A SOCIAL INTERPRETATION OF SOUTH CAROLINA

A Social Interpretation of South Carolina

By

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TO MY GRANDCHILDREN

TOM and GEORGE RUTHERFORD; NED BORDEN; PEGGY, MARTHA and CROFT WILLIAMS, who some day will be called upon to serve their State. May it be in peace, but in peace or in war, may it be with intelligence and devotion to principle.

PREFACE

The purpose of this book is to show the social implications of the natural resources and the human activities of South Carolina. While an effort is made to cover the main areas of our common life many important fields are dealt with slightly or even disregarded. Among these are: schools of higher learning, public libraries, newspapers, women's organizations, and parks and playgrounds. The curtailed treatment is not due to any lack of appreciation of the importance of these activities, but is owing to the limitation of space and the intention to confine the discussions to those phases of our common life which most directly affect the masses of our people.

At present we are in the backwash of World War II. South Carolina, as the United States in general, is fluctuating in all parts of its life. Population is intensely mobile, labor is restless, the cost of living is high and rising, many economic developments are taking place, religion and moral standards are in transition, new political ideas are spreading and many of our cherished stateways are receding before them. Confronted by this social disorganization, the student of current corporate life finds it impossible to see clearly what transformations are taking place.

Yet the new life springs from the old. Tomorrow's shape is emerging from today's. So the student of social affairs feels justified in trying to interpret the present, knowing that whatever the future may bring forth is forming out of elements now working among us. Of this we may be sure: gathering and classifying facts, intelligently searching out their meaning, holding our vision to a better social order, and massing all our energy to get rid of evils and further the things that are good will bring us to a fairer and more satisfying world.

In this text I have sought diligently to marshal facts and from them to draw reasonable conclusions. Many of these facts and conclusions are deplored by me, but in fairness to my readers and to myself I was compelled to give them. In such a work as this, one must set forth a number of tentative deductions and many personal opinions. These

will find dissent in some quarters. However, infallibility does not clothe the social scientist; he can only do his best to be honest in handling his material and in using what intelligence and skill he possesses to present it.

Of late years social scientists have turned increasingly to regional sociology, for regions are units of natural and human resources. Unhindered by artificial boundaries such as states have, these segments offer ideal laboratories for research and theoretical planning. The Tennessee Valley Authority gave an impetus to this kind of approach. Yet granting that state lines grew out of political considerations only, they are there and history, with its twining emotions, is rampant within those lines. Besides, there are no regional political units, there are only states and the Nation as governmental entities. So when a regional wrong is discovered—such as illiteracy, excessive crime, widespread vice, disease, bad racial relations—the regionalists may gather, read papers, and pass resounding resolutions of protest, but they can bring no force into play, and to contend with social evil force must be used. Of course the Nation may be influenced to take a hand in regional affairs, but it seldom does, as the Federal Constitution provides for state and national governments only.

When the citizens of a state are informed about the social conditions within their borders they may take measures to deal with them. South Carolina has gone forward amazingly in the last two decades. We have a network of hard surface roads which makes every county accessible; schools that are open to all children, white and black, nine months in the year; a series of public parks and playgrounds in reach of all our inhabitants; a pension system for aged government employees; provisions for the care of the needy and the physically handicapped, and many other public aids to our citizenry. All these have come in a brief period through the pressure of an enlightened public opinion.

In the hands of South Carolinians, and in no other hands, rest the fortunes of this State. The young folk now in high schools and colleges are our mainstay for advancement or recession. Their minds are still open to instruction and they are reaching out for guidance. Now is the time to show them what South Carolina is socially and what it might

be. So I have assembled, in what I trust is readable form, information concerning the life of our people, with the fervent wish that our boys and girls especially, and our adults too, may find here some guiding lights to mark the road to a more satisfying social order.

Columbia, S. C., September, 1946.

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The South Carolina of today is the product of a long and complex growth. To understand our State one has to delve into its past and the conditioning factors of that past. While it is a popular notion that the shaping of our society was due to several dominating factors only, the student finds no such facile interpretation. He rather discovers through a searching analysis that there are numerous elements—some of them known, many of them unknown—that arose, merged with one another, and formed a modified structure, which in turn became a new basis for society. Thus we must bear in mind that our human group is ever in flux and that to make a still picture of it is only a resort to an artificial device necessary for the purposes of study. "Change is king" and "All things move" come down to us from ancient Greece and remind us that not only we individually but also our civilization and social configuration are pilgrims on the earth.

The sources of our social life lie in the remote past. Then too as that life came down through the ages it accumulated elements from the times and peoples through which it passed. We cannot recount the narrative of that long reach, which is the historian's task, but in order to grasp the meaning of society in this State we shall have to consider several of its conditioning factors. The term "conditioning factors" rather than "causal factors" is used as the latter implies forces that work apart from unpredictable human purposes, so it is left to the realm of the physical sciences.

With this before us we turn to the conditioning factors in the shaping of South Carolina. Of these, four challenge us at the outset—geography, culture, technology, and race. Yet before considering these singly we should keep before us the fact that they do not work separately but in close conjunction with one another. In a social situation one is likely to loom larger than the others, but the others are there and their presence counts. Geography may determine if certain plants may be grown in a given area, but culture

prescribes to what uses those plants are to be put. Water power may be abundant, but only technology can turn it to the making of textiles. Nor can race be taken apart from its cultural context, for ideals, art, moral principles, and many prejudices are shot through that context and race must accommodate itself to them.

CHAPTER 1

GEOGRAPHIC INFLUENCE

In South Carolina geography has left its mark in every turn of events. The main topics in this study of environment are: atmosphere; water; land surface, which includes soil and minerals; and plants and animals. In considering these geographic elements it is necessary to think of the State as consisting of two main regions, the up-country and the low-country. Geologists term these two regions the Crystalline Area and the Coastal Plain. The line of demarcation between them is known as the "fall line," which crosses the greater streams at the head of navigation. Beginning at North Augusta, it runs in a wavering course to Columbia, thence to Camden, and finally reaches the North Carolina boundary northeast of Cheraw. Earle Sloan, a former State Geologist, wrote: "The area north of this line, designated the Crystalline Region, comprises the older crystalline rocks and is characterized along its upper limits by a somewhat serrated mountainous profile graduating southerly into intricately ribbed and undulating ridges with deeply sculptured valleys and rapidly flowing streams." [1]

CLIMATE

Climate had much to do with the soils of this region and with the plants and animals that live on them. The up-country is the older geologically. Ages ago, when ice caps were spread over the northern part of this continent and in the higher ranges of the southern mountains, there were no glaciers in this territory. No great masses of ice plowed over the land and pulverized the rocks and mingled the soils. No lime was shaved off and spread over the earth's surface. Where the rocks disintegrated there the soil lay, with the exception of river and creek bottoms that received the humus laden earth washed from hilly places. Over great stretches the forests were of pine. These dropped

[1] *Handbook of South Carolina*, Columbia, 1908, p. 79.

foliage only once in two years, and this foliage was sparse and with little in it to nourish plants. Hence much of the land was poor and the lie of it was not conducive to large plantations and great crops. Small, family-cultivated farms abounded, tenanted by a rugged yeomanry.

The low-country was of later geological formation. According to Sloan, we find in it "the younger sedimentary beds, which overlap the crystalline rocks and extend thence to the sea, constituting a vast peneplain known as the Coastal Plain, which along its upper limit characteristically affords extensive plateaus incised with deep valleys in almost abrupt juxtaposition, the including rivers having slow velocities and navigable channels." [2] Great stretches of rich, flat soil, built up by the wash from the up-country and the dense vegetation springing therefrom, made this a land of large plantations. Skirting the ocean there were vast swamps which were cleared for the early rice culture, known as "dry culture." Also in this region the tidal river lands were reclaimed through a system of dykes, canals, and flood gates, to make rice fields where "wet culture" was employed. This supplanted the earlier dry culture. Fringing the ocean there were many islands, moist and with rich soils, where sea-island cotton was raised. Indigo also found a hospitable home in this ocean-bordered area. It was not bulky and so was easy to transport. Then too, because of a government bounty, dye commanded a high price. For these reasons it was an ideal money crop in colonial days. Thus the low-country brought great wealth to its people, and with wealth came luxury, elaborate manners, and the development of an aristocracy.

The weather of these two sections also differs. Says G. C. Merchant, Associate Meteorologist for the State: "Through the central portion the annual rainfall is about 45 inches, while two areas of greater precipitation appear along the seaboard and over the northwestern counties. In the mountainous area the annual precipitation ranges from 55 to over 65 inches, and over the coastal area the annual precipitation is 50 inches, or more. . . . The average annual

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

temperature ranges from 66.5 in the extreme southern portion to about 59.5 in the mountains. The isothermal range between the lower coast and the high elevations is about 10, the decrease in temperature being proportional to the increase in altitude." [3]

Negro slavery was made possible by this climate. It flourished first and best on the coast. The earliest white settlers came from Barbadoes, one of the West Indies, where great plantations manned by scores of slaves abounded. Thus as soon as these settlers could lay out land they instituted the plantation system, with its accompaniment of slaves. Rice culture was ideal for this, so we find that in 1708, thirty years after the first landing, the number of Negroes exceeded the white population. Perhaps as powerful as the push of desire for high social status, like that given to planters in the settlers' old home, was the dread of working in the hot lowland fields where cultivation was carried on with hand tools only—the hoe, the sickle, and the flail. Through these two, desire for prestige and averseness to field labor, was laid the gentlemanly tradition that it was smirching to members of the master class for them to labor in the fields, "like a nigger." But this coming of the Negro was from the first fraught with trouble, for this bearer of burdens brought with him two scourges, hook worm and malaria.

The up-country, having a hardy stock of working folk, a cooler climate, and small farms, had little use for slaves until cotton rose to a dominant position and smothered all other agricultural enterprise. According to Dr. Meriwether, in 1764 this section's population was not quite 10 percent Negro.[4] Such a preponderance of whites later became only a sizable majority, yet this majority was large enough to make the racial composition of the population glaringly different from that of the low-country. In this disparity lay the roots of much economic, political, and social conflict through later generations.

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[3] *The State*, Columbia, June 25, 1941.

[4] Meriwether, R. L., *The Expansion of South Carolina, 1729-1765*, Kingsport, 1940, p. 260.

A mild climate in South Carolina, with an average of 62.9 degrees throughout the year, lured people out-of-doors for work and for play. The houses of small farmers, little tradesmen, and poor whites—and these constituted a great portion of our white population—were meager in size and were scantily furnished. In many instances they afforded scarcely more than shelter from the elements. They were much simpler than those of the North, where cold drove the inhabitants indoors many months of the year. This indoor living required more ample housing and begot an elaborate technique of home management that was not ours. Among the wealthy, especially those of the coast country, a more pretentious architecture prevailed. Lordly mansions with long piazzas, lofty ceilings, and spacious halls, were models for elegant ease in a hot climate. Of late years an alien architecture has invaded the State, one that is suitable for bleak climates. No ample piazzas or high ceilings or breeze-inviting halls has this new architecture devised. Stream-lined, compact dwellings now huddle in straight lines on our city streets and dot our countryside.

In industry also the influence of climate is shown. The people of this State did not take to machine culture. Long hours in hot buildings held little attraction for a folk used to open-air living. Only the push of economic need, which came with the decline of cotton culture, drove erstwhile little farmers and farm tenants into textile work. While the dearth of metals also had much to do with our lack of mechanized production, yet the mindset of our people against it must be taken into account. New England was likewise wanting in metals, but this did not deter it from an early development of mills of many sorts and the sending of its people by droves into them.

