bring such substitutes within the usual family income, even when both parents contribute to it. The work open to the average woman is one conditioned upon the hours, the places, and the general arrangements made for men workers and leaves little chance to consider the exigencies of family life; and its wages are low for successful economic adjustments. Meanwhile individual married couples in increasing numbers are practicing ways of living which, although not generally designed for that purpose, do allow many women to work easily at specialized vocations in the man-made industrial conditions. The "no-child system" of complete "birth-control" relieves some women from the cares of motherhood but does not make all plain sailing, even in the childless married condition, for such as desire a truly monogamic union, successful and happy in proportion to its permanency and harmony of interests. For such married couples questions that concern the professional standing of either, the increased economic security of both, and their respective usefulness in the social order will surely arise, and lead almost inevitably to the subordination of the work of one to that of the other. If the wife is the superior in talent and in value as a social functionary, then it may be her work that has right of way, but it takes a noble and a flexible man and a gifted and an unselfish woman to make such an arrangement happy and useful to both.

The whole arrangement of society is on the basis of the economic leadership of the man in the marriage partnership, and continues such even in social strata where justice gives both a common purse and the finest quality of affection and comradeship makes it a negligible matter which one makes the largest contribution to the united treasury. If any married woman is exempt from all demands of motherhood, some "selective social draft" more delicate in its evaluation than we have yet evolved must indicate her right of exemption, and if marriage is to continue on anything like the present basis commonplace women cannot have all its advantages without paying some price. The "one-child system," with its growing use of the day nursery or nurse, the kindergarten and the

boarding school, to minimize its evil effect upon the child, makes the interruption to specialized work for the women concerned temporary, and hardly more than a "sabbatic leave." This system is, however, less and less approved in the case of those fit to dower the race with first-class offspring, and the world is now in a mood to demand a much larger social service of parenthood from those at the top of life.

Again, what then? If what has been stated is true, then is it not clear that while "mating" and "parentage" of both men and women should alike be prepared for in a social education that shall lead toward and not away from a more generally successful family life, the education of girls should include some recognition of the fact of common experience that family life does generally make a larger demand for personal service upon women than upon men? Is it not also clear that this larger demand, although lessened increasingly by specialization of domestic crafts into industrial businesses, is not thereby and cannot be entirely abolished? What we are witnessing now in the domestic life is the "passing" of the servant caste and of "the hired girl," and of the unpaid family drudge, not the eclipse of the house-mother or the waning of the homemaker's charm or power. All the things that make housekeeping easier only render it less necessary to have alien members of the family circle, and give a better chance for all the members of the family, men, women, and children, to share in its work on a plane of actual co-operation.

The social education of women demands from now on the most scrupulous regard for the training of every normal girl for self-support. This cannot be too much emphasized. This is the only sure foundation for socially helpful sex-relationship and for that democratization of the family without which social progress is now impossible. The social education of women in general demands, also, the cultivation of domestic tastes and of some measure of household technique, not as a concession to the past, but as a safeguard of the future, in such fashion that the call to personal service of the family life may recall familiar and pleasant educational activities. These educational activities should precede those which tend directly toward vocational preparation for self-support. This

point, too, is vital. The age when almost all little girls like to do things which concern the family comfort is from the eighth to the fourteenth year, a period too young for proper vocational drill. Then, when they are most likely to be ordered out of the kitchen if there is a paid cook to give the order, and most likely to be thought "in the way" if trying to help in domestic processes of any sort, is the period of all others when to "learn by doing" what they are interested in will give them a background capable of easy adjustment to the later demands of family life. The training of boys of the same ages has an analogue in farming and handy use of common tools; and in the "work, play, and study school" boys and girls learn much together which fit both for mutual aid in the private family. The new education of the grade schools, therefore, is coming to the rescue of the house-mother's task as the high school and college have come to the aid of those who would provide vocational careers for women. They may meet in helpful alliance just as soon as a few social principles, which can make a bridge between them, are outlined and accepted. These principles are: First, most women should allow for marriage and maternity first place for the years socially required. Second, women cannot afford to lose entirely out of their married lives vocational discipline, by the use of leisure time left them by new easing of household service in odd jobs of unpaid "social work," as is now so much the custom. The very multiplicity and variety of ancient crafts practiced in the home make some one activity, held to rules of specialization, essential to the house-mother's development. The chosen vocation retained as an avocation, during the house-mother's active service, must not, however, be a chief dependence for either her own or the family support lest the family or herself suffer. It must be in the nature of a leasehold upon her chosen career to be retaken for full occupancy as soon as the children are out of hand and she has begun to feel the call of empty hours to the old familiar task. This is not an impractical plan, as many women are proving by experience. And it is easily demonstrated that society in the past has wasted the work-power of women past the child-bearing age in more ruthless and stupid prodigality than any other of its treasures. Third,

married women with young children must learn to combine in "team work," as they have never yet done, and to make engagements by two's or three's for the work one unmarried woman may undertake alone. This is especially called for in the great social task of teaching, "woman's organic office in the world," as Emerson called it. The evils charged against a "feminized school," where they really exist, are those due not so much to the sex of the grade teachers as to their celibate condition in the "permanent supply" and to the too rapidly changing personnel of those who marry. The same suggested team work would operate well in all the higher professions; and the success of "continuation schools" proves that half-time and third-time labor schedules are perfectly feasible in manual work. The fourth social principle to be accepted in the interest of women and the family is one little perceived at the present time; namely that which marks the limitations of social usefulness in the specialization of labor itself. We are beginning to see that this process may be carried so far that a shallow and a cheap person may so fill the exacting and narrow ruts of a specialty of manual work or professional service as to check ambition and power to achieve a full and rich personality. It would be a spiritual loss to society if all women could become simply "experts" in some one field of labor, as so many men are and have to be; almost as great a loss as would be the leveling down of women in chastity and sex-reserve instead of the leveling up of men in order to secure a single standard of morals. Men and women alike must sometime be able to secure economic power without losing the chance to gain breadth of interest and richness of human association. And the mothers of the race should lead and are leading the way in the experience that will make that possible.

Last of all, the social principle by which the claims of personality and the demands of social solidarity (now so entangled in friction) may work smoothly to individual and social well-being, the principle yet to be clearly outlined and helpfully applied, should receive interpretation and guidance through the race experience of woman. For that service the social education of women must be lifted to a far higher plane of intellectual and ethical culture. Deeper than all the problems which the booming of the guns of

this world-war has forced upon the dullest social consciousness is the question, How may the individual conscience, the personal ideal, the lonely aspiration—these which in prophets and saints since the world was have dowered the future although disowned by their own time—be harmonized with, not destroyed by, the new demand for conformity which a new social solidarity is making? May it not be that human beings of the mother-sex who have paid and still must pay a price, one by one, for each single life, and who have at the same time always been held and still must be held supreme upbuilders of the social fabric, shall lead the race toward the solution of this most spiritual problem of democracy?

If so, then the social education of women must make them able, even through vicarious suffering, to give birth to a new social idealism; in like manner with their on-bearing of the generations. To fit women for such a task no price is too great for society to pay for their truly social education.

DISCUSSION

LUCILE EAVES, BROOKLINE, MASSACHUSETTS

A fascinating array of topics are presented for discussion by Mrs. Spencer's paper, but it is evident that they all cluster about that most perplexing and difficult of the reconstruction problems: How can we make good the losses during the past four years from superior racial stocks? Over five million men, selected for military service because of their fine physical development, have been killed, and the number of wounded amounts to twenty million. The losses of population due to pestilence and famine may be heavier than those of the battle fronts. Recently reported statistics of deaths from influenza show a much higher rate, and there have been additional losses from typhus fever and cholera.

The magnitude of the toll taken by famine is incalculable. Herbert Hoover is reported to have estimated that fourteen million Russians will die of starvation during the coming winter, and famine has already caused many deaths in Serbia, Bulgaria, Roumania, and portions of Austria. The physiological losses due to inadequate and unsuitable food will contribute to the racial deterioration chargeable to the war. Studies in biological chemistry show that the injury from complete deprivation of food for relatively long periods may be repaired more fully than the losses due to prolonged efforts of the body to adjust itself to insufficient or badly balanced diets. The question of

whether the hitherto dominant races will be able to regain what has been squandered so recklessly during this great struggle will be a subject for earnest consideration for years to come by the sociologists of the civilized world.

The United States could play an important part in retrieving these losses from important racial groups, as the depleted stocks are fully represented in our population. Moreover, the circumstances leading to emigration from the older countries have tended to the selection of representatives of unusual intelligence and personal initiative. The shorter period of our participation in the war has protected us from the heavy casualties suffered by the other warring nations, and the home population has escaped the food deprivations of the European countries. Our resources and relatively better financial condition make it easy for us to support large additions to our population, and it seems desirable that these gains should be by the natural increase of our present population rather than by immigration from the depleted and famine-deteriorated peoples of Europe. Will the American women render this national and racial service? I take it that the relation which their higher education does at present or may in the future bear to their willingness and competence to discharge these obligations is considered by the previous speaker to be the chief focusing point of all discussions dealing with the social education of women.

The generous provision for the education of women is one of the most characteristic features of the civilization which is being developed in the United States. This noble policy of granting full opportunities for developing the intelligence of the mothers of coming generations has been adopted to an extent never before known in the history of the race. Over half (54.63 per cent) of the students in our public secondary schools are girls,¹ and in 1915-16 nearly a hundred thousand (95,436) women were registered in our universities and colleges,² another hundred thousand (96,094)³ were studying in normal and agricultural schools of collegiate rank, and smaller, scattering groups were registered in various professional courses; eleven thousand (11,240) received their first degrees and a thousand (1,062) earned masters' and doctors' degrees.⁴ The rapid gains during the past decade in the number of women college students are likely to continue, as the report of graduates of public and private high schools in 1916 who were "preparing for other higher institutions" showed that nearly three-fourths (72 per cent) of the thirty-five thousand looking forward to further training were women.⁵ These freely offered educational opportunities serve as agencies by which the more gifted and ambitious women are selected and prepared for independent, vocational careers, as only those with sound health, good mental ability, and the will-power, which makes possible continued application to study, can utilize fully the privileges so generously provided at public expense. If educated women show a general disposition to

¹ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1917*, II, 517.

² *Ibid.*, 292-93.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 302.

³ *Ibid.*, 384, 447, 454.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 546.

refuse the responsibilities of wives and mothers in order to pursue these careers, then we are confronted by the possibility of a process of selection which may result in the mothering of future generations by women of less intelligence and character.

Previous discussion¹ of the eugenic aspects of these American educational policies have been focused chiefly on the questions: "Will the college girl marry? Will she produce a family of sufficient size to maintain the portion of the population from which she springs?" The statistical data available to assist in answering these questions deal chiefly with the marriage-rates and fecundity of the graduates of the older women's colleges of the East. Summarizing the results of these investigations, we find that about one-half of the women college graduates marry, and that this rate corresponds with that of the women of the same social and economic status who have not attended college. The older college mothers whose child-bearing years are completed show an average of two to two and a half children per family. They marry later but have more children per year of married life than their non-college sisters, cousins, and friends. Divorce is almost unknown among college wives, and their children show an exceptionally low death-rate. Evidently the domestic shortcomings of women college graduates are quantitative rather than qualitative.

Two weaknesses vitiate the numerous indictments of the higher education of women for race-suicide tendencies: first, the sample of college women whose marriage and fecundity records supplied evidence to support the charges differed radically from the majority whom they were supposed to represent; and, second, the fact that marriage- and birth-rates have declined at the same time that women have obtained enlarged educational opportunities does not necessarily imply a causal relationship between the two tendencies. Other social, economic, or political changes may be responsible for both developments.

Attention should be focused on the great co-educational institutions of the West when considering the social significance of the higher education of American women, as over two-thirds of our ninety-five thousand women students attend colleges and universities where they are closely associated with young men whose ages, tastes, and social standards tend to make them attractive companions for their feminine fellow-students.² Vassar, Wellesley, Holyoke, Smith, and Bryn Mawr have contributed the bulk of the statistical material in previous discussions. These colleges charge high tuition fees and are situated so that the majority of their students must meet the heavy living

¹ Some of the more important of these discussions are: Amy Hewes, "Marital and Occupational Statistics of Graduates of Mount Holyoke College," *Quar. Pub. of the Am. Stat. Assoc.* (December, 1911), XII, 771-97; Nellie S. Nearing, "Education and Fecundity," *Quar. Pub. of the Am. Stat. Assoc.* (June, 1914), XIV, 156-74; Mary Smith, "Roberts Statistics of College and Non-College Women," *Quar. Pub. of the Am. Stat. Assoc.* (March-June, 1900), VII, 1-26.

² In 1915-16 only 31,055 of the 95,436 women students were found in the women's colleges. *Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1917*, II, 306-25.

expenses of dormitory life; hence their patrons are drawn chiefly from families of different economic status, from that of the girls who attend the many small women's colleges founded by various churches, or from that of the highly democratic constituency of the free-tuition state universities. It is probable that the circumstances both of college and home life of the graduates of the older women's colleges may have made the marriage- and birth-rates somewhat lower than the average for the entire group of highly educated American women.

The danger of attributing falling marriage- and birth-rates to the higher education of women is evident when we consider that these social tendencies are common to many countries, some of which give but limited educational opportunities to women; New Zealand has a stationary population; the inability of France to maintain its population is well known; and even Germany, with its "Kinder, Kirche, Kuechen" ideals for womankind had a birth-rate for its urban population which was falling more rapidly than that of the English cities. The 1910 census shows that our entire native population was practically stationary; and if the forces at work to bring about this condition continue to operate, we soon may find an actual decline in the number of native-born of native stock. It seems probable that the economic independence of women is but one of a complex group of factors contributing to a tendency which is gaining rapidly, particularly in the urban communities, throughout the portions of the civilized world inhabited by the white race.

When proposing ways of checking this tendency in the interests of the racial replenishment needed at the present time, we must remember that the necessity of choosing between domestic life and a vocational career is not confined to the highly educated. We should advocate nothing for the professional women which cannot be copied by less gifted sisters. There is but a slight degree of variation in their problems, as the girls of poorer families usually obtain two or three years more education than the boys,² and, at the marriageable age, frequently have as great an earning power. A clergyman of a down-town church told me that he is consulted frequently by young couples who wish to marry but who feel that they cannot make the sacrifice of living standards that would be necessary with the loss of the woman's wages. If we advocate motherless mating, unmarried motherhood, or even part-time homemaking, we must consider the consequences of their adoption by all classes of our society.

The arguments against the radical theories undermining the traditional monogamous family have been presented fully in the paper. As has been suggested, two forms of gratification are involved in the more intimate relations of the sexes: the personal emotions of the mating instinct, which tends to be stronger in the male, and the more altruistic feelings of the parental instinct, which usually is more developed in the female. How can a person familiar

²The records of the Boston Placement Bureau show 53 per cent of the boys and 70 per cent of the girls who received secondary-school training before going to work.

with the social history of the race countenance the shallow sentimentalism which would defend the gratification of either of these instinctive emotions without the full acceptance of the social obligations which normally accompany their indulgence? The evils of unmarried mating are familiar to all ages and races, but the suggestion that cultivated women may wish to bear the children of men whose companionship they do not desire has grown out of unwholesome conditions peculiar to our own age.

The title of the paper under discussion suggests the agencies to which we must resort if we wish to stimulate the young people of America to an interest in the eugenics problems created by the great conflict of the past four years. I wish to emphasize the desirability of educating both men and women to a greater realization of the services rendered to the nation and to the race by the full and intelligent discharge of family obligations. Biology and sociology teach us the equal responsibility of the father and mother for the character of the offspring, but the paternal recognition of these claims is of more recent origin in the racial social development. Ancestor worship was the chief means of developing the sanctions for fatherhood among the forbears of European nations and continues to reinforce the paternal instincts of nearly half the present inhabitants of the world. In the absence of these powerful religious sanctions, there is need of a well-organized educational program for retaining and strengthening the feelings which prompt men to self-sacrificing devotion to the young. As already suggested, our women are the best educated of all time, but their attention has been focused on preparation for independent careers rather than for homemaking. The fact that in 1915-16 nearly one in five of the girls in our secondary schools were registered in domestic science courses, suggests a reaction from this overemphasis of independent wage-earning. But this instruction has been weak in that there has been too great a tendency to assume that cooking and sewing are the beginning and end of homemaking. Greater efforts should be made to teach the extent to which the family and the home are the focusing points of all social betterment activities, and to develop a realization of the patriotic sanctions for intelligent parenthood.

Three movements are under way with which members of the Sociological Society may co-operate for the promotion of these educational activities:

1. Educators throughout the United States have been supplied with funds for research aiming at the discovery of means by which the public school may do more for character building. Attention should be called to the need of preparation for the finer forms of personal comradeship which will make possible marital relations acceptable to the sensitive, intelligent type of woman being developed in the United States. Both girls and boys should be interested in a practical way in the many social activities designed for the protection and proper development of children, and should learn to regard their production and nurture as high forms of patriotic service.

2. The Smith-Hughes Act, providing for vocational education, grants subsidies of federal funds for training women for domestic activities. This ranking of homemaking as a vocation to be prepared for with the same thoroughness as wage-earning occupations is an important gain for the social education advocated in the paper under discussion. Well-organized short courses and home projects¹ will do much to remedy the defective preparation for family life which has been common among women wage-earners since the Industrial Revolution. Other states will soon follow the example of Massachusetts and introduce instruction promoting the welfare of mothers and young children. Intelligent interest fostered by such training and reinforced by deep-rooted womanly instincts will surely result in an increasing willingness to accept homemaking as a vocation.

3. The third possibility which I wish to present may appear much more impracticable than these two undertakings of more limited scope. There has been much talk of a year of national service to be required of all boys at some time between the sixteenth and twenty-first year. It is argued that the training of all youths on terms of equality would promote democracy, prepare a citizen army, and develop a strong realization of the obligations due the nation. Why not have a year of national service for young women? They could be given a uniform which would not lower their vitality by restricting the circulation of the blood and interfering with the activities of the organs of nutrition and elimination. Physical training, instruction in personal hygiene, practical activities designed to protect the public health and to promote the comfort of mothers and children, would be subjects suitable for emphasis. Women will soon have the franchise and so are in need of preparation which will develop the same qualifications which are desirable for male citizens. Two million men have been trained in the most approved methods of slaughter in a few months, but much careful attention to personal nurture and to the physical and social environment of the young is required in order to produce men fit for efficient service in a national army. Results as valuable for peace as for war might be gained from the year of national service for women.

The patriotic devotion of our young women cannot be questioned. If any of us cherished a doubt about whether the youth of today still retained the capacity to suffer and die in order that national honor and safety might be more secure, it has been dispelled by the splendid response of our young army to the demands of this great world-crisis. But make our girls and boys realize fully what are the services which patriotism demands, and we may be assured of the devotion and self-sacrifice necessary for the full discharge of the duties which will strengthen not alone the nation but also the race.

¹ This term is used to describe set tasks which the girls are encouraged to carry through in their homes. Teachers may require reports of these from the girls or their mothers, or when it seems desirable may go to the home to supervise their execution.

MARION TALBOT, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The present chaos in educational methods is bound to exist as long as there is chaos in social aims. What the future type of civilization is to demand of educated women is not yet known in detail. Certain outstanding principles in which women are involved may, however, be accepted as guides: First, the woman power which the world-war has released will never again be wholly shackled by outworn precedents. Secondly, the war has given proof that, in the words of a noted scholar, "no civilization can remain the highest if another civilization adds to the intelligence of its men the intelligence of its women." Thirdly, the readjustments of society which are to come must be based on more generous and sympathetic relationships and more equitable principles of life and labor than have prevailed in the past. Women must be educated to participate intelligently in establishing the new order.

For the present purpose Mrs. Spencer's definition of the social education of women will suffice as a starting-point for two definite suggestions. It is "that type of training which has for its aim both the development of the individual life and its adjustment to the needs of the social whole." Moreover, "it must take cognizance of the family as a durable institution demanding permanent if changing adjustment of the individual life to its solidarity and its perfecting."

Granted that the family is a durable institution, it must also be granted that in its manifestations, that is, its social relations as well as its environmental forms, it is subject to change. It is also clear that the processes of adjustment which are to insure the solidarity and perfecting of the family are not to be limited to the individual as such. Processes of adjustment must be mutual to be just and to give permanent results. There must be recognition by the larger group of such modification of practices as will contribute to the proper development of the individual. The family life of today is not infrequently carried on in such a way as to require of the woman large sacrifices and few satisfactions. A considerable portion of woman's labor is assumed to be necessarily of low grade.

The following incident may be cited in illustration of this point: The authorities in charge of a certain government building were recently unable to secure the needed force of women to scrub floors on hands and knees. They thereupon installed electric scrubbing devices which could be pushed back and forth by noncombatant, silver-haired gentlemen, and forthwith, in so far as scrubbing was done by laborious and offensive methods, it remained woman's work.

There are legions of farm homes in prosperous communities where the farming processes are conducted with the help of every time- and strength-saving device known to science, and yet where only the most meager and primitive equipment is provided for the domestic processes. Many a business man insists on efficiency methods in his office and is content to have his wife

conduct her work with worn-out tools and out-of-date machinery. In some cases he makes it obligatory for her to do so through his unwillingness to meet the expense involved in releasing part of her strength and time from physical toil. It is too often not seen by either the man or the woman that the higher values of both individual and family life are thereby seriously affected if not wholly destroyed.

My first suggestion follows, namely, that the social education of the woman for the home must be such as to lead her to recognize and demand such applications of science as will reduce to a minimum the irksome toil of maintaining a household.

This principle must be followed if the appeal is to be made to the intelligent woman of the future. No matter how strongly she may be urged to render service in the home because of its essentially altruistic and socially beneficent nature, she will recognize and is in fact now seeing, even with slight education, the great extent to which it is anachronistic and wasteful or, to use Mrs. Spencer's term, is made up in considerable part of "vestigial functions."

My second suggestion rests on the corollary of the well-known fact that women are following household industries from the home to the factory. This corollary is not as generally recognized as is the fact, and yet it should be accepted as one of the determining factors in the social education of women. It is that with the development of the industrial system a whole new group of duties rests upon the housekeeper. She is, to be sure, called a consumer rather than a producer, but there is but slight token of the real meaning of this function in the education which is given her. If she attempts to get any inkling of her task, she is confronted in the educational program with those courses whose content is made to serve business as a commercial rather than as the social undertaking which it should be for her.

The Soldiers' and Sailors' Act and the methods of civilian relief instituted by the Red Cross have opened the eyes of tens of thousands of women, as no schooling ever has done, to the importance of the woman's function as spender and to the absolute necessity of her counting on a regular and definite income and working on a budget system, if the family is to be maintained in decency and order.

The Industrial Revolution, moreover, is not the only modern movement which has profoundly affected the home. Transportation and communication, urbanization, community control of health, food and education, organized care of the sick and infirm and criminal, public forms of entertainment and instruction, libraries, the press, parks, art galleries and museums, and political agencies of different sorts are determining the character of modern homes, and nothing is done to show the woman through her education that what those forces shall be should rest in part on her trained intelligence and constant effort rather than on chance or the business interests of a few dominating citizens or the evil methods of organized vice and crime.

There is hardly a class of the community that is more worthy of pity than are those women of whom Mrs. Spencer has spoken, "whose children are out of hand." Their work-power would not be ruthlessly or prodigally wasted if their social education had given them a vision of how to direct the new world-forces and turn them to account not only in their own homes but in the homes of other women who need help. Another equally pitiable group consists of those young women of the so-called leisure class, conscious of their latent power, whose training has not enriched them socially but rather hemmed them in and who look forward to married life too frequently as a means of escape from convention and restraint rather than as an experience bringing new duties and opportunities. The Great War has given some degree of social education to these two groups of women, and the question many are asking anxiously is, "What is to become of all that power in the new day?" It is hardly credible that it will not be available, in some measure at least, for the new tasks of readjustment, or that any considerable number will lapse into their old life of luxurious self-indulgence; but whatever the outcome with the present generation, the new generation must not be handicapped by the failure to give it the new social education during the years when the educational processes are most productive.

CAPTAIN THOMAS D. ELLIOT, SANITARY CORPS, DETAILED TO THE DIVISION OF
VENEREAL DISEASES, UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE¹

Your President has permitted me to speak on the first part of the subject of the session, and to present a phase only slightly touched upon in the interesting addresses of Dr. Spencer and Miss Eaves; namely, the relation between instruction in sex ethics on the one hand and the campaign against the venereal diseases on the other.

Under the stimulus of the war, which revealed nearly 200,000 new cases in the army, Congress appropriated last July over four million dollars for a campaign against venereal disease. The President also put squarely upon the Public Health Service the federal responsibility for civilian public health. Five-sixths of the 200,000 cases, however, came into the army from civil life. The government's campaign against venereal diseases therefore centers now in the Division of Venereal Diseases of the Public Health Service, under Surgeon General Blue and Assistant Surgeon General C. C. Pierce.

Venereal diseases are exceptional among the infectious diseases in that their usual transmission involves an economic act with supply and demand as factors. Anything which affects human beings as sex beings affects directly or indirectly

¹ The Public Health Service offers your members its co-operation in this connection through the Section on Educational Activities, 228 First Street NW., Washington, D.C. Special literature, exhibits, films, and speakers suitable for nearly every possible group are available.

the problem of venereal disease. This will be true as long as there are no guaranteed inoculations against venereal diseases. It would be poor epidemiology as well as poor common sense to deal exclusively with the existing supply of carriers without also seeking to reduce the demand for contacts. This means that sex education, and anything else which will in the long run reduce infectious contacts, is good public-health policy, quite apart from whatever intrinsic merits such measures may have.

If, at any time, however, absolute physical preventives of venereal diseases are discovered, a sharp challenge will be put up to you who are interested primarily in the social and moral phases of the problem. I ask you whether you have bolstered up your arguments too much upon the dangers of venereal disease. We claim even now that it is possible to control venereal diseases. We claim that commercialized prostitution can be eliminated. The independence of women, free divorce, the endowment and protection of motherhood, the growing knowledge of birth control, prophylaxis, and the revelations of psychoanalysis—all these tend in some way to break down orthodox standards and undermine older codes. Can you give arguments in their defense valid and convincing, based upon social, psychic, and physiological facts, independent of theology on the one hand and of venereal disease on the other?

0

EDUCATION IN ITS RELATION TO THE CONFLICT AND
FUSION OF CULTURES: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE IMMIGRANT, THE
NEGRO, AND MISSIONS

ROBERT E. PARK
University of Chicago

I. THE PROBLEM STATED

It has long been a cardinal problem in sociology to determine just how to conceive in objective terms so very real and palpable a thing as the continuity and persistence of social groups. Looked at as a physical object society appears to be made up of mobile and independent units. The problem is to understand the nature of the bonds that bind these independent units together and how these connections are maintained and transmitted.

Conceived of in its lowest terms the unity of the social group may be compared to that of the plant communities. In these communities, the relation between the individual species which compose it seems at first wholly fortuitous and external. Cooperation and community, so far as it exists, consists merely in the fact that, within a given geographical area, certain species come together merely because each happens to provide by its presence an environment in which the life of the other is easier, more secure, than if they lived in isolation. It seems to be a fact, however, that this communal life of the associated plants fulfils, as in other forms of life, a typical series of changes, which correspond to growth, decay, and death. The plant community comes into existence, matures, grows old, and eventually dies. In doing this, however, it provides by its own death an environment in which another form of community finds its natural habitat. Each community thus precedes and prepares the way for its successor. Under such circumstances the succession of the individual communities itself assumes the character of a life-process.¹

¹ Frederic E. Clemens, *Plant Succession: An Analysis of the Development of Vegetation*, p. 6. Published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1916.

In the case of the animal and human societies we have all these conditions and forces and something more. The individuals associated in an animal community not only provide, each for the other, a physical environment in which all may live, but the members of the community are organically pre-adapted to one another in ways which are not characteristic of the members of a plant community. As a consequence, the relations between the members of the animal community assume a much more organic character. It is, in fact, a characteristic of animal society that the members of a social group are organically adapted to one another and therefore the organization of animal society is almost wholly transmitted by physical inheritance.

In the case of human societies we discover not merely organically inherited adaptation, which characterizes animal societies, but, in addition, a great body of habits and accommodations which are transmitted in the form of social inheritance. Something that corresponds to social tradition exists, to be sure, in animal societies. Animals learn by imitation from one another, and there is evidence that this social tradition varies with changes in environment. In man, however, association is based on something more than habits or instinct. In human society, largely as a result of language, there exists a conscious community of purpose. We have not merely folkways, which by an extension of that term might be attributed to animals, but we have mores and formal standards of conduct.

In a recent notable volume on education, John Dewey has formulated a definition of the educational process which he identifies with the process by which the social tradition of human society is transmitted. Education, he says in effect, is a self-renewing process, a process in which and through which the social organism lives.

With the renewal of physical existence goes, in the case of human beings, the re-creation of beliefs, ideals, hopes, happiness, misery and practices. The continuity of experience, through renewal of the social group is a literal fact. Education, in its broadest sense, is the means of this social continuity of life.¹

Under ordinary circumstances the transmission of the social tradition is from the parents to the children. Children are born

¹ *Education and Democracy*, pp. 2-3.

into the society and take over its customs, habits, and standards of life simply, naturally, and without conflict. But it will at once occur to anyone that the physical life of society is not always continued and maintained in this natural way, i.e., by the succession of parents and children. New societies are formed by conquest and by the imposition of one people upon another. In such cases there arises a conflict of cultures, and as a result the process of fusion takes place slowly and is frequently not complete. New societies are frequently formed by colonization, in which case new cultures are grafted onto older ones. The work of missionary societies is essentially one of colonization in this sense. Finally we have societies growing up, as in the United States, by immigration. These immigrants, coming as they do from all parts of the world, bring with them fragments of divergent cultures. Here again the process of assimilation is slow, often painful, not always complete.

In the case where societies are formed and maintained by adoption, that is, by immigration, the question arises: How is it possible for a people of a different race and a different culture to take over the traditions and social inheritance of another and an alien people? What are the conditions which facilitate this transmission and, in general, what happens when people of different races and cultures are brought together in the intimate relations of community life?

These questions have already arisen in connection with the education of the Negro in America and with the work of foreign missions. If the schools are to extend and rationalize the work they are already doing in the Americanization of the immigrant peoples, questions of this sort may become actual in the field of pedagogy. This paper is mainly concerned with the Negro, not because the case of the Negro is more urgent than or essentially different from that of the immigrant, but because the materials for investigation are more accessible.

Much has been said and written in the past about the intellectual inferiority of the Negro. Attempts have been made to demonstrate this inferiority on the basis of general anthropological, ethnological, and even theological grounds. The history of

these efforts has produced some curious and sociologically interesting literature. But this literature is valuable mainly for what it reveals of the distortion of sentiment and opinion which the racial conflict has produced in the black man and the white.¹

More recently efforts have been made to determine the relative intellectual capacity of the Negro and the white man by psychological measurements of the achievements of Negro school children as compared with white. The result of these investigations is still highly speculative and, on the whole, inconclusive.² On the basis of all the evidence at hand the question remains where Boaz left it when he said that the black man was little, if any, inferior to the white man in intellectual capacity and, in any case, racial as compared with individual differences were small and relatively unimportant.³

Admitting, as the anthropologists now seem disposed to do, that the average native intelligence in the races is about the same, we may still expect to find in different races certain special traits and tendencies which rest on biological rather than cultural differences. For example, over and above all differences of language, custom, or historic tradition it is to be presumed that Teuton and Latin, the Negro and the Jew—to compare the most primitive with the most sophisticated of peoples—have certain racial aptitudes, certain innate and characteristic differences of temperament which manifest themselves especially in the objects of attention, in tastes, and in talents. Is the Jewish intellectual, for example, a manifestation of an original and peculiar endowment of the Jewish race or is he rather a product of traditional interest and emphasis characteristic of Jewish people—a characteristic which may be explained as an accommodation to the long-continued urban environment of the race?⁴

¹ Charles Carroll, *The Negro a Beast*, American Book and Bible House, 1890.

² George Oscar Ferguson, Jr., "The Psychology of the Negro: An Experimental Study," *Archives of Psychology*, No. 36, April, 1916.

³ Boaz, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, 1911, p. 269.

⁴ Robert E. Park, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the City Environment," *American Journal of Sociology*, XX (March, 1915), 589.

Is the Negro's undoubted interest in music and taste for bright colors, commonly attributed to the race, to be regarded as inherent and racial traits or are they merely the characteristics of primitive people?

Is Catholicism to be regarded as the natural manifestation of the Latin temperament as it has been said that Protestantism is of the Teutonic?

Here are differences in the character of the cultural life which can scarcely be measured quantitatively in terms of gross intellectual capacity. Historical causes do not, it seems, adequately account for them. So far as this is true we are perhaps warranted in regarding them as modifications of transmitted tradition due to innate traits of the people who have produced them. Granted that civilization, as we find it, is due to the development of communication and the possibility of mutual exchange of cultural materials, still every special culture is the result of a selection, and every people borrows from the whole fund of cultural materials not merely that which it can use but which, because of certain organic characteristics, it finds stimulating and interesting.

The question then resolves itself into this: How far do racial characteristics and innate biological interests determine the extent to which one racial group can and will take over and assimilate the characteristic features of an alien civilization? How far will it merely take over the cultural forms, giving them a different content or a different inflection?

This problem, so far as it is related to the lives of primitive peoples, has already been studied by the ethnologists. Rivers, in his analysis of the cultures of Australian people, has found that what has hitherto been regarded as primitive cultures are really fusions of other and earlier forms of culture.¹ The evidence of this is the fact that the fusion has not been complete. In the process of interchange it frequently happens that what Rivers calls the "fundamental structure" of the primitive society has remained unchanged while the relatively formal and external elements of the culture only have been taken over.

¹ Rivers, "Ethnological Analysis of Cultures," *Nature*, Vol. 87, 1911.

There are indications also that where cultural borrowings have taken place the formal elements have a different meaning for the people who have taken them over than they had for the people from whom they were borrowed. W. J. McGee, in an article entitled "Piratical Acculturation," has given an interesting illustration of this fact.¹

McGee's observations of the Seri Indians go to show that they imitated the weapons of their enemies but that they regarded them as magical instruments and the common people did not even know their names. There are numerous other illustrations of this so-called "piratical acculturation" among the observations of ethnologists. It is said that the Negroes, when they first came into possession of the white man's guns, regarded them as magical instruments for making a noise and used them, as the Germans used the zeppelins and the newspapers, merely to destroy the enemy's morale.

No doubt the disposition of primitive peoples is to conceive everything mystically, or animistically, to use the language of ethnology, particularly where it concerns something strange. On the other hand, when the primitive man encountered among the cultural objects to which civilization has introduced him something which he can make immediately intelligible to himself, he at once forms a perfectly rational conception of it.

Some years ago at Lovedale, South Africa, the seat of one of the first successful industrial mission schools, there was an important ceremony to which all the native African chiefs in the vicinity were formally invited. It was the introduction and demonstration of the use of the plow, the first one that had ever been seen in those parts. The proceedings were followed with great interest by a large gathering of natives. When the demonstration was finished one old chief turned to his followers and said with great conviction: "This is a great thing which the white man has brought us. One hoe like that is worth as much as ten wives." An African chief could hardly have expressed appreciation of this one fundamental device of our civilization in more pragmatic or less

¹ W. J. McGee, "Piratical Acculturation," *Am. Anthropologist*, V. No. 11, pp. 243-49.

mystical terms. The wise old chief grasped the meaning of the plow at once, but this was because he had been pre-adapted by earlier experience to do so.

It is in general the subjective, historic, and ultimately, perhaps, racial and temperamental factor in the lives of peoples which makes it difficult, though not impossible, perhaps, to transmit political and religious institutions to people of a different racial type and a different social tradition. William James's essay "On a Certain Blindness in Human Beings," in which he points out how completely we are likely to miss the point and mistake the inner significance of the lives of those about us unless we share their experience, emphasizes this fact.

If then the transmission and fusion of cultures is slow, incomplete, and sometimes impossible it is because the external forms, the formulas, technical devices of every social tradition, can be more easily transmitted than the aims, the attitudes, sentiments, and ideals which attach to them, which are embodied in them. The former can be copied and used; the latter must be appreciated and understood.

II. AFRICAN HERITAGE OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

For a study of the acculturation process there are probably no materials more complete and accessible than those offered by the history of the American Negro. No other representatives of a primitive race have had so prolonged and so intimate an association with European civilization and still preserved their racial identity. Among no other people is it possible to find so many stages of culture existing contemporaneously.

It has been generally taken for granted that the Negro brought a considerable fund of African tradition and African superstition from Africa to America. One not infrequently runs across, in the current literature and even in standard books upon the Negro, references to voodoo practices among the Negro in the southern states. As a matter of fact the last authentic account which we have of anything approaching a Negro nature worship in the United States took place in Louisiana in 1884. It is described by George W. Cable in an article on "Creole Slave Songs" which

appeared in the *Century Magazine* in 1886. In this case it seems to have been an importation from the West Indies. I have never run across an account of a genuine instance of voodoo worship elsewhere in the United States, although it seems to have been common enough in the West Indies at one time.

My own impression is that the amount of African tradition which the Negro brought to the United States was very small. In fact there is every reason to believe, it seems to me, that the Negro, when he landed in the United States, left behind him almost everything but his dark complexion and his tropical temperament. It is very difficult to find in the South today anything that can be traced directly back to Africa. This does not mean that there is not a great deal of superstition, conjuring, root doctoring, and magic generally among the Negroes of the United States. What it does mean is that the superstitions we do find are those which we might expect to grow up anywhere among an imaginative people living in an intellectual twilight such as exists on the isolated plantations of the southern states. Furthermore this is in no way associated as it is in some of the countries of Europe, southern Italy for example, with the Negroes' religious beliefs and practices. It is not part of Negro Christianity. It is with him, as it is with us, folk-lore pure and simple. It is said that there are but two African words that have been retained in the English language. One of these words is "Buckra," from which the name Buckra Beach in Virginia comes. This seems remarkable when we consider that slaves were still brought into the United States clandestinely up to 1862.¹

The explanation is to be found in the manner in which the Negro slaves were collected in Africa and the manner in which they were disposed of after they arrived in this country. The great markets for slaves in Africa were on the west coast, but the old slave trails ran back from the coast far into the interior of the continent and all the peoples of Central Africa contributed to the

¹ There is or was a few years ago near Mobile a colony of Africans who were brought to the United States as late as 1860. It is true, also, that Major R. R. Moten, who has succeeded Booker T. Washington as head of Tuskegee Institute, still preserves the story that was told him by his grandmother of the way in which his great-grandfather was brought from Africa in a slave ship.

stream of enforced emigration to the New World. In the West Indies a great deal was known among slave-traders and plantation owners about the character and relative value of slaves from different parts of Africa, but in the United States there was less knowledge and less discrimination. Coming from all parts of Africa and having no common language and common tradition, the memories of Africa which they brought with them were soon lost.

There was less opportunity in the United States, also, than in the West Indies for a slave to meet one of his own people because the plantations were considerably smaller, more widely scattered, and especially because as soon as they were landed in this country slaves were immediately divided and shipped in small numbers, frequently no more than one or two at a time, to different plantations. This was the procedure with the very first Negroes brought to this country. It was found easier to deal with the slaves if they were separated from their kinsmen.

On the plantation they were thrown together with slaves who had already forgotten or only dimly remembered their life in Africa. English was the only language of the plantation. The attitude of the plantation slave to each fresh arrival seems to have been much like that of the older immigrant toward the greenhorn. Everything that marked him as an alien was regarded as ridiculous and barbaric.¹ Furthermore the slave had in fact very little desire to return to his native land. I once had an opportunity to talk with an old man living just outside of Mobile who was a member of what was known as the African colony. This African colony represented the cargo of one of the last slave ships that was landed in this country just at the opening of the war. The old man remembered Africa and gave me a very interesting account of the way in which he was captured and brought to America. I asked him if he had ever wished to return. He said that a missionary had visited them at one time who had been in their country

¹ Mrs. Carmichael, *Domestic Manners and Social Condition of the White, Coloured and Negro Population of the West Indies*, Vol. I, p. 251. London: Wittaker, Treacher and Co. "Native Africans do not at all like it to be supposed that they retain the customs of their country and consider themselves wonderfully civilized by being transplanted from Africa to the West Indies. Creole Negroes invariably consider themselves superior people, and lord it over the native Africans."

and spoke their language. This missionary offered to send them back to Africa and even urged them to go. "I told him," said the old man, "that I crossed the ocean once but I made up my mind then never to trust myself in a boat with a white man again."

The fact that the Negro brought with him from Africa so little tradition which he was able to transmit and perpetuate on American soil makes that race unique among all peoples of our cosmopolitan population. Other people have lost, under the disintegrating influence of the American environment, much of their cultural heritages. None have been so utterly cut off and estranged from their ancestral land, traditions, and people.

It is just because of this that the history of the Negro offers exceptional materials for determining the relative influence of temperamental and historical conditions upon the process by which cultural materials from one racial group are transmitted to another. For, in spite of the fact that the Negro brought so little intellectual baggage with him, he has exhibited a rather marked ethnical individuality in the use and interpretation of the cultural materials to which he has had access.

III. RELIGION OF THE SLAVE

The first, and perhaps the only distinctive, institution which the Negro has developed in this country is the Negro church, and it is in connection with this religion that we may expect to find, if anywhere, the indications of a distinctive Afro-American culture.

The actual conditions under which the African slaves were converted to Christianity have never been adequately investigated. We know, in a general way, that there was at first considerable opposition to admitting the Negro into the church because it was feared that it would impair the master's title to his slaves. We know, however, that the house servants were very early admitted to churches and that in many cases masters went to considerable pains to instruct those servants who shared with them the intimacy of the household.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was founded in 1701, and the efforts to Christianize the

Negro were carried on with a great deal of zeal and with some success. It was not, however, until the coming of the new, free, and evangelistic types of Christianity, the Baptists and the Methodists, that the masses of the Negro people, i.e., the plantation Negroes, found a form of Christianity that they could make their own.

How eagerly and completely the Negro did make the religion of these two denominations his own may be gathered from some of the contemporary writings, which record the founding of the first Negro churches in America. The first Negro church in Jamaica was founded by George Liele, shortly after the close of the Revolutionary War. George Liele had been a slave in Savannah, Ga., but his master, who seems to have been a Tory, emigrated to Jamaica after the war. The following excerpt from a missionary report indicates the way in which Liele entered upon his self-appointed ministry.

Being "called by grace" himself, George began to discover his love to other Negroes, on the same plantation with himself, by reading hymns among them, encouraging them to sing, and sometimes by explaining the most striking parts of them.¹

Andrew Bryan in Savannah was one of Liele's congregation. He was converted, according to the contemporary record, by Liele's exposition of the text "You must be born again!" About eight months after Liele's departure, Andrew began to preach to a Negro congregation, "with a few whites." The colored people had been permitted to erect a building at Yamacraw, but white people in the vicinity objected to the meetings and Bryan and some of his associates were arrested and whipped. But he "rejoiced in his whippings" and holding up his hand declared "he would freely suffer death for the cause of Jesus Christ." Bryan's master interceded for him and "was most affected and grieved" at his punishment. He gave Bryan and his followers a barn to worship in, after Chief Justice Osborne had given them their liberty. This was the origin of what was probably the first Negro

¹ "Letters Showing the Rise and Progress of the Early Negro Churches of Georgia and the West Indies," *Journal of Negro History*, I (1916), 70.

church in America. George Liele and Andrew Bryan were probably not exceptional men even for their day. The Rev. James Cook wrote of Bryan: "His gifts are small but he is clear in the grand doctrines of the Gospel. I believe him truly pious and he has been the instrument of doing more good among the poor slaves than all the learned doctors in America."¹

The significant thing is that, with the appearance of these men, the Negroes in America ceased to be a mission people. At least, from this time on, the movement went on of its own momentum, more and more largely under the direction of Negro leaders. Little Negro congregations, under the leadership of Negro preachers, sprang up wherever they were tolerated. Often they were suppressed, more often they were privately encouraged. Not infrequently they met in secret. The following description is written of one of these churches by an English visitor to the United States in 1835:

I learned that in the afternoon there would be worship at the African church, and I resolved to go. . . . The building, called a church, is without the town, and placed in a hollow so as to be out of sight; it is, in the fullest sense, "without the gate." It is a poor log-house, built by the hands of the Negroes, and so placed as to show that they must worship by stealth. It is, perhaps, 20 by 25, with boarding and rails breast high, run around three sides, so as to form galleries. To this is added a lean-to, to take the overplus, when the fine weather should admit of larger numbers. There were three small openings besides the door, and the chinks in the building, to admit light and air. . . . By the law of the State, no coloured persons are permitted to assemble for worship, unless a white person be present and preside. On this account the elders of Mr. Douglas' church attend in turn, that the poor people may not lose the privileges they prize. . . . One of the blacks . . . gave out Dr. Watt's beautiful psalm "Show pity, Lord; O Lord, forgive," etc. They all rose immediately. They had no books, for they could not read; but it was printed on their memory, and they sang it off with freedom and feeling. There is much melody in their voice; and when they enjoy a hymn, there is a raised expression of the face, and an undulating motion of the body, keeping time with the music, which is very touching. . . . Much has been said, and is still said, about the essential inequality of the races. That is a question which must be settled by experiment. Here the experiment was undoubtedly in favour of the blacks. In sense and in feeling, both in prayer and address, they were equal to the whites; and in free and

¹ *Journal of Negro History*, I (1916), 70.

pointed expression much superior. Indeed I know not that while I was in America, I listened to a peroration of an address that was superior to the one I have briefly noted to you.¹

In 1787 Richard Allen and Absalom Jones had formed in Philadelphia the Free African Society, out of which four years later in 1790 arose the first separate denominational organization of Negroes, the African Methodist Episcopal Church. George Liele, Andrew Bryan, Richard Allen, and the other founders of the Negro church were men of some education as their letters and other writings show. They had had the advantage of life in a city environment and the churches which they founded were in all essentials faithful copies of the denominational forms as they found them in the churches of that period.

The religion of the Negroes on the plantations was then, as it is today, of a much more primitive sort. Furthermore there were considerable differences in the cultural status of different regions of the South and these differences were reflected in the Negro churches. There was at that time, as there is today, a marked contrast between the Upland and the Sea Island Negroes. Back from the coast the plantations were smaller, the contact of the master and slave were more intimate. On the Sea Islands, however, where the Negroes were and still are more completely isolated than elsewhere in the South, the Negro population approached more closely to the cultural status of the native African.