THE ROLE OF WATER

Besides climate we need to think of water as a helper in the shaping of our civilization. From the first it afforded the great highways of transportation. On the ocean side commerce was carried on with Europe, the West Indies, and the American colonies to the north. Beaufort, Charles-

ton, and Georgetown had excellent harbors, but Charleston became the chief port of entry because of its early lead in population and wealth. From ocean trade carried on through these ports manufactured articles and luxuries were imported, and exchange for them was made by products of field and forest.

The inland has four river systems—the Savannah, the Santee, the Edisto, and the Peedee, in which the main streams are arteries fed by many creeks and little rivers. Flat boats and later steamboats plied the rivers as far as the fall line at Hamburg, the Congarees, Camden, and Cheraw, where rocks and shoals halted them. The movement of cotton to Charleston through these river systems, between October 1, 1826 and October 1, 1827, was about 150 thousand bales containing 320 pounds each.[5] Also, early settlers moved up these rivers from Charleston and gathered into communities at or near river landings. They were in the main European minded, as most of them had emigrated from their fatherland. Above the fall line another kind of folk, pioneers from Pennsylvania and Virginia, came overland and settled. They were a self reliant, frontier-shaped people, fiercely religious and of great energy. These upper and lower Carolinians probably had little intercourse with one another until after the Revolution.

In considering the social influence of water we should not neglect rainfall. In this State the rain pelts and pours. The old preacher praying for rain in the wag's irreverent anecdote pled for "no drizzle drozzle, but a trash mover and gully washer." His prayer has been answered generously. Heavy downpours scar our hillsides, dig gullies in our fields, and send washes of sand that appear like immense crooked fingers reaching out to throttle all growth. Tons of topsoil are carried in this manner into the creeks and rivers, never to be returned. In the Sand Hills and Piedmont erosion has sown poverty and sent many farm families to low paid town jobs. Besides having a heavy

[5] *South Carolina*, published by the State Board of Agriculture, Columbia, 1883, p. 627.

impact this rainfall is exceedingly high, especially in autumn when showers often stop the curing of the crop. For this reason much hay is imported from the Middle West and adds to the already overburdened cost sheet of the farmer. This dearth of feed also precludes the raising of cattle for dairy products and beef sufficient to supply the State's needs. Soil erosion and unfavorable weather may be counteracted, but this must wait for treatment until we consider agriculture.

Before leaving water as a conditioning factor in our civilization, we should bear in mind its function in the rise of the textile industry and the part that it plays in the generating of electricity. The waterways of the upcountry have a fall that makes swift currents. This, combined with cheap labor driven from the farms, produced in our Piedmont one of the great cotton manufacturing regions of the world. Wealth came to this section, and with wealth education and, a questionable addition, the making of a large group of employees that are like-minded in politics. This latter introduced conflict of a deplorable kind into our government's management, for the demagogue and the rouser of class hatred finds here a favorable plain for his maneuvers. On the other hand, the cotton mill has given employment and some semblance of a civilized standard of living to a large number of people that a failing agriculture was submerging.

LAND SURFACE

Land surface, which includes soil and minerals, is another topic of geography. We have taken a look at the geological formation of our soils and some of their characteristics. It is now necessary to discuss their composition. In the meanwhile we may keep in mind that this is a technical subject, so only those phases of it that have an immediate social application will be considered. Soil is of three kinds—sand, clay and loam. Loam is a mixture of sand, clay, and organic matter. The percentage of clay in loam varies between 20 and 50 percent, hence the terms "clay loam" and "sandy loam." In the Piedmont the earth

is rolling and hilly, rising into mountains in the northwestern tip of the State. Sandy loams with a good content of clay are the prevailing soils. Also, clay subsoil underlies this region, which is a preventive of the leaching of plant food from the top soil. Cotton and fruits are grown in this region and, because of swiftly changing prices, diversification has gone steadily forward. It is an excellent area in which to have subsistence farms with the families working in the textile mills and doing part-time work at home—gardening, raising fowls and animals for meat, growing fruit, and perhaps making some small money crops. This is made possible by good roads, shorter hours of labor, and the low rate of interest and facility in financing brought about by the Federal government.

The Sand Hills form a belt that traverses the middle of the State. As the name implies, the region is characterized by mounds and hills of sand. The soil is poor and has a subsoil of clay far below the surface in many places, hence fertilizers seep down and are lost. The cities and towns are commercial, industrial, or the havens of tourists and are not principally dependent upon their surrounding crops. Some fruit and truck are produced, which find ready market in the nearby urban centers. Cotton is grown, but only through the extensive use of commercial fertilizer.

The upper Coastal Plain is gently rolling and has soils from grayish to reddish sandy loams over sandy clay subsoils. According to the State Planning Board: "This region comprises the best agricultural section of South Carolina . . . [It] is one of the best suited in the State for the planting of cotton. The custom here has been to plant practically all the open land in cotton and to purchase the necessary foodstuffs." [6] The middle Coastal Plain is flat, undulating, or gently rolling, and the soil is generally of a grayish sandy loam over a yellow sandy clay subsoil. Says the State Planning Board: "The northwestern end of this belt is in the tobacco section, in which occurs the most profitable

[6] *Progress Report on State Planning*, State Planning Board, 1938, p. 59. (Place of publication of reports of all state departments and agencies is Columbia, S. C.)

farming in the region. Cotton, corn, and truck are the principal crops in the southwestern part of the region, and profitable dairy farms are also developing." [7]

The Coastal Plain, it is estimated, has 60 to 70 percent of its soil in the Norfolk series—a fine sandy loam with a yellow sandy clay subsoil. The Bureau of Soils of the United States Department of Agriculture reports. "The natural productiveness of the Norfolk fine sandy loam, the ease with which it is cultivated, the rententiveness of the subsoil, its ready response to fertilizers and the readiness with which it may be built up and kept in good condition make it one of the most desirable soils for trucking or for general farming." [8]

In a day of enormous machine production metals and minerals take on great importance. Zones having rich metal deposits or an abundance of oil give rise to immense cities and gather enormous wealth. But South Carolina must forego these glittering things, for her metals and minerals are, with few exceptions, of little commercial value. Those that are marketable are of small quantity, whose value in 1938 was only a little over $4,000,000.[9] Iron of an excellent quality was once mined at Cherokee Falls, on the Broad River, but this project was abandoned about the end of the Confederate War. Gold was discovered at what is now the Haile Gold Mine, in Kershaw County, as early as 1827, and since that date about four and a half million dollars worth of the metal has been produced. For many years the mine was unworked, but recently, due to the advance in the prices of gold and to the use of improved machinery, the mine was reopened and in 1938 had an output worth $408,835.[10] Beds of high grade kaolin are worked in Aiken and Lexington Counties, which bring in the neighborhood of $800,000 a year. However, our most valuable mineral product at present is granite. According to Dr. Stephen Taber, Professor of Geology in the University of

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 60.
[8] South Carolina Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report*, 1940, p. 8.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 276.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 276.

South Carolina: "The value of the stone quarried in South Carolina in 1938 was nearly one and one-half million dollars, and some years it has exceeded $2,000,000. . . . South Carolina continues to import cheap Indiana limestone and uses it in building construction although our native granites are more beautiful and are infinitely superior in resistance to weathering. The limestone is soft, porous, and slowly soluble in rain water. It quickly becomes discolored and it will not last like granite. In recent years granite from Fairfield and Kershaw counties has been used in the construction of public buildings in Mississippi, Ohio, and other states, while we have been using the inferior imported stone. Granite for use in buildings and monuments is being imported from North Carolina and Vermont although the South Carolina granites are equal and in some cases superior in quality." [11] There are other metals and minerals besides those just described, but they are in such minute quantities or have so low a market value that they have practically no bearing on the social life of the State and should have no treatment in a discussion like this.

FLORA AND FAUNA

Plants and animals are necessary not only to man's well-being, but also to his very existence, for he must have food and this he gets from plants and animals. Early voyagers to South Carolina describe the flora and fauna which they came across. One of the first of these voyagers was Captain Robert Sanford, who sailed along the Carolina coast in 1666. He left a discerning narrative of what he saw. His visit to an Indian village on what is now Parris Island, at the mouth of Port Royal Sound, is thus retold by General McCrady: "All round the town, for a great space, were fields of maize of very large growth. The soil was nothing inferior to the best he had seen at Edisto; apparently more loose and light. The trees in the woods were much larger, all the ground under them covered with a great variety of pasturage. He saw there, besides a great number of

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 277.

peaches, some fig-trees very large and fair, both fruit and plants, and divers grape vines which, though growing without culture in the very throng of weeds and bushes, were filled with bunches of grapes, to his great admiration." [12] At that time, and much later, black cypresses towered thick in the swamps, live oaks hooked their gnarled arms over great areas, and cedars and myrtles filled the air with a sweet odor. Early visitors to the coast country were impressed with the perfume of the forests. For generations the colonists built churches and dwellings out of the almost iron-hard perdurable wood of the black cypress.

In the up-country early immigrants found mighty forests of oak, hickory, and pine, on every side, while wide stretches of unforested land were lush with grass and flowers. Logan, writing in 1859, gave this vivid description: "As late as 1775, the woodlands, carpeted with grass, and the wild pea vine, growing as high as a horse's back, and wild flowers of every hue, were the constant admiration of the traveler and adventurous pioneer. The forests of those early times were far more imposing than any now remaining in this portion of the ancient Cherokee Nation. The trees were generally larger, and stood so wide apart that a deer or a buffalo could be easily seen at a long distance—there being nothing to obstruct the view but the rolling surface. On the elevated hill-tops the strolling hunter often took his stand, to sweep, at a single view, a large extent of country. The peavine and grasses occupied the place of the bushes and young forest growth that render the woods of the present time so gloomy and intricate." [13]

Early observers were also amazed at the abundance and variety of animals, birds, and fish. The Indians never attacked these wantonly, for they felt a mystical kinship with all life. They hardly killed enough to interfere with the natural balance among species and their normal increase. From the red man's first appearance in this territory, possibly twelve thousand years ago, until the coming of

[12] McCrady, Edward, *South Carolina under the Proprietary Government*, New York, 1897, p. 87.
[13] Logan, J. H., *A History of the Upper Country of South Carolina*, Charleston, 1859, p. 7.

the white man wild life was little interfered with by human beings. But Caucasians have no such mystical inhibitions. Wild life suggests to them competitive quarries and trade. Along the coast waves of ducks and geese visited the waterways, wild turkeys infested every swamp, flocks of vari-colored parrakeets flamed in the deep green forests, droves of deer wandered about in such numbers that Carolina was compared to a great park. These the white man made war on. In 1713, 73,790 deer skins were exported from this province. Ducks and geese were slain by the wagon load, and could not have been taken in such quantities for mere table use.

In the up-country animals also flourished in abundance. Logan wrote: "In the cane brakes of the Saluda, Long-Cane, Enoree, Broad River, Buffalo of York, and numerous other streams, and on the extensive prairie ridges, the early pioneers and hunters found large herds of buffaloes and elks; while in the higher woodland country, deer abounded in vast numbers." [14] Lawson, writing in 1705, records: "The Indian killed fifteen turkeys this Day, there coming out of the Swamp (about Sun-rising), Flocks of these Fowl, containing several hundred in a Gang, who feed upon the Acorns, it being most Oak that grow in these Woods." [15] Flocks of wild pigeons in millions often passed over the land, darkening the light of the sun. In many parts of the up-country beavers made their dams on creeks, as numerous Beaver Dam creeks remain to witness. Of the abundance of fish Logan gives testimony. He wrote: "Besides the numerous well-known varieties that live constantly in the fresh waters, vast numbers of shad came up every spring, and filled not only the rivers, and their larger tributaries, but the smaller creeks and rivulets; the waters of Bullock's and Stevens' Creek, of the Long-Cane, and Seneca, and Sandy Rivers, were famous with the early sportsmen and settlers for their shad fisheries. In the earliest periods, even shoals of herring were annually ex-

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[15] Lawson, John, *History of North Carolina*, republished by Garret and Massie, Richmond, 1937, p. 22.

pected by the Indians to come a great way up into the fresh waters of the upper-country." [16] Buffalo, shad and herring in the creeks and rivers, beavers, wild pigeons—all these the white man has exterminated.

Native fauna and flora were succeeded by domesticated plants and animals. The hunter gave way before the cow driver and the horse herder. Great numbers of cattle were raised on lands covered with canes and pea vines, and were driven to Charleston, Philadelphia, and even New York, to be slaughtered for beef. Cow pens, establishments with large staffs of workers, were scattered through the Piedmont. Of these Logan wrote: "In 1740, Nightingale, the maternal grandfather of the late Judge William Johnston, established a ranch or cow-pen, six miles from the present Winnsboro, at a spot afterwards owned on Little Cedar Creek by the lamented General Strother. A man by the name of Howell, from the Congaree, soon after, formed a similar establishment, at a place near Winn's Bridge, on Little River. Several years after the Revolution, General Andrew Pickens was engaged in the business of stock-raising near his new residence in old Pendleton, and drove beeves to the market in New York." [17]

Early settlers in the Piedmont brought horses with them from North Carolina, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, a fine breed of high spirited animals that made superb saddle horses. Besides these, droves of untamed horses, sprung from Spanish and English stocks, roamed over the up-country. Some men owned as many as a hundred to a hundred and fifty head of these, which were rounded up from time to time and branded to mark their ownership.

The animal life described in preceding paragraphs had a pronounced social impact on the dwellers above the fall line. Civilization of an advanced sort was early developed in the low-country. Spacious plantations, palatial homes, rich furnishings, and elaborate manners characterized the coastal gentry. On the other hand, the up-country for a long time had a frontier stamp. The people in this region

[16] Logan, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

were more influenced by raw nature than their fellow colonials near the sea. Pioneers in a wilderness have to find food supplies made ready at their coming. Before crops could be raised or cabins built these men and their families had to eat. So we find that the first settlers were an adventurous hunting folk as well as an industrious farmer folk later on. Possessed of such qualities the militia that fought at King's Mountain, Cow Pens, and many another Revolutionary battle in the up-country showed the prowess and endurance so necessary to wilderness fighting. Even today the momentum of that early life is not exhausted, for many farmers of this region live apart in their fields and cling grimly to a fast disappearing economic and political individualism—sometimes called independence.

CHAPTER 2

CULTURE

Geography gives us the stage-setting of society and culture directs us how to act. We may vary somewhat from what culture prescribes, owing to our individual make-up or to local conditions, but our general course will conform. This is fundamental to social life, for if there is to be regularity to it each must know how his fellows will behave. It saves us from anarchy. Culture, though, does not here mean refinement of manners and thought—the popular notion of it—but rather the habitual way in which a human group feels, thinks, and acts. So the Congo savage has it as well as the Oxford don. A good definition of the word was made some seventy years ago by the English anthropologist E. B. Tylor. He wrote: "Culture or civilization . . . is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." [1] It is the golden chain that binds together our past, our present, and our future.

ELEMENTS OF CULTURE

When we analyze culture into its component units we find traits, the smallest elements of culture. Thus movable type is a trait, so is paper, likewise is ink, also the printing press is a trait. Yet these do not operate apart from one another, they are linked together in what is known as a cultural complex. Complexes welded together into a whole make a pattern of culture. So our method of preparing food, our use of the English language, the form of religion that we profess, our attitude toward war, the capitalistic system —these and innumerable other complexes are fused into an integral whole. This whole or pattern acts as a unit, and it has the push of public opinion behind it. It is the proper way of life and is imposed on us from the cradle to the grave. Ridicule, loss of status, physical pain, or

[1] Tylor, E. B., *Primitive Culture*, London, 1871, p. 1.

some other form of coercion enforces conformity. Again, rewards await the conformist—smiles, honors, praise, material prizes.

Culture, however, varies from place to place and from time to time. Inter-racial marriage is permitted in Massachusetts; it is a crime in South Carolina. Duelling, once sanctioned by society, is now looked on as a form of murder. Slavery, of ancient practice and considered as a divine provision, is no longer tolerated. In the past classes were fixed, almost hardened into castes, but with the coming of a high rate of mobility society became fluid and worth, especially political and economic worth, broke through the hard crust of class. Brogans went up the golden ladder, patent leather pumps came down. So culture is no ever-fast, fixed mold.

Yet most of the changes appear to be unpurposed, they seem just to happen. Usually old customs die and new ones are born with such ease that our transition from one cultural plain to another is seldom observed, except in times of revolution. However, change might come through conscious intent—change for the better or change for the worse. Among the willed new elements are: universal education, hard-surfaced roads, changing the bar room via prohibition into the package shop, enfranchising woman, bringing science into agriculture, rural electrification, preventive health measures, organized labor, preventing child labor in textile mills. It is difficult to introduce new elements because of general inertia and because of the opposition of vested interests, but when these elements are finally well established they take their places in the pattern of culture and so condition a group for further advance.

With these ideas in mind we turn now to South Carolina. Here we find the main streams of culture flowing out of England. And of this source there were many feeders that reached through Europe for countless ages. Christianity, war, chivalry, private property, the patriarchal family, and other elements went into the current that we term Western Civilization. Randall has put it tersely in saying: "It is through the mind that man attaches himself to his remote

predecessors, far more than through any physical persistence, even of racial stock. Especially is this true in America, which, despite its relatively new background, is as much a part of European civilization as Rome herself." [2] But England was the channel through which this civilization came to us, and this channel eliminated some elements, modified others, and added yet others. While the majority of our people have the blood of other nationals as well as of Englishmen in their veins, yet the first settlers were of that stock. For over a hundred years, and that in its formative period, South Carolina was a colonial province of Great Britain.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND INDIVIDUALISM

The first element of this inherited culture that we think of is language. English speech is forthright and sinewy, with few of the evasive allusions of Southern European tongues. It is difficult to explain away anything that you say in it. Its common words are for the most part short and hard, sometimes they are jagged. We are told that it is perfect for profanity. No double meanings soften its harsh thrusts. This language has a subtler function than merely carrying ideas; through it we receive attitudes and sentiments—the chief molders of our inner life. English poets, dramatists, novelists, and essayists have set the pattern by which we shape our literature. Her philosophers and scientists have marked the path for ours. Moreover, through pithy or majestic verses from the King James version of the Bible and through proverbs barbed with common sense our masses have set standards for their daily activities.

Another cultural element that Englishmen brought here is individualism—the right of every man to live his own life and utter his own views, so long as they are not inimical to the social order. Even in the political, economic, and religious spheres—realms charged with emotion—this

[2] Randall, J. G., *The Making of the Modern Mind*, New York, 1926, p. 5.

holds true. The trait of individualism also is based upon the foundation principle that every personality is precious and should be defended and developed. And out of the working of this principle our corporate life is enriched by men and women who in many other civilizations would have had no chance. Besides, the protection of this individualism looses elements that give color and variety to our Carolina community. Moreover, it leads to a forward thrust in ideas and action. Standardized folk are not likely to be spearheads to penetrate new lines of thought and conduct. Yet a caution should here be sounded, that individualism of the old sort must be developed to cope with a complex social order like ours. The old freedom needs to emerge into the new freedom. In this State, where the static and dynamic are clashing, this is especially difficult.

Akin to individual freedom is representative government, which South Carolina also got from the mother country. In less than a year after the first settlers arrived at Charles Town they raised the question of their political rights.[3] With such a promising beginning bickerings, which often flared into fierce contentions, were carried on between the people's representatives and the English appointees throughout our provincial history. Finally the Revolution broke over the determination of the colonials to allow no taxes to be laid without their approval.

After independence was gained the jealousy of the electorate to have the "will of the people" prevail drove us into clashes with the Federal government, which were ended with the Confederate War, But the war was succeeded by Reconstruction, so called, in which our people mourned and chafed until 1876. "The year of redemption" gave no permanent quiet to the voters, and they broke into a violent upheaval under Tillmanism. Since then they have insisted on selecting in a general election many public officials whose work is mainly technical and concerning whose personal qualifications the electorate is not competent to judge. So individualism still works through representative

[3] McCrady, Edward, *South Carolina under the Proprietary Government*, p. 155.

government and each insists on his right to stand by his friends who are candidates, because he likes them personally and dislikes their opponents, and this without any qualms as to their fitness for the positions they seek.

PROTESTANTISM

Protestantism was also inherited from the English—the right of private judgment in matters of religion joined to a stern moral code. The religious phase will be treated later; here we shall deal with the ethical side only. A stern moral code fitted well the settlers of the up-country. Driving toil made the Sunday rest a pleasure and gave little opportunity for recreation. Work, whether it was for one's support or for the enrichment of others, was looked on as a virtue in itself. Heavy taboos were laid on most forms of amusement. In the low-country religion took a milder turn for there leisure was widespread. Among planters, merchants, and professional men a good income implemented that leisure with entertainments of various sorts. Racing horses, attending balls, going to plays at the Dock Street Theater in Charleston, drinking wine, especially Madeira, serving elaborate dinners, forestalled any time that might lie heavy on the gentry's hands. The masses, though unable to have such expensive forms of recreation, attended the horse races on foot, played cards, drank rum, fought chickens, danced, hunted, and fished. Often the two sections of the State were called Puritan and Cavalier, but the designation is more picturesque than accurate. Throughout its history South Carolina has had a large body of its citizenry in favor of strict morals and suspicious of popular forms of sports and pleasure.

That this difference still exists between the strictness of the up-country and the liberalism of the low-country in moral approach was shown in the State primary election of August, 1940. In that election the voters balloted on their preference for or against prohibition. All the counties above the fall line, with the exception of Fairfield, voted for it and all below, with the exception of Dillon,

Horry, Florence, Marion, and Marlboro, voted against it. An interesting fact is shown by these exceptions. Fairfield had a large influx of planters and slaves just prior to the Confederate War, which gave it a low-country leaning. The region of the five counties voting against prohibition was settled by Welsh Baptists, who had emigrated from Pennsylvania, and Presbyterians, both of whom were militantly puritanical.[4]

So strong was the spirit of Protestantism that it made, and still keeps alive, what is known as the "blue laws" to enforce a strict observance of Sunday. In the 1932 Code of Laws of South Carolina the following two sections appear:

"No tradesman, artificer, workman, laborer, or other person whatsoever, shall do or exercise any worldly labor, business, or work of their ordinary callings upon the Lord's Day (commonly called the Sabbath), or any part thereof (work of necessity or charity only excepted); and every person being of the age of fifteen years or upwards, offending in the premises, shall, for every such offense, forfeit the sum of one dollar." (Section 1732.) "No public sports or pastimes, as bear-baiting, bull-baiting, football playing, horse-racing, interludes or common plays, or other games, exercises sports or pastimes, such as hunting, shooting, chasing game, or fishing, shall be used on the Lord's Day by any person or persons whatsoever; and every person or persons offending in any of the premises shall upon conviction, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and be subject to a fine not to exceed fifty dollars, or imprisonment not to exceed thirty days." (Section 1733.) Running a golf course for pay—and who is likely to run one free?—delivering ice or fresh meat, and the selling of gasoline on Sunday are prohibited by these statutes.