The Sea Islanders were taken possession of in the first years of the war by the federal forces, and it was here that people from the North first came in contact with the plantation Negro of the lower South. They immediately became interested in the manners and customs of the Island Negroes, and from them we have the first accurate accounts of their folk-lore and songs.

The Sea Island Negroes speak a distinct dialect and retain certain customs which are supposed to be of African origin. It is, however, in their religious practices that we have the nearest

¹ Andrew Reed, D.D., and James Matheson, D.D., *A Narrative of the Visit to the American Churches by the Deputation from the Congregational Union of England and Wales*, Vol. I. London: Jackson and Walford, 1235.

approach to anything positively African. The following description of a "shout" is interesting in this connection:

There is a ceremony which the white clergymen are inclined to discountenance, and even of the colored elders, some of the more discreet try sometimes to put on a face of discouragement; and, although if pressed for Biblical warrant for the "shout" they generally seem to think, "he in de Book," or "he dere-da in Matchew," still it is not considered blasphemous or improper if "de chillen" and "dem young gal" carry it on in the evening, for amusement's sake, and with no well-defined intention of "praise." But the true "shout" takes place on Sundays, or on "praise" nights through the week, and either in the praise-house or in some cabin in which a regular religious meeting had been held. Very likely more than half the population of a plantation is gathered together. Let it be the evening, and a light wood-fire burns red before the door of the house and on the hearth. For some time one can hear, though at a good distance, the vociferous exhortation or a prayer of the presiding elder or of the brother who has a gift that way and is not "on the back seat"—a phrase the interpretation of which is "under the censure of the church authorities for bad behavior"—and at regular intervals one hears the elder "dealing" a hymnbook hymn, which is sung two lines at a time and whose wailing cadences, born on the night air, are indescribably melancholy.

But the benches are pushed back to the wall when the formal meeting is over, and old and young, men and women, sprucely dressed young men, grotesquely half-clad field hands, the women generally with gay handkerchiefs twisted about their heads and with short skirts, boys with tattered shirts and men's trousers, young girls bare-footed, all stand up in the middle of the floor, and when the "sperichil" is struck up, begin first walking and by and by shuffling around, one after the other, in a ring. The foot is hardly taken from the floor and the progression is mainly due to a jerking, hitching motion which agitates the entire shouter and soon brings out streams of perspiration. Sometimes they dance silently, sometimes as they shuffle they sing the chorus of the spiritual, and sometimes the song itself is also sung by the dancers. But more frequently a band, composed of some of the best singers and of tired shouters, stand at the side of the room to "base" the others, singing the body of the song and dropping their hands together or on their knees. Song and dance are alike extremely energetic and often, when the shout lasts into the middle of the night, the monotonous thud, thud of the feet prevents sleep within half a mile of the praise-house.¹

This has undoubtedly the characteristics of primitive ritual. But this does not mean that it is African in origin. It seems to

¹ Henry Edward Krehbiel, *Afro-American Folksongs. A Study in Racial and National Music*, p. 33. New York and London: G. Schirmer. Quotation taken from *The Nation*, May 30, 1867.

me more likely that it is to be interpreted as a very simple and natural expression of group emotion, which is just beginning to crystallize and assume formal character. The general tone of these meetings is that of a religious revival in which we expect a free and uncontrolled expression of religious emotion, the difference being that in this case the expression of the excitement is beginning to assume a formal and ritualistic character.

In the voodoo practices, of which we have any accurate records, the incantations that were pronounced by the priests contain strange, magic words, scraps of ancient ritual, the meanings of which are forgotten. Lafcadio Hearne, who knew the Negro life of Louisiana and Martinique intimately and was keen on the subject of Negro folk-lore, has preserved for us this scrap from an old Negro folk-song in which some of these magic words have been preserved. Writing to his friend Edward Krehbiel he says:

Your friend is right, no doubt about the

"Tig, tig, malabon
La Chelerna che tanog
Redjoum!"

I asked my black nurse what it meant. She only laughed and shook her head. "Mais c'est voodoo, ça; je n'en sais rien!" "Well," said I, "don't you know anything about voodoo songs?" "Yes," she answered, "I know voodoo songs; but I can't tell you what they mean." And she broke out into the wildest, weirdest ditty I ever heard. I tried to write down the words; but as I did not know what they meant I had to write by sound alone, spelling the words according to the French pronunciation.¹

So far as I know there are, among the plantation hymns, no such remains of ancient ritual, mystical words whose meanings are unknown, no traces whatever of African tradition. If there is anything that is African about the Negroes' Christianity it is not African tradition but the African temperament which has contributed it. I assume, therefore, that what we find in the most primitive form of Negro Christianity is not the revival of an older and more barbaric religion but the inception of a new and original form of Christianity.

An interesting fact in regard to the religious practices of the Negroes of the Sea Islands, which has not so far as I know been

¹ Henry Edward Krehbiel, *op. cit.*, p. 37. From a letter of Lafcadio Hearne.

recorded in any of the descriptions of that people, is the existence among them of two distinct religious institutions, namely the church and the "praise house." The praise house is the earlier institution and represents apparently a more primitive and more characteristically Negro or African type. In slavery days, the church was the white man's place of worship. Negroes were permitted to attend the services and there was usually a gallery reserved for their use. Churches, however, were few and not all the slaves on the plantation could attend at any one time. Those who did attend were usually the house servants. On every large plantation, however, there was likely to be, and this was characteristic of the Sea Island plantations, a "praise house" where the slaves were permitted to worship in their own peculiar way. It was here that the "shout" took place. After the Civil War, churches were erected and regular congregations of the Negro denominations were formed. The Negro churches, however, never wholly displaced the praise houses on Port Royal and some of the other islands. It is a singular fact that today, among the Negroes of Port Royal, at any rate, no one is converted in church. It is only in the praise houses that Negroes get religion. It is only through the praise house that one enters the church. The whole process involves, as I have been informed, not merely an "experience," the precise nature of which is not clear, but also an examination by the elders to determine whether the experience is genuine, before candidates are admitted in good standing as members of the congregation.

IV. THE NEGRO "SPIRITUALS"

On the whole the plantation Negro's religion was a faithful copy of the white man's. It was content rather than the form which suffered sea-change in the process of transmission from the white man to the black. What this content was, what new inflection and color the Negro slave imparted to the religious forms which he borrowed from his master, we may, perhaps, gather from a study of the plantation hymns. These folk-songs represent, at any rate, the naïve and spontaneous utterance of hopes and aspirations for which the Negro slave had no other adequate means of expression.

The first and most interesting account we have of these Negro spirituals is that of Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson in his *Army Life in a Black Regiment*.¹ He collected them from the lips of his own black soldiers as they sung them about the camp-fire at night. He was almost the first to recognize that these rude plantation hymns represented a real literature, the only real literature the American Negro has produced, until very recent times.

Col. Higginson has compared the Negro spirituals to the Scotch ballads and to the folk-songs of other races. It is, however, not so much their similarities as their differences which are interesting and significant. Negro folk-songs are ruder and more primitive. The verses, often but not always rhymed, are composed almost entirely of single phrases, followed by a refrain, which is repeated again with slight modifications, ending, not infrequently, in an exclamation.

An' I couldn't hear nobody pray,
 O Lord!
 Couldn't hear nobody pray.
 O—way down yonder
 By myself,
 I couldn't hear nobody pray.

In the valley,
 Couldn't hear nobody pray,
 On my knees,
 Couldn't hear nobody pray,
 With my burden,
 Couldn't hear nobody pray,
 An' my Savior,
 Couldn't hear nobody pray.

O Lord!
 I couldn't hear nobody pray,
 O Lord!
 Couldn't hear nobody pray.
 O—way down yonder
 By myself,
 I couldn't hear nobody pray.

¹ Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Army Life in a Black Regiment*. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co., 1870.

Chilly waters,
 Couldn't hear nobody pray,
In the Jerdan,
 Couldn't hear nobody pray,
Crossing over,
 Couldn't hear nobody pray,
Into Canaan,
 Couldn't hear nobody pray.

In Negro folk-songs the music and expression are everything. The words, often striking and suggestive to be sure, represent broken fragments of ideas, thrown up from the depths of the Negroes' consciousness and swept along upon a torrent of wild, weird, and often beautiful melody.

One reason the verses of the Negro folk-songs are so broken and fragmentary is that the Negroes were not yet in secure possession of the English language. Another explanation is the conditions under which they were produced. The very structure of these verses indicates their origin in the communal excitement of a religious assembly. A happy phrase, a striking bit of imagery, flung out by some individual was taken up and repeated by the whole congregation. Naturally the most expressive phrases, the lines that most adequately voiced the deep, unconscious desires of the whole people, were remembered longest and repeated most frequently. There was, therefore, a process of natural selection by which the best, the most representative verses, those which most adequately expressed the profounder and more permanent moods and sentiments of the Negro, were preserved and became part of the permanent tradition of the race.

Negro melodies still spring up on the plantations of the South as they did in the days of slavery. The Negro is, like the Italian, an improviser, but the songs he produces today have not, so far as my knowledge goes, the quality of those he sang in slavery. The schools have introduced reading, and this, with the reflection which writing enforces, are destroying the folk-songs of the Negro, as they have those of other races.

Not only are the Negro folk-songs more primitive, in the sense I have indicated, than the folk-songs of other peoples with which

we are familiar, but the themes are different. The themes of the Scotch ballads are love and battles, the adventures and tragedies of a wild, free life. The Negro songs, those that he has remembered best, are religious and otherworldly.

It is a singular fact that very few secular songs, those which are referred to as "reel tunes," "fiddle songs," "corn songs," and "devil songs," for which slaves generally expressed a deep abhorrence, though many of them no doubt were used to stimulate them while in the fields, have been preserved while "shout songs" and other "speritchils" have been kept alive by the hundred.¹

If it is the plantation melodies that, by a process of natural selection, have been preserved in the traditions of the Negro people, it is probably because in these songs they found a free and natural expression of their unfulfilled desires. In the imagery of these songs, in the visions which they conjure up, in the themes which they again and again renew, we may discern the reflection of dawning racial consciousness, a common racial ideal.

The content of the Negro folk-songs has been made the subject of a careful investigation by Howard Odum in his *Study of the Social and Mental Traits of the Negro*.

The Negro's fancies of "Heaven's bright home" are scarcely exceeded by our fairy tales. There are silver and golden slippers, crowns of stars, jewels and belts of gold. There are robes of spotless white and wings all bejeweled with heavenly gems. Beyond the Jordan the Negro will outshine the sun, moon and stars. He will slip and slide the golden street and eat the fruit of the trees of paradise. . . . With rest and ease, with a golden band about him and with palms of victory in his hands and beautiful robes, the Negro will indeed be a happy being. . . . To find a happy home, to see all the loved ones and especially the Biblical characters, to see Jesus and the angels, to walk and talk with them, to wear robes and slippers as they do, and to *rest forever*, constitute the chief images of the Negro's heaven. He is tired of the world which has been a hell to him. Now on his knees, now shouting, now sorrowful and glad, the Negro comes from "hanging over hell" to die and "set by de Fadder's side!"²

In the imagery which the Negro chooses to clothe his hopes and dreams, we have, as in the musical idiom in which he expresses

¹ Krehbiel, *Afro-American Folksongs*, p. 16.

² Howard W. Odum, Ph.D., "Social and Mental Traits of the Negro," *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*. Edited by The Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, XXXVII (New York, 1910), 91.

them, reflections of the imagination and the temperament of Africa and the African. On the other hand, in the themes of this rude rhapsodical poetry, the House of Bondage, Moses, the Promised Land, Heaven, the apocalyptic visions of Freedom, but freedom confined miraculously and to another world, are the reflections of the Negro's experience in slavery.

The Negro's songs of slavery have been referred to by Du Bois in his *Souls of Blackfolk* as "sorrow songs," and other writers have referred to the fact that all the songs of the slaves were in a plaintive minor key. As a matter of fact, investigation has shown that actually less than 12 per cent of Negro songs are in a minor.¹ There are no other folk-songs, with the exception of those of Finland, of which so large a percentage are in the major mood. And this is interesting as indicating the racial temperament of the Negro. It tends to justify the general impression that the Negro is naturally sunny, cheerful, optimistic. It is true that the slave songs express longing, that they refer to hard trials and great tribulations, but the dominant mood is one of jubilation. "Going to sing, going to shout, going to play all over God's heaven."

Otherworldliness is not peculiar to the religion of the slave. It is a trait which the slave encountered in the religion of his master. But in the Negro's conception of religion it received a peculiar emphasis. In fact these ecstatic visions of the next world, which the Negro slave songs portrayed with a directness and simplicity that is at once quaint and pathetic, are the most significant feature of the Negro's songs of slavery.

It is interesting to note in this connection that nowhere in these songs do we discover the slightest references to Africa. They reflect no memories of a far-off happier land. Before the Negro gained his emancipation Africa had, so far as he was concerned, almost ceased to exist. Furthermore, the whole tone and emphasis of these songs and of all other religious expressions of the American Negro are in marked contrast with the tone and emphasis of African religious ideas. The African knew of the existence of another world but he was not interested in it. The world, as the African

¹ Krehbiel, *Afro-American Folksongs*.

understood it, was full of malignant spirits, diseases, and forces with which he was in constant mortal struggle. His religious practices were intended to gain for him immunity in this world rather than assurance of the next. But the Negro in America was in a different situation. He was not living in his own world. He was a slave, and that, aside from the physical inconvenience, implied a vast deal of inhibition. He was, moreover, a constant spectator of life in which he could not participate; excited to actions and enterprises that were forbidden to him because he was a slave. The restlessness which this situation provoked found expression, not in insurrection and rebellion—although of course there were Negro insurrections—but in his religion and in his dreams of another and freer world. I assume, therefore, that the reason the Negro so readily and eagerly took over from the white man his heaven and apocalyptic visions was because these materials met the demands of his peculiar racial temperament and furnished relief to the emotional strains that were provoked in him by the conditions of slavery.

So far as slavery was responsible for the peculiar individuality of the Negro's religion we should expect that the racial ideals and racial religion would take on another and different character under the influence of freedom. This, indeed, is what seems to me is taking place. New ideals of life are expressed in recent Negro literature and slowly and imperceptibly those ideas are becoming institutionalized in the Negro church and more particularly in the cultural ideals of the Negro school. But this makes another chapter in the history of Negro culture in America.

V. TEMPERAMENT, TRADITION, AND NATIONALITY

I have sought in this brief sketch to indicate the modifications, changes, and fortune which a distinctive racial temperament has undergone as a result of its encounters with an alien life and culture. This temperament, as I conceive it, consists in a few elementary but distinctive characteristics, determined by physical organizations and transmitted biologically. These characteristics manifest themselves in a genial, sunny, and social disposition, in an interest and attachment to external, physical things rather

than to subjective states and objects of introspection; in a disposition for expression rather than enterprise and action.

The changes which have taken place in the manifestations of this temperament have been actuated by an inherent and natural impulse, characteristic of all living beings, to persist and maintain itself in a changed environment. Such changes have occurred as are likely to take place in any organism in its struggle to live and to use its environment to further and complete its own existence.

The result has been that this racial temperament has selected out of the mass of cultural materials, to which it had access, such technical, mechanical, and intellectual devices as met its needs at a particular period of its existence. It has clothed and enriched itself with such new customs, habits, and cultural forms as it was able, or permitted to use. It has put into these relatively external things, moreover, such concrete meanings as its changing experience and its unchanging racial individuality demanded. Everywhere and always it has been interested rather in expression than in action; interested in life itself rather than in its reconstruction or reformation. The Negro is, by natural disposition, neither an intellectual nor an idealist, like the Jew; nor a brooding introspective, like the East Indian; nor a pioneer and frontiersman, like the Anglo-Saxon. He is primarily an artist, loving life for its own sake. His *métier* is expression rather than action. He is, so to speak, the lady among the races.

In reviewing the fortunes of the Negro's temperament as it is manifested in the external events of the Negro's life in America, our analysis suggests that this racial character of the Negro has exhibited itself everywhere in something like the rôle of the *wish* in the Freudian analysis of dream life. The external cultural forms which he found here, like the memories of the individual, have furnished the materials in which the racial wish, i.e., the Negro temperament, has clothed itself. The inner meaning, the sentiment, the emphasis, the emotional color, which these forms assumed as the result of their transference from the white man to the Negro, these have been the Negro's own. They have represented his temperament—his temperament modified, however, by his experience and the tradition which he has accumulated in

this country. The temperament is African, but the tradition is American.

I present this thesis merely as a hypothesis. As such its value consists in its suggestion of a point of view and program for investigation. I may, however, suggest some of the obvious practical consequences. If racial temperament, particularly when it gets itself embodied in institutions and in nationalities, i.e., social groups based upon race, is so real and obdurate a thing that education can only enrich and develop it but not dispose of it, then we must be concerned to take account of it in all our schemes for promoting naturalization, assimilation, Americanization, Christianization, and acculturation generally.

If it is true that the Jew, as has been suggested, just because of his intellectuality is a natural-born idealist, internationalist, doctrinaire, and revolutionist, while the Negro, because of his natural attachment to known familiar objects, places, and persons, is pre-adapted to conservatism and to local and personal loyalties—if these things are true, we shall eventually have to take account of them practically. It is certain that the Negro has uniformly shown a disposition to loyalty during slavery to his master and during freedom to the South and the country as a whole. He has maintained this attitude of loyalty, too, under very discouraging circumstances. I once heard Keely Miller, the most philosophical of the leaders and teachers of his race, say in a public speech that one of the greatest hardships the Negro suffered in this country was due to the fact that he was not permitted to be patriotic.

Of course all these alleged racial characteristics have a positive as well as a negative significance. Every race, like every individual, has the vices of its virtues. The question remains still to what extent so-called racial characteristics are actually racial, i.e., biological, and to what extent they are the effect of environmental conditions. The thesis of this paper, to state it again, is (1) that fundamental temperamental qualities, which are the basis of interest and attention, act as selective agencies and as such determine what elements in the cultural environment each race will

select; in what region it will seek and find its vocation in the larger social organization; (2) that, on the other hand, technique, science, machinery, tools, habits, discipline, and all the intellectual and mechanical devices with which the civilized man lives and works remain relatively external to the inner core of significant attitudes and values which constitute what we may call the will of the group. This racial will is, to be sure, largely social, that is, modified by social experience, but it rests ultimately upon a complex of inherited characteristics, which are racial.

It follows from what has been said that the individual man is the bearer of a double inheritance. As a member of a race, he transmits by interbreeding a biological inheritance. As a member of society or a social group, on the other hand, he transmits by communication a social inheritance. The particular complex of inheritable characters which characterizes the individuals of a racial group constitutes the racial temperament. The particular group of habits, accommodations, sentiments, attitudes, and ideals transmitted by communication and education constitute a social tradition. Between this temperament and this tradition there is, as has been generally recognized, a very intimate relationship. My assumption is that temperament is the basis of the interests; that as such it determines in the long run the general run of attention, and this, eventually, determines the selection in the case of an individual of his vocation, in the case of the racial group of its culture. That is to say, temperament determines what things the individual and the group will be interested in; what elements of the general culture, to which they have access, they will assimilate; what, to state it pedagogically, they will learn.

It will be evident at once that where individuals of the same race and hence the same temperament are associated, the temperamental interests will tend to reinforce one another, and the attention of members of the group will be more completely focused upon the specific objects and values that correspond to the racial temperament. In this way racial qualities become the basis for nationalities, a nationalistic group being merely a cultural and, eventually, a political society founded on the basis of racial inheritances.

On the other hand, when racial segregation is broken up and members of a racial group are dispersed, the opposite effect will take place. This explains the phenomena which have frequently been the subject of comment and observation, that the racial characteristics manifest themselves in an extraordinary way in large homogeneous gatherings. The contrast between a mass meeting of one race and a similar meeting of another is particularly striking. Under such circumstances characteristic racial and temperamental differences appear that would otherwise pass entirely unnoticed.

When the physical unity of a group is perpetuated by the succession of parents and children, the racial temperament, including fundamental attitudes and values which rest in it, is preserved intact. When, however, society grows and is perpetuated by immigration and adaptation, there ensues, as a result of miscegenation, a breaking up of the complex of the biologically inherited qualities which constitute the temperament of the race. This again initiates changes in the mores, traditions, and eventually in the institutions of the community. The changes which proceed from modification in the racial temperament will, however, modify but slightly the external forms of the social traditions, but they will be likely to change profoundly their content and meaning. Of course other factors, individual competition, the formation of classes, and especially the increase of communication, all co-operate to complicate the whole situation and to modify the effects which would be produced by racial factors working in isolation. All these factors must be eventually taken account of, in any satisfactory scheme of dealing with the problem of Americanization by education. This is, however, a matter for more complete analysis and further investigation.

I may, then, on the basis of the present discussion, venture one practical suggestion. It seems to me that the real problem of the foreigner, so far as education is concerned, is to devise means to transmit to him the content as well as the external form of American life. This would suggest that we should encourage the study of American history. This will help, no doubt. But America, in view of all the races and peoples which we have incor-

porated into our body politic, lies in the future rather than in the past. As the ends of the earth have come together in America, we have become, against our wills, a world's melting-pot. For us the international situation has now become a domestic problem. It would, therefore, seem quite as important that we should, through schools and in the course of the educational process, make ourselves acquainted with the heritages and backgrounds of the foreign peoples, as it is important that immigrants should become acquainted with our national history. So far as Americanization is undertaken by the schools, effort should be directed, it would seem, toward maintaining and creating a mutual understanding among our peoples rather than toward perpetrating, as we have been disposed to do in the past, a sentimental and ceremonial patriotism based on a reverent and uncritical contemplation of our national heritages which, as compared with those of other peoples, the Jews, for example, are not likely to impress the unbiased outsider as having great value.

SOCIOLOGY IN THE EDUCATION OF TEACHERS

FREDERICK R. CLOW
State Normal School, Oshkosh, Wisconsin

The art of teaching, like any other art, needs the guidance of science. Teaching is a social process. It would seem, therefore, that in the education of teachers sociology, as the science of the social processes, must be of fundamental importance. The curricula for the training of teachers, however, rarely give it a prominent place; they often give it a minor place and in many of the smaller schools it has no place at all. Why this discrepancy between what is and what, apparently, ought to be?

Investigations have been in progress for the past nine years on just this matter. Since 1913 the investigation has been carried on under the auspices, first, of this Society, then of the National Education Association, and finally of the United States Bureau of Education. The findings up to 1914 are already in print.¹ A manuscript report, tracing the progress in the normal schools to 1917 and giving data for 146 schools, is now in the hands of the Bureau.

The number of normal schools ascertained to have sociology in their curricula has grown as follows:

Year	Number of Schools
1896.....	2
1904.....	5
1909.....	26
1910.....	40
1913.....	50
1915.....	73
1917.....	100

The distribution of the schools has changed. They were formerly mostly in the North Central and Northwestern states.

¹ *American Journal of Sociology*, XVI, 253-65; *Publications, American Sociological Society*, VIII, 120-30; IX, 176-83; *Proceedings, National Education Association*, 1914, pp. 559-64.

In 1917 the State Board of Education of California made a half-year of applied sociology a requirement for all students in the normal schools of that state. Some form of sociology is now usually given in the normal schools of the western two-thirds of the country, or, more exactly, west of Lake Huron, the Wabash River, and the lower Mississippi. East of that line sociology is taught in some of the normal schools of all of the states except perhaps seven.

Inquiring next about the kind of work done, we find that not over one-third of the 146 schools give what would be recognized as sociology in the stricter sense, that is, with at least a core of related principles. The other one-third give a wide variety of work under the name of sociology. In many the class studies the problems of the day, making large use of the current periodicals. Over a score of schools have classes in "rural sociology." "Educational sociology" was reported from six in 1917, and has been adopted by others since. One school reports "a 50-hour course called sociology, with Carver's *Rural Economics* as a text." Another: "Sociology is offered in the history department, based on selected chapters in Dewey and Tufts' *Ethics*."

Clearly, therefore, sociology as the science of the social processes does not occupy a fundamental place in the curricula of normal schools. There is, however, a growing emphasis on the social phases of education. The one-third of the schools which have nothing under the name of sociology show this; some of them have carefully planned arrangements for making the teacher-to-be acquainted with the social setting in which he is to do his work.

In regard to the universities, with their departments and schools of education, such information as I have been able to gather recently does not indicate any decided change from the situation which was found four years ago. In Harvard University candidates for the doctor's degree in education are required to have taken a course in the principles of sociology. At the University of Minnesota the College of Education is "considering seriously making a course in general sociology a prerequisite," along with general psychology, for admission in the Junior year, "and undoubtedly will do this in time." In the Teachers College of Columbia

University the students registered for 582 studies in other departments during the year ending June, 1917, and 54 of these were in the department of sociology. The replies from several other universities are well represented by the following from the University of Chicago:

A number of our candidates for the doctor's degree take sociology as a minor subject and find it very helpful in connection with their work in education. I have never felt that the content of educational sociology is clearly enough defined to make it a separate subject distinct from school administration and other topics of that type which are now covered by our program.

The situation here set forth suggests four questions which we who work in schools for the education of teachers feel like pressing for an answer.

1. *Can the confusion of views and usages concerning the nature and scope of sociology be cleared up?* This Society, as some of you may remember, made an effort in 1909 and 1910 to come to agreement about the content of the beginning course in sociology in colleges and universities; but the result was meager except to reveal differences. To university professors these differences may be stimulating, but to the lay mind and to anyone who is trying to make a practical application of sociology they are baffling. Here are the testimonies of four normal-school presidents:

In geography, and especially in pedagogy, we give a great deal of prominence to the study of sociology.

We really teach the subject-matter of sociology all through our curricula, but do not call it by that name.

Permit me to be somewhat dogmatic and terse in saying that there is nothing planned for sociology that is not planned for history. I do not understand sociology to be a definite and exclusive science. Society is not clearly defined.

We had sociology in our curriculum, but now do the work in economics, in history, and in government better, we think.

These are the words of men of great influence. Every year each one of them sends out hundreds of young teachers into the public schools of the country. If it is desirable that the public should have clearer conceptions about sociology, the university professors must first formulate them.

The next question is only a specific example of the foregoing.

2. *Shall it be regarded as correct usage to label as sociology any treatment of the social phases of life?* I have in mind especially the use of the terms "educational sociology" and "rural sociology" to designate courses for which a knowledge of the principles of sociology is not a prerequisite. While work of great value has been done under these titles, we wonder if we are also to have "church sociology" and "oriental sociology" and "mediaeval sociology." For the progress of science, perhaps, terminology is a light matter, but for education it is a weighty matter. The university man slowly builds his conceptions of matters related to his specialty, and then coins terms or makes definitions to fit his conceptions; but the young person in school meets a strange word, goes to the dictionary, encyclopedia, or textbook for a definition, and then makes his conception offhand from the definition, though of course he will modify it later.

A science needs an accurate terminology in order to be widely useful. In other words, it must be standardized, at least the parts which are destined for practical application. But all of this is part of a still larger question which I submit next.

3. *Is sociology sufficiently mature to be ready for practical application?* Perhaps this movement to make sociology a foundation for education is premature. "An authoritative body of social theory," wrote Professor Ross in 1905, "exists at present as aspiration rather than fact."¹ Perhaps that is still true; perhaps it will always be true and our efforts can never come to fruition. A normal-school president put it this way in one of our questionnaires:

I sadly suspect that sociology is yet in the diaper-stage, and possibly it is feeble-minded and will never get any older. There have been apparently many efforts to define it, but whether the definition is wholly in words without meaning or whether there is no meaning, I am unable to fathom.

If there be no science of sociology, if sociology be simply a name for anything that anybody has to say about social life, or if it be only never-ending speculation without responsibility for any vital activity in which principles are put to the test, then the travail the educational world has passed through during the last

¹ *Foundations of Sociology*, Preface.

twenty years to produce a socialized education must go on as it started—under the ministrations of the psychologists. Or else education must rely on itself and develop its social principles out of its own experience. Each form of social work will then have a sociology of its own; educational sociology and rural sociology are independent studies with a vista of others trailing up after them. If the normal schools, for instance, need more standardization of terminology relating to social matters, “the teachers in such institutions,” as one university professor wrote me recently, “must do it themselves,” notwithstanding the fact that they nearly always lack the equipment for doing it properly—a matter about which I speak from experience.

But I do not so despair of sociology. The efforts of theological seminaries, schools of philanthropy, schools of business, and schools of education to employ sociological theory as an instrument for the analysis of any kind of social situation, or as a master-key to all of their treasure houses, are destined, I still believe, to result in success.¹ Such success awaits standardization, and that—again expressing merely my own opinion—the university professors will yet give us; they—some of them—will come to the aid of the schools that educate social workers and trim down the far-ramifying sociological theory to the shape of a tool which these workers can be easily trained to use. If the professors lose some of their freedom in the process it will be only the kind of freedom which the pioneer loses when he sees the trail which he has blazed become a highway; their usefulness, like his, will thereby be increased a hundred fold.

Standardization, to some minds, is a great bugaboo. But it need not be such. The objector need not concede one iota of his differences. If he accepts the standard form for what it is, namely, an adjustment in the interest of technology, he may then follow

¹ In my class every student works on some group or institution with which he is familiar—his practice class, if he has one, or his boarding club, literary society, church, family, neighborhood. As we advance through the principles of sociology he applies them to his own special group and writes a sociological analysis of it by instalments. In this way sociological theory comes to him as an instrument for practical use rather than as a body of doctrine for the delectation of scholars.

it or vary from it as suits his own purposes; it is merely a new line from which all may take a fresh start.

Education needs a few sociologists of first rank to help along the correlation between education and sociology somewhat as William James, Stanley Hall, John Dewey, and their collaborators did between education and psychology, following up in this respect the beginning made by Herbart and other early psychologists. What sociologists will likewise follow up the beginning which was made by Herbert Spencer?

4. *Is the time ripe for a general treatise on sociology which will select, condense, simplify, and unify the best thought of the time?* In such wise, I take it, the needed standardization will come rather than by the legislative act of this society. I have been telling my students for ten years that the time is ripe, and so invoking their patience as they seek the agreements among the jangling authorities. I speak my expectation in this presence with the hope that it may reach the one who is toiling at that treatise and encourage him to persevere, or the young student who is in training for the writing of it and lead him to consecrate his life to the task, saying to himself, perhaps, in the words of another who felt a call to a great work: "To this end was I born and for this cause came I into the world." At the same time every one who essays the task should realize that the successful treatise will be the survivor among many failures.

That treatise, when it comes, will be used by college sophomores for the beginning course in sociology, and will be a required study in the education of teachers and all other social workers. It will come, of course, as the work of one man, but meanwhile we are all helping to determine its character.

THE VOCATIONAL CONCEPT

JOHN M. GILLETTE
University of North Dakota

There is a more or less vague idea pervading the educational and popular thought of the United States that the school system is responsible for fitting the young for definite callings. This idea represents the vocational conception in education in its wider and cruder form. A narrower and more definite notion would have the educational system organized about the thought of training for a vocation. For the purpose of this discussion it is only necessary to recognize in the vocational concept the thought of training for a calling.

The popular conception of vocational education is represented in industrial education. However, the vocational concept is necessarily sufficiently wide to include every sort of training which fits for a calling. It is the whole scheme of education which includes explicit training for industry, commerce, agriculture, household economy, and the professions.

Stating the idea in terms of society, the vocational concept is that idea of education which posits society responsible for training its members to function, and to function efficiently for their own good and that of society through and by means of some of its essential callings. Notwithstanding the various opinions as to what vocational education really is, there is an undoubted consensus of opinion that society through its educational system is under obligation to give human beings the specialized technic for making a living; and many educators further believe that this should be done in such a way that those trained may be able to experience the joy of work and the richness of life and to exercise the duties of citizenship.

STRUCTURAL CONSTITUTION OF SOCIETY AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

There are doubtless many ways to denote the constitution of society. We may see its constitution in its structural framework,

that is, its institutions and organizations; in the ordering of individuals relative to each other respecting authority, subordination, prestige, freedom of movement and speech, and equalization of opportunity; in the ethnical character of its population; in the dominancy of some set of institutions relative to the others, making society industrial, militant, etc.; in its stage of cultural evolution.

Without raising the question as to whether all of these ways of regarding the constitution of society are true indexes of the social constitution or whether any one of them is a truer index than the others, I desire to proceed to the consideration of certain of these in their relation to the vocational concept. I hope to show that vocational education is demanded by the structural and by the democratic character of society, and that social safety requires a close supervision of industrial education by the state.

TECHNICAL CHARACTER OF SOCIAL STRUCTURES DEMANDS VOCATIONAL TRAINING

If we regard social structures with reference to their technical nature we are warranted in concluding that this aspect of the constitution of society makes demands for vocational education. To bring the treatment of this phase of the subject within the compass of this paper, the argument will take the form of a series of propositions.

1. The essential framework of society is constituted of the great institutional groups or classes of structures. These institutions are commonly known as the industrial, political, religious, educational, and domestic. They do not represent the whole of society nor all of the classes of structure, but all recognize them as the chief elements of the social framework. These institutions are interlocking sets of interests and as functional groups of activities they perform the great divisions of labor of society.

2. These structures of society are made up of technic. While it is often stated that they are made up of people, it appears that technic more truly represents their character; for the people are ephemeral; they come and go, while the structures endure; further, it is only when people think and act that they function institu-

tionally. By social technic is understood psychical or physical activities of individuals, or both, such activities being so organized relative to each other that they occur in a fixed order. Thus, housekeeping consists of a series of mental and physical operations of a set nature and which occur day after day. It is evident also that belonging to a family consists of an established way of eating, sleeping, performing certain duties, and relating one's self to the other members of the family. The religious life has its technic of ordered beliefs, prayers, ceremonials, worship. Orthodoxy makes it imperative that the elements of belief and ritual must be conceived and executed in a set relationship relative to each other. The doctrine of salvation is an organon of ideas to be assimilated and believed in a certain way; and each religious sect requires strict adherence to its method of baptism, reception of sacrament, justification, and so on. No one doubts that industrial structures consist of technical operations; and some analytic thinking will make it clear that other institutions are likewise composed and constituted.

3. Each member of society, sufficiently mature and normal, may master and use a minimum of the technic of all kinds of institutions. This is one reason why the structures are interlocking. All persons participate to some extent in industry, political, and religious life, get some education, and are members of a family.

4. But each member of society, with the exception of the immature, the dependent classes, and wealthy parasites, commands a maximum—a considerable portion—of the technic of some of the social structures. The operation of this technic constitutes his major activities and his life-contribution to society. This is his vocation, and as compared with this, his activities in other structures are somewhat incidental. It is proper to speak of such a person as a specialist relative to his structure and as a layman in the other structures. It is this specialization which makes a member of society productive, which gives him social gravity, and which enables him to maintain a fighting and sustaining foothold in society. Only such a person is able really to function in society, persons without such a specialization being socially functionless.

5. The going ability of society, its power to hold its own, not to say advance, is dependent on those who are specialized in the technic of some of its fundamental structures. Consider what the industrial system would be without the managers, inventors, scientists, skilled workmen, and even the unskilled workmen, who, it is to be noted, have a command of a respectable body of technical knowledge and skill. Or consider what religion would be without its ministry, the schools without their teachers and administrators, the family without the mothers, the political life of the nation without officers and trained agents of many sorts. This all sounds simple and trite, yet it is too often overlooked and needs setting down.

6. The command and exercise of the major technic, the specialized activities, by individuals comprise the bulk of the total social energy expended by the adult members of society. This may be estimated by the census facts. The census reports that over half the population of the United States ten years of age and over is engaged in gainful occupations. But this does not include that great body of females who are engaged in household enterprises in their own homes. It is safe to say that 75 per cent of our population is engaged in specialized callings for ten hours or more each day. Their social activities outside these callings must represent but a small part of the expenditure of their life-force. Further, it is to be noted that industrial callings form the bulk of the energy expended in callings. If we should reckon household work and management as industrial, in the sense that it is a part of material production, this truth is all the more outstanding. This is an important consideration, because industrial and domestic education comprise such a large part of vocational education.

7. There is no indication that society is to become less specialized in its character. In fact, just the opposite appears to be true. The growth of specialization during the past century exceeded that of milleniums of social evolution previously. Only were science and invention to cease developing, might it be possible to think that further societal specialization would not occur. As it is, we must expect the appearance of other callings and the employment of a larger proportion of the population in productive

and vocational callings. Perhaps only in the field of factory industry does increased specialization demand of individuals a mastery of a smaller body of technic than formerly. Otherwise the explorations of science create out of every apparently small specialty a veritable cosmos of facts and principles on the mastery of which the calling rests. The instance of the shrunken technical requirement of machine-tenders constitutes a social and educational problem, in itself a chapter in the special problem of vocational education.

8. On the basis of the thought that society is an organized unity of highly specialized structures, each consisting of a technic to be mastered, it becomes evident that an educational system which ostensibly prepares the individual for a functional life in society must take cognizance of the fact. Training for society must involve equipping the individual to participate in the social process, and participating in the social process means the adjustment of the individual to society through and by means of the actual agencies and structures society has developed.

The assumption of state education is that its training is necessary for citizenship, that is, for social utility and membership. But since the individual cannot be a useful and valid member of society unless he can identify himself with its constitution, and since society is fundamentally specialized and technical in its nature, the inevitable conclusion is that the making of citizens involves vocationalizing individuals through the educational process.

DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION OF SOCIETY AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Societies may be said to differ constitutionally according to the degree to which they are pervaded by democracy and aristocracy. The popular conception associates democracy and aristocracy exclusively with the political system. There is a close and vital connection between them and the form of government a state maintains, for the political institutions are largely the product of the social life, and, consequently, are fairly representative of that life. Nevertheless it is possible for a national society to possess a large degree of popular control over governmental

matters and at the same time be socially stratified to the point of a graduated caste system. It is also evident that a national society may possess a high degree of political equality, while in its industrial system or in some of its ecclesiastical systems the most extreme forms of autocracy prevail. Up to the present moment there have been no thoroughgoing democracies and, it may be added, there will not be until the principle of democracy is realized in the make-up of each and all of the great institutions. And, as I see it, complete democracy consists in making all the channels of opportunity and achievement open and free from arbitrary and artificial obstacles.

One of the demands arising out of democracy is the right each individual has of equipping himself or of being equipped by society for some productive and supporting calling. The previous treatment sought to show that the structural constitution of society places an imperative upon individuals to specialize their ability in the direction of some vocation. It was found that if they are to function in society and to function fruitfully they must be put in possession of the technic of some of the social structures. That expresses the social necessity of vocational education. The argument here is that, in view of this imperative of the social situation, the ideals of democracy invest the individual with the *right* to demand training for a vocation. The average individual is not in a position to secure this necessary equipment for and of himself. The educational machinery and processes are under the control of superindividual agencies. If they do not give vocations, then the individual cannot be educated for a vocation except by a pick-up and hit-or-miss method. The logic of the situation, then, clearly is that the nature of society demands specialization of individuals, that the principle of democracy requires that society shall recognize the right of individuals to receive such specialization, and that, since society maintains and controls educational agencies, vocational education must be incorporated into the educational system.

This paper is more immediately and primarily concerned with the logic of the situation and is not directly concerned with the important question relative to the stage at which such specialized

training should begin. However, it is well to point out that the state school system, if it is an agency of democracy and justice, must provide a competent vocational training for the great masses of children, that is, for the 90 or 95 per cent. The majority of the children leave school too early to receive such training profitably. It is therefore the duty of society to work out an educational and social economy whereby such training is placed within their reach. I may say that the indications are that, in order to attain this universal vocationalization, society must undertake an extensive investment for making secondary education compulsory and general.

But if democracy demands vocational education as the right of all individuals, it also insists that this education be given in a manner to insure the safety and development of democracy. Democracy can be maintained only where it is social, and social democracy denotes a scheme of life in which opportunities have a wide and free scope; where the avenues of ascent to the successive stories of achievement are free and accessible; where ideas and experience have the fullest freedom of circulation, creating the basis of a recognition of common interests; and where the place and function of social agencies and organizations are so clearly distinguished as to guarantee their utilization for the common good. Any agency which encourages the creation of closed classes operates toward the formation of a feudal system where accident rather than capacity and attainments determine success and the rewards of life. Democracy is the right of all human beings to participate in the enjoyment of the essential goods and joys of life and to control the social agencies by which those satisfactions are distributed among men. A condition of this is a large command of information, especially a knowledge of the social system by which the satisfactions of life are mediated to individuals. It is no accident that democracies have insisted on education, for democracy must be reborn every generation. With the vast extent of society and its intricate nature it is a gigantic task to bestow anything like a competent intelligence of community matters on the masses. Nevertheless, this is perhaps the greatest imperative of the age.

Since industrial education is so extensive a part of vocational education, it will be useful to note some of the undemocratic features in industry which industrial education must not be allowed to intensify but, if possible, be made to counteract. We shall have space to barely list some of these features: The tendency among the industrial workers to fall apart into crystallized social classes along lines of skilled and unskilled, and among the skilled workers to stratify along lines of various gradations of skill and position, with an accompanying class consciousness of superiority and inferiority; the wide chasm between the employing and the employed with the equivalent social distinctions; the gulf between those who spend without earning and those who earn but a bare subsistence; the autocratic system of business management in which conditions of labor and emoluments of the workers are wholly determined by those who invest capital while those who invest their lives are voiceless. Besides these there is the mechanical and dulling effects of machine industry on the workers; the tendency of machine movements, when learned by the operator, to submerge and overwhelm his individual habits and thoughts, to make of him an automaton not only while at work but to render him incapable of responding to new calls and situations.

These features of industry make it imperative that a vocational system of education be worked out which shall place a premium on bestowing a developed calling rather than a mere trade; that shall arouse a working intelligence concerning the industrial system and the workers' relation to it; and that shall develop inventiveness and responsiveness to new situations. In order to be able to achieve these minimum requirements the system of vocational education developed must not be a mere replica of the factory.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Whatever else their foundations, modern states are determined by economic conditions to a very large degree. One of the concerns of statesmen is to encourage and safeguard the fullest industrial development of their nation. That they do not always succeed in securing the utmost welfare and safety of their states

by the policies they adopt history makes very evident. The great classes of defeated and crushed individuals existing everywhere in the midst of plenty in all our modern nations is evidence enough of this. The cause of this may be adherence and favoritism to class privilege, partisanship, or incapacity; but it is quite likely to be due to the inability they have, along with social scientists, to analyze society into its causal conditions, to determine the directions the currents flow, and to know what agencies will serve as effective stimulants, guides, and checks. Selfishness is likely to be blind to the common good, but one dislikes to think that any considerable number of statesmen are so base as to will the destruction of their nation because of a desire to realize mere individual or class ambitions. Even a mighty class dominating a state is likely to think it will be able, by its policy, to lead the nation out into a larger and more glorious life at the same time its own cause is being furthered.

There are two respects, pertinent to our theme, in which statesmen have in the past adopted and in future are likely to adopt a mistaken and mischievous policy relative to the development of industry and industrialism. The first is the adoption of a policy which regards industrial laborers as mere means to an end, as pawns in the great game of national development, and who, consequently, fail to perceive the need of establishing those conditions of work and employment which will realize for the workers the joy and blessings of work. It is said that industry demands thousands of hands fit to perform the same manipulations with machine-like precision hour by hour, day after day, and year after year. No doubt industry does make such a requirement, since it is founded and operative on a division of labor. But industry is not the object of society. The first aim of society is the securing of justice; and the securing of justice involves the equalization of conditions, amongst which is the enlargement of cultural experience and the development of ability to use it for the emancipation and uplift of the human spirit. Whenever industry persists in disregarding this aim it becomes a menace not only to the state but ultimately to itself as well. Any state that is ruled exclusively or chiefly for the lust of gain without

regard to the machine slaves its money buys is doomed to final ruin.

It is consequently essential that the state should intervene to provide a system of industrial education which will correct the tendency inherent in industry and shortsighted state policies. It is to be remembered that some form of industrial education is imperative and that it is bound to come either under private or public initiative. This much is just as certain as that the masses of people will continue to work. It is therefore the duty of the state to provide a form of industrial education which shall safeguard the interests of society, those of the workers, and the ultimate interests of industry itself. The situation doubtless requires that a thoroughgoing study of industry shall be undertaken for the purpose of discovering the injurious and undemocratic elements in industry which a form of industrial education might evade or overcome.

Another error to which statesmen, along with others, are subject relative to the development of industry consists in maintaining a system of industrial education that reduces the workers to a peasant class without an intelligent interest in the welfare of the state. As a consequence, the state becomes an instrument dominated by the industrial and financial classes and both its domestic and its foreign policy are dominated and shaped by those classes. As a consequence of this situation, there develops, what European writers call, the "tentacled" state, a state which reaches out its arms, octopus-like, into all the lands of the earth for markets and investments and which builds gigantic military establishments, develops espionage systems, and maintains subverted home and foreign publicity agencies to protect and gain its ends. The foreign policy of such a state comes to dominate its domestic policy to such an extent that home consumers are sacrificed to the widening of foreign markets, registered in the fact that manufactured articles are sent abroad and sold in competing markets at sometimes one-half the price charged home consumers. Protective tariffs are established in favor of its own privileged producers and the wage-earners are lulled into support of the tariff by the administration of the soothing but deceptive potion of "higher wages." Imperialistic ambitions arise as an associated phenomenon of this

development, chiefly as a consequence, and a lust for world-domination possesses the ruling classes, who shrewdly foster this "glorious" object throughout the nation under the disguised doctrine of the rights of the superior race and culture to rule.

One of the great nations of the world has completed the gamut of this evolution, has plunged the whole world into a ruthless war, and today, while this is being written, after soliciting her opponents for peace terms, is met by the demand that she democratize her government before peace terms will be discussed. But Germany is only the more extreme example of the development and consequence of a state passing under the yoke of economic imperialism. Other nations, some opposing Germany in the war, have gone far in the same direction, and gigantic forces are at work in the United States to convert our nation into a full-grown "tentacled" state.

All this may, at first, seem remote from vocational education, yet it touches the major portion, namely, industrial education. For if a state is really democratic, its government and its policy are subservient to the opinion and will of the majority of its citizens. And since the industrial workers of our nation constitute a very large percentage of the citizenry, what they think and are capable of concluding has a vital bearing on governmental policy. In view of the evolution of Germany and the undoubted complacent support of Germany's national policy of economic imperialism by its narrowly educated industrial classes, the conclusion is not without warrant that the safety of the United States lies, in part, in the establishment of a system of industrial education which involves a far larger content than the technical side of a vocation. Industrial workers must be educated to develop power of thinking, to acquire an adequate body of information on which thought may work, and to attain an understanding of the nature and working of the community of which they are a part. *This is not done and will not be done in trade schools administered apart from and independent of the public-school system.* Such separate schools are bound to be dominated by industrialism and the idea of profit. Only schools which the country as a whole and the state as a whole shape and guide can be safe training places for American citizens.