FAMILY SOLIDARITY

Family solidarity, or the patriarchal system, to be exact, is also a cultural importation from England. Though

[4] *The State*, Columbia, Aug. 29, 1940.

closely-knit family units came with French, Swiss, and German settlers, yet the English pattern was adhered to. McCrady wrote: "Another principle to which the people of South Carolina have been as devoted, and have clung with equal consistency as to that of the autonomy of the State, is that of the inviolability of the family relation. Nowhere has the family bond—the foundation and germ of all society and government—been more sacredly guarded and effectually preserved. It has been a part of the Constitution of the State—unwritten, it is true, until 1895—but nevertheless fully recognized and enforced—that divorce should never be allowed. There never has been a divorce in South Carolina—province, colony, or State—except under the Reconstruction period after the War Between the States, under the government of strangers, adventurers, and Negroes, upheld by Federal bayonets. There is but one case reported in her law books, and that was during that infamous rule." [5] It might be added here that according to the Sixteenth Census of the United States, there were 3,520 divorced persons living in South Carolina.[6] The better-off may go to other states to get relief from domestic pressure, the poor have only the way of desertion.

As long as English rule held sway primogeniture was the law of inheritance—the eldest son succeeding to the ownership of the family estate. This recognized and buttressed the father-ruled family. Another prop for this rule was the right of the father to dispose of his minor children without their mother's consent. Primogeniture was abolished in 1791, but the father's rights over minors was done away with by judge-made law only a little over a generation ago in the Tillman case. Still another prop of the patriarchal system was the phrase in the marriage ceremony in which the bride promised "to obey" the groom, which recently has happily been removed.

While the harshness of these provisions was softened by

[5] McCrady, Edward, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
[6] *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, Washington, 1942, pp. 42, 43.

custom, yet they indicated the position of women and children in the family. It has come about only recently that woman's place was in other spheres besides the home—the farm being an extension of the home. Even now women do not pay the poll tax or serve on juries, and few of them hold political office, though they would be of greater value to the public in many political positions than the men who now hold them. Woman's traditional seclusion is being breached gradually, but only through thrust of business and industrial needs.

ADMINISTRATION OF LAW

Trial by jury and the *habeas corpus* were English customs that this province guarded from the first. Juries are bulwarks of mercy. As they are drawn from the common citizenry they reflect the public opinion of their localities. In colonial times, when the bench represented the crown and when cases often involved what the people deemed their rights, juries were frequently moved by political considerations rather than by the evidence before them. Besides, the memory of the notorious Jeffries and other fierce judges was still vivid with them. Concern was also had as to the method of selecting a jury and who should serve on it, a concern that waned as the menace of an oppressive government receded. *Habeas corpus* shares with trial by jury the honor of protecting the freedom of citizens. Blackstone refers to this writ as the most famous in English law. It is issued to compel an officer to bring a prisoner into court and there show cause for that prisoner's detention. It also insures a speedy trial. Where trial by jury and *habeas corpus* are adhered to, a government cannot use the courts as instruments of oppression.

TREATMENT OF THE SOCIALLY WEAK

Negro slavery entered here by way of Barbadoes, where it had flourished on large sugar plantations. The English attitude toward dominating weaker races abetted the economic thrust. With this cultural trait in their pattern and

with vast tracts of land to be cleared and cultivated, the settling colonists considered Negro slavery as obvious as the hoe and the ax, which like slavery were cultural traits. The huge incomes and the domestic ease flowing from this institution made its increase inevitable. While Negroes were chattels they were also human, so most owners became deeply attached to them personally. Yet they were property with the liability of sale and purchase attached to them. This was a necessary accompaniment of the system. So slave trade was practiced, with the attendant evils of the horrors of the slave ship and the tragedies of families being wrenched apart. However, the tragedies and the horrors were not keenly felt by the mass of whites as they were natural consequences of an age-old system.

The care of paupers followed the English method. Aid was first given through the parishes in the form of outdoor relief, which was according to the Elizabethan Poor Law. By this law also each parish or town was responsible for its indigent and disabled poor. Vagabonds and able-bodied mendicants were otherwise disposed of. Later a work-house was erected in Charleston for the employment, where that could be obtained, and the housing of stranded sailors, paupers, and the insane. Orphans and other dependent children were indentured—placed out to work for others until they became of age. Often this meant child slavery, for persons adopting these minors usually put them to grinding toil and for it gave them hard fare in bed and board. Such brutalities appear to have disturbed the public conscience as little as did those of slavery, and for the same reason—these terrible things were universal accompaniments of a well established and approved system.

Delinquents fared here as in the mother country. On them was wreaked the cruel vengeance of society. It was held that if punishment was severe enough would-be criminals would be deterred from breaking the law. There were no prisons. Offenders, on conviction, were taken forthwith from court and subjected to punishment. Whipping, the stocks, and the pillory awaited the lesser criminals; public hanging was the reward for felonies.

Modern sensitiveness to the sufferings of others had not yet come. However, we might bear in mind that the refined cruelties of the Latin peoples were never practiced here. Nor was our code so severe as those of the colonies farther north.

DUELLING

Duelling was an understandable trait of "the gentleman" complex that came to us from over seas. It was not seemly for men of gentle blood and fine manners to fight, perchance to scuffle on the ground or to bloody one another's noses. Yet gentlemen had an earthly element in them that would flare into anger on occasion. Out of such anger and the dignity of high position duelling sprang.

Ceremony surrounded this ritual of honor. A challenge was issued, very formal and coldly polite. The challenged person replied forthwith, as became a brave and chivalrous soul. Seconds were appointed, who first sought an amicable solution for the contention. If this effort failed a time and place were agreed on for the encounter. Weapons of punctiliously prescribed character were chosen, for no gentleman would take an unfair advantage of another. (But duellists-elect often practiced markmanship on the sly.) Then at dawn on the morning of the fateful day the principals, their seconds standing by with cocked pistols, would whirl and fire on each other. Sometimes both contestants were slain, oftener one died, and on numerous occasions bullets whizzed harmlessly into the background. Whatever might have been the outcome, with that blast honor was satisfied and the status of both gentlemen was vindicated.

In Camden "the iron man," the full length figure of a man cast in iron, was kept for target practice in order that future duellists might gain good markmanship. Duelling was finally made a criminal offense. To stigmatize it further the following oath is required of all government officials and all members of the bar: "I do further solemnly swear (or affirm) that I have not since the first day of January, in the year eighteen hundred and eighty-

one, engaged in a duel as principal or second or otherwise; and that I will not, during the term of office to which I have been elected (or appointed) engage in a duel as principal or second or otherwise." [7]

CULTURE MODIFIED

Many cultural traits and complexes, some of which we have considered and others that we have not even mentioned, underwent a sea change in coming to this new land. Geographic conditions, such as were treated in the preceding chapter, necessitated readjustments. Diverse nations had their different cultures fused with the pattern laid down by the English. Sparseness of population and the nearness of Indian enemies made the early settlers forego many of the traits of civilization that they enjoyed in the Old Country. Books were few, and, in the back country, schools and churches were fewer still.

At first no boards or brick were to be had in the up-country, so log cabins were resorted to for dwellings. Dr. Milling states that these cabins were modifications of the Cherokee Indians' model, which, according to Bartram, whom Dr. Milling quotes, were "Of one oblong four-square building of one story high, the materials consisting of the trunks of trees, stripped of their bark, notched at the ends, fixed one upon another, and afterward plaistered well, both inside and out with clay well tempered with dry grass, and the whole covered or roofed with the bark of the chestnut tree or long, broad shingles." To which Dr. Milling adds: "The early white settlers, finding this house so well adapted to a frontier life, took it over, modifying its roof and giving it a chimney of mud or stone. With these improvements it became the traditional log cabin of pioneer days, one of the many examples of forms taken over by the white people from the aboriginal culture and quickly identified with the supplanting race." [8] An observation might be made here, that the settlers combined the Eu-

[7] *Constitution of South Carolina*, 1895, Article III, Sec. 26.
[8] Milling, C. J., *Red Carolinians*, Chapel Hill, 1940, pp. 12, 13.

ropean trait of the chimney with the Indian cultural trait of the log cabin.

Another significant change in culture sprang from isolating farm folk instead of clustering them in agricultural villages like those in the old world. There they had their dwellings near one another and went thence to cultivate their fields, which they owned in common or worked as tenants of the lord of the manor. A compact social life was the consequence of this. But in South Carolina abundant and cheap land caused each family to settle on a farm by itself. In the low-country large plantations had big houses with clusters of slave quarters nearby, and in the back country small farms with few or no slaves prevailed, but in both sections the farmsteads were at a distance from neighboring holdings. Community life could hardly be maintained under such conditions, but individualism and self sufficiency grew apace. On the other hand, villages and towns sprang up at the heads of navigation, or at grist mills, or near fords, or at the junction of important roads. So they were primarily commercial in contrast to scattered farms, which were given to production. Thus began the endless strife between the rural and the urban, a strife finding dramatic expression in many a bitter political campaign.

Also, numerous social problems arose from the distribution of population in the sparsely settled country and the thickly peopled towns. Modern industry, too, has aggravated conditions springing from this distribution. Rural life suffers from lack of recreation, health measures, running water and electricity, adequate schools and churches, market facilities, and other adjuncts of a modern standard of living. Towns and cities are pestered with slums or near slums, centers of vice, overcrowded dwellings, narrow unlighted alleys where evil elbows evil, disease-festering people pressing against one another, salesmen for all kinds of iniquity. So isolated farm folk and overcrowded town folk strike a social contrast that is inherent in their very constitutions.

ATTITUDES

Racial attitudes loom large in the State's culture. In traveling about the State one senses that people have divergent feelings toward race in different localities and in different social gradations. In the coastal plain, where there were large numbers of slaves, the attitude toward the Negro is more favorable than in the Piedmont, where slavery did not reach such proportions. Also, the better educated and more refined seldom seethe about race. Yet there is a general attitude that runs through the whole State and through all grades of society. Several terms are used to express this—race prejudice, race antipathy, and race hatred—but none carries clearly the essence of sentiment that all white folk have. Whatever term is chosen, the thing itself pervades our whole cultural pattern, and one cannot understand our politics or social order or economics or industrial system or church life without taking into account the fact that, while close physically, the two races are far distant from each other socially.

An unfortunate product of intense individualism is disregard for law if it clashes with one's opinions or convenience. This placing of self above organized society is our shame. In early colonial life, when court was held at Charleston only and when the law seldom reached into the back country, it is understandable how horse stealing, cattle lifting, arson, and murder were rife in the sparsely settled wilderness. However, when courts were established in all parts of the State there was no excuse for crime to run riot. Gentlemen resorted to the duel, while ordinary folk bit off noses and ears, gouged out eyes—for which purpose bullies cultivated a special form of thumb nail—and slaughtered with gun and knife. Delinquency fastened itself in our customary behavior. Calling one a liar, or even intimating that one was such, was considered the first blow; if he did not resent this by physical assault the aggrieved person was looked on as a coward. When a boundary line was in dispute it was the custom of contending owners to carry fire arms to the line under contention.

and often to use them with deadly effect. Pistol toting was generally resorted to. Nor has the advance of civilization lessened offenses; rather it has been accompanied by an increase in lawlessness. That it is customary for homicide to be employed in certain circumstances is shown by the readiness with which juries acquit killers when they kill for generally approved reasons, and those reasons are numerous.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

Arts and crafts among the common people, which were so conspicuous in the old country and which flourished in many parts of America, appear to have made little headway in South Carolina. Also, native folk dances and folk songs are lacking. It is true that ornamental iron-work reached a high stage of art in Charleston and excellent portrait painting was had in wealthy communities. Wood work, wood carving, and plaster molding of a high order may be seen in a few old mansions and churches. But among the masses no arts and crafts were widespread. Some crude jugs, churns, and bowls were turned out by a few potters, and here and there bed spreads of intricate designs were woven. Generally, however, the houses of the masses had little to ease work or to ornament. No doubt the presence of slavery throttled skilled handicrafts, as Negroes were not taught the designing and the cunning necessary to turn out furniture, fabrics, pottery, or other articles of marked beauty. Then too, abundance of money made it possible for the favored classes to buy such goods from Europe. Among the poorer folk, both in the Piedmont and the coastal country, pinching poverty or grinding labor or the Puritanical spirit, which frowned on putting beauty into life, prevented the rise and diffusion of arts and crafts.

CHAPTER 3

TECHNOLOGY

Into the slow-changing world of geography and culture there came a new driving force—technology. It is applied science. Though it is usually considered as the utilizing of advanced methods in industrial production, it also includes medicine, stock and seed breeding, chemical products, and many other fields where the findings of science are applied. In mechanical production, however, the most dramatic applications are seen. This phase of technology began with the Industrial Revolution, and because of the wealth it brought its promoters it was pushed rapidly through the Western world. It is now spreading to the remotest parts of the earth.

Perhaps the most significant of technology's recent gifts are the automobile, telephone, airplane, radio, and motion pictures. While none of these was invented or is manufactured in South Carolina, yet their impact has changed the whole tenor of our corporate life. Not only has the pattern of our culture been changed in shape, it has been speeded up. Thus our leisurely, seemingly fast-set civilization is crumbling before the Juggernaut.

MEDICAL AID

Another realm that technology has invaded is medicine. It has furnished diagnostic instruments such as the electrocardiograph, the stethoscope, and the X-ray. These are accompanied by a chemistry no less remarkable. Anesthetics and antiseptics made surgery painless and safe in many instances that would have brought horror, agony, and even death in former times. The chain of sulfa derivatives is curing diseases that were deadly a generation ago. Because of research in food values vitamins are administered for dietary deficiencies. The functions of glands of internal secretion are being explored and a new medical science—endocrinology—is developing. Through glandular

therapy many feebleminded persons have improved, diabetes has been arrested, some cases of goiter have received aid, and numbers of complaints that develop with age have been arrested.

Preventive medicine has also profited from this scientific advance. Now that it is known that contagious diseases are carried by germs and viruses, war is waged to curb or exterminate them. Plagues like yellow fever and cholera, which once swept away great portions of our population, visit us no more. The discovery of vaccines and antitoxins made it possible to prevent smallpox, diphtheria and typhoid fever. The results of these discoveries are recorded in falling sickness and death rates. Health and length of days are now had by the masses and are brought about at the expense of the public.

Besides physical, mental health benefits from the application of science. In our State Hospital the insane are treated with malarial inoculation, electric shocks and medication, and through these many patients are socially restored. The chains and straight jackets of a former era have given way before a cheerful atmosphere, recreation and light work. Instead of a lunatic asylum we have a hospital.

HOME AIDS

In looking around the home we see the fruits of technology at every turn. Electric lights, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, washing machines, plumbing fixtures, gas and electric stoves are only a few of the labor saving and comfort giving appliances of our time. Floors are of veneered hard wood and walls are of plaster board. Furniture may be cheap, but it is in good taste because of mass production and modern methods of finishing. Nor should we forget the humble bed, with its springs and easy mattress, for in it we spend a third of our time. In the home, the radio gives music, dramatics and news. Families have their favorite programs to which they look forward from week to week.

Outside of the home, moving pictures furnish entertainment for the family. One can see and hear in a small town actors and actresses of worldwide reputation. Not long ago

only the wealthy in cities could see famous players. Because of automobile travel national and State parks and playgrounds are accessible to most families, and multitudes take their outings in these places. Now a significant phase of modern recreation is that it is enjoyed by whole families and not by individuals only. Radio, automobile, moving pictures are enjoyed by all ages and by both sexes.

TECHNOLOGY AND BUSINESS

The vast production of goods and services that technology brought necessitated speed and efficiency in their distribution. Hence typewriters, calculating machines, cash registers, and other mechanical aids for the office were invented. Not least among the new aids to business is the skyscraper, which was made possible by the electrically moved and managed elevator. Salesmanship had to be stimulated, so many schemes of advertising came into being. Consumers were multiplied by pressure through radio, the daily press, bill boards, and moving pictures. But beyond these methods lay the mighty push toward combination. Great sums of money had to be pooled to finance the new mergers, and business was called on to amass this capital. Big business was born, and it took banks as its chief instruments. Banks have to invest some of their deposits in interest giving enterprises to keep going, so many of these institutions were fostered in this State. From the village banks flowed financial rivulets, which joined one another and merged with the larger streams from the establishments of towns and cities. So capital was furnished for great enterprises. Corporations depend on banks to gather their financial nourishment.

Now all the ramifications of business necessitate the use of many different skills. Accountants, typists, business-machine operators, secretaries and other specialized personnel are employed. Training of these is given in business colleges and in schools or departments of commerce in institutions of higher learning. From having culture as its chief objective, education in South Carolina is turning toward training for careers in business.

AIDS TO AGRICULTURE

Agriculture today is carried on chiefly as a commercial enterprise. Crops are raised for the market. Hence farmers have to produce to meet standard specifications. To do this they first have to turn to plant and animal breeders—men who use laboratory methods. Long staple cotton, corn of high yield, rust and smut resisting small grain—all are dependent on the scientific selection and treatment of seeds. Improved cattle, mules, horses and hogs have been developed through scientific breeding. Had farmers depended on their own limited methods, agriculture today would be a highway to poverty.

Besides biology, chemistry has contributed to the making of crops. Soil analysis is made in a laboratory and the need of a plot of land for specific chemical elements is demonstrated. Commercial fertilizers are then manufactured to supply soil deficiencies for any given crop. So many farms that are naturally lean are made to produce, and others are enabled to increase their yield many times. Through this science plant pests are successfully dealt with. The cotton boll weevil and many vegetable and fruit pests are combatted with noxious sprays and dusts.

Also machinery for making and processing crops is furnished the farmer. Although mechanized agriculture is not extensively employed in this State, yet technology is responsible for devising effective tools. Plows of many varieties, drills for planting cotton and grain seed, and corn shellers are some of the offerings. Tractors and combines are in use but the character of our crops and the lie of much of our land forbid their widespread employment. To these means of growing and harvesting should be added the machinery for processing. The gin and the cannery are the chief of these. Both are indispensable in South Carolina.

BASIS OF INDUSTRY

Of all the fields invaded by technology industry is the most conspicuous. What some are pleased to call "the new industrial revolution" is marked by the introduction of automatic machinery and the production of new materials

like rayon, pulp from pines, aluminum, plastics and a series of foods and feeds from cotton seed. This State has now over four hundred and fifty million dollars invested in manufacturing enterprises which yearly turn out goods that are equal to twice that amount. Through automatic machinery our textile factories, wood-pulp mills and furniture plants have mechanical appliances that do the work that formerly occupied human hands. Yet so rapid is the advance of machine processes that, despite the displacement of labor by automatic machinery, every year sees an increase in the number of industrial workers.

South Carolina has no coal mines or oil wells to furnish steam power for its industries, but a new form of power has developed from flowing water—hydro-electric power. Eighty-one percent of the installed horsepower of the State is hydro-electric, 19 percent being steam and internal combustion plants. The State ranks sixth in the nation in installed water capacity. But beyond this, there are immense sources of such power still untapped, which give the imagination vistas of mechanical progress that make it reel.

SOCIAL RESULTS

Such a vast displacement of old methods and the introduction of new ones under the propulsion of technology could not but bring social changes. First among these we would place the raising of the scale of living among the masses. One does not have to cite statistics to establish this. A view of ordinary passersby in the street or on the highway shows people better dressed than they were only a short while back. One also observes in urban and in rural areas better looking and more commodious dwellings. Food, except among share croppers, is abundant and varied. Better wages, together with large scale production, account for this.

Another boon to the worker—agricultural or industrial—is that his hours of labor are shortened, so he has more time to go forth and be seen, hence the better garments. Amusements are also in reach of the worker's pocketbook and he has opportunity to enjoy them. His children, too,

are given opportunity by the new expansion. Schools are being enlarged to accommodate all the children of all the people. At one time the masses were not expected to read, now it comes as a shocking surprise to find any sizable portion of them illiterate. All of these advantages have brought an upward look and a restlessness that are disconcerting to the upholders of the old order.

INSECURITY

Thus far our discussion of the results of technology have brought out only its favorable elements. However, behind this fair front dark menaces lurk. The world of commerce and industry is so knit together that a strain in one part causes stress in another. All the world's akin not only in blood but also in economics. Should surplus cloth jam the warehouses in New York or Liverpool the textile mills of South Carolina would have to slow down or cease operation. In consequence the price of cotton would tumble, farmers could not buy from merchants or pay interest due at banks. Hence many banks and stores would drastically reduce their activities, others would close their doors. This occurred in a stupendous way in the depression of 1930-1934. It took place in a milder manner several times since. And it holds a continuous threat before business.

Every sag in business and industry is accompanied by unemployment. Neither the urban worker nor the farmer has a secure footing in our present economic system. Nor could security come in such an order even if farmers and workers were thoroughly organized. Such organizing would have to produce scarcity, and scarcity would hurt the consuming public, of which farmers and laboring men are a part. Thus we face a vicious circle.

SOCIAL AND PERSONAL DISORGANIZATION

Vast fundamental changes in science and in production, linked with economic insecurity, inevitably brought disorganization of the person and of society. This disorganization is seen in the failure of the old standards—mores

phone is of more value than the telephone. Now this evaluation of personality is not the creation of an idealist, it is the statement of a fact, a fact as deep set in reality as the law of capillary attraction or of gravitation. While some may demur at this pronouncement, none is bold enough to support his demurrer with a counter standard.

Another thing that we shall have to do is base privilege on service. Hitherto privilege has leaned heavily on birth or sharp dealing or some other non-serving qualification. "If a man will not work neither let him eat," is good religion and is becoming more mandatory with every forward movement of science and mechanism. When enlightenment comes to men they are irked at the sight of wastrels. No sane person expects honor-laden parasites, whom so many traditions protect, to be speedily eliminated. However, rising taxes on large incomes and estates and the curtailment of marginal and other non-producing forms of stock trading spell out the rising tide of discontent with those who take so much and give nothing in return.

Yet fear puts a damper on faith in the making of personality the supreme value and in the tying of privilege to service. There is an apprehension abroad that somehow calamity lurks in such notions. We may recall, though, that apprehension has shuddered at every human advance. It was so with the great discoveries of science, the people's participation in government, the end of slavery, the enfranchisement of woman, the making of government an instrument of help to the masses. Yet when these were incorporated in the general pattern of culture they appeared to be natural enough and men could hardly imagine the world without them. So faith enough in mankind to justify the bending of technology to its help has ample foundation in history and reason. This may be said in conclusion. The world may slip back into an age of darkness or go forward to a better state; which it will do no one can foretell. But if it moves forward, it will have to travel in the way that we have traced.

CHAPTER 4

RACE

South Carolina has a bi-racial population, almost evenly divided between whites and Negroes; consequently many of our social problems spring from race relations. The physical characteristics of the two races being so different and their history so divergent, competition and conflict were bound to arise. Therefore much energy has been expended in strife and its accompanying emotions that otherwise might have been given to the forwarding of our social order.