SOCIAL EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOLS THROUGH GROUP ACTIVITIES

WALTER R. SMITH
Kansas State Normal School

The essence of education, regardless of the verbiage with which we attempt to explain or conceal it, lies in growth. It includes whatever stimulus, physical, mental, or moral, we apply to the unfolding personality. This stimulus or cultivation may be the result of careful selection and painstaking application of social machinery, or it may be merely the incidental product of social inheritance applied through the ordinary channels of social pressure. The one type is deliberate and formal, or telic, the other, incidental and informal. We ordinarily think of formal education as fully institutionalized and as mainly embodied in school systems, while informal education is the product of social forces embodied in the environment of the individual to be educated. Thus we speak of the education of the schools and the education of life without the schools, the growth inspired by specific teaching, and the expansion of the personality through educationally undifferentiated experience.

This distinction, however, leaves much to be desired. All of the education of experience, of life outside the schools, is not accidental or even incidental. Much of it, such as trade and business apprenticeship, religious formulary and biblical precept, fraternal ritual, social form and fundamental moral principles, are taught deliberately by the business firm, the church, the fraternal organization, social assemblies, and the family circle. Moreover, by no means all of the cultural stimulus of the schools is the result of deliberate planning or of the use of recognized educational materials. It may be pertinent to raise the question as to whether or not the most valuable part of school education is found in the formal phases of school organization and work. Certainly an analysis of educational history or of the testimony of the graduates of famous schools would justify such a query.

Probably the terms whose connotation best fits the distinction we have in mind are curricular and extra-curricular education. Under curricular education we include the training gained directly from the formal school machinery, such as classroom instruction, the systematized materials of the textbooks, and the supplementary use of the school equipment of libraries, laboratories, etc. Under extra-curricular education would be included the remaining educational stimuli of life in the school environment embodied in both inchoate and definite school organization. Since the problems of the elementary school, the high school, the college, and the graduate and professional schools differ so widely that, even though similar principles might apply, a specific discussion demands delimitation; and since the writer has elsewhere considered some of the general educative values of social heredity, it seems wise to confine the present discussion to the extra-curricular influences during the undergraduate college course.

The average student enters college between the ages of eighteen and twenty. He comes from a high school in his native town, with a restricted outlook on life, filled with the insular prejudices of his home and community environment. He is for the first time put upon his own responsibility and is compelled to adapt himself to his new surroundings, economically, socially, intellectually, and morally. His life at home and at school has largely been regulated for him. If he chance to come from a preparatory academy the conditions are not materially different because the regulations of the academy are specific, insular, and paternal. As a college Freshman he must find his way, with only a modicum of guidance, through the maze of new experiences that awaits him. The question to be faced is, therefore, just what are the molding influences that transform this callow youth into the broader, more mature, and more cultivated man who emerges four years later with his bachelor's degree?

As college teachers it would not behoove us to minimize the value of the direct work we do. It is important and little enough appreciated, either by the student or the public. The youth is ignorant and needs to be taught. He is slovenly in his thinking and needs to be directed. He is reckless in his habits and needs

to be checked up. He is opinionated and intolerant and needs to be shocked and shamed out of his narrowness. Much of this we can do through curricular activities, but not all. Without the aid of that subtle and intangible thing we call the school atmosphere, for which the teacher is only partially responsible, without the compelling power of the social pressure of student opinion, for which the teacher is partially responsible, and without the stimulus of student activities dominated almost wholly by the students themselves, our efforts would beat in vain against the mental habits and social traditions imbedded during the previous eighteen or twenty years of the youth's experience and training. While the college teacher should not undervalue the results of his direct teaching it is essential that he realize its limitations; and, so general is the evidence that it would seem to develop a principle, the more frankly he recognizes the limitations of his classroom instruction by encouraging extra-curricular interests the more sure he is to be able to succeed in doing effective classroom work.

The contrast between curricular and extra-curricular influences, between college teaching and college life, was drawn by Cardinal Newman more than half a century ago:

If I had to choose between a so-called university, which dispensed with residence and tutorial superintendence, and gave its degrees to any person who passed an examination in a wide range of subjects, and a university which had no professors or examinations at all, but merely brought a number of young men together for three or four years, and sent them away as the University of Oxford is said to have done some sixty years since, if I were asked which of these two methods was the better discipline of the intellect . . . the more successful in training, molding, and enlarging the mind, which sent out men more fitted for their secular duties, which produced better public men, men of the world, men whose names would descend to posterity, I have no hesitation in giving preference to that university which did nothing, over that which exacted of its members an acquaintance with every science under the sun. And, paradox as this may seem, still if results be the test of systems, the influence of the public schools and colleges of England in the course of the last century at least, will bear out one side of the contrast as I have drawn it.

The educative value of this mere residence together Newman explained as follows:

When a multitude of young men, keen, open-hearted, sympathetic, and observant, as young men are, come together and freely mix with each other,

they are sure to learn one from another, even if there be no one to teach them; the conversation of all is a series of lectures to each, and they gain for themselves new ideas and views, fresh matter of thought, and distinct principles for judging and acting day by day. . . . A parallel teaching is necessary for our social being, and it is secured by a large or a small college; and this effect may be fairly called in its own department an enlargement of mind. It is seeing the world on a small field with little trouble; for the students come from very different places, and with widely different notions, and there is much to generalize, much to adjust, much to eliminate, there are interrelations to be defined, and conventional rules to be established, in the process by which the whole assemblage is molded together, and gains one tone and one character.¹

Since Newman's day there has been no better statement of the values of college residence as distinguished from college teaching, but there have been thousands of echoes of the same sentiment. Nor can there be any question of the correctness of his historical perspective. What was true of English universities was true of other universities as well. The mediaeval university was largely a place of residence where scholars of various nationalities assembled, formed themselves into a guild or corporation, and governed themselves. Certain lectures were given, some tutorial drill was established, and more or less classroom dialectic was practiced; but the chief influences upon the student came from the group pressure of like-minded scholarly men upon each other. Even since Newman's day there has been no real revolution in English or Continental universities. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge, of Paris, and of Germany are today as much places of mere scholastic residence where students of various kinds consort with each other as they are places for instruction and examination. And it may be further remarked in this connection that much of the weakness of the German people as contrasted with the German government and much of the supineness of the German populace as contrasted with the intelligent strength of the popular morale in allied countries is due to a lack in Germany of collegiate *esprit de corps* and the absence of a carefully cultivated democratic and virile student life either in the German gymnasias or the universities.

The early American college was founded upon the English model, and in the restricted atmosphere of small institutions the

¹ Discourses on University Teaching, reprinted in Fulton's *College Life*.

contact between teacher and student was so direct that the personality of the teacher had a powerful influence upon the shaping of student life and character. It was not less the inspiration of personal contact outside the classroom than their ability as teachers that made such men as Mark Hopkins, President Dwight, and Louis Agassiz such powerful influences in the lives of young men.

The American university came into existence with the founding of Johns Hopkins, and German educational ideals began to take the place of English. A new and much enlarged clientèle with less cultivated antecedents and less studious tempers but with more vigorous physiques and more varied ambitions entered collegiate circles. The elective system came into being and research became the university watchword. Many teachers began to conceive their mission in terms of investigations and contributions to the sum total of human knowledge rather than in the passing on of existing knowledge to the student. Large classes required the use of lecture-room methods and a definite cleavage arose between the work of the classroom and the extra-curricular life of the students. Consequently many young men who were not studiously inclined, and many of the ablest were not studious, lost interest in college instruction and devoted their energies to various student activities. The attitude of many of these was typified in the motto Dr. Slosson a decade ago found on the walls of so many student rooms: "Don't let your studies interfere with your education."

This period of intense specialization on the part of faculty members, coupled with the fact that many students of the new type were not primarily interested in scholarship, led to a period of semi-chaos which endangered the real mission of the undergraduate college. All sorts of extra-curricular interests, athletic, social, literary, were developed by the faculties. As a result we had a carnival of wild athletic, fraternity, dramatic, and journalistic crudities and excesses leading to internal turmoil and external criticism. Too many members of college and university faculties felt that their work was done when they delivered their more or less recondite lectures and too many students felt that proper educational growth could be obtained with a minimum amount of

systematic study. In recent years this chaos has been mitigated by qualifying the free elective system, cutting down the size of classes, requiring more regular attendance on classroom exercises, and differentiating more or less definitely between the teaching function and the research function of college and university professors; but more than all else in effectiveness has been the closing of the gap between teacher and student by developing sympathetic faculty supervision of student enterprises. It is a subtle tribute to the values of extra-curricular activities to find that as the college professor enters sympathetically into student enterprises he not only extends the reach of his personality influence, but he gains added respect for the educative force of interstudent emulation, co-operation, and competition. The cloistered professor scoffs from his lecture-room at the "side shows" of education, but when he sees the discipline of the athletic field, the diligence of the college journal's office, and the research of the college debate, he remains to pray for something of the same hold upon the energies and enthusiasm of youth that will give his department an equal power in molding the future lives of his students.

With the growth of a saner psychology and particularly with the development of sociology there has come a recognition that it is the intimate face-to-face association of like-minded people that produces the greatest effect on the growing personality. Social pressure varies directly with the frankness and intimacy of this association and inversely with the intricacy and opaqueness of the media of communication. Thus the contacts of youth with youth within the student body, where the individuals possess differing ideas but similar ideals and ambitions, form an intensity of stimulus which cannot be equaled by the more distant and indirect contacts of student and professor, hedged about as they are by convention and formalized by lecture-room methods. It is this intimacy of interstudent relationships, fostered by direct and transparent means of communication, that leads the college graduate to look back so fondly on his undergraduate life and recall not so much his classroom joys and sorrows as his experiences in the give-and-take of college life. It is not what he learned but what he grew into within the shadow of his Alma Mater that counts. This fact was

recognized by Woodrow Wilson in his Phi Beta Kappa address of 1909, in which he said:

Many of the parents of our modern undergraduates will frankly tell you that what they want for their sons is not so much what they will get in the classroom as something else, which they are at a loss to define, which they will get from the associations of college life; and many more would say the same thing if they were equally ingenious. College graduates will tell you without shame or regret, within ten years of their graduation, that they remember practically nothing of what they learned in the classroom; and they will tell you in the very same breath that they would not have lost what they did get in college for anything in the world; and men who did not have the chance to go to college will everywhere be found to envy them, preceiving that college-bred men have something which they have not.

Again in the same address he says:

College is a place of initiation. Its effects are atmospheric. They are wrought by impression, by association, by emulation. The voices which do not penetrate beyond the doors of the classroom are lost, are ineffectual, are void of consequence and power. No thought will obtain or live there for the transmission of which the prevailing atmosphere is a non-conducting medium. Contact, companionship, familiar intercourse is the law of life for the mind.

And again:

The real intellectual life of a body of undergraduates, if there be any, manifests itself, not in the classroom, but in what they do and talk of and set before themselves as their favorite objects between classes and lectures. You will see the true life of a college in the evenings, at the dinner table or beside the fire in the groups that gather and the men that go off eagerly to their work, where youths get together and let themselves go upon their favorite themes.¹

Before proceeding to further detail it is necessary to recall that it is impossible to draw a definite line of demarcation between faculty and student influence in determining the nature of college life. Unquestionably formal college organization and curricular instruction play no inconsiderable part in shaping extra-curricular activities and influences. Twenty years ago there was, in our larger institutions, a fairly definite cleavage between faculty enterprises and student enterprises; but with the assumption of faculty supervision of athletics, faculty sponsorship of fraternity and social life, and faculty regulation of literary activities such as college debates and student publications, many of the old-time bases of

¹ *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, reprinted in N. Foerster's "Essays for College Men."

faculty-student contact and co-operation have been restored. The only grounds of distinction remaining are the sources of initiative, control, and vitalizing spirit in the various organizations and associations of undergraduate life. Let us, then, consider specifically the athletic, social, literary, and moral enterprises that make up the major part of so-called student life.

With reference to athletics the initiative unquestionably came from the student body; in fact, it originated with the robust new type of student whom a large share of the faculty feared and with whom administrative officers had not yet learned how to deal. Even today where faculty coaches and gymnasium instructors have general control it is the social pressure of student enthusiasm that furnishes the motive power. It is because the athlete is lionized by his fellow-students and the public that the athletic coach has a driving power in his discipline which the ordinary professor cannot approach. Lack of this superior effectiveness is evident in the gymnastic drill where student sentiment is wanting, and is shown especially among women where athletic hero worship is not so evident.

Assuming, then, that whatever faculty supervision and control there may be over athletics, the initiative and driving power are obtained from student pressure, it remains to mention briefly their educative influence on the undergraduate.

The physical advantages to the student who makes an athletic team we may take for granted. Once an athlete always an athletic advocate and supporter. Even though a student never makes an athletic team, if he be interested in athletics during his four years of college life he is never likely to lose that interest, and it is apt to develop a respect for physical fitness that will lead him to adopt better means to health, to take more or less regular physical exercise, and to cultivate the vacation habit. We have reached a stage in our industrial life where it is essential that every man in a specialized calling have some physical recreation or avocation as a basis of personal efficiency, to say nothing of its value as health insurance. It is unfortunate that such a large part of our college playing is taken vicariously by the student body and that such a large proportion of athletic effort is devoted to the few "stars" who least

need the physical training; it is equally unfortunate that our most popular college games are not adapted to lifelong participation; but, discounting all of the evils, including overstrain at the oars and on the track and the injuries of the football field, we must give to the recent athletic craze most of the credit for the transformation of our student bodies from the anemic and physically inferior status of the earlier day to the robust, even robustious, student health at the present time. There may be an exaggerated amount of student talk about athletic affairs, but it is the enthusiasm thus engendered that has transferred athletic records from the prize ring and the haunts of the gambler to the college campus and elevated the private brawl into the team game under the fairest umpiring attainable. Without the contagious excitement of the intercollegiate contests the high-salaried athletic instructors and the multitude of gymnasiums, athletic fields, swimming pools, tennis courts, and golf links spread over the country would have been impossible.

Not less important than the physical are the intellectual and moral values of the athletic spirit. No other mental drill in the undergraduate course is so effective as the football practice in making complex psychic reactions habitual. Nor are the strategy and tactics of games without their permanent influences. Better yet are the moral lessons of self-denial during the training season, taking defeat gracefully, controlling the temper under provocation, co-operating with others instinctively, and sacrificing self for the sake of the team and the school. Dean Briggs has well said:

It is athletics in which many a youth, pampered at home and at school, gets the only taste of the stern discipline without which he cannot be a man. His studies he evades, and his friends pardon the evasion; his football he cannot evade, or he is branded as a "quitter," as "soft," or "sandless." From his studies he gets more or less culture, but no backbone; from his football he gets the stuff and substance of his education. The business man often prefers in his office a successful college athlete to a successful scholar; for the athlete, as the business man says, "has done something."²

Moreover this athletic influence reaches beyond the player. Resignation in defeat, magnanimity in victory, fairness in tactics,

² *School, College and Character*, pp. 97-98.

sportsmanship in feeling, and merging self-interests with college interests spreads from the team to the bleachers and rounds out institutional *esprit de corps*. Every college executive recognizes the value of athletics in preventing violent outbreaks and developing student social control. It is college athletics which is rapidly transforming the sport into the sportsman and introducing not only honesty but chivalry into the play of a nation so new at the game that it has been freely characterized by sharp practices and worship of brute strength. It is under the leadership of the college-trained athlete that the bully is being driven from our streets and the surplus energy of the outlawed gang is being organized into the decently managed athletic contest. Thus we may see a variety of social as well as individual values accruing from the worship of physical prowess in our colleges. Who would undertake to say that these things are not educative and that they are not the function of college training as well as the inculcation of a knowledge of Latin, mathematics, or science?

With reference to the social life of undergraduates similar conclusions may be drawn. It is in the dormitory, the boarding club, the fraternity, the college union, and the free-and-easy camaraderie of friendly association that the rough edges of character are worn off. Only the attrition of the intimate contact and unfettered discourse of student with student is sharp enough to smooth out social crudities and develop the finer sensibilities that lead to tact and *savoir faire*. No ability is more important in the complex society of a democratic and crowded world than the ability to meet men on equal terms, to lead and to follow, to deal effectively with all classes and all sorts of social conditions, and to face the world on the basis of worth rather than that of puerile social distinctions; and nowhere else in life is found better, or even as good, training for this purpose as is found on the college campus. This training like other forms of education is best gained in selected groups.

That student social life is of fundamental significance is everywhere being recognized. I asked the first Ph.D. I met after beginning this paper what the greatest molding influence in his undergraduate career (at the University of Michigan) was. He replied unhesitatingly, "My fraternity life." Charles Francis

Adams in his autobiography attributed the greatest influence Harvard had upon him to the "very miscellaneous" friendships there formed. Dr. Slosson, writing of Yale, said: "The Yale men who have patiently endeavored to explain to me the influences which mold the undergraduate into the Yale type have laid great stress on the common dormitory life and the effect of the senior societies." President Harper spent much time and effort to build up the social life at Chicago and to regulate the fraternities. Woodrow Wilson was willing to risk the wrecking of his administration at Princeton by trying to democratize the Princeton clubs, and President Lowell in advocating Freshman dormitories stated in his inaugural address at Harvard:

A large college ought to give its students a wide horizon, and it fails therein unless it mixes them together so thoroughly that the friendships they form are based on natural affinities rather than similarity of origin. Now these ties are formed most rapidly at the threshold of college life, and the set in which a man shall move is determined in his Freshman year. It is obviously desirable, therefore, that the Freshmen be thrown together more than they are now.

Moreover the change from the life of school to that of college is too abrupt at the present day. Taken gradually, liberty is a powerful stimulant; but taken suddenly in large doses, it is apt to act as an intoxicant or an opiate. It would seem that all these difficulties could be much lessened if the Freshmen were brought together in a group of dormitories and dining halls, under the comradeship of older men, who appreciate the possibilities of a college life, and took a keen interest in their work and pleasures.¹

The crux of the social situation is found in the life of the fraternities and similar close-knit organizations. Fraternities have entered American colleges and universities as the natural outgrowth of the "insistent call for congenial companionship" on the part of normal young men, and, in the words of President Brannon, they possess "unusual opportunities for the development of friendship, scholarship, leadership, and a thoroughly wholesome and worthwhile life among undergraduates." Elbridge Colby writes in the *Educational Review*:²

Wide experience is very valuable in character formation and the American college, with its mixture of types, forms a splendid crucible for the melting

¹ *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, December, 1909.

² September, 1913.

and tempering of the metals. In like wise, the fraternity, smaller, more compact, more intimate, and more intense in the relations it fosters, is the ideal point of contact, the perfect spot for the study under correction, and not merely the slight observation, of our fellowmen. The advantage of the fraternity, both in contact with a multiplicity of types and the intensity of personal feelings, is that there is no time lost in progression from the initial acquaintance. Formalities can be immediately brushed aside and the direct personal influence can begin at once, and can be truer and less artificial from the start.

That fraternities have not always lived up to their opportunities is patent to all; but may not some of their undoubted social excesses be attributed to the buoyancy of youth in a social atmosphere made sterile by overmuch classroom monotony and uninspired lecturing, aided either by institutional neglect of social life or by mothering regulation undertaken without understanding, or sympathy for youthful exuberance? With the breakdown of puritanic control and the development of intelligent oversight these weaknesses are being eradicated and the way paved for a more real social education through group organizations where student social pressure will support rather than oppose conduct that will harmonize with academic ideals of cultivated social intercourse.

Time and not any lesser importance requires a briefer discussion of the educational values of the literary and moral activities of the undergraduate. The literary and cultural activities include such things as general reading, literary society work and debates, dramatic and musical entertainments, and editing the college periodicals. In one or more of these enterprises a very large percentage of the student body participate. Next to the friendships that he formed Charles Francis Adams attributed the best influence in his Harvard life to his varied reading and writing. Ex-Senator Hoar, Andrew D. White, and Theodore Roosevelt echo the same sentiment in their autobiographies. James Russell Lowell was repeatedly reprimanded for neglecting his work and was finally suspended because his time was spent in cursory reading and writing rather than attending lectures. Probably the literary taste and reading habits of the average college alumnus were determined more by his library browsing than by his classroom instruction in English. Dean E. A. Birge, of Wisconsin, has stated what many graduates feel: "As I look back," says he, "I feel that many hours

of my college life, wasted in ineffective work for natural history collections, in loitering in the remoter alcoves of the library, in turning over old and forgotten books, have in time yielded me a far larger harvest than much of my serious work. I have found that the intellectual fun of college life has given me quite as much as its labors."¹

With regard to the literary society and intercollegiate debates many a college graduate, prior to the last twenty years at least, can look back, as does the writer, to his activities in those fields as the greatest formative influences in his undergraduate life. This was particularly true in the small college where school politics and personal leadership, as well as forensic and literary ability, centered in the literary societies. In spite of certain rhetorical extravagances they fostered, public life in both England and America owes much to the literary and debating societies where so many of their legislative leaders were trained. Not less significant is work on college papers. Dean Keppel has pointed out that "the proportion of our best American writers who served their apprenticeship as contributors to college magazines is strikingly high, and the best undergraduate work itself not infrequently shows realization as well as promise. College verse in particular is often really excellent."² There are many students likewise whose dramatic and musical performances provide real inspiration, cultivation in taste, and incomparable experience. Leadership, or continual participation, in any one of these fields calls forth efforts and qualities of a high order, and the training they give is not to be surpassed in the regimen of any department of college life.

As for moral development, can any direct or indirect emanation from the classroom compare in the formation of standards of conduct or ideals of service with the varied and intensive forces of student emulation and criticism? Didactic instruction treats about morals rather than trains people in moral living. Only in personal or social conduct in actual human situations can morals be wrought into the lives and characters of individuals. No better foundation for moral cultivation has yet been discovered than the

¹ *Atlantic Monthly*.

² *The Undergraduate and His College*, p. 211.

intimacy, the sympathy, and the helpfulness of student relationships in the college atmosphere. No greater tribute to the fairness of the student mind can be found than the growing confidence of executive and disciplinary officers in student aid toward solving disciplinary difficulties. Dean Thomas A. Clark, of the University of Illinois, writes:

I should have far more trouble than I do were it not for the reliance which I have upon individual students, and student organizations, to help control situations. One of the main reasons why I have favored fraternities, and other social organizations among students, is because I have found them of the greatest help to me in controlling and directing student activities, and in preventing dissipations and outbursts which might otherwise occur. One active student leader can help immensely to keep things under control.¹

Where student honor systems and student government exist even more specific and continuous training is provided in the development of a sense of individual and social moral responsibility.

Nor is the work of college civic and religious organizations to be overlooked. In the Young Men's Christian Association many a young man has found an inspiration, a spiritual sanity, and a moral enthusiasm not to be obtained in any church. No organization has done more than the Y.M.C.A. to strip religion of its useless and sometimes misleading formalism, its denominational barriers, its cheap sensationalism, and its misplaced emphasis on external habits rather than internal purity and devotion. It would scarcely be denied that it was the training thousands of young men received in college associations all over our land that formed the basis of the magnificent work the Y.M.C.A. has done and is doing for our soldiers and sailors. Nothing is doing more to restore masculinity to the ideals of worship and of human service than the open-minded and tolerant approach toward ethical questions in our colleges, and no better proof of the moral stamina of our undergraduates could be desired than their magnificent response to the national call to a democratic world-crusade.

Finally, it may be well to summarize the personal qualities which seem in general to be due more to the forces of extra-curricular college life than to curricular instruction. Among these are such

¹ *Proceedings of the American Educational Association, 1910.*

valuable attributes as organizing ability, capacity for co-operation, training in leadership, conversational skill, public discourse, catholicity of spirit and tolerance, fraternal fellowship, sportsmanship, standards in dress, custom, and convention, taste in art, music, and literature, and civic and ethical ideals. It is not that direct instruction and more particularly the indirect classroom influences of faculty members do not aid in all these fields, but that these qualities are more especially the by-products of the process of socialization brought about by the contacts of individual with individual and group with group. They are closely connected with human activities and are more powerfully stimulated by lateral than by perpendicular social pressure. The American undergraduate student body is a democratic group. It will take a certain amount of instruction, direction, and inspiration from the faculty above, but it insists on its own motives, its own public opinion, its own ideals, its own leaders, and its own standards of conduct pushed up from the mass; and in the process of establishing and maintaining these it contributes abundantly to its own education and thence to the democratization and advancement of the more general society into which it dissolves.

DISCUSSION

MONROE N. WORK, TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

There is one point in Professor Gillette's paper to which I wish to refer. He says that "with the vast extent of society and its intricate nature, it is a gigantic task to bestow anything like a competent intelligence of community matters on the masses." This is a very fundamental point with reference to the general subject of this session, namely, "Sociology in the Common Schools." Against Professor Gillette's view it may be urged that it is probably true that the masses understand a great deal more about community matters than they are given credit for and that, after all, it may not be a difficult task to impart information to them about such matters. The real difficulty appears to be that sociology has not yet provided a body of information relating to community matters that can be imparted to the masses. Sociology, as Professor Clow has indicated in his paper, is still more or less in a preliminary stage; that is, it is still mainly concerned with what is sociology, its relation to other sciences, the nature of society, the analysis of society, the nature of social progress, what should be sociology's subject-matter, etc. In a word it would appear that sociology is still more or less in the academic stage, that is, it is still

confined mainly to the realm of discussion. It should also be said that sociology is too immediately practical. It is generally true that sociological programs are formulated and the efforts made to carry them out without first basing these programs on exhaustive investigations and thoroughgoing critical studies.

The primary object of sociology is not any of the things which I have just named. They are the incidentals, the preliminaries of the science. If sociology has primarily to do with human beings in their associative capacities, then its primary function is, through investigation and research, to collect a body of information that will point out, make clear, what these relationships are and what, in the present, the now, should be done in order that these relationships may be made more harmonious, more just, and proper.

An examination of the vital things with which mankind is concerned, whether in the local community or in the state, whether nationally or internationally, shows that these vital things are concerned with or turn about the relationships which arise out of associations. It is also well to observe just here that the fundamental things in social life arise out of the ordinary, the everyday, associations of people. For the industrial, the political, the religious, the educational, the domestic, and other relations are ever present as a part of the ordinary everyday affairs of life. It happens that, at a particular time, the individual or the community is more interested in, more concerned with, some of these phases than with the other phases. This interest, this concern, arises out of the exigencies of the situation, as, for example, at one time the industrial relations of life are at the forefront, at another time, as just now, it is the problems of political relations of life.

This brings us to a consideration of the present opportunities of sociology. As a result of the world-war readjustments of the various peoples, races, and nationalities to their relations to each other are taking place. There is the spread of democratic ideas and a wider application of democratic principles. This era is witnessing new adjustments in education. I understand that new aims for education are being formulated. In this new educational program sociology should have a large place.

In the readjustments of human relationships which are now taking place, there is opportunity for sociology to take and to occupy a place which it has not hitherto held. It should take its place as a leading director in these new adjustments, pointing out, on the one hand, the particulars of the adjustments, and on the other hand, formulating the broad lines along which the readjustments of the present and of the immediate future should take place. There is here great opportunity for investigation and research, not into the past as what has been done, but into the present of what is now going on. These investigations and researches should not be isolated, limited, unconnected, but should be conducted along broad and related lines covering every phase of association. These investigations and researches should be continuous and should extend over a considerable period of time, several years or more. In

this way sociology would build up a body of scientific facts. These facts would form the basis for sociology to become an active, vital force in guiding and directing human relationships. At present sociology is mainly discussing and analyzing relationships, but not to any great extent directing them.

That there is need for the masses to have information relative to social matters, no one will deny. It is very probable that the correct imparting of information, relative to community matters, would act as a counteract to race, class, and other forms of social friction. It is very probable that if there were proper instruction with reference to human relationships, the tendency would be to decrease prejudice, to increase sympathy, and to instil the spirit of co-operation and helpfulness. Take, for example, mobs and lynchings; these are essentially of the masses; that is, of those whose education has not been beyond the elementary grades. I am especially interested in the problem of the suppression of lynchings and the mob spirit that is back of lynchings. I venture the assertion that if all the people in this country who have only had opportunity to acquire the education of the elementary grades could receive instruction in the fundamental principles of human relationships, the mob spirit in this country, to a large extent, would be done away with.

It is very important, then, that the masses should have sociological information imparted to them. The common schools afford one of the best avenues for imparting this information. There arises in connection with the question of sociology in the common schools the problem of suitable textbooks, of teachers capable of successfully handling the truths that should be presented, and also the problem of the subject-matter for presentation. It may be suggested that this subject-matter should contain, on the one hand, the simpler facts relating to the organization of society, and on the other hand, facts about the ordinary, the everyday, human relationships. It would appear that, because of the conditions which have arisen as a result of the world-war, the facts about human relationships are the important ones, and that instruction concerning them should receive the larger attention.

F. STUART CHAPIN, SMITH COLLEGE

Professor Gillette's thoughtful and interesting paper expresses my own point of view so well that I shall use the time for discussion allotted to me in an attempt to point out answers to Professor Clow's very pertinent questions, since I believe that they constitute a challenge that should be met.

In answer to Mr. Clow's first inquiry, "Can the confusion of views and usages regarding the nature and scope of sociology be cleared up?" I answer yes! Although I have never put the question personally to them, I believe that Professors Ross, Giddings, Cooley, Ellwood, Hayes, Blackmar, Gillin, and Keller would agree that the problem phenomena of sociology are of as clear and distinct a class as those of the best-established sciences, and that specifically these problem phenomena are those massed and correlated psychic elements

variously known as social customs, standards, traditions, institutions, conventions, folkways, and mores. The special social sciences treat of the phenomena of folkways, mores, social standards, customs, and institutions, if at all, only as *incidental* to the special subject-matter of each. Thus there have been left over the important residual problems of the origin and growth of social customs, standards, folkways, mores, and institutions, and these problems have become the special field of a legitimate and independent science. Sociology is a synthetic science, not because it is merely a rough sum total of the socially significant laws of special sciences, but because its subject-matter is the deep-lying strata of social customs, standards, folkways, and mores, which are common bedrock of all social phenomena.

Perhaps the confusion of thought about the nature and scope of sociology among teachers who are not primarily teachers of sociology is caused by their failure to make a logical distinction between the problem phenomena and the conditioning phenomena of sociology. The problem phenomena of sociology are those which the science undertakes to explain; the conditioning phenomena are the terms of the explanation. The former I have just defined; the latter include biological facts and principles which condition the capacity of individuals and populations to develop and conform to social usages; for example, the hereditary feeble-minded are incapable of maintaining normal standards in competitive society, and certain races have special inherited capacities; in addition the conditioning phenomena include the psychological facts and principles which also determine the capacity of individuals and populations to develop and conform to social usages, for example, differences in instinct and emotional power among individuals; again, they include the geographic—such physical facts as climate, soil, topography, and natural resources; finally, they include the technic, or modifications in physical conditions produced by the energy and labor of man, such as roads, tunnels, canals, irrigation systems, tenements, factories, etc. I know of no more logical and concise statement of this important distinction than is found in chapter i of Professor Hayes's *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*.

In answer to Mr. Clow's second inquiry, "Shall it be regarded as correct usage to label as sociology any sort of treatment of the social phases of life?" my reply is no! In the first place the treatment to be sociology must be limited to the phases of social life mentioned, and it must be scientific treatment, not "any treatment." If sociology is a science, then the term "religious sociology" or "Christian sociology" has no more meaning than "pagan chemistry" or "Mohammedan biology," for science is a body of quite generally accepted and universally verifiable principles which explain the relations and laws of phenomena of a certain kind. The universal element of science consists in its method. There is only one scientific method whatever the subject-matter of the given field of study and however varied are the specializations in technique. As Professor Karl Pearson says, "The unity of all science consists alone in its method, not in its material. The man who classifies facts of any

kind whatever, who sees their mutual relation and describes their sequences, is applying the scientific method and is a man of science" (*Grammar of Science*, 2d ed., p. 12). Or again, "The scientific man has above all things to strive at self-elimination in his judgments, to provide an argument which is as true for each individual mind as for his own" (*ibid.*, p. 6). This last statement could certainly not apply to the "Christian sociologist." On the other hand the use of such objective terms as rural sociology and municipal sociology parallel the use of such terms as organic chemistry and inorganic chemistry, and define a special field within the science. These terms are legitimate and perfectly consistent with science, but such terms as "religious sociology" and "Christian sociology" imply so much subjectivism as to be unscientific and incorrect usage.

I once thought that members of this Society might in conference agree on a uniform usage in regard to the terminology of sociology, but I doubt whether such a method of securing the standardization in usage which Mr. Clow asks for would be successful. The terms that survive are so often the winnowings of time that I fear conscious effort to standardize would be premature, abortive, and its results artificial. Science is a democratic growth, contributed to by many humble inventors. The rulings of a body of eminent sociologists would have to be arbitrary at best, and, if our science is dynamic, necessarily short-lived. Still an inventory and a stock-taking now and then might be useful.

Mr. Clow asks the question, "Is sociology sufficiently mature to be ready for practical application?" In suggesting an answer to this inquiry, I should like to make a distinction between pure sociology and applied sociology, and then indicate how far in my estimation the scientific method has been applied in these two fields. If the problem phenomena of sociology consist of social customs, standards, and institutions, then pure sociology is the study of the laws of their origin, relations, and evolution, and applied sociology is organized and systematized effort to restore normal standards, to encourage helpful traditions, and to preserve and upbuild normal social institutions.

College and university professors are chiefly concerned with the study of pure sociology; social workers with applied sociology. If you will stop to consider for a moment the common subject-matter of the works of Sumner, Ward, Giddings, Howard, Ross, Ellwood, Cooley, Hayes, Keller, and the other academic sociologists, you will discover that their contributions *are* to our knowledge of the origin, relations, and evolution of social customs, standards, and institutions. Similar attention to the activities of the leading social workers, Edward T. Devine, W. Frank Persons, Robert A. Woods, Jane Addams, Mary Richmond, and Julia Lathrop, discloses the fact that their efforts in the development of a technique of social case work, methods of follow-up work in family rehabilitation, in poor relief, and in methods of social legislation, are chiefly concerned with preserving or re-establishing normal and prevailing social customs, standards, and institutions. In reality, then, academic or philosophical sociologists are working in the same general field as practical-eyed social workers; but the former are pure sociologists, while the

latter are applied sociologists. In an endeavor to reconcile the somewhat different points of view of these two groups I have recently offered a definition of "sociology as the science of the origin, growth, and evolution of social customs, standards, and institutions. It analyzes and defines them, and studies the causes that tend to force people below normal standards, thus showing us how to prevent recurrent lapses from these norms, as well as to relieve abnormal conditions" (*Scientific Monthly*, September 1918).

Time is lacking to point out by a series of instances how the average social worker or applied sociologist would gain by a knowledge of pure sociology, but I can say in general, and I believe without contradiction, that much indiscriminate poor relief, much premature legislation, and much aimless settlement work would have been avoided had social workers a more sound knowledge of the principles which pure sociologists have found to govern the development and evolution of the customs, standards, and institutions which social workers seek to preserve or re-establish. Certainly a perspective of social evolution giving a knowledge of the ponderous and slowly acting forces in society would do much to avoid hasty and ill-considered action.

Finally, to consider how far the scientific method is utilized by pure and applied sociologists. If the scientific method consists of three consecutive steps—first, the collection and recording of facts of observation; second, the classification of these facts into series and sequences; third, the interpretation of this data or the discovery of some short formula or law which explains the sequence of facts—then I think we should all agree that the contributions of the pure sociologists have come mostly as a result of the application of the historical method to the study of documentary records of social phenomena. This is chiefly because they have been academic teachers with historical training. In other words pure sociologists have relied on the method of indirect observation instead of relying upon accumulations of "piled-up actualities"—statistics gathered from field-work observations.

On the other hand social workers and applied sociologists have made a distinct contribution to the method of making and recording unbiased observations of social phenomena in the way they have developed a technique of social case work and a technique of schedule-making for social investigations. For the schedule and face sheet are simply devices for minimizing the personal equation of the observer (field worker) by means of systematized observation. In some respects it may be truly said that the schedule, the questionnaire, and the face sheet of the case record are for sociology the prototypes of those refined instruments of observation—the telescope and camera of astronomy.

To sum up my answer to Mr. Clow's third question, sociologists pure and applied have had considerable success in developing and applying a technique of scientific observation; they have been less happy in developing valid systems of classification, and even less successful in the discovery of laws of social phenomena. The academic sociologists have indeed advanced systems of classification; but these systems are more truly classifications of shrewd

speculations than classifications of accumulated facts of observation. A few social laws also have been provisionally formulated, but never submitted to inductive test and hence are empirical laws, not scientific laws. If this is true, then sociology is still chiefly a descriptive science, and cannot claim to be an applied science to any great extent. This conclusion also suggests the answer to Mr. Clow's last inquiry, "Is the time ripe for a general treatise on sociology which will select, condense, simplify, and unify the best thought of the time?"

ROSS L. FINNEY, STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, VALLEY CITY, NORTH DAKOTA

The word "in" is ambiguous; this ambiguity shall furnish my outline. Sociology should be "in" the common schools first, *as a guiding factor*. We have done the traditional thing in education long enough without knowing why. Latterly the schools have surrendered blindly to the materialistic conception of success. It is now high time that we develop a well-thought-out philosophy of education. We must first of all define its aim. We must next decide what contents, what methods, and what organizations will achieve the ends that we define. Sociologists know full well that their science cannot be ignored by any thinker who attempts to answer those questions. For this is pre-eminently an age of social readjustment in which the school is the most important single factor. The school itself must therefore be directed primarily with reference to the social problems that civilization has to negotiate. The pilot must know the channel.

Professor Gillette's paper illustrates this principle. Vocational education, as conducted by the sociologically unenlightened, would certainly plunge us all into the ditch. But the sociologist sees that it has more purposes than merely to make Johnnie a good earner. Indeed, he sees that vocational training is only a fraction of the education that acquaints John Doe with, and adapts him to, the whole social system. I could wish that Dr. Gillette had said even more emphatically that it is a fraction of the total education which will qualify John Doe to participate in the use of all the good things of the social heritage. This adjustment to the social system, this participation in the social heritage, Johnnie will miss unless sociology directs his education. And if he and any considerable proportion of his contemporaries miss these ends, the sociologist knows that democracy will collapse, or at least fail to realize its hopes.

Sociologists should therefore give more specific attention to education than they have done as yet. Educational sociology is certainly as important a branch of their science as rural sociology or criminology. They ought not to leave it to the exploitation of educators who are relatively untrained in sociological principles. Only the most thoroughly scientific sociologists are competent to this task, and they should not shirk it.

But professional sociologists do not conduct the common schools. School administrators do that. It follows, therefore, that they must be trained in social science, and trained liberally enough to render them competent social

engineers of education. Nothing in sociology or economics, I venture to assert, would be irrelevant to such a training. I think Professor Clow's quotations from normal-school presidents and deans of university schools of education prove nothing except their failure to realize the importance of this principle. Why should they be expected to realize it, any more than a Methodist bishop? Most of them are estimable but elderly gentlemen who were educated before the days of sociology. His quotations prove, further, that educational administrators are not getting the training in social science that they should have. And as for the administrators already at work in the schools, the vast majority of them do not so much as realize that there is a social point of view. One such, a very popular superintendent, argued that enough sociology could be taught out of Cicero's orations, seeing there was graft in his day as well as in ours.

In my opinion college and university professors of sociology could help the cause materially by announcing and offering courses in educational sociology in their own departments. The word education in the title of such courses would attract the attention of students and professors in the department of education. Many more prospective educators would take courses so labeled than if they were labeled plain sociology. Such leadership on the part of sociologists would both stimulate and standardize educational sociology in the departments of education themselves.

As for normal schools, especially with respect to their short courses, I am inclined to the opinion that they need more psychology than sociology. Normal schools train young teachers primarily in the *how* of teaching. This is based principally on psychology, of course. The *what* and *why* are largely determined for them by overhead authority. Still they should not be left in ignorance of the *what* and the *why*. But I doubt the utility of a course in general sociology. I think instead the applications of sociology to education should be pointed out as simply and as directly as possible. The course should answer such questions as these: Why should elementary education be universal? Why is social participation desirable? What does a good citizen need to know? Why is a one-sided vocational training objectionable? etc., etc.

I come now to the second sense in which sociology should be "in" the common schools: *it should be taught in them.*

No one realizes better than the persons here present the extent to which this age is characterized by critical social problems. No one appreciates more fully how vast are the issues at stake. But what is it, sociologists, that ties your hands and checkmates the reforms you so ardently desire to see inaugurated? Is it not the ignorance of the masses, and especially the ignorance of the intelligent, influential middle class? Do you not instinctively feel that they should be the natural arbitrators between social extremes? But instead of enlightened co-operation they too often chill you with blind and smug indifference. And even in times like these!

The permanent solution of this situation is to bring up a generation of citizens who have been taught a liberal allotment of social science in the public schools.

Professor Smith is entirely right in his emphasis upon social participation. He might very properly carry this matter somewhat farther, as Professor Bobbitt does in his splendid new contribution to educational sociology, unfortunately misnamed "The Curriculum," and advocate the participation of pupils in the actual out-of-school civic activities of adults. I shall neither add to Professor Smith's emphasis nor further unfold Bobbitt's point of view, but go on to say that young citizens need also to learn a great many concrete facts, and some abstract principles, in economics and sociology. I am inclined to think, therefore, that the materials of social science should constitute the core of the curriculum, especially that of the secondary school. Time forbids mention of the various ways that elementary subjects have been socialized in the last few years. Secondary education, however, does not yield so readily, but there is considerable sentiment developing to the effect that social science ought to be liberally taught in high school. Some contend that all the subjects should be given an overt sociological flavor. My own thought has been that there might well be three courses in the last four or five grades of the public school. The first, a sort of sociological geography, very concrete, running through the eighth or ninth year. The second, a course in American history with very heavy emphasis on the industrial and social side, running through the tenth or eleventh year. And third, a course of more abstract economics and sociology throughout the twelfth year. I should be willing to sacrifice almost anything in the line of traditional subjects to make room for these courses. The traditional subjects I should motivate, moreover, by some correlation about this social center of interest. I should like to see these courses required, with the possible exception of the last one. The age of compulsory attendance I should like to see raised to eighteen so as to force practically all prospective citizens into the high schools to get this work. I consider this necessary because no sufficient training for citizenship, in these times of complex social difficulties that must be settled at the polls, can possibly be given in the elementary period; the children's minds are too immature.

The most immediately needed contribution is the production of suitable textbooks. Whenever I have urged social-science teaching in the public schools, the lack of textbooks has always been the difficulty most insistently urged by practical superintendents. I was very much interested last Monday at Chicago in discussing this matter with Dr. Judd. He says high-school teachers are usually trained for other subjects and know very little about social science. Even if they have had college courses in the subject he objects to the traditional method of approach. He objects most strenuously to letting the history teacher spoil the subject, as he expresses it. This unpreparedness of teachers is the reason for the urgent need of textbooks. Here, then, is a wide-open field for men trained both in social science and practical educa-

tion. Professors of sociology may well point promising graduate students to this field.

The third point I wish to make is that "*in*" the schools enough social science cannot be taught to meet the urgent needs of the present crisis. One sociologist remarked to another recently that he scented revolution and thanked the Lord he did not have a million dollars. I heard a Chicago woman predict a race riot there in less than a year. A business man told his Sunday-school teacher that it looked as if we should have to maintain a big standing army, the labor situation was getting so serious. I heard in Minneapolis the other day that the Bolsheviki have started a daily paper there. If the crash is to be averted the middle class must arbitrate, not the middle class of tomorrow after a generation has been ground through the new socialized high school, but the middle class of today. And the necessary information about social problems can only be got to them by a most aggressive out-of-school campaign of propaganda. This must be done immediately; not a moment is to be lost. The reconstruction is the sociologists' opportunity to serve their country. The psychologists assembled, I think, at Worcester, Massachusetts, formally offered their services to the government a year and a half ago, were accepted, and have rendered a conspicuous service. Sociologists should do likewise now. Traditions count for nothing in critical moments like these. Democracy's future is at stake; and this is the group of men that can do more than any others to save it in this reconstruction crisis. But they must do more than discuss; they must act. And I respectfully submit that this is the time and this is the place to initiate such action.

EDWARD T. DEVINE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The school is our most conservative institution. Neither trade-union nor church can compete for the honor. This is perhaps a wise provision of nature. We shall have industrial democracy long before we have democratic ideals in elementary or secondary schools or—except sporadically—in the universities.

Industrial and farm workers leave school earliest. They do not remain, as those destined to commerce and the professions and to non-productive life, to influence the curriculum, to determine in fact its character by forming its only connecting links with the university. In a system of universal elementary education we see at the minimum working age—twelve, fourteen, whatever it may be—a large stream of young workers passing directly to factories, offices, or farms. Each year thereafter succeeding streams are diverted, leaving at last a very small proportion who are to enjoy the blessings of higher education.

We have generally assumed—not without protest, more and more prevailing—that the educational process from kindergarten to university may, notwithstanding these constantly successive departures, be conceived as one process; that the ideal secondary education for those who are to go to the university will be also satisfactory for those who leave at the end of high school,

that the ideal preparation for the high school will also be satisfactory for those grammar-school pupils who go to work directly instead of going to high school, that the elementary-school pupils who do not enter the grammar school will nevertheless do very well if they have that kind and amount of education which is necessary to enter the grammar school. In denial of this assumption, as far as high schools are concerned, we see technical high schools, commercial schools, trade schools, etc.; and we also see private schools leading their pupils straight for the universities by a shorter and surer route than the public educational system provides.

Suppose, however, that the assumption after all is true, but that we have perverted its application. What if the educational process is really one or capable of unification, but that the life of the great body of workers—industrial, agricultural, and commercial—should furnish the unifying element rather than the vocational needs of the few who are to enjoy a higher education? What if the grammar school should take the elementary graduates, the high school the grammar-school graduates, and the university the high-school graduates, and in each case go on with what they have, building on it, limited by it, keeping the dwindling numbers who are to be the intellectual leaders close to the mind of the whole population, having all that they have and as much more as it is possible to build in the added years on the basis which is the common possession of all?

This is no novel idea. Underlying much of the agitation for vocational education—industrial, agricultural, domestic—has been the desire for emancipation from the requirements of higher education. What I urge, however, is that in the very interest of higher education itself the elements which are needed for industrial and agricultural workers are valuable; that the conventional preparation for college is most of all in need of overhauling from the ground up; that lawyers will be better lawyers, teachers better teachers, preachers better preachers, and business men certainly infinitely better business men, if we can bring it about that secondary, higher, and professional education will take adolescents who have already been deliberately grounded in the things which workers should know in order to be good workers and in order to lead a good life, and from such material will develop the national leaders, democratic-minded leaders, in tune with the life of the nation's workers.