NEGRO BACKGROUNDS

One cannot understand this question without a consideration of its historical perspective. The whites of this State were highly strung, imperious and jealous of their liberty when the Negroes were brought here. They, like their English ancestors, thought of themselves as a superior folk, superior in wisdom, morals and valor. To live side by side with other peoples and not dominate them was beyond the Carolinians' comprehension. They had that treasure known as civilization and all who got in the way were enemies of humanity's good. Primitive races have paid bitterly for this attitude. The Negroes belonged to one of these races.

For countless ages they had lived in Africa. There they practiced their tribal ways of getting food, rearing families, waging war, and keeping in the good graces of their gods. All the tribes were not on the same cultural level. Some were thrifty and intelligent, others were sunk in savage indolence of body and mind. Some were warlike and had slaves, others cowered in the fastnesses of tropical forests. But all of them—advanced and backward, chiefs and commoners—had dark skins and kinky hair and would bring big money if sold into slavery. So the crews of slave ships raided the villages of Africa and captured whatever men, women and children they laid hands on. These bewildered folk were then hurtled into a complex civilization, with strange morals, a strange religion and strange

Akin to this is rationalizing, which gives a satisfactory reason instead of the real reason. It hooks up conclusions to desires. For instance, a person wishes to have others work for him and fails to get them. No matter what is the cause, he is likely to lay it on some imagined quality in those with whom he fails. Another instance is that of malaria among the Negroes. It is now generally held that blacks, because of their African ancestry, are immune to malaria, so hosts of them are left to swelter in fever-infested districts, and that without a qualm. Yet the Bureau of Vital Statistics reports that the death rate for malaria in 1945 was: whites, .9 and Negroes 4.9.[1] So we may run through the whole gamut of work, education, housing, recreation and economic life and we shall find rationalization dominating many men's minds regarding Negroes. Unfortunately vast programs of action are based on these conclusions.

RACE PREJUDICE

The white man's attitude toward Negroes, commonly called prejudice, arises from many racial differences. Any marked divergence from a people's standards of appearance and behavior are grounds for resentment among the masses. This feeling has been the source of bitter butcherings and wars from earliest times. Even in our day, when mankind prides itself on its enlightenment, racial and cultural antipathies flared into mutual hatreds that begot a world war. Race prejudice is an ancient and universal occurrence and not confined to this State. However, here it is present and is a potent factor in our corporate life. In analyzing it we find that it rests mainly on three supports: physical differences, divergent cultures, and the memory that the Negro was once a slave.

Blacks have different skin color, hair texture, and facial contour from the whites. Hence it is easy to detect them. Now the masses of whites think that physical characteristics are linked with intellectual and moral qualities, no

[1] South Carolina State Board of Health, *Annual Report*, 1945, p. 238.

matter how anthropologists may chide. If a Negro attains eminence in scholarship, science, literature or any other field the immediate explanation is, "He has white blood in his veins." If it be shown that the eminent black has not a drop of this quickening fluid it makes no impression. What can a little fact do with a conviction buttressed by on-sweeping emotions and a will to believe the opposite?

Furthermore, color is the mark of the out-group. People are wary of outsiders. Consciousness of kind is a mighty social force. Jews were the chosen people, all others were gentiles; the Greeks were the superior race, all other tribes were barbarians; the Chinese were the sons of heaven, all other men were earth-born. Primitive folk considered all members of the out-group as enemies. While the influence of humanitarianism has softened this harsh attitude, the notion still moves among us that outsiders are dangerous.

A divergent culture also raises animosity. Negroes fresh from Africa were herded together in fields and plantations, where they got little of their masters' language. So they spoke English clumsily, using "dis" "dat" and "de", thus failing to use the "th" sound. This may be accounted for by the first slaves' inability to pronounce this fricative. This inability is also noticed among German, French, and other immigrants whose mother tongue lacked this sound. But their children learn to pronounce it from boys and girls in school and on playgrounds. Then, too, many blacks let out hearty guffaws instead of restrained laughter. In dress, bizarre and clashing colors are preferred to sober hues—picturesque they are, but conspicuous in a suspicious land. In religion many let emotions completely sway them, and they sing plaintive, beautiful spirituals that are not of the rigid pattern of the white man's church music. A strict adherence to the Western type of morals, emphasizing some virtues and forgetting others, is also wanting among numbers. Many Negroes, of course do not have the cultural traits just discussed, but they are not isolated like most of their race in cabins on farms and in segregated quarters in towns and cities.

Moreover whites remember that less than three generations ago Negroes were slaves. Associated with this mem-

ory are the romance of the old South, the State's desolation by the Confederate War, and the humiliation of Reconstruction. It would take angelic souls to forget these things. Carolina whites, while possessing many heavenly qualities, are hardly angelic. So bitter memories beget prejudices. Were our population highly mobile or augmented by large increments of the foreign born this memory might soon fade, but we are largely agricultural and linger in the neighborhoods of our forefathers. The memory of slavery and its aftermath likewise rankles in the Negro, which raises resentment and adds to inter-racial tension.

CONSTRUCTIVE MEASURES

If we are to have a more wholesome social life in South Carolina it is evident that the Negro must be helped. A constructive program for this purpose would include health, housing, education and economic advancement. Health is essential to a sound social order. This is dealt with in the chapter on Health. We may however linger briefly over its significance for black men. As most of the heavy labor in this State is carried on by them their physical strength should not be impaired by weakening ailments. Nor can two races occupying the same territory expect for one to harbor disease and the other to be immune. Disease germs are color blind. But beyond these selfish reasons there is the colored man's human right to have whatever health services are offered by public and private agencies. These are rendered chiefly by the State Board of Health and its county and urban auxiliaries. But other agencies are vitally necessary to this movement, such as schools, churches, the South Carolina Tuberculosis Association, farm and home demonstration agents, and like organizations. They have three main methods of attack: education, sanitation, and direct services. Education gives knowledge of proper diet, how to care for the body, the nature of disease, and kindred topics. Public schools are the first instruments that come to mind, for they deal with children and may get their pupils into proper habits early in life. Churches might show the bearing of righteous living on health. Organizations

that combat special diseases could circulate their literature more widely among black folk. Sanitation is a community affair. Many colored people's premises are lush sources of infection. Their occupants should be forced to clean them up, by legal action if necessary. The streets and alleys about them should likewise be cleansed. Direct aid is given tuberculosis patients by the South Carolina Sanatorium. The State Board of Health also gives services by holding prenatal clinics, by furnishing biologics—vaccines and toxoids, and by training midwives.

HOUSING

Another constructive measure proposed is improvement in housing. By housing is meant not only the condition of dwellings but also the locations and surroundings of places where people live. At present Negroes are segregated in overcrowded sections of our cities and larger towns. In most of these sections the houses are flimsy, dirty shells that have no modern plumbing or other facilities that minister to the health, comfort or modesty of their inmates. These houses are usually crowded together and sandwich families reaching toward respectability between those which are vicious or criminal. Narrow, dimly lighted alleys thread through these sections, wherein evil plies a brisk night business. Hard surface roads are scarce, unless they are links in main highways, and foot pavements are few. From such sections spring vice, disease and delinquency, as we might expect. We permit such warrens to exist, then inveigh against their inevitable products. To be sure, the Federal Housing Authority has built a number of Negro apartment houses in cities and many returned soldiers are getting veterans' houses. However, at this writing the colored sections in urban areas and tenant cabins on farms look much the same. Housing ordinances are needed, but to get them would involve us practically in a revolution. Perhaps we shall wait until the Federal government takes the matter into its hands. That seems to be the procedure these days.

EDUCATION

Another help that could be given the Negro is adequate schooling, adequate in quantity and quality. In 1945, the first three grades had 103,290 colored children and 90,673 whites enrolled, a ratio of about 103 to 90. But in the ninth, tenth and eleventh grades there were 16,716 Negroes and 40,096 whites, a ratio of about 36 to 90.[2] These statistics tell better than any narrative could how colored children have their education curtailed. In reading the tables in the State Superintendent's report we find that in Negro high schools there were more than three times as many girls as boys, which perhaps indicates that most high-school age colored boys were employed. A still greater difference was in the value of white and Negro school property. The former was placed at $50,573,864 while the latter was $8,106,242.[3]

NEGRO PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN SOUTH CAROLINA[4]

Year	*Value of Property*	*No. Pupils Elementary*	*No. Pupils High*	*Average Salary*	*Current Expenditure per Pupil*
1925	$3,430,903	215,416	7,369	$296.84	$ 7.25
1930	$4,919,547	200,953	7,771	$320.26	$ 8.00
1935	$4,864,704	209,207	10,483	.	. . .
1940	$7,080,838	198,642	17,262	$388.00	$11.40
1945	$8,106,242	178,334	23,999	$732.00	$33.00

From these statistics we may get a good idea of how the colored children are faring in education. Intelligent folk no longer talk of education's hurting Negroes. Instruction in citizenship, in self control, in vocations, in the best thought of mankind, in how to carry on business transactions and comport one's self in a civilized community—these could only elevate any race. There is no cavil about the State's furnishing the masses of colored folk access to the realms of foreign languages, advanced mathematics, higher levels of science, or history far removed from every day life. The State should not be called on to do these

[2] South Carolina State Superintendent of Education, *Annual Report*, 1945, pp. 264, 271.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 323, 325.
[4] South Carolina State Superintendent of Education, *Annual Reports*, 1925-1945.

things for the masses of either of its races. However, we may rivet our attention on this fact: If the Negro is to be a better man and a better citizen—and few will deny that such is possible and desirable—then the school is one of the chief engines to bring it about.

ECONOMIC ADVANCE

As might be expected, the mass of Negroes are usually sodden in poverty. Even Caucasians in South Carolina live on a pitifully low economic plane, as all economic surveys of this State show. Now if the whites have an average income too small to maintain a normal scale of living, black folk could hardly look for much beyond bare subsistence. As 55.2 percent of them are engaged in agriculture we might see how the Negro farmers thrive. The land operated by the whites in 1939 averaged $3,427 per operator and that of the Negroes $1,257, or the value of the white operated farms averaged 2.7 times that held by non-whites. The ownership was wider apart than that. The average per capita cash income of the rural farm population in 1944 was about $277. The income of the country blacks fell far below that.

In villages and towns Negroes have fared better. Domestic service, trades, industry and common labor brought better returns than farming. Unlike the whites, Negroes had no commercial tradition or training. They also lacked financial connections that could launch them into business enterprises. Yet slowly some of them got a start by catering to their own race. Their establishments were at first few and feeble, but with the townward drift of their race, business opportunities were seized by the most intelligent and energetic.

This discussion of the Negro's economic status brings us to the conclusion that the purchasing power of the race is meager. This low purchasing power is a drag on the financial well-being of the State. Goods cannot find a large sale in lean markets, so merchants handle only a slow flow of cheap stocks. Wages also suffer from the competition of workers whose pay is hardly above a subsistence level,

for no employer, whatever his opinions on race may be, is likely to give a white man five dollars a day if he can get an acceptable colored workman at half that sum. Race enthusiasm is usually dampened if it menaces finances. Besides, taxes fall heavily on the few, for the many are not able to pay them, and the total income from such sources is inadequate to support educational, welfare and other institutions and agencies in the manner they should be supported in a modern state. In a bi-racial area one race cannot rise high financially while the other flounders in the ditch. About as good an elevation as the favored race can reach is the edge of that ditch.