The qualifications for admission to the university would then be merely that degree of intellectual maturity, that amount of conventional knowledge, that mastery over the tools of study, which all men require for usefulness in productive industry in those positions to which well-equipped high-school graduates go on leaving school. I am not insisting on uniformity in elementary or secondary education. Perhaps there are many parallel roads to the common starting-point for work and study. I am merely insisting that candidates for higher education should not be deprived of the valuable elements—when we find out what they are—in the preparation of producers, tillers of the soil, homemakers, skilled craftsmen, artisans; for it is this deprivation which unfits

men of higher education for leadership, which disqualifies preachers and statesmen and captains of industry from performing their legitimate functions, which spoils artists and poets and teachers.

We have specialized prematurely. We have divorced learning from life. We have created classes whether we intend it or not: a privileged class, more or less out of sympathy with the masses; and a proletarian class, more or less ready for specious devices for bringing in the millennium. And then we have devised settlements to bring the two classes into relation again.

EMILY PALMER CAPE, NEW YORK, N.Y.

The most essential question today is the spreading of sociological truths to the masses.

To awaken a sincere and intelligent comprehension of what the great laws of nature mean in their relationship to human life and the true philosophy of sociological facts to the masses, is to plant in hungry minds the seeds of right thinking; and within those great bodies of people who live without the university training or learning, this is a most important factor in the sociological field.

I speak from practical experience, having had large gatherings of both men and women, who not only come regularly but continue to ask for more and more of the practical philosophy of sociology in our classes.

In this greatest of reconstruction work now facing the world, there is no more important or necessary branch than to teach *all human beings*, of *all classes*, to think scientifically and unselfishly, and in no branch of teaching may the laws of society be so enlightening to the masses as through the study of man and his environment, of realizing "the utilization of the materials and forces of nature."

It is by giving to the non-university masses the education which awakens the biggest truths in sociology that human beings shall be helped to a higher goal.

EDWIN L. EARP, DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

I was interested particularly in what Professor Chapin said about the use of the term *Christian* sociology and *Educational* sociology. Ten years ago when the chair I fill at Drew Theological Seminary was established they named it the Chair of Christian Sociology. At that time it was something out of the usual order to admit the teaching of sociology in the theological curriculum, so the adjective "Christian" was added, not because it had any scientific designation or justification, but rather as a capsule, so to speak, in order to make the subject less objectionable to the theological patient while it was admitted he needed the dose. A like reason may exist for the use of the term *Educational* sociology in order that the subject so much needed may the more readily be introduced into the public schools. I am, however, in entire agreement with Dr. Chapin as to the unscientific character of such titles.

I wish to add just a word to this discussion. Social education through the community can be greatly advanced at times by taking advantage of a crisis in the life of a particular community. To illustrate: During the recent epidemic in the town of Madison, N.J., the district nurse employed by the Civics Department of the Women's Club was simply overwhelmed by the number of calls from the poorer families among the Italian settlements, the negroes, and the "natives" in different sections of the town. It was impossible for her to be of real service to many homes so widely scattered over the whole town. One or two persons with social vision called on the mayor and suggested the use of some building as an emergency hospital, there being no hospital in the town, and word had just been sent from the neighboring towns of Morristown and Summit that no more patients could be received in the hospitals already overcrowded, so something had to be done. Within twelve hours, by calling in representatives of the Red Cross, the Board of Health, and the women's clubs, a fully equipped emergency hospital was made ready with over thirty beds, all brought from the homes of willing citizens of the well-to-do class. The Young Men's Christian Association building was used. The Domestic Science Department of the high school was secured to cook and furnish the food for the patients and nurses; three or four trained nurses were secured and many young women who had done Red Cross work volunteered to take turns in helping with the work; and within a short time the epidemic was mastered, the building fumigated, the beds returned to the owners in good condition, and the whole town had been educated through this social experience in the possibility of co-operative action of all the various population groups.

WARREN H. WILSON, COUNTRY LIFE DEPARTMENT, PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
NEW YORK, N.Y.

In experience the task of inspiring supervisors of common schools with a social spirit is best accomplished by sending them into the country to make surveys. We have found at Columbia University that we can turn back into rural service the school supervisors who come to us by means of courses which bring them into immediate, first-hand contact with country people. We get in Teachers College four classes of supervisors: the school supervisor, including some county superintendents and state employees; the public-health nurses; the county agents, men and women, who are agricultural graduates and prepared to work under county farm bureaus; and a limited number of pastors of country churches. All these we regard as supervisors in the hardest sociological task. To inspire them with a rural vision, after a great deal of experimenting, we have entered into co-operation with Warren and Hunterdon counties in New Jersey, about seventy-five miles from the city, and we send the students out at the expense of the College to make surveys and to report in class their findings. These surveys are social, sociological, health surveys, studies of churches, of the milk industry, of country stores, and of civic organizations. They teach the student to observe.

It seems to me that for those of high-school age and for students in normal school as well as for those in college the social survey is of exceptional value. It keeps the student away from too much theorizing and brings him into the knowledge of conditions of life about him. There is needed a volume which will summarize the work done in rural social survey, and will lay down principles, as well as describe the methods of reducing social life to measurement. Without expecting too much it is fair to hope that this will introduce a corrective principle into social thinking and teaching.

The papers this afternoon have described the place of sociology in the common schools chiefly in a negative manner; but Professor Smith's is valuable in showing the implicitly sociological trend, the forming of habits rather than the teaching of theories. The statement by Dr. Devine yesterday, that social science could not be taught in sociological terms to those younger than the students in the eighth grade, seems to me reasonable; and the demand of Professor Clow for a textbook in sociology for persons in the high school expresses the precise need. Our great necessity is for clear, simple texts which will enable the high-school or normal teacher, only meagerly prepared, to teach the adolescent minds in high school or normal school to observe. After this we need a book to be used in sociological investigation, with schedules to be used in studying conditions in the surrounding region near the high school. A maximum service will be rendered in inspiring the student with a love of his own people, who must always be to him the clue to society in general.

NEWELL L. SIMS, UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

As I heard only a part of the papers under discussion, my remarks may be neither altogether to the point nor illuminating to the subject. However, I wish to emphasize what has been said concerning the importance of sociological training for teachers. For it is pre-eminently through the teacher—in the broad sense of that term—disciplined in the knowledge of social life that plans, programs, and motives for social change and improvement are communicated to the people. Sociology can scarcely be applied without the diffusion of its conclusions throughout local communities, and leaders must be equipped for this task of diffusing it. To furnish the teacher with a body of sociological knowledge and experience adequate to an effective leadership in the social activities of his community is the task of the college, normal school, and university in so far as they offer instruction in sociology. But the task is one, I think we must confess, which remains largely unaccomplished in any satisfactory manner.

The difficulties, as we have been made aware this afternoon, seem to be twofold, those pertaining to the subject-matter on the one hand, and those having to do with the method on the other. We have heard a plea for a clearly defined body of materials which may be offered to teachers under the

name of sociology. Unfortunately, in answer to this plea, we are not yet prepared to say what sociology is or is to include. Our want of agreement will perhaps justify us in saying only that as yet there is no such thing as sociology.

But what I wish especially to offer has to do more with the method and less with the subject-matter. I live in a rural state. Many of the students in my department at the State University are registered in the College of Education or the College of Agriculture. They are to be teachers in the schools, county agricultural agents, and leaders in other capacities in the rural communities of Florida. In our attempt to equip them for their work, we strive to acquaint them with a body of actual, concrete, community experience. This is given in the classroom through lectures, discussions, reports on assigned topics or problems, papers, etc. Where practicable, the student is required to study in a general way his own or some other community. He is encouraged to find out what the community is, what its conditions and needs are, what it is doing for itself, etc. The community case method is emphasized throughout. The object is to make the community real to the student. We want him, if possible, to get the community sense; we want to make a little of its experience vital to him and thus to make what goes under the name of sociology with us of practical value. Focusing in this manner upon community experience has seemed to me to be the most effective method of teaching sociology to the teachers of rural Florida. I do not claim that any phenomenal results have been obtained; but the aim and the method seem to me sound. Reports coming to me from the leaders themselves who have undergone some of this training seem to bear testimony to the validity of this program of instruction in sociology.

CAROL ARONOVICI, AMHERST H. WILDER CHARITY, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

I am rather surprised that the task of devising a scheme for teaching sociology in the grades should be considered a part of the work of the Sociological Society. If simplified, peptonized, and camouflaged sociology is needed as a part of the curriculum of our grade schools, there is no doubt of the feasibility of developing a method of teaching this subject in the grades through the aid of the pedagogues of the country. What familiarity I have with the sociologists of America would lead me to believe that they would hardly care to arrogate this function to themselves, and that their training and experience is more along the lines of developing the theoretical and practical side of sociology, primarily as students and only incidentally as teachers.

Before we endeavor to place sociology in the grades, it is my firm belief that the various academic and professional departments of our universities need to make sociology a required part of their curriculum. It is from the universities that our leadership is recruited, and before we endeavor to popularize the principles of sociology in the kindergarten, the task of teaching sociology in every branch in our universities is still staring us in the face.

EARLE E. EUBANK, Y.M.C.A. COLLEGE, CHICAGO

The proposition of State Superintendent Cary, of Wisconsin, to introduce elementary lessons in social science into the public schools, is one worthy of serious consideration. No fundamental reason is apparent for not doing so, if proper preparation be made for its introduction exactly as is done in other branches of instruction.

The basic principles of *social science* are no more difficult to grasp than are those of *natural science*, now so successfully a part of many a grammar-school curriculum. Its materials are far more accessible than are those of history or geography, which are so large a part of our common-school course. The general subject-matter is more simple and obvious than that of physiology, for example, which is taught to tens of thousands of grammar-grade children. And certainly the subject-matter is fully as important as anything included in our common-school courses. The purpose of education is to prepare a child for life. The earlier a child can learn the elementary facts concerning the human society in which he must live, the more rational and intelligible will be his subsequent education. Is it not a bit of misplaced professional conceit which has led us in the past to regard social science as comprising "knowledge too wonderful" to be comprehended by any one below college grade?

FREDERICK R. CLOW, STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, OSHKOSH, WISCONSIN

The discussion this afternoon has borne out my contention that there is lack of agreement regarding the scope and method of sociology which baffles those who would put it to practical use. It also shows the eagerness of educators for teachable knowledge of our associated life, whether it be called sociology or something else. Until the masterpiece appears which will give some unity to our thought we must struggle along as best we may, making progress by natural selection. Let us each go home and develop his best of content or method, and give it out in the form of article, syllabus, or textbook.

THE COMMUNITY CENTER IN SOCIAL EDUCATION

JOHN COLLIER

Training School for Community Workers, New York City

The Community Center in social education will be evaluated most clearly if a certain definition be for the moment accepted. This is a conventional definition, not a generalization based on an induction from all the facts.

The Community Center is an institution through which any human interest whatsoever is brought into a relation, both useful and consciously significant, to the social enterprise.

By this definition a game center for young people is not necessarily a community center, nor is an unorganized saloon assemblage, nor a religious revival, nor a taxpayers' gathering. The Community Center either builds on or seeks to build a sentiment through which social good becomes an end in itself. Mere recognition that social process must be controlled to get specific results may have nothing to do with the existence of this sentiment through which human emotions are organized around an idea of social good.

The Community Center is therefore an endeavor, or an achievement of endeavor, toward bringing all the human interests—individual or group interests—into a relation with the social idea which, when it is established, will be automatic as an emotional reaction is automatic.

The wholly successful community center would therefore be a wholly successful social education.

What is the Community Center in fact, leaving aside conventional definitions?

The name was invented by a group of people who met in New York five years ago. In that city today it roughly distinguishes between two types of gathering. One of these, the community center, is a continuous gathering of young people and old, with

some definite aim of social service among their other aims. The other, the recreation center, is a continuous gathering of young people mostly, for play activities which are, as play should be, ends in themselves.

As the years pass these distinct types keep their distinction, nor has any Community Center yet found out how completely to envelop within itself the recreation center.

Very complicated has the Community Center grown to be. I give a single instance. In the Wingate Center, School 40, Manhattan, are the following large activities, which aggregate into the Community Center:

First, the business, social, and educational activities of Local 25 of the Garment Trade Unions—an industrial union with socialistic leanings.

Second, a vocational guidance work, following the child across his working-paper period, reaching into the neighborhood, and bringing back the child's relatives into the after-school activities.

Third, a public night school for immigrants, conducted in part on the club basis, with self-government and a forum, with dances and a general slant toward communal work.

Fourth, miscellaneous activities: meetings and entertainments by foreign national societies, parents' gatherings, literary clubs for adolescent boys and girls, mass meetings.

Fifth, experimental work on malnutrition, through which, with the co-operation of the Post Graduate Hospital, food education is carried through personal interviews and group gatherings to the families of the children in this school, one-third of whom are seriously malnourished.

The parliamentary government of this center is loose and variable. An executive secretary knits everything together, but each of the activities rules in its own sphere, free at any time to insulate itself from all the rest.

Other community centers have ventured upon binding parliamentary organization, with constitutions and treasuries running to the thousands of dollars, but these are surface details.

A parliamentary organization has value in that it ties up the junior groups in a somewhat organic way with the total doings

of the center, and dramatizes to all of the component groups the reality of the community, a thing bigger than any of them.

To get our basis for criticism, we must pass beyond the school Community Center, to the Community Council. This is a nationwide movement, whose most complicated development has already taken place in New York.

The Community Council invites all the people living in a geographical area to become voting members. The membership is predicated on service continuously rendered. All institutions, public and private agencies, all groups whatsoever, are represented with an equal voice on an advisory council. All power resides in the individual voting membership, but the councils are promoted through an overhead executive committee with federal authority, and they send representation to a city parliament, which at an early date will become the only super-organization with power of any kind to determine policy or method for the community councils. About one hundred such councils are in actual process in New York City today, and the goal is four hundred. The Community Council uses not one but many buildings, and may use private buildings as well as public buildings, since fundamentally it is not a thing of buildings but of organized people. Its indispensable mechanism is the community clearing house, where information about the social resources is catalogued, where facilities are available for any person or agency to call into service any other person or agency. There is a central community clearing house in New York, making possible the inexpensive maintenance of local clearing houses in each council area.

Now for the actual, not imaginary, uses of community centers, community councils, in social education.

First, the Community Council, including the public school and co-ordinate with it, enables the child in school to be at the same time a partaker of adult communal interests. His Junior Council is itself autonomous, and as a producing citizen even the youngest may become a working, though not a voting, member of the adult council. Not the child only, but the child's parents, the child's teacher, is part of the Community Council. They clash or pull together in a stress which encompasses the family,

which encompasses the school, which becomes only the more intense when the child leaves his day school and, receiving his working papers, becomes an industrial worker with leisure to use as he will. The child's experience is thus invaded, not merely by the world as it accidentally is in the time and place, but by the world as it is purposefully being built through community co-operation.

My time is too brief to analyze this phase of community-council work more closely, but I can say that it is real, and can be observed whether in Kirksville, Mo., or in each of many community-council areas in New York City.

A second phase of social education, now being accomplished in community councils, is that phase incidental to the team play of groups which otherwise would remain isolated from one another. Immigrant groups, labor groups, church groups—organizations whose group-forming interests, unconscious or conscious, are modified, enriched, sometimes revolutionized, through the mere team play of group with group.

I have the time for only one more specification. It is the most fundamental and teasing element in community work. How much of disease, how much of crime, grows out of the *sense of inferiority*? How much of psychic adjustment is possible through that expansion of the ego, experienced by one who creates in another a glow of delight, who achieves and is applauded for achieving, who serves and is valued for serving, who is unexpectedly, as one of a group, lifted from mediocrity to the experience of genius? All of the problem of adjusting maladjusted people, when every negative ministrations has been exhausted, resolves itself into this one problem, of aggrandizing the individual's conception of himself in a direction which is socially practicable.

We will love society when we experience ourselves in a more thrilling way by virtue of having acted upon society. The mental mechanisms are perhaps not different from those of conversion or prayer. Central, therefore, to the Community Council is the forum, the chorus, the community theater, the group dance, the salvaging of folk craft, and the discovery of new values for manual techniques which have lapsed under the influence of machine

industry. The making of society itself is involved in this problem, although we are now considering it as a problem of creating in individual spirits a loyalty to the social aim, of making each individual necessary in some way to the useful work or joyful seeking of his neighbors.

Summing up, social education tries to counterbalance the influences of a society which has become centralized, specialized, and mechanized. It tries to find, for each individual in turn, a relation of *being needed by* the source of power. It tries to personalize, to corporealize, the impersonal, extra-human Titan, the Frankenstein of social process which man has made, into which man breathes an incomplete spark of life. The Community Center is one of the efforts of social education to humanize society—to personalize society. It is conventionally distinguished as being the institution which seeks to create quickly, among all the people, a sentiment toward social good. Its dynamics are to be found in that postulate of William James: "The axis of reality runs solely through the egoistical places."

EXTENSION TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY IN COMMUNITIES

CECIL C. NORTH
Ohio State University

The community is a form of social grouping that lies midway between the neighborhood and the state or nation. It lacks the intimate face-to-face association of the neighborhood, and it does not have the completeness and self-sufficiency that characterizes the nation or the state. In American life the term community generally connotes a group living within a rather closely prescribed geographical area, the members of which are bound together by the necessity or convenience of fulfilling certain essential needs in a co-operative or communal way. Local government is probably the most distinguishing feature of a community. That is, the geographical and spiritual boundaries of the community will generally closely approximate those of the local governmental unit. The city or town or village, the township, or the county usually constitutes the community.

While the relations of the members of a community do lack the intimacy of the neighborhood and the larger aspects of national life, the community is nevertheless an exceedingly important form of social grouping. It is the unit which in American life at least is the agency through which by far the largest part of all the co-operative or communal tasks is accomplished. It is important to note some of the more significant of these community tasks. The protection of the person and the property of the citizen from injury or violence is, in times of peace, almost wholly a community responsibility. The contacts of the citizen with governmental agencies are almost exclusively with those of local government. The protection of the health of the individual by public-health agencies falls almost entirely upon the local health authority, as does also the enactment and administration of regulations for

housing and the removal of wastes. Public education in the common and secondary branches is an affair of the local community. Recreation, while falling to some extent within the narrower confines of the neighborhood, is still chiefly a community matter, as is evidenced by the patronage of the theater, the moving-picture house, the public dance hall, the municipal playground, and the civic celebration. The satisfaction of intellectual and aesthetic interests is limited very definitely by the community provision for a library, art museums, lecture courses, concerts, and similar activities. The standards of personal and civic morality that the individual is called upon to maintain, while reflecting national points of view to a considerable degree, nevertheless have a distinctly local color, and the social control that is operative for their enforcement is largely one of the local community. Even the assimilation of the immigrant to the national life must be accomplished in the long run by community agencies. The immigrant interprets the national life by the community life, and the efficiency of any program of national assimilation is measured by the success of the local community agencies.

In most or all of these tasks which we have listed as belonging primarily to the local community it is true that the nation and the state have certain functions. But the nation and state are mediated to the individual generally through a community agency. For example, control or support of local health or educational matters by the federal or state authority is accomplished through the community agency. As the citizen sees the affairs of the outside world through the eyes of the local newspaper, so he touches the life of the world almost wholly through those social organizations and institutions that function within the confines of the local community. Even the family, which is of all forms of grouping the most influential upon the life of the individual, is affected very considerably by other local institutions in its ability to render proper service to the individual. The difference between good and bad family life is frequently a difference of housing, public health, and educational and recreational influences.

In the rethinking of democracy that has been forced upon us there must be given considerable place for a better solution of local community problems than any democracy has thus far attained.

If it should be found that democracy like charity should begin at home, have we not a considerable task before us in learning how to provide for those elemental social needs that the local community must supply?

It is evident that if organized education is to be assigned a larger part in building the new democracy than it has had before, it must address itself with increasing efficiency to the problems of everyday life. The local community, with its problems of organization and technique, has not come in for any very careful attention from any body of academic students. It is significant that a very large number of the books on local community problems that have been published in recent years have been written by men other than those in academic life; and, with a few exceptions, university extension has meant agricultural extension work.

There have been, it is true, some significant examples of extension teaching in sociology, but it has been chiefly of a purely academic kind. It has consisted of correspondence courses given to individuals who wished to secure credit toward a degree from a university, or of lecture courses given before clubs, reading courses, or classes made up of a few persons whose interest was chiefly cultural. Manifestly the effect of such courses on the life of a community must be extremely small.

The kind of sociological teaching that is needed in communities is one that will reinforce the life of the community and enable it to perform more effectually those tasks for which the local community is responsible. It must have the whole community as its objective and some one or more phases of the actual life of the particular community as its point of attack. Only as our extension teaching makes this direct connection with the real life of a real community can we expect it to have any vital results.

This implies that the teaching program shall be a part of an effort by the community to realize a more complete development of its communal life. The provision of instruction in any form must have a background of conscious effort within the community itself to promote some kind of a practical program.

The part of the university is therefore rather definitely determined. The initiative comes from the community or from some group within the community, however small, in the form of a

request for assistance in the solution of some such problem as recreation, health, child welfare, or education. The community needs the technical information and the vision which the university can supply, but it also needs some local machinery for applying that information and vision to its local problem.

It is generally the case that the need is at first realized only by a very small group. There is not sufficient intelligence or interest to provide an organization without outside assistance. The initial work of the university may therefore have to be to provide such information and stimulus as are necessary for laying the foundation of a community organization. But whether the work of the university is prior to or follows the creation of a community organization, it is this local organization for community welfare that must be the responsible agency for making the information and vision of the university effective in the community life.

The most fundamental problem in the whole educational program is the development of the self-consciousness of the community. Until the citizens of a community are collectively conscious of the organic nature of their community problems there can be no definitely promoted program. The problems of the public school, the public health of the community, the recreational system, the city plan, the care of the dependent and delinquent groups, the aesthetic and intellectual life of the community—all these and others must come to lie in the mind of the average citizen as parts of a whole. And the different groups interested in promoting these various phases of the common life must see the common life of the whole as that for which each exists. Where some groundwork in the development of such community self-consciousness is the first piece of instruction that can be undertaken profitably, the survey and the public exhibit of findings are probably the most effective instruments. It takes very little ready-developed interest to make it possible to have a study made of one or more of the problems of the community by some outside agency; and the survey and the exhibit are themselves important means of education when directed by a university department of sociology with correct standards of social research.

On the foundation of public interest and of vision created by this preliminary work some form of community organization can be

effected, if it does not already exist. This autonomous responsible organization must furnish the medium through which the further university instruction may reach the community, and the scope and nature of the instruction must be determined by the program of this organization.

The particular methods of instruction must depend on the ends sought and the groups in the community which furnish the clientèle. In addition to the survey and exhibit two methods have been found particularly valuable, namely, the so-called conference or institute and the class of selected students. The institute may extend from a day to a week. What the agricultural colleges call the extension school is a series of lectures, talks, and exhibits extending over one week. Its value is manifestly much greater than a brief session of a day or two, and when the discussion is confined to a limited field it has possibilities of considerable permanence in results. In communities of considerable size several conferences might be held during the year, covering different problems and appealing to different groups in the community.

The class of selected students undoubtedly has possibilities of still greater permanency in results. Such a group, made up of public-school teachers, social workers, recreation leaders, public-health nurses, or municipal-department employees, might follow a course during a considerable part of the year. The content of the course could be either technical or fundamental.

The kind of teaching program here outlined calls for a specially organized department of the university or a special division of the department of sociology. It should include a bureau of social research and a division of community service. The bureau of social research should collect material for a permanent exhibit on the recent development in various phases of community life and have illustrative and technical information available for the communities in its territory that might call upon it. It should also be engaged constantly in investigating social problems within its territory and publishing the results. The division of community service should maintain a director for conducting social surveys, making exhibits, and rendering assistance to communities desiring to promote local organizations for community welfare. Some such staff as is now provided by agricultural colleges for extension work should be

available for providing instruction through conferences, institutes, and regular classes for selected students.

While such a piece of work as is described above would be planned primarily for the benefit of the communities which would be served, the reaction on the regular academic work within the institution would more than justify the movement. It would give to all the instruction in the department such a sense of reality that students in social theory would be protected from the ever-present danger of abstractness and detachment from life that constantly haunts academic instruction. It would moreover provide rich material for reports and special investigations for academic students. Finally, by utilizing graduate and advanced students in the surveys and in social research it would provide a training ground vastly superior to any other possible means. The bread cast on the waters of community service would be returned a hundred fold in the enrichment of the instruction and training within the walls.

DISCUSSION

JOHN L. GILLIN, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

First, a point of difference from the speaker. He says that the most distinguishing feature of a community is local government. Professor C. J. Galpin in his study of the *Anatomy of a Rural Community* has shown that on the basis of what is practically Professor North's definition of a community it is not true that local government is the most distinguishing feature of a community. According to his analysis of the ties which bind the members of a community together they are not the "city or town or village, the township, or the county" which "usually constitutes the community." The ties are chiefly economic interests, cultural concerns, personal relationships, and geographical features of the country like streams and roads. A moment's reflection on a concrete situation will show that the people who make up a community on the basis of the definition given by the speaker, that is, "a group living within a rather closely prescribed geographical area, the members of which are bound together by the necessity or convenience of fulfilling certain essential needs in a co-operative or communal way," are not limited in this co-operation by the artificial local government boundaries. Into the center of the community, which may be a city or a village or even a church, a schoolhouse, and a grocery store at the four corners, come people for many purposes from other local government units. People who live along a road leading into the community's center do not stop to ask whether the political boundary stops at any particular place, when they wish to trade there, or when

they contemplate going to church, or when they start for an evening's entertainment. Their milk goes to a certain point without reference to the local government's boundaries. The paper *from wherever* pays no attention to political boundaries. Only the school and the voting-place are limited in their appeal by local government boundaries. In fact, the political unit of local government is probably the least important feature of a community. People are less bound together "in a co-operative or communal way" by the ties of political interests than by those of business, cultural, and natural social relationships. I emphasize this point only because I think it is of importance in any plan of extending the teaching of sociology to communities outside the university that not so much attention be paid to political lines as to the interests which bind people together.

I am glad to hear Professor North emphasize the importance of having the university in charge of the survey and exhibit, which he thinks is the chief means of arousing the consciousness of the community to its social needs. I am inclined to feel, however, that the survey and exhibit must in some cases be put aside for the more usual methods of personal conference or public address. Some places which need the university's service most cannot be persuaded to have a survey and exhibit first.

The speaker is quite right in saying that so far as the extension movement in general is concerned most of it has been agricultural extension. I infer that he is speaking of its volume. I am sure that that is not the case as far as extension teaching of sociology is concerned, especially in the Middle West. There the leaders in the extension teaching of sociology are the state universities. Kansas with its extension bureau on child welfare, its social surveys, and its business men's institutes; Iowa with its business men's institutes, emphasizing not only business problems but also social problems connected with business, and its business and social surveys; Minnesota and North Dakota with their welfare lectures and their classes in welfare problems; Indiana with her community institutes and the varied activities of her various bureaus in the extension division and the medical school and department of sociology; and Wisconsin with not only her extensive correspondence-study department, her department of lectures, which puts on a great many sociological and economic lectures, her package libraries, many of which bear upon social problems of which communities have become conscious, and her department of general welfare with four bureaus each devoted to extending the work of the various departments of the university which deal with community problems, and with its widespread community institutes, social-problems conference, business men's congress, its community-center adviser, its municipal-problems adviser—these are examples of the attempt of some of the universities to meet the need of carrying sociological teaching to the communities about them.

The movement is young. It has made mistakes. It will probably make others. It has, however, performed a service which communities have wished

for and appreciate, and which has not yet been fully realized and is not appreciated in many academic circles. It is a movement which all sociologists should welcome, and which we should seek to influence. We should use its facilities, as Professor North suggests, in order to give to our teaching a sense of reality by forcing us to talk about things that common people comprehend in a language which they can understand.

W. S. BITTNER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR IN CHARGE OF PUBLIC-WELFARE
SERVICE, EXTENSION DIVISION, INDIANA UNIVERSITY

The term *community* may well be defined largely by local and restricted boundaries, but too much emphasis cannot be given to the importance of extra-local factors governing the life of the small community. When we consider the question of social education through the community we must have in mind such broad categories as the state, the nation, and communities of nations, as well as that social grouping which is confined to a distinct geographical area. Each greater community should have powerful educational forces giving energy and direction to the education of the people in the lesser community.

Accordingly the implications of the phrase *social education through the community* may be very broad. Some of the implications are, briefly, that there is, or should be, a new or wider direction for education with aims higher and better than any education of the recent past; that educators or teachers should accept whole-heartedly the theory that civilization can be directed to result in better and more life for all individuals, groups, and peoples; that a less individualistic kind of teaching, a kind that inspires persons as consciously integral parts of communities, is the chief hope of achieving this new direction. It necessarily follows that new instruments of social teaching should be developed—men and women, organizations and institutions.

The crisis of the war illustrates the necessity; in order to accomplish the winning of the war and the great social gains presumably bound up with that victory, powerful forces of social education had to be quickly and greatly projected. Practically every sober person recognizes that it was psychologically impossible for the United States to enter the war many weeks or months before the declaration in April. Everybody knows that tremendous effort was required to develop public opinion sufficiently to permit of effective mobilization of all our forces after our entrance into the war. That effort took unprecedented forms; the diversity of the methods employed and their magnitude are significant.

The new methods and the amazingly extended old methods of developing public opinion and securing united community action succeeded admirably in war; they should be utilized for salutary ends in time of peace.

That new methods of social teaching are required, if democracy is ever to grow rapidly beyond political forms, demands little argument. Most of the teaching of the schools is individual, is intended primarily to fit each student for

individual success, to give him some of the tools of trade or profession and incidentally some of the rudiments of social intercourse. At least the emphasis in formal instruction is individualistic, and the machinery is designed to turn out self-sufficient units. The social teaching which does appear in the schools, and which is evident in the work of numerous agencies not confined to school or college walls, aims blindly and feebly to develop co-operations, to promote understanding of and ability to participate in group undertakings, to facilitate social progress as it may be well or ill conceived. Unfortunately there are many organizations which are antisocial in their teaching—a political party which does not hesitate to use any device to mold public opinion to its support even though national or international interests may be endangered, or a system of newspapers which manufactures the case for military intervention in Russia with little regard for social consequences. Social education has not been well directed, its aims have not been clearly and unselfishly visioned, because it has not had the concerted attention of students, educators, and statesmen working through universal public institutions. The agencies of social education are largely private, unrelated, and haphazard in their activities. Too often their antisocial tendencies cannot be checked, because no alert and sufficiently powerful informing body exists to blast them with the truth. The instruments of community education are not generally supported by public funds, they are not adequately fostered by the state.

The survival or success theory dominantly behind the bulk of our individualistic teaching works indifferently well so far as it goes, but even though it should be greatly extended, it will always be limited by failure in social co-operations. That is, merely to fit individuals for work and the practice of art or culture ignores in effect the necessity of having available for everybody adequate work and art and tolerable conditions for their exercise, with proper training and knowledge for the multitude to apply the right vision and technique, to make it possible for all to live together well.

The following suggestions as to the kind of instruments of social education which we need to project into and through communities include some that exhibited remarkable effectiveness during the war.

Undoubtedly we need as devices for social teaching more and greater associations of persons and peoples; also more official or semigovernmental organizations devoted to teaching for the common welfare.

To cite examples of the first group, we need a co-ordinating association in every community, which may be a community or neighborhood center, which will perform some of the functions developed by municipal research bureaus, survey committees, chambers of commerce, federations of clubs, but will unify them for the good of the whole community. We need a League of Nations, a device for teaching whole peoples to live in the same world together under the compulsion of consciously adopted forms of co-operation. We need more international labor unions, commercial associations, professional and educational bodies, devices for educating the members of comparatively homogeneous

groups for common understandings. Social education is a work too great and complex to be left to small instruments and inadequate institutions, whether they function primarily in the small community or in the large.

To cite examples of the second group, we need more organizations for public service, like the United States Department of Agriculture, the Department of the Interior, the Children's Bureau. We need a Department of Education with a Division of Educational Extension to discover and develop adequate devices for social teaching. Such governmental agencies should partially direct and to a large extent enliven the educational forces inherent in the small community. In every community there should be more public-service organizations, some of them semiofficial, others voluntary—a public-health station, with community nurses; an agricultural station, with farm and garden specialists; a laboratory and dispensary for home economics, with "home demonstrator agents"; a recreation center, with secretary and staff; a forum; a community press. The community is important enough to employ continuously an adequate staff of specialists in community education.

University Extension has been striving for over a decade to adapt some of the educational devices of the laboratory and classroom, and other educational instruments, to the exigencies of practical social education through the community. It remained for the war to furnish the occasion for wholesale elaboration of the idea of educational extension. No mean results were accomplished by the propaganda of the Food Administration, the War Savings organizations, the councils of defense, the Committee on Public Information, the speakers' bureaus, the Home Service institutes of the Red Cross, the school-house associations, the voluntary-service groups. It remains for new-time educators to hold fast to the idea of educational extension and to perfect the instruments of social teaching through the community.

PAUL L. VOGT, SUPERINTENDENT, DEPARTMENT OF RURAL WORK, BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS AND CHURCH EXTENSION, METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

One point in Professor North's paper that is open to question is that the geographical and spiritual boundaries of a community will generally closely approximate those of the local government unit. The studies that have been made of rural life during recent years reveal the fact that one of the most serious handicaps to rural-community progress today is that political boundaries fixed under pioneer conditions no longer conform to the spiritual or geographic boundaries of communities. The necessity is very clear of having a nation-wide survey made to determine what the spiritual boundaries of modern rural communities really are as a basis for bringing political boundaries into harmony with the spiritual boundaries. The unit for taxation in rural education is a case in point. In many cases the village which is the real community center is located on the edge of a township with the result that con-

solidated schools are located in some instances at the center of the township instead of in the village as they should be.

The same difficulty in local development arises when township, county, or state boundaries run through spiritual centers. In such cases uniformity in development of public utilities, educational systems, or in public-safety control is difficult to obtain.

In large urban centers the unity of the spiritual life is definitely interfered with by the existence of political lines, and the development of the community activities of the entire metropolitan area is thereby seriously handicapped. In many ways the interests of New York City would be better conserved were normal city boundaries given precedence over state boundaries.

Professor North has called attention to one of the most serious drawbacks in university work in this country in mentioning the lack of adequate provision for extension work in social education. In agricultural-extension work extension departments have grown until they have become a most important part of the work of agricultural colleges. Yet to date even in agricultural extension the work is dominated largely by ideals of teaching people to produce wealth. From the farmers' point of view in a competitive system there is serious question as to whether this is now or will be the most helpful since increased production is likely to bring lowered prices to the farmer. Thus the very part of agricultural-extension work heralded so widely as of value to the farmer is really a greater contribution to the urban resident and most deserves his support. In few states is there yet any adequate program of teaching farmers business methods in co-operation or in principles of community organization for social efficiency. But little work has yet been done to provide extension courses to all the people, both rural and urban, along lines that will make popular understanding of social or economic problems safe for democracy. The great problems of the present time are not problems of wealth production, but of adjustment in distribution of wealth, and of caring for physical, recreational, social, and religious life so that what is produced will be a social asset instead of a liability. It would be a real contribution to the solution of this problem if this body or some similar group could take action calling attention of our educational authorities in some adequate way to the attitude of the students of social life in regard to the necessity of an aggressive program of social education for the masses of the people who will never enter institutions of higher learning as students.

CAROL ARONOVICI, AMHERST H. WILDER CHARITY, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

It seems to me hardly feasible to organize through the Sociological Society any concerted effort toward the development of a program of social legislation that would be country-wide. Most of the social legislation needed relates to state affairs and is subject to enactment only by state legislatures. The diversity of constitutional law in each state and the peculiar needs of each

state must be met locally by persons especially familiar with the exigencies of the local problems, and could not be promoted by national committees of sociologists.

Where federal legislation is necessary there are well-established, properly financed agencies which have carried on research for years and which are amply able to promote such interests as are representative of the National Child Labor Committee, the National Prison Committee, the Association for Labor Legislation, the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, and other organizations of similar character.

J. F. STEINER, AMERICAN RED CROSS, WASHINGTON, D.C.

We have just listened to interesting theories as to methods of rural social organization. It ought to be worth while to evaluate some of the significant experiments that are actually being tried out.

Under the auspices of the Home Service of the Red Cross, one type of rural-social organization has been going on during the past year throughout our entire country. Home Service is that part of the work of the Red Cross that has to do with the welfare of soldiers' families. The organization for this work has included the smallest communities as well as the larger cities. Home Service sections have been established in connection with Red Cross chapters in small and remote places where social work had never before been attempted. Although this work was sufficiently technical to require a trained worker to be in charge, it has been well supported in general and has demonstrated the possibility of social work on a wide scale in the smaller towns and rural communities.

It is interesting, therefore, to know something of the principles upon which this work was based. From the point of view of rural organization two outstanding features of Home Service policy are especially worthy of attention.

The first of these is the utilization of trained leadership developed from within the local community itself. The Red Cross from the very beginning of its plans for Home Service made preparations to train its own workers. This was accomplished by establishing in various places Home Service institutes and chapter courses. The Institute, which was organized in thirty of the largest cities in co-operation with colleges and universities, consisted of a six weeks' course comprising lectures, assigned readings, and practical field work under supervision. Each Home Service section was urged to send one representative to an institute to receive this training. During the past year 1100 have graduated from these Institutes and in many instances are now serving as Home Service secretaries in small towns and communities.

The chapter courses were of a briefer nature and were established in local chapters in order to give some measure of training to Home Service representatives responsible for the work within the various districts of the chapter's jurisdiction. These courses were under the direction of a trained worker from

the Division Office and were intended to acquaint the worker with the fundamental factors involved in social work with families.

In this way each community, no matter how small, had its own leaders working in accordance with a definite policy based upon the best experience of well-trained teachers. This made Home Service a vital part of each community and gained for it enthusiastic support.

The second factor in Home Service of significance in connection with a discussion of rural problems is the supervision of the work of each community by the division and national offices. This supervision was carried on by means of field visits of inspection, conferences, correspondence, and printed instructions. In each of the thirteen division offices is a field staff constantly occupied in making visits to the Home Service sections within its jurisdiction.

The experience of the past year has clearly indicated the impracticability of building up a social-service organization in more or less isolated places without definite provision for adequate supervision. Inspiration must be gained by contact with outside workers who are doing things. There is needed the incentive which comes from belonging to a great movement engaged in working on a common task.

Through its policy of education and supervision the Red Cross has demonstrated the possibility of organizing successfully the smaller communities to meet their local needs.

EARLE E. EUBANK, Y.M.C.A. COLLEGE, CHICAGO

If an inhabitant of Mars had sat through the sessions of this annual meeting, up to this point at least he would have obtained no hint from any part of the program that we have just passed through the greatest of all wars and are now at the beginning of a period of readjustment which shall undoubtedly affect the future of the race.

Would it not seem that this Society might well devote a part of the time of these sessions to contributions toward the task of reconstruction instead of giving the entire two days to matters not directly related to the big questions uppermost in the mind of the world? Individually, practically everyone here is in one way or another making an important contribution to the nation's readjustment, and this makes it the more strange that in this particular gathering we have so little to say upon the topic. The nation has a right to expect some contribution from us as a Society more than from almost any other for group, our *profession* is the scientific study of human relations.

THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY TO UNDERGRADUATES¹

ARTHUR J. TODD
University of Minnesota

The teaching of sociology as a definite college subject in the United States began at Yale nearly forty-five years ago. Since 1873 it has been introduced into nearly two hundred American colleges, universities, normal schools, and seminaries. A study of this teaching in 1910 revealed over 700 courses offered to over 8,000 undergraduates and 1,100 graduate students. It is safe to assume a steady growth during the last six years. Hence the problem of teaching is of no little concern to sociologists. The American Sociological Society early recognized this fact and in 1909 appointed a Committee of Ten to report on certain aspects of the problem. But that all teachers of sociology have not grasped the bearing of pedagogy upon their work is clear from complaints still heard from students that sociology is vague, indefinite, abstract, dull, or scattered. Not long ago some bright members of a class were overheard declaring that their professor must have been struck by a gust of wind which scattered his notes every day before getting to his desk.

Sociology is simply a way of looking at the same world of reality which every other science looks at in its own way. It cannot therefore depart far from the pedagogical principles tried out in teaching other subjects. It must utilize the psychology of attention, interest, drill, the problem method, procedure from the student's known to the new, etc. The universal pitfalls have been charted for all teachers by the educational psychologists. In addition, sociology may offer a few on its own account, partly because it is new, partly because a general agreement as to the content of fundamentals in

¹A chapter in Professor Paul Klapper's forthcoming book on *College Teaching*. Copyright, 1917, by World Book Co.

sociology courses is just beginning to make itself felt, partly because there is so far no really good textbook available as a guide to the beginner.

Specific methods of teaching vary according to individual temperament, the "set" of the teacher's mind; according to his bias of class, birth, or training; according to whether he has been formed or deformed by some strong personality whose disciple he has become; according to whether he is a radical or a conservative; according to whether he is the dreamy, idealistic type or whether he hankers after concrete facts; according to whether sociology is a primary interest or only an incidental, more or less unwelcome.

Hence part of the difficulty, though by no means all, comes from the fact that sociology is frequently expounded by men who have received no specific training themselves in the subject, or who have had the subject thrust upon them as a side issue. In this connection it is interesting to note that in 1910 sociology was "given" in only twenty cases by sociology departments, in sixty-three by combinations of economics, history, and politics, in eleven by philosophy and psychology, in two by economics and applied Christianity or theology, in one by practical theology!

Whatever the path which led into the sociological field or whatever the bias of temperament, experience justifies several preliminary hints for successful teaching. First, avoid the voice, the yearning manner, and the gesture of the preacher. Sociology needs the cool-headed analyst rather than the social revivalist. Let the sentimentalist and the muckraker stay with their lecture circuits and the newspapers. The student wants enthusiasm and inspiration rather than sentimentality.

Second, renounce the lecture, particularly with young students. There is no surer method of blighting the interest of students, of murdering their minds, and of ossifying the instructor than to persist in the pernicious habit of the formal lecture. Some men plead large classes in excuse. If they were honest with themselves they would usually find that they like large classes as a subtle sort of compliment to themselves. Given the opportunity to break up a class of two hundred into small discussion groups they would frequently refuse, on the score that they would lose a fine opportunity

to influence a large group. Dodge it as you will the lecture is and will continue to be an unsatisfactory, even vicious, way of attempting to teach social science. No reputable university tries to teach economics or politics nowadays in huge lecture sections. Only an abnormal conceit or abysmal poverty will prevent sociology departments from doing likewise. Remember that education is always an exchange, never a free gift.

Third, do not be afraid to utilize commonplace facts and illustrations. A successful professor of sociology writes me that he can remember that what are mere commonplaces now were revelations to him at twenty-one. Two of the greatest teachers of the nineteenth century, Faraday and Huxley, attributed their success to the simple maxim, take nothing for granted. It is safe to assume that most students come from homes where business and petty neighborhood doings are the chief concern, and where a broad, well-informed outlook on life is rare. Since so many of my colleagues insist that young Ph.D.'s tend constantly to "shoot over the heads" of their students, the best way of avoiding this particular pitfall seems to lie along the road of simple, elementary, concrete fact. The discussion method in the classroom will soon put the instructor right if he has gone to the other extreme of depreciating his students through kindergarten methods. Likewise he can guard against being oracular and pedantic by letting out his superior stores of information through free discussion in the Socratic fashion. Nothing is more important to good teaching than the knack of apt illustration. While to a certain extent it can be taught, just as the art of telling a humorous story or making a presentation speech can be communicated by teachers of oral English, yet in the long run it is rather a matter of spontaneous upwellings from a well-stored mind. For example, suppose a class is studying the factors of variation and selection in social evolution: the instructor shows how Nature loves averages not only by statistics and experiments with the standard curve of distribution, but also, if he is a really illuminated teacher, by reference, say, to the legend of David and Goliath, the fairy tale of Little One-Eye, Little Two-Eye, Little Three-Eye, and Lincoln's famous aphorism to the effect that the Lord must love the common people because he made so many of

them. Sad experience advises that it is unsafe for an instructor any longer to assume that college Sophomores are familiar with the Old Testament, classic myths, or Greek and Roman history. Hence he must beware of using any recondite allusions or illustrations which themselves need so much explanation that their bearing on the immediate problem in hand is obscured. An illustration, like a funny story, loses its pungency if it requires a scholium.

Fourth, adhere to what a friend calls the 16-to-1 basis, sixteen parts fact and one part theory. Fifth, eschew the professor's chair. The blackboard is the teacher's "next friend." Recent time-motion studies lead us to believe that no man can use a blackboard efficiently unless he stands! The most celebrated teaching in history was peripatetic. Sixth, postpone the reconciling of discrepant social theorizing to the tougher-hided Seniors or graduate students, and stick to the presentation of "accessible realities." Finally, an occasional friendly meeting with students, say once or twice a semester at an informal supper, will create an atmosphere of co-operative learning, will break down the traditional barriers of hostility between master and pupil, and may incidentally bring to the surface many useful hints for the framing of discussion problems.

To a certain extent teaching methods are determined by the age of the students. In 1910 of all the institutions reporting seventy-three stated that sociology instruction began in the Junior year; twenty-three admitted Sophomores; four, Freshmen; thirty-nine, Seniors. But the unmistakable drift is in the direction of introducing sociology earlier in the college curriculum, and even into secondary and elementary schools. Hence the cautions voiced above tend to become all the more imperative. Moreover, while in the past it has been possible to exact history, economics, political science, philosophy, psychology, or education as prerequisite to beginning work in sociology, in view of the downward trend of sociology courses it becomes increasingly more difficult to take things for granted in the student's preparation. Until the dream of offering a semester or year of general social science to all Freshmen as the introduction to work in the specialized branches of social science comes true, the sociologist must communicate to his elementary classes a sense of the relations between his view of social

phenomena and the aspects of the same phenomena which the historian, the economist, the political scientist, and the psychologist handle.