INTERRACIAL RELATIONS

In this bi-racial community of South Carolina—57.1 percent white and 42.9 percent black—harmonious relations should exist. Before emancipation only personal relations between master and slave existed. Many of these relations were affectionate and became the basis of interesting—if overdrawn—stories of the Old South. But after the Confederate War race consciousness developed among the ex-slaves, which was abetted and tinctured with hate by the regime of alien Radicals. As time went on, relations founded on race rather than on persons dominated. A generation that has had no experience with slavery now inhabits the State. An accommodation of races to each other is therefore working itself out. Both thoughtful white and black folk are trying to find ways for the two groups to live side by side without stirring up friction. They realize that race against race can bring only tragedy, whereas race with race will bring achievement to both.

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS

Having considered several major factors that condition social life in South Carolina, we now turn to the people to discover their numbers, characteristics, distribution and physical well-being. Humanity is of supreme importance, and anything else is of significance only as it affects humanity.

Each of the following chapters deals with some phase of the population. Its size and trends are of prime importance, for a favorable ratio must be maintained between the environment and the inhabitants else a good standard of living cannot be had by the masses. Moreover, the distribution of the people is significant—the study of which is known as human ecology. On whether communities are rural or urban depend the occupations and many attributes of their inhabitants. Of importance also is public health, which concerns the physical stamina our citizens possess. Modern civilization brings many means of strengthening the population through the sciences of nutrition and disease prevention. When we utilize this knowledge we enlarge our happiness and lengthen our days.

CHAPTER 5

POPULATION [1]

The student of social life is interested in population, because on its size, composition, distribution, and movements depends so much of human welfare. So important is this consideration that the United States, a year after setting up a federal government, took a census of its inhabitants, and it has repeated this every ten years. Without doubt, the Federal Censuses are the most complete factual summaries of the material and social conditions of a people at any time or place in the world. With the passing of time great developments came in the political, economic and social order, which called for changing emphases. These developments and emphases are reflected in the series of censuses.

In 1790, the year of the first Census, little information was sought. The government wished to enumerate the people in order to base political representation thereon. The process was simple and was carried out in a rather loose manner. Each succeeding Census gathered more information, according to what was considered of prime importance to the public. So the foreign-born were counted, commercial figures gathered, illiterates enumerated. In the last Census the schooling of the population was measured and the extent of housing was set down. These are only a few of the facts gathered by the Census. It is a perpetual inventory of the social and material assets and resources of the several states and of the Nation. As South Carolina was a State when the first enumeration was made, it appears in all the Censuses. Thus we are able not only to tell the size of our population at any time during the last century and a half, but also to trace its configurations and the fluctuating of economic and social life within it.

According to the Census of 1940, this State has 1,899,804

[1] Census statistics in this chapter were derived from the *Sixteenth Census of the United States* and the *Statistical Abstracts of the United States*, 1941, 1942. (Place of publication of all Census reports is Washington, D. C.)

inhabitants, or about 62.1 persons per square mile. The density of the population of the nation as a whole is 44.2. The Census also shows that 99.7 percent of this State's population is of native birth, and only .3 percent is foreign born. This signifies that intense conservatism is our lot, for new ideas usually enter with foreigners and the natives must either modify their own patterns of thought or justify their way of thinking. South Carolinians have usually adopted the latter practice, widely known as rationalization. Tolerance, liberalism, searching self-criticism are not likely to come to a folk that has lived for generations in the same area, unmolested by outside notions. From ancient Athens, down through the centers of highest intelligence, many divergent nationals with different cultures mingled with one another and in consequence had their blood and philosophies fused to make fresh, virile races with new, noble concepts of life. Another angle of the smallness of immigration is economic. Where there is only a trickle of new comers, low competition prevails, and this settles people into an easy-going way of carrying on business, industry and agriculture, and holds down both profits and wages.

DISTRIBUTION

Most South Carolinians are ruralites, that is they live outside of population centers having 2,500 or more inhabitants. Our people have 75.5 percent in this class. Only three other states have higher percentage—Arkansas, Mississippi and North Dakota. For the nation as a whole the figure is 43.5 percent. And this brings us to what we might expect, a large number living on farms. Forty-eight percent of our population is classified as "rural farm." From the viewpoint of subsistence this is good, for country folk can certainly raise enough to eat—and of the right kind, too, if they would give intelligent attention to diet. But from the viewpoint of business and of a civilization that is based on a money economy, the predominance of agriculture brings too low a general income. Besides, such an unbalance in occupations gives a farmer type of mental attitude to the majority of the citizenry, which might or might

not be desirable in a social order dominated by industry and with a scientific outlook.

CENTERS OF POPULATION

Another distribution of population is into centers where the inhabitants are clustered into large or small aggregates. In order to get a better idea of this clustering we shall classify population centers into hamlets, villages, towns, and cities. This classification, however, is not that of the Census. By hamlet we designate places of less than 250 population; by village, 250 to 2500; by town, 2500 to 5000; and by city, 5000 or more. The statistics of villages and hamlets were obtained from Rand-McNally, those of towns and cities from the Census.

POPULATION CENTERS OF SOUTH CAROLINA, 1940

	No. Places	*Population*
Under 250	765	54,360
250 to 2499	268	224,338
2500 to 4999	24	80,279
5000 to 9999	13	87,718
10000 to 24999	6	89,912
25000 and over	4	200,654

These statistics show that there are no great cities in this area, but that small aggregations of population abound. Villages having between 250 and 2500 inhabitants contain a larger population than any other class of centers. This gives a village flare to our culture. Moreover, people are not so anonymous in such small groupings. The limited social facilities of these little centers also limit their growth. Where urban populations mount into the hundred thousands, services are more finely specialized. Art, literature, and the professions find ample support there. Art galleries, libraries, schools for higher education, and other similar public institutions flourish. Also the contrasts in social life are glaring. Wealth and pauperism, high learning and ignorance, corruption and idealism, palaces and slums jostle against one another in an unseemly manner. Perhaps there is no perfect pattern of population distribution. Rural, urban and metropolitan each has its advantages and disadvantages. The wise procedure is to make the most of such distribution as we have.

SEX DISTRIBUTION

The ratio existing between the sexes carries a social reflection that is interesting. In urban areas there are 91.5 white males to 100 white females, and among the Negroes the ratio is 81.5 males to 100 females. The rural non-farm population has among the whites 99.5 males to 100 females, while among the Negroes we have 89.6 males to 100 females. Among rural farm folk the whites show 103.3 males to 100 females, and the Negroes in this classification show 99.9 males to 100 females.

We see from these statistics that the whites in towns are predominantly female, while the sexes are of almost even numbers among the rural non-farm folk, and males predominate in the rural farm population. In all three classifications Negroes have a preponderance of females over males. This disparity between the sexes among the blacks has doubtless come about through the migration of colored men to the large industrial centers of the North and the East.

The greater number of females in urban centers arose from the entrance of girls and women into business and the lighter industries. Secretaries, clerks, teachers, and various kinds of agents are mainly feminine. Women and girls also comprize 34 percent of the textile operatives. On the other hand, agriculture is chiefly a male occupation, for the farm demands heavy work. Women and girls do not stand up well in plowing and hoeing corn and cotton under the beating spring and summer suns. Sexes, too, are more evenly distributed among farm folk because of the need for women to be wives and homemakers. Bachelors in the country find no boarding houses or restaurants or constant company. Hence marriage is largely a necessity, and this keeps a fairly even ratio between the sexes.

RACES

Racially the population is 57.1 percent white and 42.9 percent Negro. This bi-racial composition, especially where the distribution is almost evenly divided, makes toward

domination by the whites and racial conflict and accommodation. All phases of social life are profoundly moved by these processes, as was shown in the discussion of Race. These processes, though, are not peculiar to this territory. Wherever in the world two races of nearly even proportions have lived side by side race consciousness has developed, and with it oppositions and maladjustments. These oppositions and maladjustments have absorbed a vast amount of reason and emotion that otherwise could have gone into the advancement of moral, social and political life. Another problem akin to this is whether in the long reaches of time there can be assimilation—a cultural absorption, and not amalgamation—a physical union. Certain blacks and whites seem bent on having it the latter way. The Constitution of this State forbids the intermarriage of different races, but nature gives no heed to constitutions. Vice has its effects, law or no law.

AGE MAKE-UP

The age make-up of the population is a prime conditioning factor in social life. The 1940 Census shows the following percentage of population distribution as to age groups in South Carolina and in the United States:

Age	*Under 20*	*20-44*	*Over 65*
South Carolina	45.5	37	4.2
United States	39	35	6.8

When the consumers far outnumber the producer there will be little accumulation of wealth. As this State has a higher percent of consumers and a lower percent of producers than the country as a whole we might expect it to have a relatively more meager capital and income. Our expectations are distressingly confirmed by facts. The disparity of age make-up in this State and in the nation as a whole also falls heavily in the realm of education. With the longer school life of today, compulsory school attendance, and the widespread demand for higher education, the cost of learning is overburdening the few. We are expected to reach national standards, yet we are far behind the nation in per capita income and far ahead of it in proportion of children to the population.

FERTILITY OF THE POPULATION

In 1939 the birth rate per 1000 population in this State was 22.9—among the whites, 20.9; among the Negroes, 25.4. In the United States as a whole the birth rate was 17.3. As the death rate per 1000 population that year was: United States, 10.6; South Carolina, 10.2, the size of the family in this State—provided this was a typical year, and it was—might be expected to exceed that of the nation. So it does. For the United States the average family numbered 3.8 members, and in South Carolina it was 4.4. Yet even this number for the State and the nation is not sufficient to increase population through a long reach of time, for five members to the family are necessary for that. This decrease in the size of the family also means that there are many childless married couples. This has an evil boding, for children are a focus of affection that remains steady when wives and husbands tend to fly apart. Children bind society together. While South Carolina has no divorce law at present, if the number of children diminishes sharply such a law is likely soon to come. Already a number of married folk living in this State have had their matrimonial bonds severed in nearby territory.

AMOUNT OF SCHOOLING

Another characteristic of the population is the amount of schooling that it has had. For several Censuses illiterates were enumerated, but the 1940 Census omitted this and substituted instead the school grades completed. Concerning this item the Bureau of the Census states: "The median number of school years completed by persons 25 years old and over was 6.7, the equivalent of more than six grades. (The median year of school completed is that year which divides the population into two equal groups—one-half having had more formal education, and one-half having had less, than the median.) More than one-third (34.7 percent) had completed fewer than 5 years of grade school. At the other extreme, 9.4 percent had completed at least one year of college, and 4.7 percent reported four or more years of college."

In 1920, 18.1 percent of our population was illiterate. In 1930 this had been reduced to 14.9 percent. But this was only negative and told nothing of the plane attained by the literates. Total ignorance of letters is a remnant of a former generation, and it will soon disappear.

EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS

A further enumeration made by the Bureau of the Census in 1940 was that of the employment status of persons 14 years old and over. Fifty-six and one-tenth percent of this age class was in the labor force, and 90.5 of the labor force was employed. These figures may be compared with the nation as a whole, where 52.3 percent of this force was at work. This comparison brings out that both the percent of the population available for employment and the percent of these at work were higher in South Carolina than generally throughout the United States. The percentage distribution of those outside of the labor force was: engaged in own home housework, 24.7; unable to work, 5.2; in institutions, 0.9; in school, 9.7. A further analysis of employment statistics reveals that 5.6 percent of the labor force was on public emergency work (WPA, NYA, etc.), and four percent was seeking work. Of all those employed, 39.4 percent was in agriculture.

Child labor, which plagued social workers and thinkers so severely in the earlier years of the century, has disappeared from Census reports. In 1937 the South Carolina Department of Labor reported 38 children between the ages of 14 and 16 employed in factories. Since that time the inspectors of the Department have found no children so employed. The elimination of this kind of labor is chiefly due to three factors: Public opinion among both employers and the citizenry in general; the compulsory school attendance law; and the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act, which fixed hours and wages at which children cannot be profitably employed. However, in street trades, in places that dispense food and drink, and in agriculture, children are employed. As no national law protects them and as the public is callous on this score, the children go blithely

to work and often encounter vice that cripples many of them morally for life. Besides, such work deprives boys and girls of an education advanced enough to form a basis for training in good citizenship and skilled vocations.