Both the content and methods of sociological instruction are determined also in part by what its purpose is conceived to be. A study of the beginnings of teaching this subject in the United States shows that it was prompted primarily by practical ends. For example, the American Social Science Association proposal in 1878 in so far as it covered the field of sociology included only courses on punishment and reformation of criminals, public and private charities, prevention of vice. President White of Cornell in 1871 recommended a course of practical instruction "calculated to fit young men to discuss intelligently such important social questions as the best methods of dealing practically with pauperism, intemperance, crime of various degrees and among persons of different ages, insanity, idiocy, and the like." Columbia University early announced that a university situated in such a city full of problems at a time when "industrial and social progress is bringing the modern community face to face with social questions of the greatest magnitude, the solution of which will demand the best scientific study and the most honest practical endeavor," must provide facilities for bringing university study into connection with practical work. In 1901 definite practical courses shared honors of first place with the elementary or general course in college announcements. The situation was practically the same ten years later. Still more recently Professor Blackmar, one of the veterans in sociology teaching, worked out rather an elaborate program of what he called a "reasonable department of sociology for colleges and universities." In spite of the fact that theoretical, biological, anthropological, and psychological aspects of the subject were emphasized, his conclusion was that "the whole aim is to ground sociology in general utility and social service. It is a preparation for social efficiency."

The principle of adaptation to environment comes into play also in the choice of teaching methods. An urban department can send its students directly into the field for first-hand observation of industry, housing, sanitation, congestion, playgrounds, immigra-

tion, etc., and may encourage "supervised field work" as fulfilling course requirements. But the country or small-town department far removed from large cities must emphasize rural social study, or get its urban data second hand through print, charts, photographs, or lantern slides. A semester excursion to the city or to some state charitable institution adds a touch of vividness to the routine class work. But "slumming parties" are to be ruthlessly tabooed, particularly when featured in the newspapers. Social science is not called upon to make experimental guinea-pigs of the poor simply because of their poverty and inability to protect themselves.

For many reasons the most serious problems of teaching sociology center about the elementary or introductory course. Advanced undergraduate and graduate courses usually stand or fall by the inherent appeal of their content as organized by the peculiar genius of the instructor. If the student has been able to weather the storms of his "Introduction" he will usually have gained enough momentum to carry him along even against the adverse winds of bad pedagogy in the upper academic zones. Since the whole purpose of sociology is the very practical purpose of giving the student mental tools with which to think straight on societal problems (what Comte called the "social point of view"), and since usually only a comparatively small number find it possible to specialize in advanced courses, the introductory course assumes what at first sight might seem a disproportionate importance. Only one or two teachers of sociology so far as I know discount the value of an elementary course. The rest are persuaded of its fundamental importance, and many, therefore, consider it a breach of trust to turn over this course to green, untried instructors. Partly as a recruiting device for their advanced courses, partly from this sense of duty, they undertake instruction of beginners. But it is often impossible for the veteran to carry this elementary work: he must commit it to younger men. For that reason the remainder of this paper will be given over to a discussion of teaching methods for such an elementary course, with younger teachers in mind.

First, two or three general hints. It is unwise, to say the least, to attempt to cover the social universe in one course. Better a few, simple concepts, abundantly illustrated, organized clearly and

systematically. Perhaps it is dangerous to suggest a few recurrent catch phrases to serve as guiding threads throughout the course; but that was the secret of the old ballad and the folk-tale. Homer and the makers of fairy tales combined art and pedagogy in their use of descriptive epithets. Such a phrase as Ward's "struggle for existence is struggle for structure" might furnish the framework of a whole course. "Like-mindedness," "interest groups," "belief-groups," "folkways," are also convenient refrains.

Nobody but a thoroughgoing pedant will drag his students through two weeks of lectures and a hundred pages of text at the beginning of the course in the effort to define sociology and chart all its affinities and relations with every other science. Twenty minutes at the first class meeting should suffice to develop an understanding of what the scientific attitude is and a tentative definition of sociology. The whole course is its definition. At the end of the term the very best way of indicating the relation of sociology to other sciences is through suggestions about following up the leads obtained in the course by work in biology, economics, psychology, and other fields. This correlation of the student's program gives him an intimate sense of the unity in diversity of the whole range of science.

If the student is to avoid several weeks of floundering, he should be led directly to observe societal relations in the making. This can perhaps be accomplished best through assigning a series of four problems at the first class meetings. Problem I: To show how each student spins a web of social relationship. Let him take a sheet of paper, mark a dot representing himself in the middle of it, then add dots and connecting lines for every individual or institution he forms a contact with during the next two or three days. He will get a result approximating the diagram in Fig. 1.

Problem II: To show how neighborhoods are socially bound up. Let the student take a section, say two or three blocks square in a district he knows well, and map it, showing all the contacts. Again he will get a web somewhat like Fig. 2.

These diagrams are adapted from student reports. If they seem absurdly simple it is well to remember that experience reveals the student's amazing lack of ability to visualize social relationships

without some such device. These diagrams, however, should serve merely as the point of departure. Add to them charts showing the

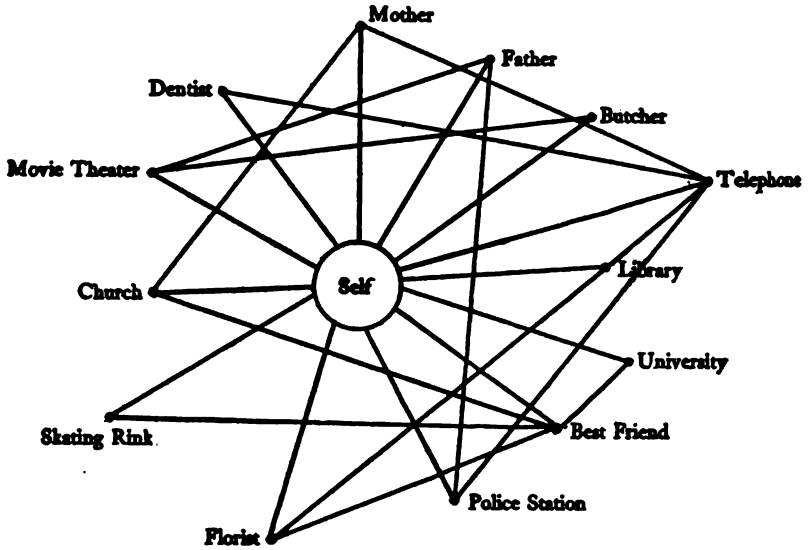


FIG. 1

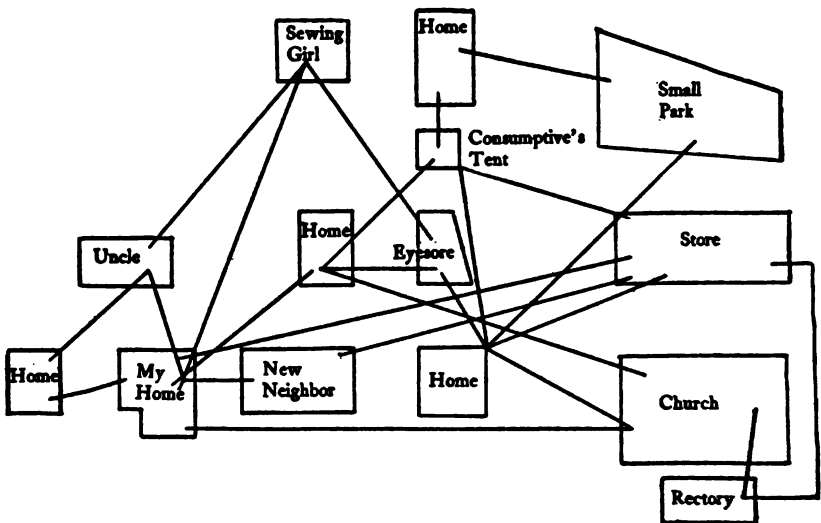


FIG. 2

sources of milk and other food supplies of a large city, and a sense of the interdependence and reciprocity of city and country will develop. Take a Mercator's projection map of the world and draw the trade routes and immigration streams to indicate international solidarities. Such diagrams as the famous health tract "A Day in the Life of a Fly" or the story of Typhoid Mary are helpful in establishing how closely a community is bound together.

Problem III: To show the variety and kinds of social activities, i.e., activities that bring two or more people into contact. Have the student note down even the homeliest sorts of such activities, the butcher, the postman, the messenger boy; insist that he go out and look instead of guessing or reading; require him to group these activities under headings which he may work out for himself. He will usually arrive at three or four, such as getting a living, recreation, political. It may be wise to ask him to grade these activities as helpful, harmful, strengthening, or weakening, in order to accustom him to the idea that sociology must treat of good, bad, and indifferent objects.

Problem IV: To determine what the preponderant social interests and activities are as judged by the amount of time men devote to them. Let the student try a "time budget" for a fortnight. For this purpose Giddings suggests a large sheet of paper ruled for a wide left-hand margin and thirty-two narrow columns; the first twenty-four columns for hours of the day, the twenty-fifth for the word daily, and the last seven for the seven days of the week. In the margin the student writes the names of every activity of whatever description during the waking hours. This will furnish excellent training in exact habits of observation and recording and inductive generalization. When the summary is made at the end of the fortnight the student will have worked out for himself the habitual "planes of interest" along which social activities lie.

At this point he ought to have convinced himself that the subject-matter of sociology is concrete reality, not moonshine. Moreover he should be able to lay down certain fundamental marks of a social group, such as a common impulse to get together, common sentiments, ideas, and beliefs, reciprocal service. From the discovery of habitual planes of interest (self-maintenance, self-perpetuation,

self-assertion, self-subordination, etc.) it is a simple step to show diagrammatically how each interest impels an activity, which tends to precipitate itself into a social habit or institution.

Inner Urge or Interest (Instinct or Disposition)	Motor Expression in Activity	Resultant Group Habit or Institution
Hunger: will to live; self-maintenance	The food quest	Economic technique, property, inventions, material arts of life
Sex: self-perpetuation	Procreation and parenthood	The family, ancestor worship, courts of domestic relations, patriarchal government, etc.

The way is now clear for the two next steps, the concepts of causation and development. Here again why not follow the ego-centric plan of starting with what the student knows? Ask him to write a brief but careful autobiography answering the question, How have I come to be what I am? What influences, personal or otherwise, have played upon me?² The student is almost certain to lay hold of the principle of determining or controlling forces, and of evolution or change; he may even be able to analyze rather clearly the different types of control which have co-operated in his development.

From this start it is easy to develop the genetic concept of social life. The individual grows from simple to complex. Why not the race? Here introduce a comparison between the social group known to the student, a retarded group (such as MacClintock's or Vincent's study of the Kentucky mountaineers²) or a frontier community, and a contemporary primitive tribe (say, the Hupa or Seri Indians, Negritos, Bontoc Igorot, Bangala, Kafirs, Yakuts, Eskimo or Andaman Islanders). Require a detailed comparison arranged in parallel columns on such points as size, variety of occupations, food supply, security of life, institutions, family life, language, religion, superstitions, and opportunities for culture.

These two points of departure—the student's interest in his own personality and the community influences that have molded it, and the comparative study of a primitive group—should har-

¹ In order to secure frank statements, both these autobiographies and the time budgets may be handed in anonymously.

² *American Journal of Sociology*, IV, 1-20; VII, 1-28, 171-87.

monize the two chief rival views of teaching sociologists, namely, those who urge the approach to sociology through anthropology and those who find the best avenue through the concrete knowledge of the *socius*. Moreover, it lays a foundation for a discussion of the antiquity of man, his kinship with other living things, and his evolution; that is, the biological presupposition of human society. Here let me testify to the great help which Osborn's photographs¹ of reconstructions of the Pithecanthropos, Piltown, Neanderthal, and Crô-Magnon types have rendered in clearing away prejudices and in vivifying the remote past. Religious apprehensions in particular may be allayed also by referring students to articles on race, man, evolution, anthropology, etc., in such compilations as the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, and Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. The opening chapters in Marett's little book on anthropology are so sanely and admirably written that they also clear away many prejudices and fears.

With such a concrete body of facts contrasting primitive with modern civilized social life the student will naturally inquire, How did these changes come about? At this point should come normally the answer in terms of what practically all sociologists agree upon, namely, the three great sets of determining forces or phenomena, the three "controls": (1) the physical environment (climate, topography, natural resources, etc.); (2) man's own nature (psycho-physical factors, the factors in biological evolution, the rôle of instinct, race, and possibly the concrete problems of immigration and eugenics); (3) social heredity (folkways, customs, institutions, the arts of life, the methods of getting a living, significance of tools, distribution of wealth, standards of living, etc.). A black-board diagram will show how these various factors converge upon any given individual.

The amplification of these three points will ordinarily make up the body of an introductory course so far as class work goes. Ethnography should furnish rich illustrative material. But to make class discussions really productive the student's knowledge of his own community must be drawn upon. And the best way of getting this correlation is through community surveys.

¹ In his *Men of the Old Stone Age*.

The student should be required as parallel laboratory work to prepare a series of chapters on his ward, or part of his ward, or village, covering the three sets of determining factors. The instructor may furnish an outline of the topics to be investigated, or he may pass around copies of such brief survey outlines as Aronovici's *Knowing One's Own Community* or Miss Byington's *What Social Workers Should Know about Their Own Communities*; he may also refer them to any one of the rapidly growing number of good urban and rural surveys as models. But he should not give too much information as to where materials for student reports may be obtained. The disciplinary value of having to hunt out facts and uncover sources is second only to the value of accurate observation and effective presentation. If the aim of a sociology course is social efficiency, experience shows no better way of getting a vivid yet sober, first-hand knowledge of community conditions. And there is likewise no surer way of compelling students to substitute facts for vapid wordiness and snap judgments.

Toward the end of the course many of us have found it profitable to introduce a brief discussion of what may be called the highest term of the mores, namely, the evolution of two or three typical institutions, say, law and government, education, religion, and the family. These topics will serve to clinch the earlier discussions and to crystallize a few ideas on social control and perhaps even social progress.

Normally such a course will close with a fuller definition of the meaning of sociology, its content, its value in the study of other sciences, and, if time permits, a brief historical sketch of the development of sociology as a separate science.

I have no certified advice to offer on the question of textbooks. But the almost universal cry of sociology teachers is that so far no really satisfactory text has been produced. Some men still use Spencer, some write their own books, some try to adapt to their particular needs such texts as are issued from time to time, some use none at all but depend upon a more or less well-correlated syllabus or set of readings. There is undoubtedly a profitable demand for a good elementary source book comparable to Thomas' *Source Book on Social Origins* or Marshall, Wright, and Field's *Materials*

for the Study of Elementary Economics. Nearly any text will need freshening up by collateral reading from such periodicals as *The Survey* or *The New Republic*. In order to secure effective and correlated outside reading, many teachers have found it helpful to require the students to devote the first five or ten minutes of a class meeting once a week or even daily to a written summary of their readings and of class discussions. Such a device keeps readings fresh and enables the teacher to emphasize the points of contact between readings and class work.

Every university should develop some sort of a social museum to cover primitive types of men, the evolution of tools, arts of life, manners and customs, and contemporary social conditions. These can be displayed in the form of plaster casts, ethnographic specimens, photographs, lantern slides, models of housing, statistical charts, printed monographs, etc. The massing of a series of these illustrations sometimes produces a profound effect. For example, the corridor leading to the sociology rooms at the University of Minnesota has been lined with large photographs of tenement conditions, child labor, immigrant types, etc. The student's interest and curiosity have been heightened immensely. Once a semester, during the discussion of the economic factor in social life, we stage what is facetiously called "a display of society's dirty linen." The classroom is decorated with a set of charts showing the distribution of wealth, wages, cost of living, growth of labor unions, and other organizations of economic protest. The mass effect is a cumulative challenge.

Finally, a word about "field work" as a teaching device. Field work usually means some sort of social-service practice work under direction of a charitable agency, juvenile court, settlement, or playground. But beginning students are usually more of a liability than an asset to such agencies; they lack the time to supervise students' work, and "field work" without strict supervision is a farcical waste of time. If such agencies will accept a few students who have the learner's attitude, rather than an inflated persuasion of their social messiahship, field work can become a very valuable adjunct to class work. In default of such opportunities the very best field work is an open-eyed study of one's own community in

the attempt to find out what actually is rather than to reform a hypothetical evil.¹

ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION² ON "THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY TO UNDERGRADUATES"

MANUEL C. ELMER, UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

The problem of teaching sociology to undergraduates is one of the most difficult problems teachers of sociology have to meet. In our work with graduate students we have individuals whose point of view has been determined to some extent, and who have selected some specific phase of the field of sociology for their further study. The undergraduate, however, is not only without a point of view, but has hardly an inkling of the subject-matter of sociology. Where any idea concerning the subject-matter is had, it is too often that of the average layman—namely, a study of the ills and weaknesses of society. It is true that sociologists must deal with these phases of life in society, but merely as incidents in a general series of causes and effects, the most of which are not especially unusual or of a nature to be subject-matter for a first-page story in a sensational newspaper.

Because sociology involves a new departure in the line of reasoning of the undergraduate, many teachers try to avoid too much abstract subject-matter by limiting their introductory course to specific problems—and these problems are often those dealing with pathological conditions only. Students usually display interest in courses of that nature, and the teacher sometimes flatters himself with the thought that he has succeeded in laying the foundation for further sociological study, when all that has been done has been the arousing of a morbid interest in abnormal social conditions and activities.

Recently a student told me she wished to do her major work in sociology. On seeking the reason she told me she had already had eleven semester hours in another institution and that she thought it "great fun." She had no idea of what the scope or purpose of sociology was, had never had any basic course, and her work had consisted principally in the study of vice, crime, degenerates, and defectives, which are without question social problems, but the study of which did not give her the basis for further work that the study of some normal group activity, in which the "processes of human association" were illustrated, would have given her.

I have made it a point to speak with scores of persons who have had an elementary course in sociology, and by far the larger proportion of them do

¹ While accepting full responsibility for the opinions herein set forth, I wish to express my appreciation of assistance rendered by a large group of colleagues in the American Sociological Society.

² Given at 2 P.M., Saturday, Dec. 28, 1918.

not have any adequate idea of what it is with which sociology deals. They get that phase of sociology in mind which happens to be the special field of inquiry of their teacher, but fail to see its relationship to the field as a whole. One young man put in a definite form what happens frequently. He said, "We were hurled pell-mell into a new world, a new atmosphere, where the things of everyday life were spoken of in a phraseology new to us. Gradually we became accustomed to our new surroundings and began to see light; but it was two years before I was able to see the connection between what I had learned in my sociology class, and life about me, and I am sure most of the students never saw any connection."

About four years ago I was speaking with Dr. A. J. Todd concerning the failure of undergraduate students to get the connection between the abstract discussion of "group activities and their interrelationship," and the interrelationship of the many groups to which the student belongs. Dr. Todd suggested a method he followed, of having the student make a chart of the various groups represented, and by dotted lines show the direct and indirect effect of group upon group.

That suggestion was followed and as much time as necessary is spent, usually about three class periods, in getting the individual to see his own relationship to the various group activities of his community, and to connect his own activities with "processes of human association." In following this method with about 600 undergraduates, I have found that they have had little difficulty in getting the sociological point of view, by passing from the known field of their everyday life to the more or less abstract reasoning involved in the study of sociology. Furthermore, when they come to study the origin and development of social institutions, they are able to understand the social forces and the factor of social control which had a determining influence on the direction of growth and the present status of social institutions without any apparent difficulty.

In making a general survey of their home community they do not merely gather facts and statistics, but, instead, they study the social forces within their communities and observe the direction and measure and the extent of social control by means of the facts and statistical data. In short, first helping the student to see the relationship of his personal experiences and the activities of his group to society in general, and helping him to see that the activities of his group and the conditions under which his group functions constitute, to a degree, the conditioning and problem phenomena of society, the undergraduate student is able to get the proper sociological viewpoint and he gets the logical introduction to the subject-matter of sociology.

WILLIAM J. KERBY, CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Undergraduate teaching of Sociology meets the difficulties of all undergraduate teaching whatsoever and in addition it faces problems peculiar to the science itself.

Undergraduate teaching is a co-operative work in which a number of professors share. There is among them a minimum of co-ordination and little actual combining of results in a single outcome, namely the directed mental formation of the student. Since education ought to make for a measurable degree of mental unity in outlook and for harmonized relations among those "partial views of reality" which we call sciences, the first law of education requires professors to unify themselves in their relations to the student mind. In proportion as this is not done our teaching power suffers and the teaching of Sociology, as one of many sciences, is seriously handicapped.

Professors may have many aims in their teaching; they may wish to promote the development of science out of sheer devotion to it. This is excellent for research and bad for undergraduate teaching. Undergraduate teaching is not research and research is not undergraduate teaching.

A professor may be governed by a desire to advance his own position in the college world. Now the investigator stands high and the gifted undergraduate teacher is more or less overlooked. A sure way to lose a gifted teacher of undergraduates is to have him do a brilliant piece of research work. At once a dozen graduate faculties attempt to win him away. Not until the real human superiority of the born teacher is recognized can we save undergraduate faculties from constant weakening through loss of their best men. Social valuations govern sociologists as well as others. When the proper social valuation is placed upon undergraduate teaching, college education will be transformed.

Students in their turn present difficulties. We get them as they are. Some of them out of place, some of them spoiled or half-formed, many of them without the faintest honest interest in the thought-world, many of them filled with rebellious impulses, incapable of concentration and not regretting it. We work on the delicately constituted minds of students in so far as they permit us to do so. When the public opinion of the student body indorses a teacher and his teaching, the teacher is successful. When that public opinion discounts a teacher and his teaching, success is more than doubtful. We offer to the students what they need. They accept what they want. Too often they want credits, not knowledge, a degree, not an inspiration, a conventional symbol of culture without its discipline, its joys, its tastes, or its aims.

What we offer to the student in the classroom and in personal contact seems to be of no use whatsoever in his normal social relations. He takes cultural knowledge, at least, with little understanding of its meaning in life; understanding not at all that the world and his own standards are within him and the refined ordering of interior life is the supreme condition of real living. A student who goes over the top in battle has an audience at every street corner. His knowledge and experience give him importance and distinction. But a student who goes over the top in sociology may walk from ocean to ocean and not meet friend or stranger who has the slightest interest in what he knows. Until we quicken the imagination of the student and give him a vital motive

for doing college work well we cannot succeed at all. This is, of course, the secret of all teaching. If sufficient stimuli of a search for cultural knowledge existed in a student's social environment, he would scarcely need a teacher at all. In last analysis the teacher is needed only because environment does not automatically arouse passion for truth and goodness as they merge in a glorious vision of the world and the destiny of man. Undergraduate teachers, therefore, have to fight against an overwhelming environment.

We are agreed, I think, that it is the business of education to enable one to know one's self and do one's work in the world with joy and in doing it to find one's true relation to the world and its Creator. This result demands as condition to it and an element of it, power to see, to describe, and understand the physical world and the social world. It requires capacity to see intelligently the drift of humanity in great movements of thought, great impulses to action, great institutions and high ideals as these come and go throughout the centuries. Furthermore, it is the work of education to awaken the student to the need of interpreting life in those ultimate terms and valuations which we assemble under the names of philosophy and religion. That this will be done in some way is inevitable in every life. If educational forces do not accomplish it wisely, the impulses, passions, interests, and reluctances of the student will do so badly.

Education is judged by its effect on the mind and soul of the student as a human person, by its effect on his aspirations and interpretations, and by the power it gives him to perceive ideals and to will their realization in his life. Since wholesome ideals include both personal and social elements and relations, education ought to chart the student's pathway through the complexities of life to its goal. Education is therefore internal, intensely personal, informing, and transforming. It is more important that a student understand his own wayward impulses and their relation to disorder and sin than that he understand why Brutus killed Caesar. Three or five professors may work to give him the latter information. How many will work in a college course to give him the former? It means more to a student to respect his conscience and understand the social processes of evil within him than to know the history of European morals. These forms of knowledge are not exclusive; they should be associated. But if we put high valuations on information and lower estimates on personal ideals and the will to achieve them, the student will be governed by these valuations to his hurt and our confusion.

Sociology has opportunity to do much for the undergraduate. I believe that the sociology which co-ordinates and interprets the results of the social sciences ought to be left for graduate students. Descriptive courses that include vast quantities of material and cosmic sweep of observation ought to be left for graduate students whose power of generalization and independent thinking is presumably matured. The undergraduate may well be interested in the sociology that teaches him to recognize himself in the social process and to read and interpret his own personal social experience as an organic part of his

world. In this form sociology possesses the secret of direct appeal and immediate value in character, judgment, and culture. If it were possible to conceive of sociology as a method as much as a message, this could be done readily enough.

If everything in the world is revealing, the student's social experience is worth systematic study. If the individual is a cross-section of his civilization, shall we not begin to reveal civilization to him through himself? If a score of arts and sciences must be called into account for the existence and function of a canceled postage stamp, surely the rich and complicated social experience of a student ought to be a worthy text at some period in the process of his cultural formation. A thousand books without titles and thrown in a heap make not a library. Each must be opened, the title must be written where it can be seen, and the books ought to be classified. Now the consciousness of the student is a jumble of ten thousand social experiences. It is worth while to recognize them, to label and relate them, and interpret them to the student as phases of his place and its relations in the social world. Bowden expresses this truth in his study of Puritanism. "Through what is most personal in each of us, we come upon the common soul; let any man record faithfully his most private experiences in any of the great affairs of life and his words awaken in other souls innumerable echoes. The deepest community is found not in institutions or corporations or churches but in the secrets of the solitary heart."

A student in the sophomore class, certainly a student in the junior class ought to be able to see, to define, and to imagine readily the relations indicated under the terms, group, institution, process, order, social mind, typical group relations with their reactions, radicalism, and conservatism. He should classify desires as he knows them, not as he has memorized a classification invented by someone else. He should learn the secrets of social control and recognize the point at which his own behavior reinforces or undermines it. He should recognize the delicate touch of intangible but none the less powerful ideals and he should be brought to know when he respects and when he reviles them. These are but illustrations. They aim at neither logic nor completeness. At the end of a year of work of this kind involving as it does a large number of class papers, the student should have an intelligent outlook upon his city, his country, and his time. His reading on current events would get both edge and emphasis. This would beget an intellectual self-confidence and a personal interest that ought to overcome some of the obstacles with which we are familiar. A second undergraduate year, if it can be had, might be based on a textbook and the larger impersonal aspects of the field might be introduced. The relations of the social sciences should be made clear and the organic unity of all truth, particularly the unity of social life throughout the present and in historical continuity, should be set forth.

There is an underlying thought here that it might be well for me to mention. Perhaps I incline toward it fundamentally because I am a Catholic priest and

I believe in, not only the unity of truth and of life, but also of the conduct of life and in the organic relations of intellectual, spiritual, and social training. Undergraduates have precious ethical instincts and idealistic impulses. While we are saying our worst about their indifference to knowledge, we keep in mind this precious tribute to the nature that is in them. Now ethical life reaches in two directions: upward to definite spiritual truth and relations, and outward to a thousand social contacts. The student's ethical self is largely a social self. He finds it difficult often to distinguish between himself and his reputation. The relations of social experience to the ethical sense are profound. If we teach sociology in an elementary course and fail to relate social experience to ethical values, we fail to touch the student's inner life at all, and our science remains remote and static and without character value.

The student must be led to realize that ethics is law, not narrative; discipline not history; the way to his higher self and destiny and not an account of what nations and races have thought about morals. The judgments of the young are deeper than we think. The power of a real teacher is moral rather than intellectual. It comes from the glow of personality, aside from learning, that in some mysterious way touches and energizes the student's soul. I recognize fully the difficulties that stand in the way of American colleges in respect of this. But our limitations and our mistakes in teaching undergraduates operate by force of psychological laws that have no respect for explanations or excuses. Some way should be found in all schools to interpret spiritual values to the students and to guide them to an outlook on the social world that quickens everything wholesome within their hearts.

Perhaps this is more evident now than ever before. While the world is remaking itself and preparing new institutions of government and society to suit the wider conceptions of democracy, it is necessary as never before to understand what democracy is. It is and it remains forever primarily moral and social, and secondarily political. Democracy is a maximum of order with a minimum of coercion. It is self-restraint, high idealism, and kindly toleration. It is internal and spiritual, historical and actual. It is not merely external and social. If we can make ethics a little more sociological and sociology much more ethical, our educational work will do splendid things for the advancement of democracy. Circumstances as we know control the degree to which the college teacher can affect the ethical convictions of students. The least that the former can do is to attempt to strengthen the latter's understanding of his own ethical ideals and respect for them. The most that he can do is to create and sanction ideals for a student who has none. If the teacher of undergraduate sociology can in some way aim always to keep it in mind in his teaching that somewhere in the educational process the student must be made strong in character, refined in taste, cultured in instinct, reverent in tone and considerate of his fellows, sociology will find its place and serve its purpose and vindicate its pretensions. The method and spirit indicated here point out one way in which this may be attempted.

F. STUART CHAPIN, SMITH COLLEGE

Perhaps the two greatest evils of present-day practices in teaching undergraduates are: first, that different subjects are presented as separate and quite independent fields of thought, off by themselves and each in its own separate pigeonhole and water-tight compartment; second, each subject tends to be taught as so much information to be ladled out to students in homeopathic lecture doses. Although it is fortunately true that some departments of college teaching have climbed out of the logical rut and advanced to better things, I do not believe that many have broken away from the obsolete educational practices cited.

It is less excusable to teach sociology in this way than any other subject in the curriculum of the modern college, for the reasons that sociology is to such a considerable extent a synthetic subject and deals with vital everyday problems about which there is much contemporary discussion. I do not see how sociology could be taught without functioning as a common cement for the principles of the more specialized fields of knowledge about human relations, but the second evil of educational practice characterizes too much sociological teaching.

To consider some of the pitfalls which teachers of undergraduate courses in sociology should avoid:

First pitfall, the formal and unadulterated lecture method. Because there is no one text in sociology which satisfactorily covers the field, many teachers yield to the temptation of the formal lecture method and make their instruction a discipline in memory. In this connection there is a tendency on the part of specialists to place too much emphasis upon the teacher's own opinions in regard to controversial points which are really matters for mature specialists and usually confusing and often uninteresting to students. This sort of teacher runs his hobby to death and neglects to place sufficient emphasis on the common ground of generally accepted principle. The consequence is that the student gets a narrow and inadequate, if not a biased, view of the field of sociology. Since the most valuable form of mental discipline is self-discipline derived from independent thinking, the lecture method when used in a formal way becomes a means of disguising thought and lulling the student into a false sense of intellectual independence, from which he is some day rudely awakened by the necessity of justifying his position, only to find that his judgments are artificial and derived and to experience the lurking sense of fear lest his whole thought-scheme be unsound. This is demoralizing and unfair to the student, whose habits of thought should have been trained by the teacher in vigorous mental exercise which alone develops tough mental fiber.

Second pitfall, the formal textbook method of teaching. Where a text is satisfactory to the instructor it is often used literally as a bible and becomes the basis of memory work. But the pitfalls of the "textbook method" of drill and rehearsal are so well known that I shall not take your time to dwell upon them.

Third pitfall, the scrappy method of teaching. Where teachers have revolted against the formal lecture and textbook methods of instruction, they have sometimes gone to the other extreme and by dispersed and unsystematized readings upon which students have been turned loose to roam much at will, have succeeded only in a scrappy and illogical presentation of the subject. If I were to choose between the evils of the formal textbook method and the unorganized method of reading, I believe that, granted a good text to begin with, I should prefer the textbook method as the lesser of the two evils.

To consider some successful methods of teaching sociology which have come under my observation:

I believe that with large classes of elementary students sociology is most successfully taught by a combination of the lecture, textbook, and collateral reading methods, which consciously seeks to avoid formal presentation of the subject and relies upon the class-discussion method as far as is consistent with unification and co-ordination of subject-matter.

The Scylla and Charybdis of teaching sociology are on the one hand the formal lecture and textbook methods of the educational Hohenzollerns which emphasize memory work at the expense of training in thought by self-discipline, and on the other hand the illogic and disorganization of the educational Bolsheviks who, in expressing a reaction against formal procedure, go to the extreme of turning immature students loose upon unarranged material. There is a safe middle path between these twin evils which is based upon the sound elements of each of the time-worn methods of instruction.

Concretely, I believe that one or more good texts are essential to successful mental discipline in sociology when the number of students in the class is large. Any text is the result of matured reflection such as few students have attained to, and hence is logically superior to their course of reasoning. Formal methods of instruction from such texts may be avoided by the discussion method. By this I mean the practice of bringing up for consideration and informal discussion by the class of concrete problems, not specifically stated in the text, but which may be illumined or explained by application of principles developed in the text. The discussion subject may be introduced by having the students bring to class written answers to questions which are dictated by the instructor at the last session. Several of the recent texts in sociology have lists of excellent questions at the end of each chapter. The use of this question method forces the student to bring his thought to a head, to formulate his ideas, and to apply them to the solution of a concrete case. In this way the issues are clarified and the student's mind thrown back upon its own resources. I have heard students say after such a discussion that their heads ached from thinking. This is wholesome exercise.

Other forms of the discussion method may be used to vary the procedure. For example, by use of the problem method, in which the instructor guides the discussion of a selected problem by skilfully questioning the students who are unprepared for the specific problem except for their general knowledge, and by

laying bare false leads and avoiding digressions as he goes on, gradually brings together one after another the various facts and conclusions of the discussion until they are formulated into some general principle. In such a discussion the teacher, acting as the leader, uses the answers of the students as his raw material and proceeds by a sort of inductive method to a generalization of some sort.

Another variation in the discussion method is the case method of instruction. This is especially applicable in the teaching of social economy and practical sociology. At Smith College we have used the Finnegan case, the Doyle case, and other selected cases of the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation, as well as the *New York Times's* "One Hundred Poorest Cases," published in a Sunday edition every year before Christmas. As this case method of teaching is a familiar one I shall not take time to describe it.

While the discussion method based on a good text is a valuable means of stimulating thought, while it creates the conditions for mental self-discipline, it is not complete in itself, and I believe that it should be supplemented by discriminating use of the lecture method. No hard-and-fast rule can be laid down, but the lecture method is usually needed as a means of co-ordinating and synthesizing the considerable mass of material which is brought out in discussion and accumulated from collateral reading, a mass of fact and principle in which the best student minds are in danger of getting lost, because of their inexperience in organizing masses of data. The more mature and experienced mind of the teacher should point out the generalizations which illumine the main highways of this intellectual community by a judicious use of the lecture method. But the chief function of the lecture should be that of co-ordination and synthesis, not the presentation of facts or additional information.

The lecture method should supplement the auditory approach by the visual approach, as exemplified in the intelligent use of tables, charts, diagrams, maps, graphic methods, and illustrations. The stereopticon and motion picture can be used to great advantage in teaching social economy and practical sociology. At Smith College I present the housing problem and city planning by stereopticon slides.

I have mentioned collateral readings. Their use should be both to amplify the presentation of the subject and to permit the student to obtain first-hand acquaintance with the classic works of sociology. In order that these ends may be achieved in elementary courses it is essential that collateral readings be arranged by subtopics with chapter or page citations and that periodical reports on readings be required of the students. In this way the reading material is brought together in an orderly fashion for the student's perusal, and the untrained mind is not left to unguided reading from a list of miscellaneous works.

The term essay is a traditional method for directing the student's attention to the study of some topic or restricted portion of the subject, so that a somewhat intensive knowledge of a limited field may be attained. This slight

degree of specialization is valuable both as an antidote to the diffusing tendency of the main development of the course and as a training in method. As a substitute for the written essay in large elementary courses I have used the device of requiring each student to present the term paper in outline form. This outline plan has two advantages over the essay plan: In the first place, the analysis of the topic by main heads and subheadings gives the student a training in logical method which is quite worth while; in the second place, the method of arrangement gives the teacher an excellent basis for grading the student's grasp of the topic and his power of logical analysis, as well as his power of organizing material. From the teacher's point of view the method is helpful because it is possible to grade such an outline on content and arrangement more easily and quickly than to grade the written essay—and this is a consideration in large classes. The plan is also useful as a means of giving the student some acquaintance with the elements of the historical method, by requiring conformity to the standard usage in regard to footnotes, references, abbreviations, and critical bibliography of sources. Where really classical works are available, as in teaching the principles of sociology, it is better to use the collateral reading method to supplement the combination of text-discussion-lecture procedure as I have described it, but where classical works are not so available, as in courses in practical sociology and social economy, I have used the outline plan with considerable success.

Instruction in practical sociology is advantageously supplemented by having students visit accessible institutions like almshouses, jails, prisons, reformatories, hospitals, and so on, and requiring a written report of their observations. In small classes composed of mature students I have found it profitable to give field-work training in co-operation with some organized charity. In this way the students may have the advantage of direct observation. Such field practice, however, should be controlled by such devices as periodical reports by students and field supervisor, and group conferences, and under no circumstances should the students be allowed to get the idea that they have become trained specialists as a result of this short and superficial apprenticeship. The purpose of the field work is to give the academic student some first-hand contacts with reality.

To sum up, I believe that the teacher of undergraduate sociology has an unusual opportunity to break away from traditional educational methods of social discipline in conformity—really little more than a technique of repression—and to develop a technique of education in character through self-discipline.

CAROL ARONOVICI, AMHERST H. WILDER CHARITY, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

I am surprised that Professor Todd did not include the newspapers as one of his methods of approach in the teaching of sociology. I have found in my own classroom work that a dramatic story culled from the morning newspaper lends itself to a very wide range of social interpretation and opens

a new field of thought to the student unfamiliar with social facts. A street-car accident, an industrial accident, election news, the passage of a new law, a divorce trial, or any other of the multitudinous items that appear in the daily papers, already contain the element of interest and can be endowed with an unusual dramatic value when interpreted from a sociological point of view.

It seems to me that to begin with what the student already knows and has been sufficiently interested to read in the newspaper is very much better than to start with indefinite facts picked up at random in one's daily life. To be sure, this requires careful analysis of social facts, a knowledge of local conditions, and a certain amount of practical experience in the interpretation of such facts. If during the first term you do nothing more than give the student a broader insight into the far-reaching social significance of the daily events and their relation to the social order, you can relegate the textbook teaching to the second or third term.

NEWELL L. SIMS, UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

They were most suggestive papers to which we have just listened. Professor Todd's contribution has been especially instructive. I am greatly pleased with it. The method outlined therein is splendidly idealistic and wholly in harmony with the most acceptable psychological and pedagogical principles.

No doubt Professor Todd is entirely successful in its application. Still, I am not altogether convinced that the course indicated is adequate or the method applicable for inducting students into an elementary knowledge of sociology in all or in many instances. If one has assurance that his students will pursue sociology beyond the beginning course, perhaps it may be well to introduce them to the subject after the manner set forth. But when one has students who can take but an introductory course and one knows that this is all that they will get, I question the wisdom of handling the subject as the paper under discussion proposes. My judgment is that the procedure outlined would in most cases prove inadequate since it would fail to lead the student into very much sociological knowledge. For instance, at the University of Florida we have a certain class of students who take a single year in the College of Arts and Sciences before entering the Law School. They want sociology in preparation for their law studies and have time for just one course. Perhaps I am wrong but it does not seem to me that in teaching this class of students I would be justified in following Professor Todd's plan.

Of course, if it is true that the student will not otherwise "go over the top" in sociology, as Father Kerby puts it, then it behooves us to abandon all other methods in favor of those presented this afternoon. But I am assuming that there are about as many successful ways of teaching even sociology as there are successful teachers of sociology. Surely it is not nearly so much a problem of subject-matter or method as it is of the teacher himself. There is more in the man than in anything else. We cannot standardize the teaching of this subject.

Indeed, it has not been suggested that we try, and I mention it only to emphasize the point that there are probably as many good methods as there are good teachers.

As already indicated, I am trying to teach sociology to Freshmen and Sophomores, and I believe with a fair measure of success, for there is abundant evidence that not a few of them are "going over the top" in the subject. There has been no difficulty in awakening and sustaining interest in sociology in the institution with which I am connected. One object which I have at the outstart and which is kept constantly before the students, is to impart to them the scientific spirit and the social viewpoint. No time is squandered at the beginning in an effort to relate sociology to other sciences. That comes out incidentally during the course. The theoretical is kept as much in abeyance as possible. Material is presented wherever practicable in the form of problems. These the students grapple with in assigned readings, by securing data from indicated sources, etc. In the classroom we lecture, discuss, have reports, quizzes, debates, exhibits, etc. Classroom debates have been much used. A question is assigned on which all prepare. The class is divided between the affirmative and the negative, and the debate is conducted in regular form. The greatest interest is taken in these debates not only by the class itself but by the students outside also. The students are eager for the fray, and do the most extensive and satisfactory work in preparation. I have found it great fun to teach sociology in this manner, and the results have been most gratifying even with underclass men.

WALTER R. SMITH, KANSAS STATE NORMAL SCHOOL

The field of general sociology is so broad and we are so far from a definite consensus of opinion as to how much of it should be covered in an introductory course that it is scarcely to be expected that a textbook prepared by one teacher would be wholly satisfactory to another. It is easy to pick flaws in any book on the market, but, as has been suggested, the textbooks have been carefully organized and prepared, and I doubt if it is wise for many teachers to do without one. We are more frequently criticized by other departments for a lack of definiteness and cohesion in our teaching than for academic formalism. I incline to accept their criticism, and since sociologists are more than ordinarily independent in their thinking, I believe there is more danger of scattering the energies of students than of slavishly following a textbook. Moreover the process of improving textbooks is one of selection, and the only method by which we may hope to get the sort of text we need is to require students to buy the best one attainable to be used as a foundation.

Any textbook will need supplementary work both in assigned readings and elementary field work. Professor Todd's suggestions for opening the course are excellent. I have regularly used some form of inductive approach to local group life and required in discussion, in so far as possible, original illustrations

of social principles from the student's environment. Near the end of the course I have found students glad to undertake some form of individual or co-operative field study. Last semester the class, with such aid as I found necessary to give, worked out plans and then made a house-to-house study of the economic, social, and institutional life of the four hundred negroes in Emporia. It was not a finished social survey, but it gave them laboratory practice, a contact with social realities, and an object-lesson in grounding opinions on facts rather than sentiment. Without a fairly complete summary of the sociological field such as is found in the texts of Blackmar and Gillen, or Hayes, it would be difficult to find time for supplementary field work that would be valuable. If we are to teach the social point of view we ought not to be so individualistic as to ignore the organizing and generalizing work of the textbook writer.

CAPTAIN THOMAS D. ELLIOT, SANITARY CORPS, FORMERLY ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF POLITICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCE, STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON

During this discussion my courage has risen to the speaking point. For if I can judge by comparing my own experience with the excellent suggestions of previous speakers, it does not take so much experience as I had imagined to get good ideas of how to teach sociology. Learning how to put those ideas into effective practice is doubtless a different matter.

During the first two papers the general advice given reminded me of certain concrete devices and policies which I put into action from the very first with good results. The value of certain of these methods has been corroborated by later speakers. I am prompted to bear witness at this moment, however, by Dr. Aronovici's call for testimony as to the value of newspapers for teaching purposes.

In all of my courses I used clippings constantly, both in the classroom and on special bulletin boards. But, just as every news item can be expanded, like the "flower in the crannied wall," into an entire course of human science, so it is possible to find, in nearly any day's newspaper, matter which can illustrate vividly the subject of the week. Items were, therefore, always chosen in relation to a topic in an organized outline of the course.

Term papers were required to be upon a subject relating the course to the major interest or department of the student, a suggestive list of such topics being posted from which the student might vary if he showed sufficient interest. The students were never taught in classroom as if they were majoring in the subject. Majors in social science received individual attention.

Positive measures and normal social conditions and institutions were emphasized, and pathological conditions were used only for comparison, as the physician learns hygiene from disease. Each student was required to read at home, at any time before the close of the course, one novel or other book of the "red-hot" type, such as *The Jungle*. This served as a stimulus, though the books were never discussed in class.

Commonplace terminology and everyday facts were used as the starting-point of every new topic wherever possible, and the courses proceeded from concrete to theoretical. The enrolment, which was optional, was increased 100 per cent in a year by making social economy a prerequisite for social theory instead of vice versa.

The principles thus applied seemed to bring instant and steady response: *Contemporaneity* of material; *Correlation* with other courses; *Normality* of perspective; *Concreteness* of approach.

SUSAN M. KINGSBURY, BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

How can we, as teachers of sociology and social economy in our colleges and universities, give to undergraduates an applied knowledge of the social order? The suggestions which have been made apply distinctly to the means by which community development may be stimulated and carried on. I should like to suggest that community development should not be for the community, but of the community and by the community, and while university extension work is essential, it should be an aid to the community called for by the community and organized by the community for itself. With such a principle, the largest contribution which can be made will come by sending out our undergraduates and graduates into their own communities with a zeal for the organization of the forces of the community and a knowledge of how to do it.

At Bryn Mawr College we are endeavoring to attain this end by giving to the undergraduates an opportunity to take part in activities of the Bryn Mawr Community Center, which is maintained and managed by the community, the students themselves acting as a part of the community. We want them to feel that they belong to the community, and at the same time we endeavor to give to them opportunities for learning how community organizations may be originated and conducted by forming a systematic plan of work for two hours a week each beginning with the Freshman year, with a plan of certification. We hope to afford them experience and knowledge and at any rate ideals which will make it incumbent upon them to participate in community activities, and assume responsibility for community leadership when they return to their homes.

THE NATIONAL SPIRIT IN EDUCATION

EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS
University of Wisconsin

Since education goes on within the social mind, the process cannot be walled off from other processes in that mind. Hence, if there is a national spirit, that spirit will assuredly reveal itself in the national system of education. This is why the schools of different nations, although they profess to communicate truth, which is the same for all, differ so much from one another.

To demonstrate that the reigning national spirit leaves its mark on education, I will cite facts from certain societies I have studied.

OLD CHINA

The Old China sought her unity and stability, not in a reigning dynasty or a ruling class, but in the ideas of certain great thinkers who lived nearly two-and-a-third-thousand years ago. In looking into Chinese education, therefore, we should not be surprised at the pre-eminence given to the Confucian classics in the curriculum, the emphasis on Chinese geography and history to the exclusion of that of other peoples, the want of "come-back" and query in the pupil, the recruitment of state servants from the high-degree men. It is strange but true that our system of admission to the civil service on the basis of examinations, instead of favor or party service, came to us from China via India and England.

In Old China the control of society rested mainly in the hands of the learned, and hence, in their own interest and for the sake of social order, they taught the people to respect learning and honor the scholar. What, then, is more natural than such features of Chinese education as the triumphal reception to the returning honor man, the rearing of a *pailow* or memorial gateway to the winner in the great competitive examination, and the rearing of public monuments to eminent teachers?

PRUSSIA

In Prussia—soon, let us hope, we may say “Old Prussia”—the national idea shows itself in education in the sharp contrast between the spirit of the public elementary schools on the one hand and that of the middle and higher schools on the other. The former are “authoritative and rigid, systematic and repressive, disciplinary and exacting.” The aim is to drill the children of the masses into industry, obedience, persistence, and thoroughness. The schools above the *Volksschulen*, however, which cater to the children of, perhaps, 10 per cent of the people, aim to develop the mental attitude proper to those who are to govern and direct the docile masses. In them lives the spirit of research and intellectual freedom, whereas in the lower schools collateral textbooks and supplementary readings are wanting, while study at home is discouraged. Far from being encouraged to question, to think for himself, the child is trained to rely on a single and definite authority. Once this lesson has been learned, it is safe later on to encourage freedom of inquiry, for it will be confined to technical matters and will not touch the subject of fundamental control. Hence, along with a praiseworthy freedom of criticism within the field of specialized scholarship go heavy shackles on professional comment on the social structure and political institutions of Prussia.

It is also noteworthy that the *Volksschulen*, intended to mold followers and obeyers, have been starved for funds, overcrowded, deadened by routine, and held in clerical leading strings, while their teachers have been kept in a humiliating position in the educational system.

CHILE

In Chile the national spirit, as embodied in an oligarchic state and a hierarchical church, may be read very clearly in the system of education. The small governing class of landed proprietors look with disfavor upon popular schools lest they cause the children of the half-breed agricultural laborer—the *inquilino*—to grow up demanding, or disposed to migrate to the cities. They want the son to stay on in his father’s mud hut, content with the old wage and the old hard, rough life, attached to the *hacienda* and its master,

and deaf to the call of opportunity elsewhere. As one country gentleman put it to me, "We don't want the children of our *inquilinos* disturbed in their minds." It is taken for granted that the children of the poor ought to follow the father's calling and that to aspire is presumptuous.

The church loves public elementary schools as little as the master, but for reasons of her own. The priest wants the masses ignorant in order that he may preserve his authority over them, keep their feet from straying from the path of eternal salvation and be relieved from the necessity of combating heresies and meeting the competition of the Protestant missionary. That education gives the bright sons of the poor a chance to rise in life does not appeal to him. What is "rising in life" compared with saving the soul? So if popular education *must* come, let it be provided by the church herself in her parish school, where, as a clerical editor put it to me, "Religion saturates the entire course of study."

It is not surprising, then, that Chile has only a third as many public elementary schools as are needed. Moreover these do not lead up to the high school at all. The state maintains fine high schools (*liceos*), but to get your children ready for the *liceo* you must pay tuition for them in some private school. Here is the educational system congenial to oligarchy: excellent state high school and university, but no ladder provided by which the children of the poor may climb into the free state system, so that its benefits are reserved for the children of the well-to-do who can pay for a ladder. Thus the upper class transmits to its sons unimpaired its monopoly of government service and of all the higher occupations.

I am not bold enough to try to set forth what is the national spirit in America, but I shall present a number of cases in which it has clearly left its impress on education.

EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE

American society by the middle of the last century was saturated with the optimistic social philosophy emanating from Adam Smith and his school, according to which, as a normal thing, men intelligently pursuing their private pecuniary interests promote inadvertently the social welfare. This not only made for *laissez faire*

in government, but for individualism in morals. If a man did the right thing by other individuals there would be nothing to worry about. It was overlooked that this leaves without restraint actions which injure, not known persons, but the general public, or the good customs and institutions which are the guy ropes of the social order.

Now, this national spirit, falling in only too amiably with the demands of parents and pupils, caused education in this country, up to about thirty years ago, to be dominated by the idea of *individual success*. The school was to train and develop the powers of the youth so that he might run well in the race for the good things of life. It was assumed that if the community contains a large number who are well able to take care of themselves, the social interest will be well cared for. To be sure, the studies pursued were, some of them, very far from developing any kind of serviceable power in the youth, but still there reigned the doctrine that the school exists to fit him to attain his personal life ends.

In the eighties of the last century the multiplying of social and political evils and the appearance of dangerous discontents caused thoughtful men to begin to doubt our rosy social philosophy. Politics was full of clever trained men working ably for "number one," but somehow the major public interests were not well looked after. Business was in the hands of capable men, who were no more tricky than their grandfathers, yet the distribution of wealth grew rapidly worse and class struggle was coming nearer.

Gradually it was perceived that there are a number of important social interests which are not parallel with individual interests and which should be preferred when they clash with such interests. The natural-harmony theory of society therefore falls short and the personal-success ideal of life turns out to be a false beacon. Adjustment to these ideas went on rapidly through the nineties, and it is safe to say that by 1910 no one continued to hold to the old social philosophy unless he was ignorant, elderly, or very prosperous.

The change in the national spirit soon registered in the field of education and under the slogan "educate for service" has triumphed in the universities, colleges, and high schools. The

striking thing is that there is no marked difference between endowed institutions and tax-supported institutions in their response to this ideal. It is the national spirit, not the source of support, that has counted. Even better proof is the fact that up to fifteen years ago law schools and medical schools maintained by the state had no higher notion of their duty than to train young men to earn fees; while on the other hand, in the course of the dozen years since the public gained the social point of view, the private law schools and medical schools have been nearly as keen as the universities about teaching professional ethics.

Behind the mushroom growth of courses in journalism and courses in commerce lies clearly the social intention. The point is not that the graduates shall know their business better than those who learn it at desk and counter, but that they shall go out with professional standards which the other training often fails to give. For to put a calling under right professional standards is to socialize it without socialism.

TEACHING THE DIGNITY OF LABOR

Another drive of the American spirit upon the schools is the endeavor to dignify work by making it a part of education. Perceiving how the stigma on manual labor in the Old World embitters toil, paralyzes effort, and whets the lust for exploitation, our early thinkers dreamed of teaching the children of rich and poor alike to use tools and to have joy in work. But how hard it has been to realize this dream! Only with incredible slowness have the workshops found a place in the school building. There is little open objection to the manual arts, but it is nearly as easy to move the pyramids as to make a place for them in the curriculum. It seems as if a mysterious force resists the endeavor to make school-girls deft with foods and fabrics, schoolboys skilful with machines and materials. This force is the reverence for book studies and the prejudice against work, with which most of us are tainted.

Our notions of what to teach come down to us from a time when education was for the children of the propertied and professional classes. The democratic movement finally brought everybody's children into the school but failed to make over the curriculum

to fit them. Hence, to the average youth of the work-a-day world the school seems out of touch with life, and the less farsighted gladly abandon it for the paying job. It is too much a leisure-class institution to command the confidence and loyalty of mill hands and their children.

One of the biggest sociological discoveries of our day is that the propertied class—the *bourgeoisie* if you like—instinctively cherish and propagate the idea that work is contemptible. They are bound to do this lest they be ruined by the spread of the rival idea that work is worthy and habitual idleness is contemptible. So from the conspicuous class goes out continually a poisonous influence which makes the working many think small of themselves and chafe at the inescapable conditions of human existence.

It is not direct leisure-class control over education which keeps the curriculum bookish, but the subtle contamination of the people at large by their ideas. The wives of butchers and bakers and farmers feel a lack of gentility in tools and are bleakly inhospitable to the industrial features of the school. So the national spirit and the class spirit have met and wrestled in the field of education and the national spirit has by no means come off victor. Broadly speaking, the impressing of school children with the dignity of labor remains yet to achieve.

TRAINING FOR CITIZENSHIP

Very rapidly the scope of government has been expanding in this country. Taxes are heavier and the state has come to touch life and business at many points. There has been a great growth of administrative agencies, which work mischief and havoc unless directed by trained ability. We are on the eve of a movement to establish schools for training for the public service. Under these circumstances the venerable American notion that any bright man can fill successfully any public office is a menace. The revelations of the epoch of exposure, 1903-8, made a deep impression on the American mind. The phrase "invisible government" stuck in the memory like a burr. Stimulated by greed the party machines which did the will of big business invented a whole kit of burglars' tools for stealing power from the people. Beating

the new game was as much harder than beating the old office-seeking game as the binomial theorem is harder than the "rule of three."

The overwhelming immigration brought into our electorate great numbers with only the most rudimentary notions of what democracy means. The machine politician was prompt to take the naïve foreign-born voter in hand and miseducate him politically. It was easy to persuade the newcomer that a party is a mutual-benefit association, that the constitution should be nothing between friends, that to be independent in voting is betrayal of a sacred obligation, that to scratch your ticket is to "go back on" your friends, that it is weak-minded not to use the power of office to reward your friends and punish your enemies.

These considerations created about fifteen years ago a widespread alarm as to the future of popular government in this country and prompted an anxious survey of what might be done to cure political evils. Out of these sprang the demand that the schools train for citizenship. What is called for is not the old-time, dry-as-dust course in "civil government" but generous high-school instruction in civics by a trained, alert man. The aim is to ground coming citizens in the fundamentals of democracy—majority rule, free speech, the distinction between liberty and license, the importance of law enforcement, the place of party, the sacredness of the ballot, the merit system, and the responsibilities of public office. Whether civics can make a place for itself below the high school remains to be seen. It is certainly going to be taught to immigrants as part of our Americanization program and it may find a larger place than we imagine in the adult education of the future.

EQUALIZATION OF OPPORTUNITY

About twenty years ago the agricultural frontier came to an end and all that we can do to conserve the remaining national resources cannot restore its opportunities. Industry and business are concentrated into larger units and the prospect of the employee ever having a business of his own to run is small and growing smaller. The rich have learned how to take care of their money and how to bring up their children, so that the saying "Three

generations from shirt-sleeves to shirt-sleeves" is a mockery. The distribution of wealth in this country has come to be something no one can defend. There is grave solicitude at the appearance of these conditions so unfavorable to realizing democracy, but the constitution, the courts, the party machines, the controlled press, and the resistance of powerful classes interpose insuperable obstacles to fundamental economic reforms.

Meanwhile education has come to be more of an open door to success than it used to be. Is it surprising, then, that the ungratified desire of the public to see realized something like equality of opportunity should take the direction of an endeavor to open doors by multiplying the means of education? This is the secret of the marvelous generosity of the taxpayers toward free high schools and universities. It accounts for the rocket-like rise of university extension. It explains the enormous gifts of rich men to education and the fact that until lately the one thing that occurred to a millionaire looking about for some way to benefit the masses was to endow a university. We went so far along this path because the other paths toward equalization of opportunity seemed to call for perilous experiment or were blocked by constitutions, courts, party organizations, and the resistance of the powerful.

We plume ourselves pardonably on a liberality in public education unexampled in history. However, it is well to recognize that this does not and cannot solve the social problem. The cost of instruction is but a part of the cost of education, for the pupil has to have food and cloths. The power of the bright sons of the poor to run for the prizes of life with the scions of the well-to-do is limited by the inability of their parents to keep them in school long enough. The United States Commissioner of Education estimates that one in nine of the pupils who entered school in 1905 graduates from the high school and that one in seventy will graduate from college. Those who drop out are no doubt eliminated as much by poverty as by lack of ability. Free instruction, then, by no means suffices to put the children of the poor on an equal footing with the children of the well-to-do in trying for the better places in society. Were we in earnest about equalizing educational opportunities we would see that no capable child dropped out of

school because its parents could not support it or needed its earnings. That is to say, we would spend three or four times as much on American education as we do and would appropriate for the better distribution of knowledge a billion or two of dollars that now go for luxury, vanity, and vice.

EDUCATION AND THE NATIONAL IDEAL

L. M. BRISTOL
West Virginia University

Whenever the ruling class in a nation has worked out a philosophy of life or a set of ideals, the educational system tends to support that philosophy or those ideals. This is in conformity with the principle formulated by Sumner that mores are "subject to the strain of consistency with each other." Primitive groups had no philosophy of life and almost no ideals. They had no educational aims. What education there was consisted in the assimilation of the young to the folkways and mores of the group with some training in the practical arts of life and some instruction in the secrets of the group. China with its ancestor worship developed an educational program which centered about reverence for the past. Sparta's ideal of mastery by physical force led to exclusive emphasis on physical prowess and the development of martial virtues. The social élite of Athens with their worship of the harmoniously developed individual worked out an educational system which even today challenges the admiration of those who agree with their philosophy of life. Modern Prussia, obsessed with the ideal of a super-group possessing the earth by efficiency organized from above and backed by physical force, elaborated an educational program admirably adapted to secure that end. Had it not been for the power of inter-group organization through the ever-increasing alliance of her enemies, the wonderful dream of the Hohenzollerns might have come true.

The above-mentioned principle holds with regard to this country also, although sufficient time has not yet elapsed to make possible the crystallization of pedagogical thought into a definite philosophy of education, nor has our country enjoyed a condition of settled life so necessary for the working out of a thoroughly consistent system. We are still and always have been in a dynamic condition.

Our nation has hardly yet passed out of its early adolescence. Indeed only with the present war has there been any widespread thought as to our national destiny nor any clear-cut attempt to formulate a philosophy of our social life. A symposium printed in the *American Journal of Sociology* in January 1915 on "What Is Americanism?" in which some twenty-five leading men of the country took part, men representative of various lines of thought and activity, indicated that at that time at least we had nothing approximating a national ideal.

And yet we have had in this country from the very beginning of our history some fairly clear-cut ideals, and these have exerted a profound influence on our educational system. The ideals of liberty, equality, justice, the separation of church and state, and self-government which, however rudimentary, found expression or are implicit in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, have been the very foundation stones of our system of free public schools; indeed some of these ideals and their educational correlate go back to early Colonial days. The Massachusetts law of 1647, making permissive if not actually establishing a system of schools supported by public taxation with compulsory attendance, was the reflection of ideals which have since become national in scope.

Not only have the ideals of liberty, equality, justice, and self-government, however uncritically held, been prominent in this country from Colonial times, but since the Declaration of Independence and the formation of our national government there has been a more or less conscious and widespread feeling that we were working out here an experiment in democracy which would be an example to other nations. This thought was clearly expressed by Archbishop Ireland at the Centennial Conference of American Catholics at Baltimore: "We cannot but believe that a singular mission is assigned to America, glorious for ourselves and beneficent to the whole race, that of bringing forth a new social and political order based, more than any other that has heretofore existed, upon the common brotherhood of man, and more than any other securing to the multitude of the people social happiness and equality of rights."

In the development of our national ideal or ideals we have several stages. At first there were the ideals of liberty, equality, and justice as regards individuals, though these were vague and held with uncritical mind. Then there was the ideal of self-government, although when the Constitution was framed only the aristocracy was thought fitted to rule. Immediately connected with the above, as we have seen, was the ideal of working out an experiment in social organization which should be an example for other nations. But we were interested more in the form of our organization and in our ideals than in their concrete realization; and we were blinded to the weaknesses of our system by the marvelous success which seemed to be the result of our free institutions, although we know now that this was true only in a limited degree. National isolation was considered to be necessary to the success of our experiment, but the logic of events decreed otherwise. The second stage is marked by the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine and the establishment of a quasi-protectorate over the weaker nations of the Americas. A third step was taken with the Spanish War and our definite abandonment of our policy of isolation. A fourth step was taken by our entrance into the world-war as a champion of oppressed peoples everywhere, with an insistent demand that the civilized nations be so organized as to secure freedom and justice to all nations whether small or great. Another step remains to be taken.

The war has forced home to us as nothing else the essential weakness of some aspects of our national life. Ideals are seen to be vastly different from concrete actualities. Liberty has revealed itself all too often as confused with license and even anarchy. The equality boasted of in our Declaration of Independence is seen to be a very vague and shadowy thing, for we know all too well now that men are not born equal in physical, mental, or moral capacity, and that the actual conditions of life are not such as to bring about equality of opportunity nor at all times even equality before the law. Indeed though our President has said we were fighting to make the world safe for democracy, some have been led to ask seriously whether or not democracy as it actually exists in this country is really worth saving. Moreover we are led to raise the question

as to what we mean by democracy and find, upon reflection, that the democracy for whose safety we offered our all is not so much a form of government as a condition of social life. As Professor Dewey says: "Democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience"; or, as Professor Cooley has phrased it, "Democracy is the organized sway of public opinion." In other words, vital democracy, the democracy for which we have been fighting, is human life in social groups so organized from below that it can express itself spontaneously in appropriate institutions and develop according to its character and ideals, with due regard, of course, to other groups.

But the solution of the problem of world-peace is by no means settled by that formula. Are small nations to be condemned to eternal smallness? Shall low cultural types of civilization continue to hold possession of territory needed for the expansion of higher types? In the conflict of interests between national democracies what power is to decide the issue? Is sovereignty to pass from the national group to some international tribunal? If so, what principles shall be formulated as a guide to inter-group conduct? Moreover, in the endeavor to put an end to war we seem to be cutting off the possibility of social progress by the bio-social law of struggle and survival, and to be eliminating the greatest stimulus yet discovered to group unity and effective nationalism.

Novicow was the first among sociologists of recognized standing, so far as I know, to face this problem in a way that offers hope for continued social progress, for vital nationalism, and world-peace. He arranges types of struggles into a hierarchy culminating in rivalry in excellence. Instead of ambition for territorial greatness, a people should strive for that superiority in intellectual achievement, in art, in literature, in industrial and social organization that shall attract strangers to it, lead to peaceful annexations by popular vote, and provoke imitation on the part of other nations. In other words, national greatness in the future should be measured by power over other nations in the line of cultural expansion rather than by the number of square miles of territory possessed or the number or wealth of the inhabitants, although territory and num-

bers and wealth will come ultimately to the group that proves itself "most excellent" in the thought of the authority quoted.

The scope of the present paper precludes a discussion of this theory and the difficulties in the way of its general application, so it must suffice to point out that it fits in admirably with those ideals that have prevailed in this country from the beginning of its history and with its conduct in the present war, so may well form the basis of a working ideal for our country at present and so far as we see for years to come. Whatever may be the difficulties in the acceptance of such an ideal by small states with apparently no outlet for expansion, we in America have sufficient territory. Up to the present, too, we have experienced the power of an attractive social life and organization in drawing to our shores the dwellers of every clime. We have seen other groups thumbing our constitution, and their representatives studying our institutions that they might profit by our example. But we have also been chagrined at times when these same representatives have turned to other lands for the light they sought. But now with the prestige accorded us by our position in the present world-crisis has come the opportunity never before granted to any nation of being a guide to those groping in darkness or in the twilight of nascent development. As John A. Hobson, the English economist, has phrased it, "The enthusiastic adoption by our European statesmen and publicists of President Wilson's famous declaration that the object of the war is to make the world a safe place for democracy is either a momentous act of spiritual conversion or the last word in camouflage."¹ To us after the war is given the gigantic task of setting our national house in such order that the guests of the earth may freely inspect its every part and find such order and well-being that they shall depart with the desire for a speedy return; or if that be impracticable, take back the best we have of spiritual treasures—our ideals and our methods of expressing them in social institutions—not as a copy for slavish imitation, but for inspiration and suggestion.

Liberty, equality, justice! It is for us to make these ideals factual in every department of our social life; a liberty, however,

¹ *The Survey*, June 29, 1918.

that is consonant with social strength; an equality that with normal human beings means primarily equality of opportunity for self-development, self-expression, self-enlargement and service, and a justice which includes a recognition of individual limitations and imperfections, but also of social responsibility and one that is based primarily on an estimate of the long-run well-being of the social group and of all humanity. And then that ideal of democracy! This, too, must be translated from the realm of the abstract and ideal to the reality of actual, intelligent participation in associated living and in social control whether through diffused public opinion or through public opinion crystallized in legislative enactment. But the one comprehensive national ideal to which all others are subordinate may well be this—and I suggest it as the next logical step in the development of our national ideal: to work out here in America a form of associational life, both as a national whole and in subordinate social groups, so manifestly good that it shall challenge the admiration of other peoples to the degree that they shall desire to adapt our ideals and institutions to their own peculiar conditions and needs.¹ This ideal, too, has the advantage of affording an objective test of the good so insisted upon today in science.

To make this effective as a national ideal requires that it be the ideal in subordinate groups. States should consciously vie with states in the excellence of their system of government, in their treatment of the abnormal classes, in methods of taxation, and other matters pertaining to social welfare. Cities should vie with cities in the development of civic consciousness, in the effectiveness of municipal government in its various departments and activities, and in the manifest excellence of its social organizations—educational, fraternal, philanthropic, and religious. No higher compliment can be paid to a city than that some “plan” it has devised should prove so effective that it would spread to other cities by reflective imitation, as the Galveston plan of government by commission, or the Cleveland plan of budget system for united philanthropies, or the Gary system of schools. The most successful

¹The ideal is phrased by Novicow “*provoquer l'imitation*” *les luttes*, p. 303, and by the writer, a few years ago, presuming to coin a word to express it, “*exemplification*.” See *Social Adaptation*, p. 324.

method yet devised for improving rural economic conditions is by means of "demonstration" projects in the raising of corn, wheat, potatoes, and various breeds of animals, and in business methods of farming. The demonstration school and church have also been started. It is high time that more social projects were launched in the nature of experiments for the general good. There is almost no limit to the possibilities of social progress by rational experiment, rivalry in excellence, and reflective imitation.

If the foregoing should become our ideal and the ideal of subordinate groups, what of our educational system, including aims, principles, and program? The ideal here is but a part of the one we have been developing. The educational aim should be to train our youth and mold our institutions for effective participation in the democracy that is to be an example for other nations; and it is to be a system so manifestly successful that it will provoke imitation in other groups. Now a unified and thoroughly consistent system in our country is not to be expected with states sovereign in this regard, nor is such to be desired, though a degree of uniformity may well be required and secured through a national bureau and through federal aid conditioned on the maintenance of certain minimum standards by the state or community. Progress and efficiency will be secured most rapidly by rivalry between states and communities in educational achievement. With such an ideal we will save ourselves from many of the errors of the past due to the uncritical imitation in this country of the educational aims and program of aristocratic England or materialistic Germany. And just now we are in danger of casting off even the good that may be despised because it bears the label "Made in Germany" and imitate without due criticism the educational innovations of England and France.

Now the first thing necessary in the reconstruction of our educational system to make it adapted to the new demands of a new democracy, would seem to be a survey of the defects in our social life which may and should be remedied through education.

The war has revealed, among other things, the inexcusable inefficiency of the industrial organization and methods in this and other countries. While figures are not available for the United

States we know that production per workman has greatly increased both on the farm and in the factory, and reports from England indicate that with five million men withdrawn from industry, the amount of production has been maintained with an increase of only about three million women and children. A striking illustration of increased war-time efficiency is in the driving of steel rivets in the shipbuilding industry, the average per day being now many times that maintained at the beginning of the war, nor is this "speeding up" necessarily to the detriment of the workers, for the time and fatigue studies of Galbraith and others indicate that production can be greatly increased with even lessened fatigue and nerve strain. Now efficiency in production is a prime requisite in social well-being and the educational system of the winning group must train for the highest possible productivity that is consonant with the long-run welfare of the workers and of the nation. This qualification is important, for the long-run well-being of workers and of the nation is as vitally affected by the ethics and practices of business as by its material product. No social surplus can atone for the injury done to the group by the war-profiteer, the grafter, the adulterator, and the fraudulent advertiser. But moral preaching will be in vain so long as business and social ethics sanction these methods, and so long as our youth are trained in shrewdness rather than in service. Business ethics and practice conducive to social welfare can be expected to prevail only when our youth are trained by actual participation in business carried on in ways approved by an enlightened social conscience—and just this is a function of the school that is to be.

The war, too, with the large per cent rejected because of physical defects should awaken educators and the public at large to the shortcomings of our school system along the line of physical training and the teaching of hygiene. Moreover the disclosures of the Surgeon General concerning the widespread prevalence of venereal diseases should shatter the false modesty that has tabooed the discussion of sex relations and start a crusade for the instruction of our youth somehow and somewhere in sex hygiene. The ravages of the Spanish influenza, too, should have its lesson for those keen to appreciate the function of the school in public health, while knowl-

edge that at least 100,000 infants die needlessly in this country every year because of the ignorance of mothers, with a total of some 600,000 preventable or postponable deaths per annum, should point the way to important changes in our educational program.

But again, the war has revealed the social weakness resulting from the presence in our midst of great numbers of unassimilated foreigners, some three million unable to speak or read the English language, hundreds of thousands segregated in our great cities in congested tenements many of which are plague spots of disease, immorality, and crime.

Recent investigations concerning mental defectiveness in the army, in our schools, among juvenile delinquents, prostitutes, and prison convicts point to the need of an educational program with special and ample provision for the training of the abnormal under conditions that are socially safe and forward-looking.

The war, again, has brought home to many with conviction the hiatus that exists between our ethics as formally held and as practiced all too often in business, professional, neighborhood, and even in family life. Our pulpits plead and thunder in vain in the face of a social organization which makes difficult the daily practice of the socially, and hence morally, good. Now this is the result of an educational system that has exalted the isolated individual and given almost no thought to the process of socialization. We have deified knowledge, but knowledge is devilish if used for merely selfish ends at the expense of others.

Along with narrow, pleasure-seeking individualism that has characterized so much of our life, especially before the war, the fundamental weakness of our social order is the great and increasingly inequality of wealth and income which has come to prevail, and the inequality of opportunity for self-development and self-expression which has resulted. Nothing is more important than an educational program which will secure greater equality of income based on the economic law of supply and demand, both demand and supply being modified in the interest of social well-being.

But while the war has made us sensitive to the shortcomings of our social life and educational program, it has pointed the way to future success, for it has proven the possibilities of education by

participation when organized and directed by masterful minds and inspired by a great purpose. Our boys in cantonment and field and trench have learned by co-operative endeavor lessons the future can never efface and have received a training for efficient democracy such as no schools in America have hitherto been prepared to give.

This brief sketch of a few of the social conditions and problems which need to be corrected by education if we are to develop a democracy worthy of reflective imitation, and the illustration of the value of some phases of army life in training to this end, suggest that the educational aim of the future should be this: to train our youth for rational participation in a social life and organization worthy of reflective imitation.

This aim, approximated in Dewey's term "participation," and in O'Shea's term "adjustment," and phrased by the speaker elsewhere as "active adaptation," is comparatively new in educational theory and newer still in practice, but when correctly interpreted is the one comprehensive aim best adapted to realize the national ideal suggested. But if we use the terms participation or adjustment we should qualify them by some such word as "rational," for the process is not to be merely spontaneous but increasingly purposeful; that is, our boys and girls are not only to work together, where practicable, in their school tasks of every sort, thus becoming socialized in feeling and trained in co-operation, but this co-operation is to be directed with certain ends in view, and they themselves are to become increasingly directive agents with a forward look. Each is to be assisted in finding himself and his place in society, and every social group is to be inspired and helped, as opportunity offers, to do its task as an integral part of a larger unity and of the social whole. The first principle of teaching as of philanthropy is "help to self-help." It is of supreme importance that our boys and girls be trained away from the narrow individualism which has so characterized American life in the past, and that has been fostered by our educational program to that kind of social individualism which means an ever-expanding self-consciousness and an ever-increasing power over the material and social environment in the interest of the developing self and of society. Individual rivalry and competition have been carried

to an extreme and need to be offset by group co-operation and inter-group competition, so organized and carried on, however, as to develop this expanding self-consciousness and along with it an expanding sentiment of loyalty. This can be done if the rivalry is in excellence carried on in accordance with principles that are generally recognized as just. Grade vies with grade, but all grades in a school co-operate in rivalry with some other school in the city. School vies with school, but all schools in a city compete against the schools in some other city. Group life thus organized will tend to develop that loyalty which Professor Royce considers to be the essence of morality, and will result, too, in the ultimate prevalence of that still higher principle which he considers to be the very acme of morality—loyalty to loyalty; for loyalty developed by rivalry in excellence through a hierarchy of ever-enlarging groups, and carried on according to principles recognized as securing justice to all, must result thus.

Now this aim of rational participation, is far-reaching. It includes not only actual participation in social and socializing activities and in certain forms of industry to the degree that shall help pupils find themselves and their place in the social whole, but it includes preparation for and training in their chosen vocation whatever it may be. What each should do depends upon two things: the need of society and the interest and capacity of the individual. When there is a conjunction in any individual of knowledge of a social need and a conviction of ability to supply that need we have a "call," and the life-activity that results is in the highest sense a "calling" or vocation. Hitherto there has been almost no place in our educational program for guidance and training in this prime requisite for successful life—the making of a living—but there must be in the program of tomorrow. The educational system of the democracy that is worthy of imitation must discover the mechanic and train the mechanic, but its chief function will be to help the boy with a mechanical bent to find himself and his place in the world and give him every opportunity to become as efficient as possible not only as a mechanic but as a member of society. So, too, it must discover the chemist and train the chemist. It must discover the doctor, the lawyer, the artist, the industrial

organizer, the political and the religious leader, and train each for effective participation in the life of the social group and of humanity, each doing his task supremely well, each inspired with a purpose to add something to the sum total of human achievement, each with an enlarged self-consciousness so that he thinks and feels not only in terms of the empirical self, but increasingly in terms of family, community, church, industry, nation, humanity.

Three subordinate aims may well be kept in mind, yet all, as above indicated, are included in that of rational participation: the acquirement of useful knowledge and moral judgment, or *critical assimilation*, the development of power and initiative, or *cultivation*, and the motivation of a life-purpose with a social outlook, or *inspiration*. Each is to "enter into the spiritual possessions of the race," according to President Butler, but chiefly to the degree necessary for effective participation in the life of the group. Each is to acquire power over self, over nature, and over his fellow-man, not, however, for narrow personal ends, but for largeness of life and social service. And to hold our youth steady in the task of splendid achievement there is needed the motive of a great purpose. All too much of our school work today is a deadening routine and a spiritless grind. The teacher who can inspire his pupils with a purpose to be in order to do and to toil in order to serve is rare indeed. But never did life offer such a challenge to red-blooded youth as today. The call for the heroic will by no means end with the signing of the treaty of peace. The work of reorganizing American democracy and reconstructing the war-cursed regions of Europe furnishes the basis for an all-compelling appeal to the idealism and enthusiasm of youth which no educator can afford to overlook.

Now all of these aims can be carried out best, at least for the most part, in connection with co-operative tasks and projects at school, in the home, in industry, and in the social life of the community. They should persist all through life, too, in connection with one's vocation and avocation.

But while we demand that our schools shall train our boys and girls for effective participation in social life, the individual is not the sole educational unit. The eyes of educators are to be ever fixed on

two units, the individual to be increasingly trained and socialized, and such groups as the neighborhood, community, industrial unit, co-operating groups of pupils, and especially the family. Our schools, including the higher institutions, are to train for effective participation in every social activity, and this is to be done not only by co-operative tasks and activities within the school walls, but by direct and indirect influence on various social institutions. The school should become more and more the neighborhood and community center with the teachers more or less the directive agents. Parent-teacher associations and the school nurse should link up the school with the home, and this relation should be strengthened by the encouragement of homemaking projects, by more visits to the home by the teachers, and in some cases, as among certain of the foreign-born, by neighborhood classes.

The school may eventually control government by the introduction of or larger emphasis on the social sciences, by the establishment of mock "common councils," "legislatures," and "republics," by the encouragement of social surveys, and by the maintenance of an open forum in connection with its functions as a community center. Our colleges in the future are destined to play a larger part than in the past in the direction of state and national legislation.

The school may well train for a new type of industrial ethics and organization by the studies taught especially in connection with miniature business activities carried on within their walls, by co-operation with local industries both by part-time work by pupils and by extension lectures and courses, the latter for the most part under the direction of our technical schools and colleges.

Our educational system should be the fountain-head of a new morality, for the highest morality is that conduct which is most fitting for the long-run success of the group. In the school and on the playground usually connected with it, we have the supreme opportunity for the development of those primary ideals that are basal in democracy, in morality, and in Christianity: justice, loyalty, good faith, and kindness.¹ And the moral principles which shall be the ultimate precipitate of such a life will prove

¹ Cooley, *Social Organization*, chap. iv.

more practical than any supposed to come by revelation or than those that are the product of closet thinking.

Religion, too, may well feel the impress of our public-school system. Modern Protestantism with hundreds of denominations and sects furnishes a sad commentary on the "unity of faith" which Christians profess. But the Great War, with Catholic priest, Jewish rabbi, and Protestant chaplain working side by side ministering to the wounded and dying; the war with such an imperative demand for achievement and with such unity of spirit developed that seven religious and philanthropic activities could get together in a drive for funds; this war with Catholic, Protestant, and Jew fighting shoulder to shoulder for a social cause and working side by side in the manifold activities of the Red Cross society with a spirit and motive truly religious—all this has afforded a training in co-operative endeavor that augurs well for the future. The intellect in discursive thought tends to divide; the heart in sympathy and the hand in service, unite. The school as such cannot and should not teach religious dogma, but it can and should encourage religious idealism. It should train in social service which, carried on in the right spirit, is at least half of religious life; and those thus trained and inspired will eventually bring warmth and life to religious institutions now cold and formal and otherworldly.

We conclude then, first, that the one all-comprehensive national ideal that is consonant with the ideals that have characterized our nation throughout its history; the one that fits in with our aspiration to work out here an experiment in government which should be a guide to other nations; the ideal that comprises our aims in the present war and the conditions laid down by our President as essential to perpetual peace; the ideal that promises to go farthest in taking the place of war as a means of developing that unity of thought and feeling and purpose, and that loyalty which is so essential to national strength and progress, is the ideal of working out here in the United States a democracy in all its phases and in the institutions vitally related to it, so manifestly excellent because of its relation to the well-being of the people and the strength of our institutions and of our nation as a whole, as shall be worthy of imitation by those social groups whose stage of civilization and condi-

tions of life make this practicable. We conclude, second, that this ideal can be realized best by emphasizing rivalry in excellence in ever-enlarging groups, thus engendering an expanding social consciousness accompanied by the sentiment of loyalty. We conclude, third, that the one educational aim thus far formulated by educators that gives promise of securing an educational system best qualified to work out this ideal and organization is that of *rational participation*, with the subordinate aims of *cultivation*, *critical assimilation*, and *inspiration*. We conclude, fourth, that in our educational program chief emphasis should be placed on the one hand on health, industrial efficiency, and a strong social personality on the part of individual pupils, and on the other, on the direct influence of our educational system on the family, the community, the state, and various social and industrial institutions so that each may become so organized and directed that it shall function as efficiently as possible as an integral part of a more inclusive unity reaching to the nation and ultimately to the family of nations that is to be.

THE AMERICAN SPIRIT AND THE ORGANIZATION OF MID-EUROPE

HERBERT ADOLPHUS MILLER
Director, Mid-European Union, Washington, D.C.

Five years ago, at the meeting of this Society in Minneapolis, I said that the force of nationalism in Central Europe was becoming so strong that sooner or later the map of Europe would have to be changed in terms of this new force. Tonight I propose to discuss some of the principles according to which the change must take place, and the part America has played and must play in the change.

I would like to discuss the abstract sociological principles which underlie the whole subject, for the real solution of these new questions must be in terms of a proper social psychology. But since my attention has been so completely directed to the specific problems involved, I am going to presume on your good-will to relate you some history and do a little special pleading. I wish to interpolate, however, that one of the things that has given me the greatest satisfaction that has come to me in taking up the work on which I am engaged, is that there was absolutely no break between it and the sociological studies I had been making for some years. It has been a satisfaction because it had been another evidence that the science of sociology will prove to be fundamental in the solution of the practical problems of the larger society. The old hit-or-miss methods must yield to the application of principle.

Some ten years ago I began the study of the adjustment of Bohemians to American life, and I very soon discovered that every Bohemian community in the United States reflected the last five hundred years of Bohemian history and that our practical relations with Bohemians can never get away from that fact. In extending this study to many other nationalities the conclusion became more evident that every people whose history is full of struggle cannot be separated from its significance by emigration or by force. Much

to my surprise I found that I could learn in America quite as much about the peoples of Europe as in the country of their origin.

I have been amazed at the number of Bohemians bearing the name Svoboda. It seemed more common than Smith with us. I have never learned how it happened to become a surname. It also is a very common name of newspapers of the various Slavic nationalities and means "freedom" in all Slavic languages. There must be some intimate relation between the lack of freedom which has prevailed for so many centuries among the Slavic peoples of middle Europe and this word so common in their vocabularies which represents a hitherto unfulfilled aspiration. There is also a far more intimate relation between their coming to America and this aspiration for freedom than is generally appreciated.

Our Pilgrim ancestors set the stamp of nobility upon the search for freedom of conscience and political liberty. Frequently when I have been visiting foreign-language parochial schools the children have sung "America" for me. I used to be impressed with the incongruity of these immigrant children's lustily shouting,

"Land where my fathers died,
Land of the Pilgrim's pride."

But I have since concluded that it was not so incongruous after all. The fathers of these children did not speak English and had various religions, but if a true description of human impulses and emotions could be written, I think that we should find that these children represent an emotional ancestry remarkably similar to that of the older American stock. For example, all the world now knows of the Bohemians, or Czechs, whom we have not before differentiated from other Slavs. They have nurtured here in America the same spirit that has made the Czecho-Slovak army in Siberia one of the wonders of the age, and as I shall show later may make their republic the one oasis in the European world of disorder.

There is no clod so dead that oppression does not irk him, and his struggle to escape it is the beginning of individual character. The group struggle for the same purpose is the emancipation of the individual into a genuine social consciousness. America is both the symbol and reality of freedom to the oppressed of Europe. The

unselfish spirit of America may often exist only in words so far as individuals are concerned; but in the minds of the people of mid-Europe who have been successively oppressed by Tartar, Turk, and Teuton for weary centuries, America has come to stand for the fulfilment of an age-long struggle for national self-respect. Because it was also the land of economic opportunity, most Americans have thought that the immigrant came only for economic gain. No greater mistake could be made. Observe this: the Roumanian peasant in Roumania is in worse economic condition than his brother in Hungary, but it is the politically oppressed Roumanian that came to America and the free one that stayed at home; the Russian peasant is poor, but the emigrants from Russia are from subject peoples such as Finns, Letts, Lithuanians, Poles, Jews, and Germans; the Serbians from Bosnia and Herzegovina are materially better off than the Serbians of Serbia, still they came and the others stayed. There is of course a fair proportion of ignorance, greed, and baseness among them, but we have no reason to consider it disproportionate.

The unescapable fact which concerns us now is that there are in the United States some ten millions of people from those countries in middle Europe to whom freedom has been denied, and that on the average they constitute more than one-tenth as many as their fellow-nationals left in Europe. When one realizes this fact and knows that every political party and point of view in Europe is represented in full emotional force in America, one must understand that there is an intimate connection between the spirit of America, whatever it may be, and the reorganization of middle Europe, however it may take place.

The one common bond of the peoples to the east of Germany has been their hatred of Germany. It was very difficult for the American authorities or American public opinion to realize this. On last Fourth of July I saw on a banner which was being carried by a group of Bohemians in a parade in Cleveland this legend: "Americans have courage! We have fought the tyrants for three hundred years." Up to nearly the end of the war, military authorities refused to believe that two-thirds of the subjects of Austria-Hungary were her bitterest enemies and eager friends of the

American ideal. As I have written elsewhere, last January, as the result of four meetings of four nationalities held in Camp Sherman and addressed by speakers in their own language who told them what American ideals in this war were as voiced by President Wilson, approximately a thousand men who had applied for their discharge as enemy aliens withdrew their applications.

In September the Mid-European Union was organized with its original members representing the seven oppressed nationalities of Austria-Hungary. Its two principal objects were to form a barrier to Germany's ambition to the east by creating a united front, and to co-operate with the United States and the Allies for the attainment of freedom, which they were then led to expect from the war for democracy. The most serious problem in this Union was the historical differences which have so long existed between the various nationalities, having been sedulously cultivated by their political masters in order to prevent just such a union. In our conferences frequently these differences have become acute, but it was only necessary to refer to President Wilson and the American ideal to instantly restore peace and confidence. What this means is that the hope of Europe is bound up with America. It might be possible to isolate America from *political* bonds with Europe, but it will not be possible to separate her from *spiritual* influence and *spiritual* responsibility.

The following quotation from the Czecho-Slovak Declaration of Independence shows how intimate this connection is:

We accept and shall adhere to the ideals of modern democracy, as they have been the ideals of our nations for centuries. We accept the American principles as laid down by President Wilson; the principles of liberated mankind—of the actual equality of nations—and of governments deriving all their just power from the consent of the governed. We, the nation of Comenius, cannot but accept these principles expressed in the American Declaration of Independence, the principles of Lincoln, and of the declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen. For these principles our nation shed its blood in the memorable Hussite wars five hundred years ago; for these same principles, beside her allies, our nation is shedding its blood today in Russia, Italy, and France.

Immediately after this declaration the Mid-European Union, by this time consisting of twelve nationalities, met in Independence

Hall, Philadelphia, and after four days of conference issued their Declaration of Common Aims. These nationalities through their accredited representatives were: Lithuanians, Poles, Czecho-Slovaks, Uhro-Rusins, Ukrainians, Roumanians, Jugo-Slavs, Italian Irredentists, Albanians, Greek Irredentists, Armenians, and Zionists. They were just as much impressed by the significance of the historic surroundings as were the natives of Philadelphia who crowded around them. Their Liberty Bell ringing within a few feet of where our Liberty Bell stands forever mute filled them with the same quality of feeling as ours would have filled us.

Let us now turn to Europe. If you take the map of Europe you will see that east of the Rhine and the Adriatic, not counting Greece or Scandinavia, there is no genuinely stable government except in Czecho-Slovakia. Bulgaria and Roumania still have the semblance, but the internal reforms that are necessary will inevitably bring disorder there. This is the most fearful prospect that ever faced mankind. The single oasis is the little Czecho-Slovak republic right in the middle, with no outlet to the sea, and almost surrounded by her age-long enemies, the Germans and the Magyars. She may withstand the chaos and she may not; but potentially she is the hope of the world, for her people are self-disciplined for democratic self-control. But her power and standing would have been absolutely impossible had it not been for the money and moral support of the Bohemians of America in the early days of the war, which made possible the educational and organizing work of Professor Masaryk. It is a matter of interest to us that Masaryk, the author of the Czecho-Slovak Declaration of Independence and first president of the republic, was a professor of sociology.

The problems that must be faced are greater than man ever faced before. Two things are outstanding: the solution must remove the old oppressions; and the world looks to America to see that the new order is established. There will be difficulties and failures, but that need not discourage us. If the war had not come to an end so quickly, the members of the Mid-European Union would have gone far toward making a working agreement among themselves; but as it is, with the pressure of the common danger removed, each nationality tends to turn to its own internal problems

rather than to the problems of interrelationship. So it is with the rest of the world. But the problems of interrelationship remain, and America's responsibility for their solution is greater than ever.

We all know that America's unselfishness and idealism are far from universal. There are among us those who are Prussian junkers in every purpose, and there is great ignorance and lack of sympathy. At any moment we may be weighed in the balance and found wanting. Just as many men who care nothing for democracy got behind President Wilson's slogan, so many have accepted the fine phrase "self-determination" without the slightest notion of its application. Many people have an idea where Poland is, but too many are like a brigade officer at one of my lectures at Camp Sherman who came to me and putting his finger on the shore of the Adriatic said: "I am glad I know where Poland is"; or the editor of a well-known magazine who saw my map last August and said: "What are the Czecho-Slovaks doing there in the center of Europe when we read about them in Siberia?"

Now comes the special plea. If we are to do our part, there are four points which must be insisted upon.

First, intelligent understanding of the peoples for whose freedom this war was fought. We cannot co-operate with those we do not know. Who are Slavs and who are not is probably not known to one in ten thousand in America. What are the history, aspirations, language, literature, religion, customs, and resources of each people? When we can answer these questions our snobbish superiority over these emerging nations will disappear. It is our first duty to know.

The second follows close—sympathetic assistance both spiritual and material. The former is difficult because the culture and religions are different. Until we can recognize spiritual values in unfamiliar forms we cannot live adequately in the new world. When our reconstruction agencies go among these peoples, if they do not get into sympathetic relations most of their efforts will be in vain. On the material side there is grave danger that our commercial energy will seek concessions and profits even to exploitation from peoples not yet organized or trained to be on their guard. Our economic assistance must be given with an idealism hitherto

unknown in the realm of finance. If America fails in this respect and imposes an alien commercial bondage to replace the old political bondage, we shall betray the deep trust that has been given us and sow the seeds that will reap the whirlwind.

Third, we must practice the virtue of patience. Many see in the disorder and uncertainty of the forming nations a reason for wishing the old controls back. Austria-Hungary can never be revived, and it is absurd to expect unity and quiescence among people just entering freedom. They must find themselves. Our own colonies became the United States only after years of discord, and then we had a Civil War. The events leading up to our Declaration of Independence were far less harmonious than the sessions of the twelve nations composing the Mid-European Union preceding their declaration.

Fourth, and finally, is the proper treatment of the immigrant in our midst. The method of dealing with this question is generally called Americanization. It has multitudes of agencies; some are wise, some are indifferent, and many are vicious. If Americanism were a determined and static thing, the methods of attaining it would be as simple as the methods of Prussianism; but it is not determined and static, and what we want is not men molded in the same form, but people capable of entering into responsible citizenship in a moving democracy. There are some who think this will be attained through compulsory instruction in English and the taking out of citizenship papers. These are only incidents which may or may not help toward the object. A writer in a popular magazine recently urged that there could be no true Americanism until the foreign-language newspapers were suppressed, giving as the strongest argument that the Kaiser, who was a very wise man, practiced just that method. Can we learn nothing vicariously from European experience! When they are free to keep their language in Europe they will readily learn English in America. Until that time neither law nor public opinion can force the aliens of oppressed nations to forget their mother-tongues. The Swedes, who number three times as many in America as the Bohemians, have never been able to maintain a daily newspaper while the Bohemians have eight,

which is approximately the measure of the effort they have had to maintain to keep their language alive.

An effective Americanization must begin where the immigrant's soul is, not where we think it ought to be. The Old World blundered there, and we are only just learning that the soul of a people cannot be killed. In fact the very suppression nurtures its strength. Even if it were desirable, it is impossible to make our immigrants forget their heritage from history. Out of this fact may come an enrichment and enlargement of American life, if we are broad enough to absorb it; the spirit of America is bound up with the organization of Central Europe and cannot escape though it would. Democracy there will mean democracy here, and tyranny there will mean disintegration here. No method of approaching the problem of Americanization which leaves out of account the intimate connections of the immigrant to the fate of his fatherland can have any success; and I plead that this fact may not be forgotten.

Opposition to the League of Nations is being made in high places on the ground that America should still maintain her old isolation. But America has no isolation. The problems of Europe are a part of us. To deny our responsibility for them is to refuse to save ourselves. To work them out in terms of American democracy is to help organize Europe in the American spirit.

DISCUSSION

ALBION W. SMALL, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

As I have not had an opportunity to read the leading papers on this topic I must confine myself to a few suggestions of the simplest sort.

However the topic may be interpreted for the purposes of this discussion, I am interested primarily in some kind of concerted action by Americans as a people, to the end that in the not too far distant future all Americans may acquire the grace of "thinking American." Perhaps it was somewhere in *Dynamic Sociology* that Lester F. Ward was replying to the people who said, "It's no use to try to change the world. It can't be done. All the attempts to do it have done mischief." "Very well," Ward answered in substance. "If by trying we have done mischief, that shows we have done something. It is up to us to learn how to do the something that makes for progress." One of the most elementary and obvious lessons for Americans to salvage out of the

war is the appalling power for mischief that has been exerted by mischievously directed German public education. By analogy with Ward's inference, if so much mischief can be done by viciously directed public education, equal energy rightly directed would accomplish enormous good. In the phenomena of "thinking German" we have not only observed incredible variations from normal mentality and morality, but this psychopathic condition must be charged almost wholly to deliberate public pedagogy. Of course this public pedagogy has not been entirely in and of the schools. It has been the *Kultur* of which those Germans who think in terms of psychic forces have boasted that it is a concentration of every energy of the German people upon the will to dominate the world by fair means or foul, or perish in the attempt. In this program those public agencies ordinarily classed as educational have been as distinctly self-conscious as the Ministry of War or Finance. It has been their job to deliver over to the government each rising generation perverted from ability to think as any other people in the world think, and indomitably self-satisfied in thinking as Germans alone can think. In this exhibition of energy gone wrong we have a demonstration of power available in any nation to make things go right. I do not mean that in the present stage of civilization a mere change in the direction of control will accomplish good in the exact ratio of the previous output of evil. That would presuppose capacities of co-ordination not yet developed. I mean that, with a distinct purpose of social pedagogy in direction of our educational machinery, the United States might in a generation advance from a juvenile to an adolescent stage of social consciousness, and from a relatively low to a relatively high grade of social efficiency.

Without trying to distinguish between "thinking British," or "thinking French," or "thinking Japanese," or "thinking American," no one understands American history very well who does not know that, along with keen interest in the "main chance" which has given us our reputation as dollar-chasers, there has always been in our make-up an equally genuine strain of idealistic altruism. Even when we have been deepest in the scrimmage for the main chance we have always thought of ourselves as torch-bearers for human freedom. However bumptious we may have been in advertising this estimate of ourselves, it has not been a mere hypocritical boast. At the worst there has been an element of downright world-patriotism in it, to save it from contempt when tested by the record of our actual team work with the rest of the world in promoting human programs. On the present level of human experience to think exclusively in terms of nationality or of internationality is equally sterile. A certain quota of men and women have been called on in each recent century to detach themselves from the family group and dedicate themselves to certain tasks which family bonds would embarrass. It remains true that families as such cannot function at their best unless they live in the first place unto themselves, unless they preserve their group integrity, and loyalty, and co-operation. So of nations. They do their best for the world not by national disintegration and demoralization, even when expressed in terms of internationalism.

Nations do their best for the world when they first develop the best national character and the best national housekeeping which their circumstances permit, and a co-ordinate division of these circumstances is loyalty to the function of co-operating with all other well-disposed nations in working out a common destiny. "Thinking American" involves attention to both these components of our national life, but it will never become a highly potential factor until it presupposes much more information and intelligence about ourselves and the rest of the world than Americans have thus far possessed.

A year ago each of our great social-science associations was memorialized with reference to co-operation in helping our colleges answer the question, "How may we use our resources to the best purpose in training for citizenship?" Nothing seems to have come of it. The more immediate calls to specific war services and the disappointing Student Army Training Corps experiment partially account for the inaction. It would be a lamentable dereliction of duty if these societies should prove permanently indifferent to the implicit as well as the uttered demands for help of this sort. If these societies cannot furnish more light and leading on this particular problem than any other source, not only for colleges, but for each grade of our educational system, it is hardly possible to imagine anything else which they may do as having reality enough to justify their existence.

**PROGRAM OF THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING,
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, DECEMBER 27-28, 1918**

General Subject: "Sociology and Education"

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27

- 9:00 A.M.** Meeting of the Executive Committee.
- 10:00 A.M.** Session on "Sex and Race Aspects of Education."
"Ideals and Methods in the Social Education of Women," ANNA GARLIN SPENCER, Meadville Theological School.
Discussion: DR. LUCILE EAVES, Boston; DR. MARION TALBOT, University of Chicago.
"Education in Its Relation to the Conflict and Fusion of Cultures: with Special Reference to the Problems of the Immigrant, Negro, and Missions," ROBERT E. PARK, University of Chicago.
Discussion: U. G. WEATHERLY, University of Indiana.
- 2:00 P.M.** Session on "Sociology in the Common Schools."
"Sociology in the Education of Teachers," F. R. CLOW, State Normal School, Oshkosh, Wis.
"Sociological Background of the Vocational Concept," JOHN M. GILLETTE, University of North Dakota.
"Social Education in College through Group Activities," WALTER R. SMITH, State Normal School, Emporia, Kan.
Discussion: MONROE N. WORK, Tuskegee Institute; F. STUART CHAPIN, Smith College; ROSS L. FINNEY, State Normal School, Valley City, N.D.
- 8:00 P.M.** Joint Session with the American Statistical Association. Presidential Addresses: "A Primary Culture for Democracy," CHARLES H. COOLEY, president of the American Sociological Society; "Statistics and Government," WESLEY C. MITCHELL, president of the American Statistical Association.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28

- 9:00 A.M.** Annual Business Meeting of the American Sociological Society.
- 10:00 A.M.** Session on "Social Education through the Community."
"Social Education through the Community Center," JOHN COLLIER, Training School for Community Workers, New York, N.Y.
"Extension Teaching of Sociology in Communities," CECIL C. NORTE, Ohio State University.

PROGRAM OF THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING 191

"Sociological Education of Rural People," JOHN PHELAN, Massachusetts Agricultural College.

Discussion: J. L. GILLIN, University of Wisconsin; W. S. BITTNER, Indiana University; ERNEST R. GROVES, New Hampshire College; PAUL L. VOGT, Philadelphia.

2:00 P.M. Round Table Conference on "The Teaching of Sociology to Undergraduates," A. J. TODD, University of Minnesota, leader; M. C. ELMER, University of Kansas; JESSICA B. PEIXOTTO, University of California; WILLIAM J. KERBY, Catholic University; F. S. CHAPIN, Smith College.

4:00 P.M. Joint Session with the American Economic Association on Social and Economic Theory. (Fifteen-minute papers.)

"The Place of Economic Theory in an Era of Readjustment," J. M. CLARK, University of Chicago.

"The Psychological Basis of the Economic Interpretation of History," W. F. OGBURN, University of Washington.

"The Institutional Approach to Economic Theory," WALTON H. HAMILTON, Amherst College.

Discussion.

8:00 P.M. Session on "National Aspects of Education."

"The National Spirit in Education," E. A. ROSS, University of Wisconsin.

"Education and the National Ideal," L. M. BRISTOL, West Virginia University.

"The American Spirit and the Organization of Middle Europe," H. A. MILLER, Oberlin College, director of the Democratic Mid-European Union.

Discussion: JULIA C. LATHROP, Children's Bureau.

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY FOR THE FISCAL YEAR, DECEMBER 17, 1917, TO DECEMBER 19, 1918

Membership Statement

The total membership of the American Sociological Society for the calendar year 1918 numbers 810. The membership for 1917 was 817. This latter number has been altered by the following changes in our membership lists:

Membership in 1917.....	817
Members resigning.....	65
Members dropped.....	128
Members deceased.....	4
	197
Total lost.....	197
Members renewing, <i>ex officio</i>	1
Members renewing, exchange.....	7
Members renewing, paid.....	620
New members for 1918.....	182
	810
Total membership for 1918.....	810

Following the instruction of the Executive Committee at its 1917 meeting, no analysis of the membership by year of joining is submitted.

Reasons Why Members Do Not Renew

This year, following the custom of last year, the Secretary, after the fourth duebill had been sent to members, asked those not renewing for reasons. Most of the replies indicated that the war was the cause.

Campaign for New Members

In co-operation with the publishers of the *American Journal of Sociology*, the University of Chicago Press, the Society has conducted a campaign for new members this autumn, the expenses of the campaign to be shared equally by the Press and the Society. As far as the figures are available while this report is being written, the following represent this enterprise. Personal typewritten letters were sent by the Secretary to the following:

Persons applying but not joining in 1917.....	18
Miscellaneous inquiries.....	68
Recommended by members.....	188
Asking for reprints of 1917 <i>Proceedings</i>	88
Teachers of sociology.....	293

The publishers sent out 910 invitations in the form of circular letters to members of the National Institute of Social Science.

While this report is being composed it is too early to estimate the returns. The letters were mailed during the first fifteen days of December.

In addition to these efforts President Cooley prepared a letter which was mailed from the Secretary's office to the 293 teachers of sociology, urging them to present the advantages of membership in the Society to their students. Returns from this effort are also not yet available.

List of Teachers of Sociology

According to our custom the office sent in November a letter to college presidents in the United States asking for the names of their teachers of sociology. A self-addressed card was inclosed. Four hundred and twenty-eight letters were mailed. Practically every college responded after a follow-up letter was sent. This list is now in typewritten form ready to send to societies, individuals, etc. The last list was used by several institutions, including the national government. On the list are 392 names, of which 100 are members of the Society. To those not members a personal letter asking them to become members of the Society was written.

Delay in Mailing Duebills

On September 26 envelopes were ordered from the government in which to mail the bills for 1919 membership dues. It has usually required two weeks to get the envelopes. This year they were not delivered until December 17, in spite of the Secretary's efforts to hurry them. The reason given for the delay was shortage of labor at the printing office. The Secretary regrets this unavoidable delay in mailing the bills, especially because the program of the annual meeting is included in the envelopes. The program was published, however, in the September and November issues of the *American Journal of Sociology*.

Membership List to Publishers

This year as usual the Secretary sent reprints of the membership list from the volume of *Papers and Proceedings* to about eighty-five foreign and domestic publishers. This enables our members to be placed on the mailing lists to receive announcements of books, etc.

Invitations for the 1919 Meeting

Invitations have been received for the next year's meeting from the following organizations: San Francisco Convention and Tourist League, Chicago Association of Commerce, the Merchants' Association of New York, Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, and numerous organizations in St. Louis, Missouri.

Respectfully submitted,
SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, *Secretary*

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE FISCAL YEAR, DECEMBER 17, 1917, TO DECEMBER 19, 1918

Audit of Accounts

According to the custom established last year the accounts were audited by a public accountant, the work being done by the company which did it a year ago, viz., Ernest Reckitt & Company.

Following the suggestion of the auditor made a year ago, the office has installed this year an additional record to enable the auditor to check the membership more adequately. A columnar record book was adopted, containing columns for ten years. This will enable the auditor to check at a glance the different years in which members have paid yearly dues. This increases the clerical work of the office but gives an additional method of verification.

Clerical Assistance

The Secretary-Treasurer has had much annoyance this year through the many changes in his assistants, having had five different persons. One of these clerical assistants forged the Society's and Treasurer's names on checks to the amount of \$21.00. After considerable difficulty with complaints of members who had paid but were not credited, the Treasurer recovered the money from the assistant, who had already been discharged. During the latter part of the year the Treasurer has kept the books and accounts himself, considering that less labor than to instruct assistants.

STATEMENT OF AUDIT

The following is the Auditor's statement:

“CHICAGO, ILL., December 21, 1918

“*The American Sociological Society, Chicago, Illinois*

“GENTLEMEN: In accordance with the instructions of your Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Scott E. W. Bedford, we have audited your books for the year ended December 19, 1918, and now submit our report thereon, together with the Schedules attached as follows:

Schedule “A,” Balance Sheet as at December 19, 1918.

Schedule “B,” Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements for the year ended December 19, 1918.

“Cash Receipts

“We have traced the Cash Receipts as recorded on the Cash Sheets as having been deposited in the bank by verification with the Bank Statements.

“Dues from Members

“The receipts from members for dues were checked by us for the entire period with the Register of Members, which was installed at the suggestion contained in our report of December 19, 1917. We found same to be accurately kept. A comparative test was also made by us of the names as recorded in the Membership Register with those printed in the last published list of members, and, in so far as examined by us, were found to be in agreement therewith.

“The trial balance of the members’ cards (in numbers only) as presented to us also agreed with the total number of members as recorded on the Cash Sheets.

“Cash Disbursements

“We verified the disbursements of the Society by means of the canceled checks and vouchers, and agreed the bank balance as at the close of the period under review.

“Generally

“We were given to understand that, with the exception of one or two small items, all disbursements made include all obligations of the Society to date.

“The bond of the Northwestern Electric Company belonging to the Society was produced to us for our inspection.

“A certificate of the University of Chicago Press, dated December 17, 1918, was seen by us, in which they stated that they held 1,212 copies of the various volumes of *Papers and Proceedings* of your Society in stock.

“Respectfully submitted,

“ERNEST RECKITT & Co.,

“*Certified Public Accountants*”

Schedule “A”

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Balance Sheet as at December 19, 1918
(Subject to report herewith)

Assets

Cash in Bank.....	\$	402.48	
NORTHWESTERN ELECTRIC CO.			
6 per cent Sinking Fund Gold Bond.....		500.00	
OFFICE FURNITURE:			
Remington Typewriter.....	\$	60.00	
Cabinet File.....		58.65	
			<u>118.65</u>
			\$1,021.13

Liabilities

Surplus, as at December 17, 1917.....	\$1,798.43	
Deduct excess of expenditures over receipts for year ended December 19, 1918, as per Schedule “B”.....	777.30	
		<u>\$1,021.13</u>

Schedule "B"

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FROM DECEMBER 18, 1917, TO
DECEMBER 19, 1918

(Subject to report herewith)

Cash Receipts

Dues from members for 1918.....	\$1,616.22	
Dues from members for 1919.....	75.00	
Exchange on checks received.....	6.60	
Royalties on publications.....	358.75	
Interest on bond owned.....	30.00	
	<hr/>	
Total cash receipts.....		\$2,086.57

Cash Disbursements

Publication expense of <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> ..	\$1,026.69	
Publication expense of <i>Papers and Proceedings</i> , Vol. XII	925.42	
Office salaries—clerical and stenographic.....	369.73	
Postage and express.....	246.66	
Printing.....	103.25	
Stationery.....	29.10	
Auditing.....	25.00	
Office expense.....	21.60	
Secretary's expense at annual meeting.....	83.02	
Campaign for new members.....	8.97	
Advertising.....	3.83	
Insurance on <i>Papers and Proceedings</i>	1.45	
Exchange on checks.....	14.15	
Membership refund.....	5.00	
	<hr/>	
Total cash disbursements.....		\$2,863.87
Balance, being excess of disbursements over receipts		777.30

Cash Summary

Cash in bank, December 17, 1917.....	\$1,179.78	
Total cash receipts for year ended December 19, 1918.....	2,086.57	
	<hr/>	
		\$3,266.35
Deduct total cash disbursements for year ended December 19, 1918	2,863.87	
	<hr/>	
Cash in bank, December 19, 1918.....		\$ 402.48

Respectfully submitted,

SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, *Treasurer*

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MANAGING EDITOR FOR THE FISCAL YEAR, DECEMBER 17, 1917, TO DECEMBER 19, 1918

Cost of Printing Volume XII

The Treasurer's statement will show that the cost of printing an edition of thirteen hundred (1,300) copies of Volume XII of the *Papers and Proceedings* was \$925.42.

Additions to Volume XII

This volume contained the following features in addition to the matter printed in previous editions: program of the annual meeting; complete reports of the Secretary, Treasurer, and Managing Editor; minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee and of the business meeting; and complete table of contents of all the volumes of *Proceedings*. This gives publicity to certain facts which were previously learned only by the officers of the Society, or by those who chanced to be in attendance at the annual meetings. Volume XII is the largest volume yet issued, having 269 pages; Volume XI is the next in size with 233 pages.

Reprints to Discussers

The editor has made another effort this year to secure the manuscript of papers for the annual meeting in order to get them into galley proof and to the discussers before the session at which the paper was to be presented. To the eleven persons writing the papers letters were sent on November 1 asking for their manuscripts. On December 10, out of the eleven, six had sent in their copy.

Reprints for Distribution

For advertising the character of our papers appearing in Volume XII of the *Proceedings*, twenty-five reprints were made of each paper and sent to prospects, or were taken to the annual meeting for free distribution.

Reduction in the Size of the "American Journal of Sociology"

Beginning with the July issue the number of pages of the *Journal*—the official organ of the Society—was reduced by order of the government. No complaints from members on account of this have reached the Managing Editor.

"Papers and Proceedings" on Hand

On December 17 the number of the different volumes of *Papers and Proceedings* on hand was as follows:

Vol. I.....	120	Vol. VII.....	88
Vol. II.....	43	Vol. VIII.....	119
Vol. III.....	57	Vol. IX.....	69
Vol. IV.....	79	Vol. X.....	234
Vol. V.....	74	Vol. XI.....	55
Vol. VI.....	40	Vol. XII.....	234

Respectfully submitted,

SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, *Secretary*

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, DECEMBER 27, 1918

The meeting was called to order at 9:00 A.M. by President Cooley in the salon of the Jefferson Hotel. The following were present: Professors Cooley, Chapin, Gillette, and Bedford.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The annual reports of the Secretary, Treasurer, and Managing Editor, previously given to members of the Committee, were read in part and explained and ordered filed.

It was moved and carried that the Committee express a preference for holding the next annual meeting in Lexington, Kentucky.

It was moved and carried that President Blackmar be empowered to confer with the informal Committee on "Standardization of Rural Research," chairman, C. J. Galpin, which met at the time of our annual meeting in Philadelphia in 1917, with a view to making this one of the standing committees of the Society.

Mr. Bedford notified the Committee that he could not accept the three positions of Secretary, Treasurer, and Managing Editor any longer unless relieved of all duties except purely advisory, that he had served the Society in these positions for seven of the thirteen years of its history and felt that the affairs of the Society were in reasonably good condition to turn over to someone else. It was moved and carried that arrangements be made by Mr. Bedford with a representative of the University of Chicago Press for delegating his duties to a person mutually agreeable to him and to the Press, the understanding being in accord with a letter from Mr. Newman Miller, director of the Press.

The Committee then adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, *Secretary*

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, DECEMBER 28, 1918

The annual business meeting was called to order by President Cooley in the salon of the Jefferson Hotel, about thirty-five members being present.

The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

The annual reports of the Secretary, Treasurer, and Managing Editor were read in part and ordered filed.

President Cooley made a report of his work for the year regarding the construction of the program and other matters. He read a letter of greetings from Professor Rene Worms, secretary of the Institut International de Sociologie.

It was moved and carried that President Cooley send a message of greetings to Professor Worms from this Society.

It was moved and carried that greetings be sent by Professor Cooley to the sociological societies in the nations recently our Allies in arms, with a view to establishing a better understanding in our common labor.

The Committee on Adaptation of Courses to War Conditions, F. H. Giddings, chairman, made no report. The committee was continued.

The Committee on Standardization of Research, J. L. Gillin, chairman, made no report. The committee was continued.

The Committee on Statistics, co-operating with the Economic and Statistical societies, reported through its chairman, W. N. Adriance, that the committee had rendered aid to the Federal Board on Centralized Statistics. It was moved and carried that the committee make an effort in the next census to secure a more satisfactory classification of the population upon the basis of urban and rural residence. The committee was continued.

The Committee on Nominations named the following persons for the offices indicated:

President, Frank W. Blackmar, University of Kansas; First Vice-President, James Q. Dealey, Brown University; Second Vice-President, Edward C. Hayes, University of Illinois; Secretary-Treasurer and Editor, Scott E. W. Bedford, University of Chicago; Executive Committee, E. L. Earp, Drew Theological Seminary; and Grace Abbott, Federal Children's Bureau.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN M. GILLETTE, *Chairman*
C. W. THOMPSON
E. L. EARP

It was moved and carried that the Secretary be instructed to cast the ballot of the Society for the persons for the offices indicated.

It was moved and carried that the incoming president appoint a committee to inquire into what is and what may be done in the teaching of sociology in the grades of the public schools and in the high schools of the United States. The committee appointed by President Blackmar is as follows: A. J. Todd, Charles A. Ellwood, John Phelan, W. R. Smith.

The meeting then adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, *Secretary*

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ARTICLE I—NAME

This Society shall be known as the American Sociological Society.

ARTICLE II—OBJECTS

The objects of this Society shall be the encouragement of sociological research and discussion and the promotion of intercourse between persons engaged in the scientific study of society.

ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP

Any person may become a member of this Society upon payment of Three Dollars and may continue such by paying thereafter annually a fee of Three Dollars.

By a single payment of Fifty Dollars any person may become a life member of the Society.

Each member is entitled to a copy of the current publications of the Society.

ARTICLE IV—OFFICERS

The officers of this Society shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer—elected at each annual meeting—and an Executive Committee consisting of the officers above mentioned *ex officio*, together with six elected members whose terms of office shall be three years; except that of those chosen at the first election two shall serve for but one year and two for two years.

The offices of Secretary and of Treasurer may be filled by the same person.

ARTICLE V—ELECTION OF OFFICERS

All officers shall be elected only after nomination by a special committee of the Society appointed by the Executive Committee; except that the officers for the first year shall be nominated by a committee of three to be appointed by the chairman of the meeting at which this constitution is adopted.

All officers shall be elected by a majority vote of the members of the Society present at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI—DUTIES OF OFFICERS

The President of the Society shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Executive Committee, and shall perform such other duties as the Executive Committee may assign to him. In his absence his duties shall devolve,

successively, upon the Vice-Presidents in the order of their election, upon the Secretary, and upon the Treasurer.

The Secretary shall keep the records of the Society, and perform such other duties as the Executive Committee may assign to him.

The Treasurer shall receive and have the custody of the funds of the Society, subject to the rules of the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee shall have charge of the general interests of the Society, shall call regular and special meetings of the Society, appropriate money, appoint committees and their chairmen, with suitable powers, and in general possess the governing power in the Society except as otherwise specifically provided in this constitution. The Executive Committee shall have power to fill vacancies in its membership occasioned by death, resignation, or failure to elect, such appointees to hold office until the next annual election.

Five members shall constitute a quorum of the Executive Committee, and a majority vote of those members in attendance shall control its decisions.

ARTICLE VII—RESOLUTIONS

All resolutions to which objection is made shall be referred to the Executive Committee for its approval before submission to the vote of the Society.

ARTICLE VIII—AMENDMENTS

Amendments to this constitution shall be proposed by the Executive Committee and adopted by a majority vote of the members present at any regular or special meeting of the Society.

AMENDMENT I

(Adopted in 1914)

The Executive Committee shall appoint each year a Managing Editor for the annual volume of *Papers and Proceedings*. It shall be his duty to collect, edit, and arrange the material for the *Papers and Proceedings* of the annual meeting.

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

MEMBERSHIP LIST FOR THE YEAR 1919

- Abbott, Edith, Hull-House, 800 S. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.
Adams, James F., 151 Nagle Ave., New York, N.Y.
Adams, Samuel E., 205 Gaston St., East, Savannah, Ga.
Addams, Jane, Hull-House, 800 S. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.
Ainsworth, Harry, Moline, Ill.
Allaben, M. C., Room 710, 156 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y.
Alling, Elizabeth, 311 N. Brooks St., Madison, Wis.
Alling, Mortimer H., Box 1232, Providence, R.I.
Anderson, Charles M., Route 1, Box 32, Brownstown, Ind.
Anderson, George N., 661 Burr St., St. Paul, Minn.
Anderson, Roy R., Loudon, Tenn.
Andrae, Lydia, 620 Langdon St., Madison, Wis.
Andrews, Helen H., 3224 N. Pennsylvania Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
Andrews, John B., American Association of Labor Legislation, 131 E. 23d St.,
New York, N.Y.
Armstrong, Samuel Treat, Hillbourne Farms, Katonah, N.Y.
Artman, J. M., Y.M.C.A. College, 5315 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Arvold, A. G., Agricultural College, S.D.
Athey, Mrs. C. N., 100 S. Patterson Park Ave., Baltimore, Md.
Aucult, Lucille K., 69 W. Park Ave., Aurora, Ill.
Austin, Charles Burgess, 419 W. 119th St., New York, N.Y.
Avery, Samuel P., 61 Woodland St., Hartford, Conn.
Babson, Roger W., 31 Abbott Road, Wellesley Hills, Mass.
Badanes, Saul, 565 Madison St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Baker, Herbert M., Box 727, Greeley, Colo.
Baker, O. E., 1 Hesketh St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Balch, Emily G., 130 Prince St., Jamaica Plain, Mass.
Baldwin, Simeon W., New Haven, Conn.
Ballard, Lloyd Vernor, 915 Park Ave., Beloit, Wis.
Barnes, Harry E., 105 Lovell St., Worcester, Mass.
Bartholomew, Virgil W., 619 Franklin St., Michigan City, Ind.
Batten, S. Z., 1701 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Baumann, LeRoy E., 2635 Sedgwick Ave., New York, N.Y.
Baumgartel, Walter, Agricultural College, Fargo, N.D.
Beach, Walter G., State College, Pullman, Wash.
Bedford, Scott E. W., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Beer, William, Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans, La.
Belcher, Alice E., Milwaukee-Downer College, Milwaukee, Wis.
Beller, William F., 51 E. 123d St., New York, N.Y.
Benecke, H. H., North Carolina State Normal College, Greensboro, N.C.
Bengtson, Caroline, 1201 E. 60th St., Chicago, Ill.
Benz, Virginia, 1322, 12th St., NW., Washington, D.C.
Berger, Victor L., 980 First St., Milwaukee, Wis.
Berks, Lothar von, care of German Savings Bank, 157, 4th Ave., New York,
N.Y.
Bernard, L. L., 608 South E. 7th St., Minneapolis, Minn.

- Bernheimer, Charles S., 1475 President St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
 Bessey, John M., 3702 Woolworth Bldg., New York, N.Y.
 Bettman, Alfred, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.
 Bever, James, 614 Ivy St., Bellingham, Wash.
 Beyle, Herman C., 700 E. Monroe St., Franklin, Ind.
 Bidgood, Lee, P.O. Box 416, University, Ala.
 Bieberman, Lucille W., 425 North Park St., Madison, Wis.
 Binder, Rudolph M., New York University, Washington Square, New York, N.Y.
 Binnewies, W. G., Fairmount College, Wichita, Kan.
 Bishop, Charles McTyeire, 1310 University Ave., Georgetown, Tex.
 Bishop, Margaret, 114 McKinley Ave., Lansdown, Pa.
 Bittner, W. S., 802 Hunter Ave., Bloomington, Ind.
 Bixby, W. H., 508 Federal Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
 Bizzell, William B., Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, College Station, Tex.
 Black, John D., 420, 8th St., S.E., Minneapolis, Minn.
 Blackburn, William J., Jr., 130 E. Woodruff Ave., Columbus, Ohio
 Blackmar, F. W., University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.
 Blagden, Edward S., 1642, 21st St., NW, Washington, D.C.
 Blaine, Anita McCormick, 101 E. Erie St., Chicago, Ill.
 Bodenhafer, W. D., 5722 Maryland Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Boettiger, Louis A., 1209 Seventh St., Fargo, N.D.
 Bogardus, Emory S., University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal.
 Bohn, Mrs. R. M., care of George J. Sharkey, 6816 Lakewood Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Bolin, John S., 315 Library Bldg., University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
 Bond, Jesse H., 326 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, Washington, D.C.
 Bonney, Ethelind M., 1213 S. California Ave., Stockton, Cal.
 Boodin, John Elof, 717 E. 2d St., Northfield, Minn.
 Bossard, James H. S., 833 Paxinosa Ave., Easton, Pa.
 Bostwick, Arthur E., St. Louis Public Library, St. Louis, Mo.
 Bourne, Henry E., College for Women, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
 Bowerman, George F., Public Library, Washington, D.C.
 Bowers, L. B., 1017 Market St., Parkersburg, W.Va.
 Bowman, C. A., Albright College, Myerstown, Pa.
 Bowne, J. T., Y.M.C.A. College, Springfield, Mass.
 Brackett, Jeffry R., 18 Somerset St., Boston, Mass.
 Brandenburg, Earl W., 147 Fourth St., Milwaukee, Wis.
 Branson, E. C., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.
 Breckinridge, Sophonisba P., 2559 Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Breitenbach, Oscar C., 821 Franklin St., Columbus, Ind.
 Bridge, Norman, 718 W. Adams St., Los Angeles, Cal.
 Bristol, Lucius Moody, Morgantown, W.Va.
 Bronk, Mitchell, 562 Congress St., Troy, N.Y.
 Brooks, John Graham, 8 Francis Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
 Brown, Thomas I., Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.
 Browne, Helen C., 823 Irving Place., Madison, Wis.
 Bruce, John M., Berton, Manitoba, Canada
 Brunner, Edmund De S., 216 Rose Ave., New Dorp, Staten Island, N.Y.
 Bruno, Frank J., 3631 Lyndale Ave., South, Minneapolis, Minn.
 Bucklin, Harold Stephen, 135 Glenwood Ave., Pawtucket, R.I.
 Bullock, Charles E., Canton, Pa.

- Burdette, Mrs. Robert J., 891 Orange Grove Blvd., Pasadena, Cal.
 Burgess, E. W., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Burnett, A. H., Public Health Commissioner, 806 Neare Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio
 Burns, G. Armour P., 2 W. 47th St., New York, N.Y.
 Burton, Ernest R., care of Independence Bureau, 137 S. Fifth St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Bushee, Frederick A., University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.
 Bushnell, C. J., 1220 Sixth Ave., Grinnell, Iowa
 Butterfield, Kenyon L., Amherst, Mass.
 Button, Miss G. L., 218 W. Grand St., Elizabeth, N.J.
 Byrne, Mary Gertrude, 1432, 8th St., New Orleans, La.
 Calhoun, Arthur W., 722 Cramer Ave., Lexington, Ky.
 Campbell, Walter J., Y.M.C.A. College, Springfield, Mass.
 Canis, Edward B., Route A-2, Box 372-A, Indianapolis, Ind.
 Cape, Mrs. E. P., 1 W. 67th St., New York, N.Y.
 Cape, Thomas Wilson, 307 N. Orchard St., Madison, Wis.
 Capen, Edward W., 146 Sargeant St., Hartford, Conn.
 Caples, Martin J., 104 Woodlawn Road, Roland Park, Baltimore Co., Md.
 Carlson, Robert Clarence, Woodmere, N.Y.
 Carpenter, Allan, Jamestown, N.D.
 Carpenter, S. J., 8 W. 40th St., New York, N.Y.
 Carroll, Mollie Ray, School of Civics and Philanthropy, 2559 Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Carstens, C. C., 43 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.
 Carter, James, Lincoln University, Pa.
 Carter, W. S., 109 Shepherd St., Chevy Chase, Md.
 Carver, Thomas N., 7 Kirkland Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
 Case, Clarence M., River St., West Side, Iowa City, Iowa
 Case, Francis H., Dakota Wesleyan University, Mitchell, S.D.
 Case, Mills E., 109 W. 54th St., New York, N.Y.
 Casis, Lilia M., University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
 Cavanaugh, R. E., 1116 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
 Chaddock, Robert E., Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
 Chaney, Lucian W., Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.
 Chapin, F. Stuart, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
 Charbonneau, Genevieve, McElwain Lake Factory, Nashua, N.H.
 Cheyney, Alice S., 259 S. 44th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Clark, F. B., College Station, Tex.
 Clark, Robert Fry, Pacific University, Forest Grove, Ore.
 Clow, Frederick R., Oshkosh, Wis.
 Cochran, T. E., Wake Forest College, Wake Forest, N.C.
 Coen, B. F., Fort Collins, Colo.
 Cohn, Fletcher G., Y.M.C.A., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
 Cole, William I., Wheaton College, Norton, Mass.
 Collin, Rev. Henry P., 98 E. Chicago St., Coldwater, Mich.
 Collings, Harry T., 308 S. Burrows St., State College, Pa.
 Comstock, Alzada, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
 Conrad, F. A., 5815 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Constantius, Brother, 1225 Vermont Ave., Washington, D.C.
 Conyngton, Thomas, 174 Wildwood Ave., Montclair, N.J.
 Cooley, Charles H., 703 Forest Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich.
 Coolidge, Ellen H., 92 Marlboro St., Boston, Mass.

- Coray, G., University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah
 Corbett, Virginia H., 426 Garfield St., Fort Collins, Colo.
 Coulter, Charles W., Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
 Cowper, Mrs. Mary O., 1108 Minerva Ave., Durham, N.C.
 Crafer, T. W. B., 684 Durkee St., Appleton, Wis.
 Craig, Wallace, University of Maine, Orono, Me.
 Cromwell, Mary E., 1815, 13th St. NW, Washington, D.C.
 Cross, William T., 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago, Ill.
 Cummings, F. L., 1007 West Blvd., Lewistown, Mont.
 Cutler, J. E., Adelbert College, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
 Cutler, U. Waldo, 63 Lancaster St., Worcester, Mass.
 Daggy, Maynard Lee, Editor, Southern School Work, Grand Cane, La.
 Dailey, Dew, 501 W. 121st St., New York, N.Y.
 Dalke, Diedrich L., Rock Port, Mo.
 Daniel, J. W. W., Wesleyan Female College, Macon, Ga.
 Davies, G. R., University, N.D.
 Davis, C. F., 320 Plum St., Fort Collins, Colo.
 Davis, Edward H., P.O. Drawer 1217, Waterbury, Conn.
 Davis, Jean S., Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Ga.
 Davis, Michael M., Jr., 58 Shepard St., Cambridge, Mass.
 Davis, Otto W., 1120 N. Vincent Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
 Dealey, G. B., care of the *Dallas News*, Dallas, Tex.
 Dealey, James Q., Brown University, Providence, R.I.
 Dean, Mrs. George R., 1125, 137 S. LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill.
 Debs, Eugene V., Terre Haute, Ind.
 Deibler, Frederick Shipp, 2119 Sherman Ave., Evanston, Ill.
 Dennis, H. R., Rice Institute, Houston, Tex.
 Dennison, Henry S., Dennison Manufacturing Co., Framingham, Mass.
 Deutsch, Alwin, St. John's University, Collegeville, Minn.
 Devine, Edward T., Room 607, Kent Hall, 116th St. and Amsterdam Ave.,
 New York, N.Y.
 Dewey, F. A., 70 W. 11th St., New York, N.Y.
 Dewey, Melvil, Lake Placid Club, New York, N.Y.
 Dickman, J. W., Upper Iowa University, Fayette, Iowa
 Dietz, Lorna, Economic Committee, 600 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y.
 Dimock, George E., Elizabeth, N.J.
 Douge, Robert F., 2412, 7th Ave., New York, N.Y.
 Dougherty, Rev. M. Angelo, Cambridge, Mass.
 Dow, G. S., 1723 E. Silver Ave., Albuquerque, N.M.
 Dowd, Jerome, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.
 DuBois, Arthur, 901 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y.
 DuBois, Charles G., 195 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
 Dudley, Albert W., 6303 N. 11th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Duke, Emma, Children's Bureau, Washington, D.C.
 Dummer, Mrs. W. F., 679 Lincoln Park Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
 Duncan, Kenneth, Canton Christian College, Canton, China
 Earp, E. L., Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N.J.
 Eastman, Sidney Corning, Kenilworth, Ill.
 Eaton, Allen B., Boise, Idaho
 Eaton, T. H., Connecticut Agricultural College, Storrs, Conn.
 Eaves, Lucile, 111 Davis Ave., Brookline, Mass.
 Eby, S. C., 20 Seventh Ave., New York, N.Y.
 Eckerson, Ray, First Congregational Church, Humeston, Iowa

- Eddy, Sarah J., Bristol Ferry, R.I.
 Edgerton, Charles E., Danby Road, Ithaca, N.Y.
 Edwards, President Howard, Rhode Island State College, Kingston, R.I.
 Edwards, Lyford P., Rice Institute, Houston, Tex.
 Egartner, Z. T., Adams and Scoville Sts., Oak Park, Ill.
 Elkus, Abram I., 956 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y.
 Ellis, George W., 3262 Vernon Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Ellwood, Charles A., 407 College Ave., Columbia, Mo.
 Elmer, M. C., University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.
 Emerson, Elliot S., 395 Broadway, Cambridge, Mass.
 Elmore, Wilber T., 1332 K St., Lincoln, Neb.
 Ely, Anna Mason, 205 Prospect Ave., Madison, Wis.
 Emery, Clyde B., 110 Spooner St., Madison, Wis.
 Estabrook, Arthur F., 15 State St., Boston, Mass.
 Eubank, E. E., Y.M.C.A. College, 5315 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Evans, Ira Hobart, 209 W. 7th St., Austin, Tex.
 Everett, Earl A., 11 N. Madison St., Walla Walla, Wash.
 Ewing, James Rees, Penn College, Gettysburg, Pa.
 Fairchild, H. P., 20 W. 82d St., New York, N.Y.
 Fairchild, Milton, National Institute of Moral Instruction, 3730 McKinley St., NW., Washington, D.C.
 Farley, R. P., 311 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md.
 Farnam, H. W., 43 Hillhouse Ave., New Haven, Conn.
 Farnum, Mrs. P. E., 122 E. 82d St., New York, N.Y.
 Faust, Charles J., 3632 Vine Ave., Sioux City, Iowa
 Fehlandt, August F., Ripon, Wis.
 Ferris, Woodbridge N., 515 Elm St., Big Rapids, Mich.
 Feuerlicht, Morris M., 3034 Washington Blvd., Indianapolis, Ind.
 Field, James A., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Fieser, James L., 1596 Grace Ave., Lakewood, Ohio
 Finner, P. F., State Normal School, Mayville, N.D.
 Finney, Ross L., 639 Euclid Ave., Valley City, N.D.
 Fischer, E. G., R.R. No. 1, Rockfield, Wis.
 Fisher, Irving, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
 Fisk, D. M., 1516 College Ave., Topeka, Kan.
 Fiske, G. Walter, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio
 Fiske, H., 1 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y.
 Fitz, Margaret, Judge Baker Foundation, 40 Court St., Boston, Mass.
 Foley, Roy William, Colgate University, Hamilton, N.Y.
 Follett, Mary P., 5 Otis Place, Boston, Mass.
 Folson, Joseph Kirk, 912 S. 16th St., Newark, N.J.
 Forbes, Cornelia B., 23 Trowbridge Road, Worcester, Mass.
 Foster, Solomon, 90 Treacy Ave., Newark, N.J.
 Frailey, P. L., 509 Stambaugh Bldg., Youngstown, Ohio
 Frank, George I., 150 Nassau St., New York, N.Y.
 Frankel, Edward T., 501 W. 135th St., New York, N.Y.
 Frankfurter, Felix, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass.
 Freer, H. H., Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa
 Friedman, Eisha M., War Finance Corporation, Washington, D.C.
 Friedman, H. G., 509 W. 122d St., New York, N.Y.
 Fuller, Frederic Henry, 277 Brook St., Providence, R.I.
 Galpin, C. J., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
 Gamble, D. B., 4 Westmoreland Place, Pasadena, Cal.

- Gardner, Arthur F., 155 Maple Ave., Troy, N.Y.
 Gardner, C. S., Norton Hall, Louisville, Ky.
 Garnett, William E., Division of Markets, Raleigh, N.C.
 Garwood, L. E., Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa
 Gary, Frank E. H., 10 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.
 Gavisk, Francis H., 126 W. Georgia St., Indianapolis, Ind.
 Gavit, John P., Dana Place, Englewood, N.J.
 Gehlke, C. E., Adelbert College, Cleveland, Ohio
 Gephart, A. R., 135 E. 33d St., Portland, Ore.
 Gerin, Leon, Coaticooke, Quebec, Canada
 Giddings, Franklin H., Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
 Gilbert, Richard H., 111 E. Front St., Berwick, Pa.
 Gilkeson, Rebecca B., Mint Spring, Va.
 Gillette, John M., North Dakota University, Grand Forks, N.D.
 Gillin, J. L., 180 N. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Gilman, Charlotte P., 627 W. 136th St., New York, N.Y.
 Gilmore, Nettie C., 1624 Fourth Ave., Scottsbluff, Neb.
 Giltner, Emmett E., 212 W. 120th St., New York, N.Y.
 Gleim, Sophia C., Scarritt Bible School, Norledge and Askew Aves., Kansas City, Mo.
 Glenn, John M., 136 E. 19th St., New York, N.Y.
 Glueck, Bernard, Box 85, Ossining, N.Y.
 Godard, George S., State Library, Hartford, Conn.
 Gompers, Samuel, A.F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D.C.
 Good, Alvin, 709 Turner Ave., Hastings, Neb.
 Gottschall, Robert J., Pennsburg, Pa.
 Gove, George, 130 W. 71st St., New York, N.Y.
 Grace, Dorothy P., 233 Langdon St., Madison, Wis.
 Granbery, J. C., 12 Rue d'Aguesseau, Paris, France
 Gray, R. S., Commonwealth Club, 153 Kearny St., San Francisco, Cal.
 Green, Eleanor B., 14 John St., Providence, R.I.
 Griscom, Anna B., 331 Chester Ave., Moorestown, N.J.
 Grossman, Louis, 528 Camden Ave., Avondale, Cincinnati, Ohio
 Grover, Isabel M., 1202 South B St., McMinnville, Ore.
 Groves, E. R., New Hampshire College, Durham, N.H.
 Gurinian, V. G., 325 S. Scoville Ave., Oak Park, Ill.
 Hagerty, James E., Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
 Hahne, E. H., 2722 Howard St., Omaha, Neb.
 Hale, Robert L., Hamilton Hall, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
 Hall, A. B., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
 Hall, O. F., 511 State St., West LaFayette, Ind.
 Hanaford, Earl J., Y.M.C.A., Madison, Wis.
 Hankins, Frank H., Clark College, Worcester, Mass.
 Hanson, J. M., Youngstown, Ohio
 Harlan, Rolvix, A.B.H.M.S., 23 E. 22d St., New York, N.Y.
 Harper, J. C., Corner Prospect and Torrey Sts., LaJolla, Cal.
 Harriman, Edward A., 800 Second National Bank Bldg., New Haven, Conn.
 Harris, Gibson W., Trinity Rectory, Ossining, N.Y.
 Harris, Thomas L., 310 E. Church St., Oxford, Ohio
 Harris, W. A., Potomac Division, American Red Cross, 930, 16th St., NW, Washington, D.C.
 Harry, Sidney Blair, Petersburg, Ill.
 Hartman, George Edgar, 108 Middle Divinity Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

- Harward, George N., R.D. No. 1, Morrisville, N.C.
 Haskins, Theresa H., 299 Sherman St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
 Havemeyer, Loomis, 90 Wall St., New Haven, Conn.
 Hawthorn, H. B., Castana, Iowa
 Hayes, E. C., 915 W. Nevada St., Urbana, Ill.
 Haynes, Fred Emory, State University, Iowa City, Iowa
 Hays, Samuel H., 310 Boise City National Bank Bldg., Boise, Idaho
 Heard, Mrs. Dwight B., Casa Blanca, Phoenix, Ariz.
 Hebard, Grace Raymond, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyo.
 Heberd, Charles, Breslin Apartments, Spokane, Wash.
 Hedderich, Mabel T., 602 N. Frances St., Madison, Wis.
 Heffner, W. C., 3312 Woodland Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Helleberg, Victor E., 1725 Mississippi St., Lawrence, Kan.
 Hendricks, George B., 180 First St., North, Logan, Utah
 Hendrickson, Althea, Woods Hall, Tabor, Iowa
 Herron, Stella, 1933 Elysian Fields, New Orleans, La.
 Hertzler, C. W., 164 E. Center St., Berea, Ohio
 Hertzler, Joyce O., 308 N. Carroll St., Madison, Wis.
 Heublin, C. M., Fox Lake, Wis.
 Hewes, Amy, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
 Hewitt, Theron, 31 Alexander Hall, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N.J.
 Hibbs, H. H., Jr., Virginia School of Social Work, 1112 Capitol St., Richmond, Va.
 Hickey, Joseph A., Villanova College, Villanova, Pa.
 Hickman, Mary P., Investigation and Inspector Service, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.
 Hickman, Thomas S., Route 3, Oak Grove, Birmingham, Ala.
 Hickey, D. T., 350 Federal Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
 Hiester, A. V., Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa.
 Hill, Frances L., 5544 Pershing Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
 Hill, Fred B., Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.
 Hintzman, W. F., 206 University Extension Bldg., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
 Hitchcock, J. E., Oberlin, Ohio
 Hoben, Allan, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Hodges, W. T., Department of Public Instruction, Richmond, Va.
 Hodgson, Caspar W., Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.
 Hodson, W. T., Children's Bureau, State Board of Control, St. Paul, Minn.
 Hogg, William C., 4410 Rossmoyne Blvd., Houston, Tex.
 Hollingshead, George G., 216, 3d St., Jersey City, N.J.
 Holmes, George K., 1323 Irving St., Washington, D.C.
 Holmes, Roy H., 1211 Prospect St., Ann Arbor, Mich.
 Holmes, William T., Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Miss.
 Holt, Lt. Col. L. H., West Point, N.Y.
 Hooker, George E., 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago, Ill.
 Hoover, H. D., Carthage, Ill.
 Hopkins, Louis J., Winnetka, Ill.
 Hopper, Mary J., 521 W. 122d St., New York, N.Y.
 Horak, Jakub, 6018 Kenwood Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Horn, Franklin L., 1342 Prospect Ave., Toledo, Ohio
 Hosford, George Lewis, Box 615, Wichita, Kan.
 House, J. T., State Normal School, Wayne, Neb.

- Hoverstad, T. A., Agricultural College, Fargo, N.D.
 Howard, George E., Midwest Life Insurance Co., Lincoln, Neb.
 Howat, William F., 832 Hohman St., Hammond, Ind.
 Howerth, I. W., 301 California Hall, Berkeley, Cal.
 Hubbard, William P., Elm Grove, Wheeling, W.Va.
 Hubbell, George A., Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tenn.
 Hugh, Yu Tinn, Clark University, Worcester, Mass.
 Hunter, Joel P., 416 Keeney St., Evanston, Ill.
 Huston, Charles A., Law School, Stanford University, Cal.
 Ingersoll, Charles H., 315 Fourth Ave., New York, N.Y.
 Ingersoll, Raymond, 149 S. Oxford St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
 Ingram, Frances, 428 S. First St., Louisville, Ky.
 Irving, Bertha A., 102 Henderson Ave., New Brighton, N.Y.
 Israel, Henry, 347 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y.
 Jenkins, W. E., Indiana University Library, Bloomington, Ind.
 Jenks, Albert E., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
 Jensen, Howard E., 512 Webster Place, Milwaukee, Wis.
 Jeremiah, J., 117 W. 58th St., New York, N.Y.
 Johnson, Axel, Towaoc, Colo.
 Johnson, Harriet E., 32 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass.
 Johnson, James Weldon, 70 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y.
 Johnson, J. E., Kalama, Wash.
 Johnson, Mildred E., care of Mrs. Byron L. Robinson, 979, 14th Ave., S.E.,
 Minneapolis, Minn.
 Johnson, T. E., Coldwater, Mich.
 Johnston, W. Dawson, St. Paul Public Library, St. Paul, Minn.
 Jones, Cheney C., American Red Cross, 16th and Walnut Sts., Philadelphia,
 Pa.
 Jones, Lawrence C., Braxton, Miss.
 Jones, Lillian I., Park Place, Circleville, Ohio
 Jones, Thomas Jesse, U.S. Bureau of Education, Washington, D.C.
 Jordan, David Starr, Stanford University, Cal.
 Jordan, Thomas Guy, Lexington, Miss.
 Joseph, Isaac, 1827 E. 82d St., Cleveland, Ohio
 Justus, Guy T., Federation of Charity and Philanthropy, Denver, Colo.
 Kaufman, Imogene H., 1119 E. Tipton St., Huntington, Ind.
 Keller, A. G., 55 Huntington St., New Haven, Conn.
 Kellogg, Angie L., Bryn Mawr, Pa.
 Kelsey, Carl, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Kerby, Wm. J., Catholic University, Washington, D.C.
 Kern, R. R., George Washington University, 2023 G St., Washington, D.C.
 Kieffer, George Linn, Rosedale, Long Island, N.Y.
 Kiker, Ira C., Texas Women's College, Fort Worth, Tex.
 Kilborn, Russell D., 429 S. Division St., Ann Arbor, Mich.
 King, Judson, 637 Munsey Bldg., Washington, D.C.
 Kingsbury, Susan M., Roberts Road, Montgomery Ave., Bryn Mawr, Pa.
 Kirk, William, University of Rochester, Rochester, N.Y.
 Kissick, Mary F., 433 N. Warren St., Madison, Wis.
 Klee, Max, 1340 E. 48th St., Chicago, Ill.
 Kleihege, George W., Hoisington, Kan.
 Knapp, F. P., 120 Bay St., Toronto, Ontario, Canada
 Kneeland, Hildegard, Furnald Hall, 2940 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
 Knight, Howard Roscoe, Locust Valley, L.I., New York

- Knight, M. M., 5737 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Kolb, John Harrison, Room 1500, 19 S. LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill.
 Krans, J. P., Peabody College, Nashville, Tenn.
 Krebs, Henry J., P.O. Box 950, Wilmington, Del.
 Kuh, Sydney, 30 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Kulp, Daniel Harrison, II, Shanghai Baptist College, Shanghai, China
 Kunnecke, F. J., St. Mary's College, Dayton, Ohio
 Kursheedt, M. A., 302 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
 Kusama, Shiko, 747 E. 36th St., Chicago, Ill.
 Laidman, Charles S., 2614 N. Racine Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Lant, B. F., Portsmouth, Ohio
 Lantis, L. O., 175 Chittenden Ave., Columbus, Ohio
 Lathrop, Julia, 504 The Ontario, Washington, D.C.
 Lauder, Frank, 803 Long Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.
 Lautner, J. E., Marquette, Mich.
 Lawson, Victor, 1500 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Ill.
 Lee, Guy Carleton, 172 W. High St., Carlisle, Pa.
 Lee, Ivy L., 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
 Lefavour, Henry, 119 Bay State Road, Boston, Mass.
 Lewis, E. St. Elmo, 60 Sherman Ave., Glen Ridge, N.J.
 Lichtenberger, J. P., Logan Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Lindsay, Samuel M., Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
 Lindsey, Edward, National Bank Bldg., Warren, Pa.
 Linfield, F. B., 719 S. 3d Ave., Bozeman, Mont.
 Linton, Clarence, Superintendent of Public Schools, Lyons, Neb.
 Lively, Charles E., Madison Public School, Madison, Neb.
 Loeber, Maud, 1424 Milan St., New Orleans, La.
 Logan, Joseph C., Southern Division, A.R.C., 402 Healey Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.
 Loring, A. P., 40 State St., Boston, Mass.
 Lovejoy, Owen R., General Secretary, National Child Labor Commission,
 105 E. 22d St., New York, N.Y.
 Lowber, James W., 1706 Brazos St., Austin, Tex.
 Lowden, Frank O., Oregon, Ill.
 Luce, Robert, 8 Bosworth St., Boston, Mass.
 Luehring, F. W., Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.
 Lull, Herbert G., Kansas State Normal School, Emporia, Kan.
 Lum, Charles M., 786 Broad St., Newark, N.J.
 Lumley, F. E., College of Missions, Indianapolis, Ind.
 Lundeen, Ernest W., Station A, Lincoln, Neb.
 McBride, Anna Christine, 711 W. Third St., Webb City, Mo.
 MacClean, E. A., Commission Co., 313 W. 154th St., New York, N.Y.
 McClean, Lee D., 3A McLillan St., Brunswick, Me.
 McClelland, George Hamilton, 201 Wilbraham Road, Springfield, Mass.
 McCoy, J. P., Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill.
 McCracken, H. Linneus, Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa
 McDevitt, Philip R., Bishop's House, Harrisburg, Pa.
 McDowell, Mary, 4630 Gross Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 MacFarland, Charles S., Room 613, 105 E. 22d St., New York, N.Y.
 McGraw, Dorothy, 1716 W. Lake St., Minneapolis, Minn.
 McGregor, Tracy W., 239 Brush St., Detroit, Mich.
 Mackey, Ebenezer, 314 Hamilton Ave., Trenton, N.J.
 McKinlock, George A., 320 S. Fifth Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 MacLaskey, W. L., 3607 Lake Park Ave., Chicago, Ill.

MEMBERSHIP LIST

213

MacLean, Annie Marion, 902 Elmwood Ave., Evanston, Ill.
McMahon, Theresa, 4026, 10th St., NE, Seattle, Wash.
Macy, V. Everit, 68 Broad St., New York, N.Y.
Madeira, Lucy, 1330, 19th St., Washington, D.C.
Magnusson, P. Magnus, State Normal School, St. Cloud, Minn.
Mangold, George B., 4002 Lexington Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Mann, R. A., Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
Mariano, John H., 80 Washington Place, New York, N.Y.
Mark, Mary Louise, 9 Huston-Fergus Court, Columbus, Ohio
Markell, Helen Chandler, 1508 Green St., Harrisburg, Pa.
Marrs, Ralph M., South High School, Omaha, Neb.
Marshall, Agnes M., 541 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Marshall, L. C., 1320 E. 56th St., Chicago, Ill.
Marston, Edwin S., P.O. Box 72, Florham Park, N.J.
Marvin, Dr. Donald M., Osawatomic State Hospital, Osawatomic, Kan.
Mason, Jarvis W., Oakwood Ave. and Hawthorne Terrace, Corcoran Manor,
Mount Vernon, N.Y.
Mather, Samuel, Western Reserve Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio
Matthews, M. A., 1209 Marion St., Seattle, Wash.
Maxson, C. H., Bishop College, Marshall, Tex.
Maxwell, Anna C., 41 E. 70th St., New York, N.Y.
Mayne, John R., 314 E. Leigh St., Richmond, Va.
Mead, Daniel W., 120 Gorham St., Madison, Wis.
Meloy, Luella P., Pennsylvania College for Women, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Metcalf, Henry C., 31 Sheffield Road, Manchester, Mass.
Metzner, Albertine E., 326 S. Church St., Jacksonville, Ill.
Meyer, Adolf L., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Miller, Elmer, Lehi, Utah
Miller, G. R., State Teachers' College, Greeley, Colo.
Miller, H. A., Mid-European Union, McLachlen Bldg., Washington, D.C.
Miner, Elizabeth, 1322, 12th St., NW, Washington, D.C.
Mitchell, Harry W., M.D., State Hospital, Warren, Pa.
Mohl, Ruth, Division of English, University of Minnesota, University Farm,
St. Paul, Minn.
Mohr, Charles H., St. Leo Abbey, St. Leo, Fla.
Mohr, Lewis, 349 W. Illinois St., Chicago, Ill.
Moncrief, J. W., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Monroe, Paul, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Moore, Mrs. Arthur A., 707 W. Grace St., Richmond, Va.
Morgan, Walter P., 304 N. Ward St., Macomb, Ill.
Morrill, M. T., 811 Nicholas St., Defiance, Ohio
Morse, Josiah, 811 Sumter St., Columbia, S.C.
Mounts, Lewis H., Ballard Normal School, Macon, Ga.
Mueller, R. G., Seneca, Kan.
Muench, A. J., St. Mary's Hospital, Madison, Wis.
Muller, Clara E., Barnard Hall, Madison, Wis.
Munford, Mrs. B. B., 503 E. Grace St., Richmond, Va.
Murray, Miss M. C., 605 W. D. Woodruff Place, Indianapolis, Ind.
Nasmyth, George, 264 Adams St., Milton, Mass.
Nealley, E. M., R.F.D. No. 1, Santa Ana, Cal.
Neill, Charles P., 616 Woodward Bldg., Washington, D.C.
Newell, Jane I., 277 Crescent St., Northampton, Mass.
Newsom, Vida, 814 Franklin St., Columbus, Ind.

- Nichols, C. A., 704 S. Olive St., Georgetown, Tex.
 Nieman, L. W., care of *Milwaukee Journal*, Milwaukee, Wis.
 Niemi, Clemens, 5606 Maryland Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Noll, Albert W., Pulaski Park, Blackhawk and Noble Sts., Chicago, Ill.
 North, Cecil C., Page Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
 Northcott, C. H., care of National Industrial Conference Board, 15 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.
 Nystrom, Paul H., 110 W. 40th St., New York, N.Y.
 Ochsner, A. J., 2106 Sedgwick St., Chicago, Ill.
 O'Connor, J. J., Jr., Mellon Institute, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Ogburn, W. F., Care of National War Labor Board, Washington, D.C.
 O'Grady, Rev. John, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.
 Olmsted, Ruth H., 517 Falkstone Courts, Washington, D.C.
 Orr, Ernest A., 3941 N. 30th St., Tacoma, Wash.
 Park, Robert E., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Parker, Arthur C., Education Bldg., Albany, N.Y.
 Parker, G. A., Municipal Building, Hartford, Conn.
 Parmelee, Maurice, care of J. H. Parmelee, 429 Homer Bldg., Washington, D.C.
 Parrish, C. H., 807, 6th St., Louisville, Ky.
 Parsons, Edward S., 612 W. 112th St., New York, N.Y.
 Patten, Frank C., Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Tex.
 Patten, Simon N., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Patterson, Gaylord H., 57 S. College St., Carlisle, Pa.
 Pattison, Francis Wayland, Box 216, East Northfield, Mass.
 Payne, E. George, 5111 Vernon Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
 Pearce, J. E., 2607 University Ave., Austin, Tex.
 Peixotto, Jessica B., University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
 Penn, W. F., Pennsylvania Training School, Morganza, Pa.
 Percy, Lord Eustace, Foreign Office, Downing Street, London, S.W., 1, England
 Perrine, C. H., Wendell Phillips High School, 39th St. and Prairie Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Peskind, A., 12629 Euclid Ave., East Cleveland, Ohio
 Peterson, C. Peter A., 422 E. 161st St., New York, N.Y.
 Pierce, Walter C., 136 W. Union St., Jacksonville, Fla.
 Pillsbury, A. J., 440, 66th St., Oakland, Cal.
 Pilney, Agnes F., 1824 Hinman Ave., Evanston, Ill.
 Pilpel, Emily Marion, 929 University Ave., Madison, Wis.
 Pitlik, Samuel, 2206 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.
 Poe, Clarence, Editor, *Progressive Farmer*, Raleigh, N.C.
 Poland, Earl W., R.F.D. No. 2, Hamilton, Ill.
 Potter, Blanche, 32 State St., Ossining, N.Y.
 Pound, Roscoe, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass.
 Powell, Hannah B. Clark, 5227 Blackstone Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Powlison, Charles F., 70 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y.
 Pratt, Anna B., 3804 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Putnam, Bertha Haven, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
 Raimey, Mable W., 3420 Walnut St., Milwaukee, Wis.
 Ranck, Samuel H., Public Library, Grand Rapids, Mich.
 Randolph, E. D., 1717 Eleventh Ave., Greeley, Colo.
 Randolph, E. F., 1654 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
 Ransom, John E., 1744 W. Harrison St., Chicago, Ill.

- Rantoul, Mrs. Lois B., 101 Forest Hill St., Jamaica Plain, Mass.
 Rath, James A., P.O. Box 514, Honolulu, Hawaii
 Redstone, Edward H., Social Law Library, Boston, Mass.
 Reeder, Margaret G., 619 Langdon St., Madison, Wis.
 Reese, Gordon M., Church House, 12th and Walnut Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Reinemund, J. A., Box 95, Muscatine, Iowa
 Reuter, E. B., 807 W. Green St., Urbana, Ill.
 Reynolds, James Bronson, 164 Steele Road, Hartford, Conn.
 Rhoades, Mabel C., Wells College, Aurora, N.Y.
 Rice, John H. J., Pastor, First Congregational Church, Emporia, Kan.
 Rickert, Harvey L., 428 Keokuk St., Lincoln, Ill.
 Riddell, W. A., 15 Queens Park, Toronto, Ontario, Canada
 Riley, Morgan T., 604 W. 112th St., New York, N.Y.
 Ritter, William E., La Jolla, Cal.
 Roberts, Frank H. H., New Mexico Normal University, East Las Vegas, N.M.
 Robinson, Clarence C., 347 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y.
 Robinson, Virginia, 1302 Pine St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Rocky, Carroll J., 82 Cedar Lake Road, Minneapolis, Minn.
 Roeder, Herbert J., 174 E. 95th St., New York, N.Y.
 Rogers, James E., 210 Laffin St., Waukesha, Wis.
 Rolf, A. A., Room 1212, 72 W. Adams St., Chicago, Ill.
 Rom, Lieutenant Roy George, 36th Infantry, Camp Devens, Ayer, Mass.
 Rominger, Charles H., Bethlehem, Pa.
 Rosenwald, Julius, care of Sears Roebuck & Co., Chicago, Ill.
 Ross, Edward A., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
 Ross, Sarah Gridley, Skidmore School of Arts, Saratoga Springs, N.Y.
 Rueckert, Frederick, 7 Marlborough Ave., Providence, R.I.
 Sanderson, Dwight, Lodge Way, Ithaca, N.Y.
 Saul, Lulu E., 425 North Park, Madison, Wis.
 Scheeline, Mrs. Julia, 2005 Maple Ave., Altoona, Pa.
 Schively, Mary Alice, 318 Winona Ave., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Schmitt, Mrs. S. A., Sidney, Neb.
 Schuh, Richard F., Howard University, Washington, D.C.
 Scott, Elmer, 1306 1/2 Commerce St., Dallas, Tex.
 Scott, H. Miller, First Congregational Church, Port Leyden, N.Y.
 Scott, Nancy E., Elmira College, Elmira, N.Y.
 Scroggs, William O., Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.
 Scudder, Rita Lord, 1119 S. Sixtieth St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Seligman, E. R. A., 324 W. 86th St., New York, N.Y.
 Selinger, Hugo P. J., Bellevue, Ohio
 Seliskar, John, St. Paul Seminary, Groveland Park, St. Paul, Minn.
 Sellin, J. Thorsten, 3204 Portland Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
 Seymour, A. H., 1518 S. Grant St., Aberdeen, S.D.
 Sharpless, Helen, Haverford College Library, Haverford, Pa.
 Sheffield, W. P., 223 Thames St., Newport, R.I.
 Sheldon, A. E., Nebraska Legislative Reference Bureau, Lincoln, Neb.
 Sheldon, Phebe, R.F.D. No. 2, Ventura, Cal.
 Shenton, H. N., 818 Seventeenth St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
 Shepherd, Robert L., Missouri Valley College, Marshall, Mo.
 Short, William Harrison, 339 S. 10th Ave., Mount Vernon, N.Y.
 Sibley, Florence, Pennsylvania School for Social Service, 1302 Pine St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Siedenburg, Frederic, 617 Ashland Block, Clark and Randolph Sts., Chicago, Ill.

- Simons, Sarah E., 1528 Corcoran St., Washington, D.C.
 Simpson, Joshua Baker, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.
 Sims, Newell L., 206 E. Columbia St., Gainesville, Fla.
 Skoss, Solomon L., 2471 Lowell Blvd., Denver, Colo.
 Small, Albion W., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Smith, Alice M., 4309 Park Ave., Tacoma, Wash.
 Smith, C. Henry, Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio
 Smith, Francis W., Wheaton College, Wheaton, Ill.
 Smith, Franklin O., University of Montana, Missoula, Mont.
 Smith, Frederick M., P.O. Box 255, Independence, Mo.
 Smith, James B., California, Pa.
 Smith, L. Emory, Hermanville, Miss.
 Smith, Walter R., 422 W. 8th St., Emporia, Kan.
 Smith, W. Wilberforce, 151 N. Fairview Ave., Decatur, Ill.
 Smith, William C., 5815 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Smith, Wyman S., 441 N. Lake St., Madison, Wis.
 Smithy, W. R., Care of State Board of Education, Richmond, Va.
 Snedden, David, Teachers College, W. 120th St., New York, N.Y.
 Snell, Hazel F., 3318 Randolph St., Lincoln, Neb.
 Snyder, G. J., 55 S. Maple Ave., Ridgewood, N.J.
 Solenberger, Edwin D., 419 S. 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Spaeth, J. Duncan, Princeton, N.J.
 Spencer, Mrs. Anna Garlin, 548 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y.
 Spencer, W. L., 160 S. Main St., Bowling Green, Ohio
 Splawn, W. M. W., Baylor College, Belton, Tex.
 Stahl, John Meloy, 6063 Harper Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Stahl, Sarah Starr, 1203 E. 60th St., Chicago, Ill.
 Stapleford, F. N., 233 Albany Ave., Toronto, Ontario, Canada
 Stebbins, Lucy Ward, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
 Steiner, B. C., Enoch Pratt Library, Baltimore, Md.
 Steiner, Jesse F., National Headquarters, American Red Cross, Washington, D.C.
 Sternheim, Emanuel, Sioux City, Iowa
 Stevens, James G., Middlebury, Vt.
 Stevick, Paul R., 810 E. Cleveland St., Guthrie, Okla.
 Stewart, Anna, 852 W. 35th Place, Los Angeles, Cal.
 Stoddard, T. Lothrop, Harvard Club, 27 W. 44th St., New York, N.Y.
 Stokes, J. G. Phelps, 100 William St., New York, N.Y.
 Stokes, Mrs. Ora Brown, 210 W. Leigh St., Richmond, Va.
 Stone, Alfred H., Dunleith, Miss.
 Strater, Charles G., Box 589, Louisville, Ky.
 Straus, Percy S., care of R. H. Macy & Co., Herald Square, New York, N.Y.
 Stridsberg, Carl, 223 Terrace Ave., Hasbrouck Heights, N.J.
 Stringfellow, Ervin E., Box 46, University Place Station, Des Moines, Iowa
 Strow, Carl W., Wilmington, Ohio
 Sullivan, Daniel R., Seton Hill, Greensburg, Pa.
 Sullivan, Richard Thomas, care of Mahoning & Shenango Railway & Light Co., Youngstown, Ohio
 Sumner, G. S., Pomona College, Claremont, Cal.
 Sutherland, E. H., William Jewell College, Liberty, Mo.
 Sutherland, George, Grand Island, Neb.
 Suzzallo, Henry, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
 Swanson, Simon, R.F.D. No. 8, Box 39, Wichita, Kan.

- Swanton, John R., Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
Swift, Harold H., Union Stock Yards, Chicago, Ill.
Taggart, A. Maud, Peterborough, N.H.
Talbert, E. L., University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
Talbot, Marion, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Tandy, Elizabeth, 548 E. Drive, Woodruff Place, Indianapolis, Ind.
Tawney, G. A., University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
Taylor, A. W., Bible College of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
Taylor, Carl C., 611 S. 4th St., Columbia, Mo.
Taylor, F. B., Jamestown College, Jamestown, N.D.
Taylor, Graham, Chicago Commons, Grand Ave. and Morgan St., Chicago, Ill.
Taylor, J. E., Doane College, Crete, Neb.
Tenney, Alvan A., Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
Thomas, Bernard G. H., Ulysses, Neb.
Thomas, Dr. George, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah
Thomas, J. Franklin, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
Thomas, W. H., Agricultural and Mechanical College, College Station, Tex.
Thompson, Carl William, 1648 Irving St., NW, Washington, D.C.
Thompson, Warren S., Ithaca, N.Y.
Thorne, W. V. S., 19 Cedar St., New York, N.Y.
Thrasher, Frederic M., Department of Political and Social Science, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
Todd, A. J., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
Tourtellot, Ida A., Bureau of Education, Washington, D.C.
Towne, Arthur W., 105 Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Towne, E. T., University, N.D.
Trainum, W. H., 810 Lincoln Ave., Valparaiso, Ind.
Trawick, A. M., Nashville, Tenn.
Tufeland, Marcus, Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn.
Tungeln, George H. von, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa
Tunicliffe, R. M., Potsdam, N.Y.
Turner, Mrs. Lillian E., 5810 Central Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
Turner, Mary C., 258 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Tyson, Francis D., School of Economics, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Uchikata, Henson M., 111, 11th Ave., Seattle, Wash.
Ueland, Elsa, The Maples, Carson College, Flouertown, Pa.
Underwood, J. H., University of Montana, Missoula, Mont.
Unger, Mrs. J. O., 3344 Broadway, Chicago, Ill.
Vanderlip, Frank A., 55 Wall St., New York, N.Y.
Van Driel, Gertrude R., 3967 Drexel Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Van Dusen, U. P., Congregational Church, Northboro, Mass.
Van Ingen, Philip, 125 E. 71st St., New York, N.Y.
Vassardakis, Cleanthes, The Valberk-Leighton, Leighton Ave. I, South Yonkers, N.Y.
Veiller, Lawrence, 102 E. 22d St., New York, N.Y.
Vincent, George E., Rockefeller Foundation, 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
Vogt, Paul L., 1701 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Walker, Edwin C., 211 W. 138th St., New York, N.Y.
Walton, Elmer R., 64 Wahley St., Freeport, N.Y.
Walton, Thomas W., 1736 G St., NW., Washington, D.C.
Ward, Harry F., 25 Franklin St., Englewood, N.J.
Warner, Mason, 1848 Byron St., Chicago, Ill.

- Warren, H. K., Yankton College, Yankton, S.D.
 Warren, Howard C., Princeton, N.J.
 Waters, Chester C., Three Pine Ave., Takoma Park, D.C.
 Watson, Frank D., 6 College Ave., Haverford, Pa.
 Watson, Mrs. Frank D., 5 College Ave., Haverford, Pa.
 Watters, H. E., Union University, Jackson, Tenn.
 Weatherly, U. G., 527 E. 3d St., Bloomington, Ind.
 Webster, D. Hutton, Station A, Lincoln, Neb.
 Weeks, Rufus Wells, 346 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
 Weiffenbach, Eugene, Warrenton, Mo.
 Weir, Samuel, 205 E. Henry St., Mount Pleasant, Iowa
 Wells, Marguerite N., 326 Groveland Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
 Wessel, Mrs. Morris J., Connecticut College, New London, Conn.
 Wheeler, Joseph L., Reuben McMillan Free Library, Youngstown, Ohio
 Whitcomb, Selden L., Lawrence, Kan.
 Wieman, H. N., 126 Sycamore Ave., Eagle Rock City, Cal.
 Wiesner, Frank, 11 Bertha Ave., Portsmouth, Ohio
 Wilder, Constance P., 53 Fairmont Ave., Newton, Mass.
 Wilkerson, Vivien M., 515 N. Francis St., Madison, Wis.
 Willcox, Walter F., Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
 Williams, Mrs. C. D., 90 Lake Ave., Newton Centre, Mass.
 Williams, James M., Hobart College Library, Geneva, N.Y.
 Williams, Jesse Lynch, 152 W. 57th St., New York, N.Y.
 Williams, Mrs. T. F. A., 407 N. 26th St., Lincoln, Neb.
 Williamson, Charles C., Scenic Drive, Hastings-on-Hudson, N.Y.
 Wills, Alvin Lamar, 1305 Windsor St., Columbia, Mo.
 Wills, Harry S., 3714 Hoiles St., Toledo, Ohio
 Wilson, J. E., 528 S. 5th Ave., Chicago, Ill.
 Wilson, M. L., Bozeman, Mont.
 Wilson, Warren H., 156 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y.
 Wolf, F. E., Baldwin City, Kan.
 Wolfe, A. B., 909 W. 18th St., Austin, Tex.
 Woltz, James M., Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co., Youngstown, Ohio
 Woodruff, Clinton Rogers, North American Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Woods, Erville B., Hanover, N.H.
 Woods, Frederick Adams, 1006 Beacon St., Brookline, Mass.
 Woods, Robert A., South End House, Boston, Mass.
 Woodward, Comer M., Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Tex.
 Woodworth, A. H., Hanover College, Hanover, Ind.
 Work, Monroe N., Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.
 Wright, Arthur D., P.O. Box 15, Richmond, Va.
 Wright, Charles C., Bridgewater, Va.
 Wright, Jonathan, Windy Rock, Pleasantville, Westchester Co., N.Y.
 Yockey, F. M., Box 237, Alexandria, Minn.
 Young, Allyn A., Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
 Young, Frederic George, 599 E. 9th Ave., Eugene, Ore.
 Zeller, J. C., R.F.D. No. 2, Yazoo City, Miss.
 Zueblin, Charles, Winchester, Mass.
 Zumbrunnen, A. C., 7300 Blackstone Ave., Chicago, Ill.

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN
SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUMES I-XIII

VOL. I. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST ANNUAL
MEETING

The American Sociological Society.....Editorial
The Establishment of Sociology.....Lester F. Ward
How Should Sociology Be Taught as a College or University Subject?
Charles A. Ellwood
Western Civilization and the Birth-Rate.....Edward A. Ross
Points of Agreement among Sociologists.....Albion W. Small
The Fine Arts as a Dynamic Factor in Society.....Mrs. J. Oldenwald-Unger
Social Consciousness.....Charles H. Cooley
Social Darwinism.....D. Collin Wells

VOL. II. SOCIAL CONFLICTS. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF
THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

Social Classes in the Light of Modern Sociological Theory....Lester F. Ward
The Basis of Social Conflict.....Thomas N. Carver
Competition.....Lindley M. Keasbey
Is Sectionalism in America Dying Away?.....Frederick J. Turner
Is Race Friction between Blacks and Whites in the United States Growing
and Inevitable?.....Alfred H. Stone
The Significance of the Orient for the Occident.....William I. Thomas
Is Class Conflict in America Growing and Inevitable?.....John R. Commons
Are Contradictions of Ideas and Beliefs Likely to Play an Important Group-
Making Rôle in the Future?.....Franklin H. Giddings

VOL. III. THE FAMILY. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE
THIRD ANNUAL MEETING ✓

The Family and Social Change.....William G. Sumner
How Home Conditions React upon the Family.....Charlotte Perkins Gilman
The Effect on Woman of Economic Dependence.....Charles Zueblin
The Relations of Social Diseases to the Family.....Prince A. Morrow
The Influence of Income on Standards of Life.....R. C. Chapin
The Family in a Typical Mill Town.....Margaret F. Byington

- Results of the Pittsburgh Survey..... Edward T. Devine
 Are Modern Industry and City Life Unfavorable to the Family?
 Charles Richmond Henderson
 Rural Life and the Family..... Kenyon L. Butterfield
 Some Questions concerning the Higher Education of Women... D. Collin Wells
 How Does the Access of Women to Industrial Occupations React on the
 Family?..... U. G. Weatherly
 Is the Freer Granting of Divorce an Evil?..... George Elliott Howard
 How Far Should Members of the Family Be Individualized?
 James E. Hagerty
 How Far Should Family Wealth Be Encouraged and Conserved?
 George K. Holmes

VOL. IV. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH
 ANNUAL MEETING

- Religion and the Mores..... William G. Sumner
 History of the American Social Science Association..... F. B. Sanborn
 Changes in the Census Methods for the Census of 1910.... E. Dana Durand
 The Outlook for American Statistics..... Walter F. Wilcox
 The Social Marking System..... Franklin H. Giddings
 The Psychological View of Society..... Charles A. Ellwood
 Outline of a Theory of Social Motives..... James M. Williams
 The Study of Homeric Religion..... Albert C. Keller
 The Rôle of Magic..... James Thomson Shotwell
 Influence of Superstition on the Evolution of Property Rights
 Hutton Webster
 Notes on the Recent Census of Religious Bodies..... George A. Coe
 The Teaching of Sociology..... James Quayle Dealey
 Sociology and the State..... Lester F. Ward
 The Sociological Stage in the Evolution of the Social Sciences
 Albion W. Small

✓ VOL. V. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH ANNUAL
 MEETING

- The Relation of Social Theory to Public Policy..... Franklin H. Giddings
 Sociological Observations in Inner China..... Edward A. Ross
 Sociological Appraisal of Western Influence in the Orient
 Edward Warren Capen
 The Racial Element in Social Assimilation..... U. G. Weatherly
 The "Social Forces" Error..... Edward Cary Hayes
 Some Suggestions regarding the Organization of a Department of Sociology
 in an Urban University..... J. E. Cutler
 Report on Questionnaire of Committee on Teaching..... F. Stuart Chapin

The Drift to the City in Relation to the Rural Problem John M. Gillette
 Leadership in Reform Frank W. Blackmar
 The Church and the Rural Community Warren H. Wilson
 The Church and the City Community Walter Laidlaw
 Social Control of the Domestic Relations George Elliott Howard
 Sociology and Social Surveys Thomas J. Riley
 The Rivalry of Social Groups George E. Vincent

VOL. VI. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING

The Quality of Civilization Franklin H. Giddings
 The City as a Socializing Agency Frederic C. Howe
 The Urban Habit of Mind Howard B. Woolston
 Recreation as a Public Function in Urban Communities Jane Addams
 The Restriction of Immigration Henry Pratt Fairchild
 The Application of the Social Survey to Small Communities John Lewis Gillin
 Agricultural Education and Its Relation to Rural Sociology A. F. Woods

VOL. VII. THE CONCEPTION OF HUMAN INTERRELATIONS AS A VARIANT OF SOCIAL THEORY. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

The Present Outlook of Social Science Albion W. Small
 Social Phases of Psychology G. Stanley Hall
 Influence of the Growing Perception of Human Interrelationship on Education Paul Monroe
 Some Aspects of the Influence of Social Problems and Ideas upon the Study and Writing of History Carl Becker
 Outlook for Social Politics in the United States Charles E. Merriam
 The Background of Economic Theories Simon N. Patten
 Legislation as a Social Function Roscoe Pound
 Some Implications of Remedial and Preventive Legislation in the United States Eldon R. James
 Social Ideas Implied in Present American Programs of Voluntary Philanthropy Edward T. Devine
 The Socialization of Religion Francis G. Peabody

VOL. VIII. PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL ASSIMILATION. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING

A Vision of Social Efficiency Albion W. Small
 The Neighborhood in Social Reconstruction Robert A. Woods
 The Assimilation of the American Indian Fayette Avery McKenzie
 The Rising National Individualism Herbert Adolphus Miller

- Racial Assimilation in Secondary Groups.....Robert E. Park
 The Prussian-Polish Situation: An Experiment in Assimilation
William I. Thomas
 An Outline of Social Study for Elementary Schools.....John M. Gillette
 Round Table: Sociology in the Normal School.
 By F. R. Clow. Remarks as Chairman
F. R. Clow. Content of the Course of Sociology Given in the State
 Normal School at Oshkosh, Wisconsin
 "Social Assimilation": America and China.....Charles R. Henderson
 Assimilation in the Philippines, as Interpreted in Terms of Assimilation in
 America.....Albert E. Jenks
 Informal Conference: Is It Possible for American Sociologists to Agree upon a
 Constructive Program?

VOL. IX. FREEDOM OF COMMUNICATION. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

- Freedom of Communication and the Struggle for RightEdward A. Ross
 Freedom of Assemblage and Public Security.....John Graham Brooks
 Reasonable Restrictions upon Freedom of Assemblage.....Arthur Woods
 Reasonable Restrictions upon Freedom of Speech...James Bronson Reynolds
 Freedom of the Press in the United States.....Henry Schofield
 Reasonable Restrictions upon Freedom of the Press.....Charles H. Gasty
 Freedom of Teaching in the United States.....Ulysses G. Weatherly
 Reasonable Restrictions upon the Scholar's Freedom.....Henry Pritchett
 Reports of Committees:
Report of the Committee on Investigation and Research.
Preliminary Report of Joint Committee on Academic Freedom and
 Academic Tenure.
Report of the Committee on Sociology in the Training of Teachers

VOL. X. WAR AND MILITARISM IN THEIR SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE TENTH ANNUAL MEETING

- War as Determiner.....Edward Alsworth Ross
 Social Values and National Existence.....Theodore Roosevelt
 The Effect of War and Militarism on the Status of Women...Emily G. Balch
 War and Militarism in Relation to Government and Politics
Simeon E. Baldwin
 Nationalism and State Socialism.....William English Walling
 Can War Be Done Away With?.....Brooks Adams

VOL. XI. THE SOCIOLOGY OF RURAL LIFE. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

Countryside and Nation..... George E. Vincent
 Country versus City..... Warren H. Wilson
 Folk Depletion as a Cause of Rural Decline..... Edward Alsworth Ross
 The Non-Partisan League..... Charles Edward Russell
 The Mind of the Farmer..... Ernest R. Groves
 The Development of Rural Leadership..... G. Walter Fiske
 The Land Problem and Rural Welfare..... Paul L. Vogt
 The Consolidated School as a Community Center..... John H. Cook
 Social Control: Rural Religion..... C. O. Gill
 Co-operation and Community Spirit..... A. D. Wilson
 Rural Surveys..... C. W. Thompson
 The Results of Some Rural Social Surveys in Iowa... George H. von Tungetn
 The Scope and Methods of Instruction in Rural Sociology... John M. Gillette
 The Teaching of Rural Sociology: Particularly in the Land-Grant Colleges and Universities..... Dwight L. Sanderson

VOL. XII. SOCIAL CONTROL. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING

Ideals as a Factor in the Future Control of International Society
 George Elliott Howard
 Social Control of Child Welfare..... Sophonisba P. Breckinridge
 War as a Crisis in Social Control..... Carl Kelsey
 Primitive Individual Ascendancy..... Hutton Webster
 Primitive Social Ascendancy Viewed as an Agent of Selection in Society
 F. Stuart Chapin
 Survival of Primitive Controls in Frontier or Retarded Communities
 James Elbert Cutler
 Social Structure of the Northern Algonkian..... Frank G. Speck
 The Social Control of the Acquisition of Wealth..... E. C. Hayes
 Motives of Economic Life..... Carleton H. Parker
 Immigration as a Problem in Social Control..... Henry Pratt Fairchild
 The Immigrant as a Problem in Community Planning..... Grace Abbott
 Control of Immigration Based upon the True Demand for Labor
 Arthur J. Todd
 Social Control in a Democracy..... Franklin H. Giddings
 Social Control in International Relations..... Charles Horton Cooley

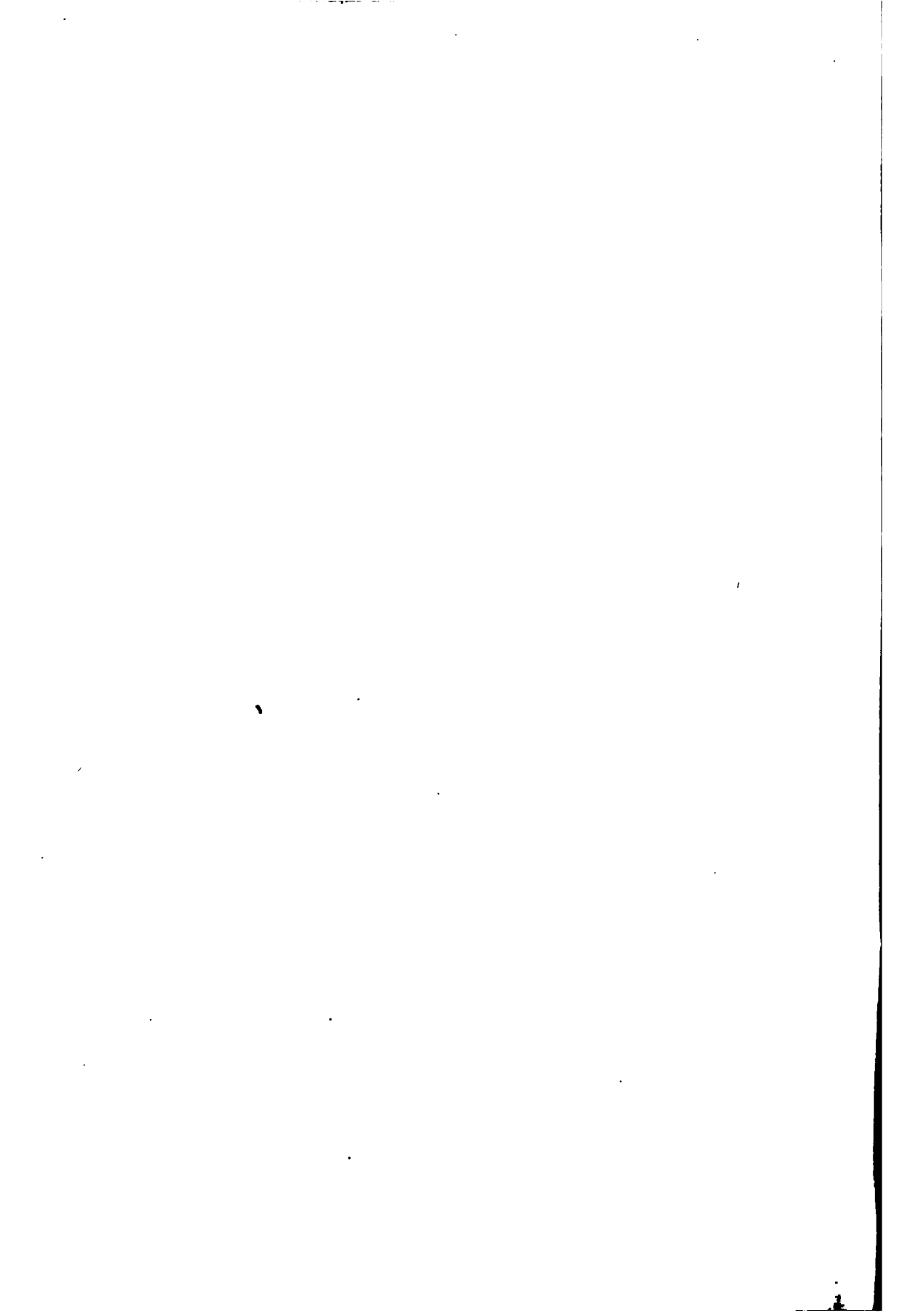
VOL. XIII. SOCIOLOGY AND EDUCATION. PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

A Primary Culture for Democracy.....	Charles H. Cooley
The Social Education of Women.....	Anna Garlin Spencer
Education in Its Relation to Cultures.....	Robert E. Park
Sociology in the Education of Teachers.....	Frederick R. Clow
The Vocational Concept.....	John M. Gillette
Social Education in the Schools through Group Activities....	Walter R. Smith
The Community Center in Social Education.....	John Collier
Extension Teaching of Sociology in Communities.....	Cecil C. North
The Teaching of Sociology to Undergraduates.....	A. J. Todd
The National Spirit in Education.....	E. A. Ross
Education and the National Ideal.....	L. M. Bristol
The American Spirit and the Organization of Mid-Europe.....	H. A. Miller

Address all orders for the *Papers and Proceedings* to the publishers, The University of Chicago Press.

Applications for membership and inquiries about the American Sociological Society should be addressed to American Sociological Society, 58th Street and Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill.







Papers and Proceedings of the American Sociological Society

- Vol. I. **The First Annual Meeting**
148 pages, 8vo, paper, \$1.50, postage extra, weight 11 oz.
- Vol. II. **Social Conflicts. The Second Annual Meeting**
198 pages, 8vo, paper, \$1.50, postage extra, weight 1 lb. 2 oz.
- Vol. III. **The Family. The Third Annual Meeting**
220 pages, 8vo, paper, \$1.50, postage extra, weight 1 lb. 4 oz.
- Vol. IV. **The Fourth Annual Meeting**
224 pages, 8vo, paper, \$1.50, postage extra, weight 1 lb. 4 oz.
- Vol. V. **The Fifth Annual Meeting**
268 pages, 8vo, paper, \$1.50, postage extra, weight 1 lb. 7 oz.
- Vol. VI. **The Sixth Annual Meeting**
108 pages, 8vo, paper, \$1.50, postage extra, weight 10 oz.
- Vol. VII. **The Conception of Human Interrelations as a Variant
of Social Theory. The Seventh Annual Meeting**
224 pages, 8vo, paper, \$1.50, postage extra, weight 1 lb. 6 oz.
- Vol. VIII. **Problems of Social Assimilation. The Eighth Annual
Meeting**
184 pages, 8vo, paper, \$1.50, postage extra, weight 1 lb.
- Vol. IX. **Freedom of Communication. The Ninth Annual
Meeting**
208 pages, 8vo, paper, \$1.50, postage extra, weight 1 lb. 1 oz.
- Vol. X. **War and Militarism in Their Sociological Aspects. The
Tenth Annual Meeting**
172 pages, 8vo, paper, \$1.50, postage extra, weight 14 oz.
- Vol. XI. **The Sociology of Rural Life. The Eleventh Annual
Meeting**
240 pages, 8vo, paper, \$1.50, postage extra, weight 1 lb. 4 oz.
- Vol. XII. **Social Control. The Twelfth Annual Meeting**
276 pages, 8vo, paper, \$1.50, postage extra, weight 1 lb. 7 oz.
- Vol. XIII. **Sociology and Education. The Thirteenth Annual
Meeting**
224 pages, 8vo, paper, \$1.50 net, postage extra, weight 1 lb. 2 oz.

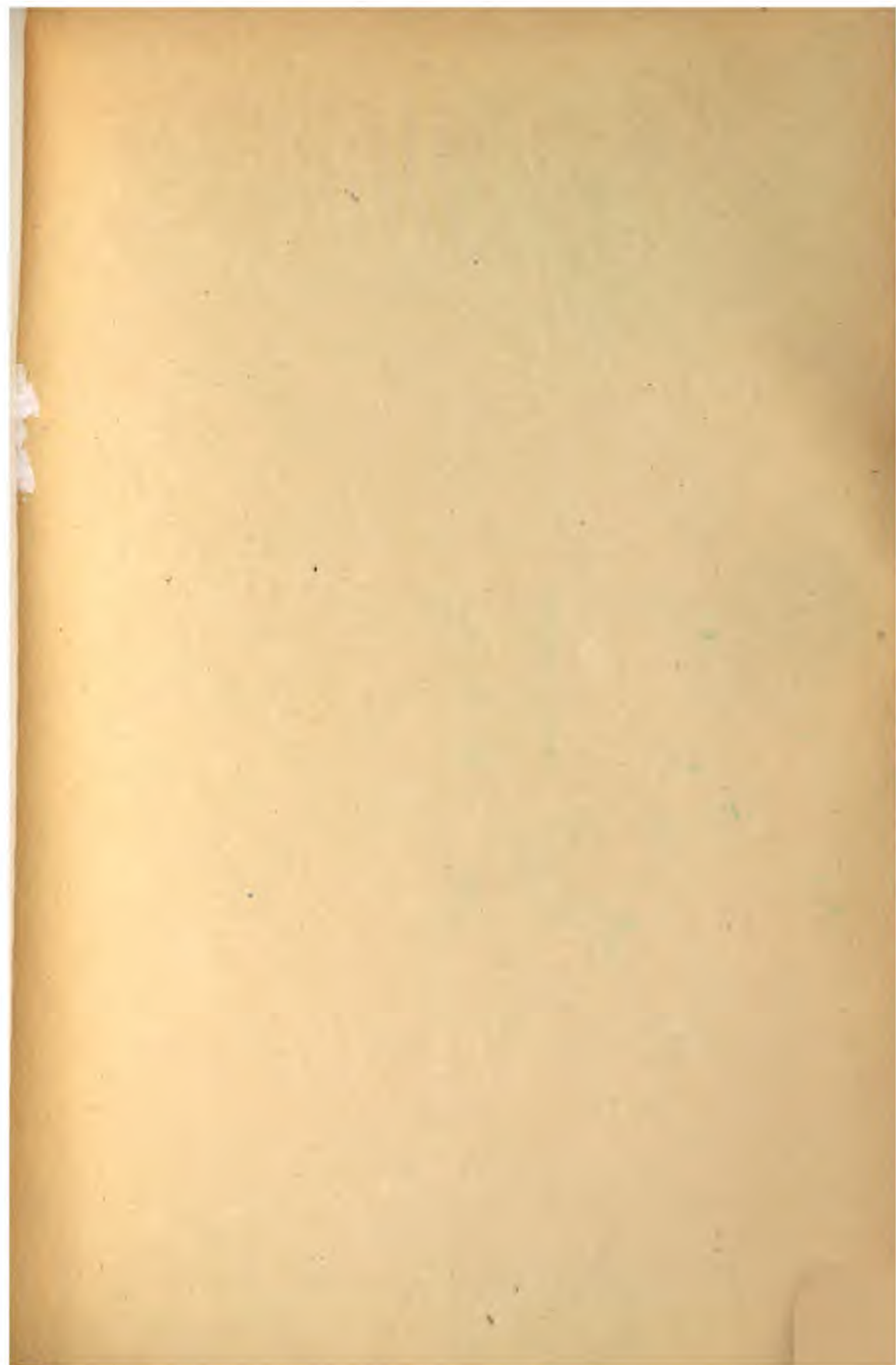
SEE PAGES 219-24 OF THIS VOLUME FOR CONTENTS
OF EACH OF THE VOLUMES LISTED ABOVE

Address all orders for Papers and Proceedings to the publishers

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO ILLINOIS

The Cambridge University Press London and Edinburgh
The Maruzen-Kabushiki-Kaisha Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Fukuoka, Sendai
The Mission Book Company Shanghai









3 2044 055 043 012

This book should be returned to the Library on or before the last date stamped below.

A fine is incurred by retaining it beyond the specified time.

Please return promptly.

2783868

JAN 17 '70 H

WIDENER
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY
CARRIED STUDY
CHARGE
06
DUE

18
CARRIED STUDY
CHARGE