TRENDS

Thus far we have considered population at a given moment of time. But it is not static, it is ever moving, ever changing. Therefore, a better understanding of it may be had by observing the rapidity and direction of its flow. This understanding might be made the basis of predicting what size and into what patterns population is likely to grow. Also, by noting these trends we might be able to control to some degree the configuration of the masses of inhabitants in time to come.

At the taking of the first Census in 1790, South Carolina stood seventh in population in the rank of states. In 1940 our rank was 25th, which places us near the mid point of the array of state populations. The increase of inhabitants between 1920 and 1930 was 3.3 percent and between 1930 and 1940 it was 9.3 percent. The small increase in the first of these decades was largely due to the emigration of Negroes to the North and the East, owing mainly to the slackening of foreign immigration and to a dearth of cheap labor in those parts. In the second decade this emigration slowed down, and this together with the excess of births over deaths, increased the population. The United States had a population increase of 16.1 percent between 1920 and 1930, and an increase of 17.1 percent between 1930 and 1940. Only once in the history of this State did a Census show a decrease in the number of its inhabitants. That was at the end of the disastrous period of 1860 to 1870. While no one can estimate with any certainty to what size population will grow in this State, yet it is reasonable to surmise that with the rapid advance of industry in the North and East and with the attendant multiplying of working folk to tend it there will be a rising demand for food and such raw materials as are produced by our fields and forests. Besides, by reclaiming eroded lands the soil will be capable of supporting a much larger number of inhabitants.

BIRTH AND DEATH RATES

Population growth depends on the influx of people from an outside area and on the excess of births over deaths. South Carolina has received few immigrants, so the increase of its inhabitants comes from its number of births being greater than its number of deaths. In discussing this growth we should bear in mind the ideas of fertility and fecundity. Fecundity is the potential number of births that every woman of child-bearing age may have. It has been estimated that this number is fifteen. Fertility refers to the actual rate of reproduction. It is conditioned by several factors, among which are age, race, culture, and the stage of medical advance. The Western World has had a falling birth-rate in recent decades, due to the factors just mentioned and to fierce economic competition, prolongation of the period of education, changing modes as to having children, women's refusal to bear, and a knowledge of how to prevent reproduction. South Carolina has been subjected to these influences, and a falling birth-rate is the consequence.

Improved living conditions and the advance of public health have lowered the death rate. In fact, this is appreciably lower than the birth rate. There is a fluctuation in both rates, but the trend is noticeably downward. In the columns following are given the birth and death rates per 1,000 population for South Carolina and for the United States. Those for the nation as a whole are given for the purpose of comparison. One is struck by the marked lowering of the figures in so short a period as twelve years.

BIRTH AND DEATH RATES PER 1,000 POPULATION FOR SOUTH CAROLINA AND THE UNITED STATES, 1934-1944.[2]

Year	*Birth Rate, S. C.*	*Death Rate, S. C.*	*Birth Rate, U. S.*	*Death Rate, U. S.*
1934	24.3	11.7	17.2	11.1
1935	22.1	11.1	17.0	11.0
1936	21.7	11.5	16.8	11.6

[2] *World Almanac*, New York, 1940, pp. 671, 672.
South Carolina State Board of Health, *Annual Report*, 1945, pp. 220, 223.

BIRTH AND DEATH RATES PER 1,000 POPULATION FOR SOUTH CAROLINA AND THE UNITED STATES, 1934-1944.—Continued

Year	*Birth Rate, S. C.*	*Death Rate, S. C.*	*Birth Rate, U. S.*	*Death Rate, U. S.*
1937	21.7	11.0	17.0	11.3
1938	21.9	11.0	17.6	10.7
1939	22.6	10.2	17.3	10.6
1940	23.4	10.6	17.9	10.7
1941	24	10.9	18.9	10.5
1942	24.2	9.1	20.9	10.4
1943	30.1	9.5	21.5	10.9
1944	25.1	9.3	20.2	10.6

QUALITY OF THE POPULATION

It is not numbers but advance in intelligence and in the stage of arts and sciences that is of prime importance. A small group of intelligent civilized persons is to be preferred to a horde of the socially unfit—and unfittable. Eugenics deals with this problem on its biological side. This study has to do with the improving of the racial stock through the bettering of heredity, and this bettering may come through either negative or positive measures. Because of modern humanitarianism the definitely feebleminded are protected, and in consequence survive in great numbers and increase their progeny. Proponents of a drastic dealing with these social liabilities urge that their increase be curbed by sterilization. But two objections stand in the way of this treatment. Crime and other social evils are often the consequence of a vicious environment or of an undemocratic economic system. The prostitute, the pauper and the offender are often victims of a faulty social order rather than a faulty biological constitution. The other objection is that the low-grade feebleminded, such as idiots and imbeciles, constitute only a minute part of the population and their fecundity is very low. Morons are more numerous and have a large progeny. Yet if inherited feeblemindedness is a cluster of recessive traits, and not a unit character, and these traits are widely distributed through the normal population, then measures that deal with the clusters only cannot reach the main problem.

Another method proposed to curb the increase of the feebleminded is colonization. This scheme would segregate these mentally deficients into agricultural and industrial groups that under skilled supervisors would be more or less self sustaining. The objection to this as a universal solution is that the cost to the taxpayers would be overburdening and that skilled supervisors would be well-nigh impossible to get and keep where politics is so important a factor in appointments. To be sure, both sterilization and colonization could be used to a limited extent, but neither holds the final answer to the question of preventing the transmission of an unwanted heredity.

Positive eugenics seeks to mate biologically sound persons and thus assure a socially acceptable offspring. But who are infallible enough to do the selecting, even if they were given plenary powers? The obstacles in the way of this are so great that it is useless for us to linger over it. Perhaps marriage laws would help appreciably in improving our racial stock. A searching medical examination of prospective brides and grooms, a waiting time between the issuing of the license and the wedding, and the prohibiting of persons marrying outside of the counties issuing licenses—there are feasible measures.

At the present, when there is so little knowledge about the role of human heredity, it is best for us to await fuller information before taking radical action in dealing with it. In the meanwhile, better economic and social orders might be instituted and alleviating measures introduced. We should remember that mankind developed through thousands of generations in a rather simple world, then came almost suddenly into a complicated material civilization. Many, therefore, are confused, and many try to make adjustments and fail. To diminish the number of these failing and inept persons is the aim of eugenics. Might it not be better to mold a world in which the ordinary man could make adjustments?

CHAPTER 6

COUNTRY LIFE

"The great rural interests are human interests, and good crops are of little value to the farmer unless they open the door to a kind of life on the farm." So said Theodore Roosevelt, and a more penetrating remark he never made. Cotton, tobacco, truck, and other products, are of value only as they afford an adequate economic basis for the life of men, women, boys, and girls, who live on farms. That there should be such a basis we take for granted here. It will be discussed at some length when we consider agriculture. However, business and profit have invaded farming as they have invaded all other occupations. We must not permit the idea to become trite that farming is not only a way of getting a living, it is also a way of life. And it may be a satisfactory way, too, if it can be adjusted to the present-day scale of living.

An occupation sets its stamp on the ways of thinking and acting of those who carry it on. Not only is one's personal behavior so affected, but the culture of one's social group is molded by the prevailing method that group has of making a living. Hence, ideas and attitudes are standardized. This is seen in the conditioning that industry or business or agriculture gives its followers. Business is a specialized vocation in which one is engaged as an individual. The salesman, the accountant, the typist, is employed as a person. His home or his family is in no way connected with his position. So it is with the industrial worker. He superintends a factory or fires an engine or mans a machine as an individual. On the other hand, agriculture as it is conducted in this State is a generalized occupation carried on by families. The farm is an extension of the home. Throughout South Carolina the operations that each member of the family performs are fairly well standardized by custom. The man cultivates or oversees the cultivation of the field, the woman keeps house, usually tends to the poultry, and sometimes looks after the vege-

table garden, while the children do the chores, such as carrying wood and water. In some instances children feed the stock or even give a hand in making and gathering crops. Though this pattern is not universal, it is that which is usually followed.

Moreover, the business man or the industrial worker has a narrow channel in which his efforts run. He sells dry goods or insurance or he operates a loom or a lathe. He does one kind of thing, whereas the farmer takes a hand at carpentering, stock raising, cultivating plants, repairing automobiles, farm tools, and machinery, and any other nearby operation that does not call for equipment. He is perhaps the most versatile workman in the world. Another distinction between the farmer and other workers is that they are employed at machines or commercial tasks, where their efforts are prescribed by the things at which they work. When the whistle blows, the machine worker must stand by. When the store door opens, the salesman must be at his post. But the farmer sets his own time. He may dawdle, fish or play, as he pleases. Only the final result shows what he does—and therein lies many a tragedy.

To the conditioning that occupation imposes should be added the isolation that characterizes the farmer. Spatially the farmstead is usually at a distance from the nearest home and some miles from village or town. Out of this spatial isolation spring most of the social problems of the open country, as those of the urban areas come from population congestion. Now that automobiles, radios, and rural free delivery have made contacts much easier for the well-to-do, it is chiefly among the underprivileged—Negroes and impoverished whites—that social isolation works such hurt. Ready access to medical care, sanitation, supervised recreation, public utilities, police protection, well implemented institutions, such as school and church—these and other welfare agencies are wanting among the lowly on farms.

Besides spatial isolation, the open-country folk have social isolation. The marks of worth are different in the scattered people of agricultural regions from what they

are in thickly populated parts. In urban centers conspicuous spending gives prestige, but in the country possessions give one superior place. Expensive and showy clothes are looked upon as the badge of high status by the urbanite, whereas the ruralite is likely to dress only comfortably and soberly. Cities and towns, having a continuous inflow of people from widely separated places, surge with new ideas about religion and politics, but the tiller of the soil clings to ancient dogmas—many of them outmoded—and to old party cliques and methods. In industry and business, essentially urban occupations, a continual hunt is on for improved methods and labor-saving devices. The inventor is abroad there, and with results. However, the cultivator of cotton still pursues the work methods of his forefathers. Child labor is withering in urban areas before the onslaught of social workers and thinkers, but the countryside is unmoved by the sight of thousands of boys and girls toiling in the fields. In language, music, household arts, literature, and recreation, urban culture—and that means dynamic culture—cannot breach the barrier that isolation has thrown up.

THE FARMER'S PERSONALITY TRAITS

His personality traits are largely determined by the farmer's way of life. That way, as we have seen, is not determined by original nature so much as by occupations and surroundings. Working with slow maturing plants and animals rather than in society where competition and new ideas are rife, the farmer abides by old habits of thought and methods of work. Swiftness in change is of the very life blood of commerce and industry. Refusal to remodel one's store or factory or to make quick and drastic shifts in its processes brings failure. On the contrary, things biological respond slowly to treatment. Nor can they be made to hasten by artificial stimulants. There is a time to sow and a time to reap; seed time and harvest, snow and heat follow each other. And the great forces that direct them are beyond human control. Should a drought fall on growing cotton all the planter can do is to look up at the brazen

sky and long for rain. He cannot command the clouds nor the rays of the sun.

Another element in the situation in this State is the poverty of the farmer. He cannot afford to try many new ways if he finances himself. If he depends on landlords' supplies or on help supplied by credit institutions he is less free to adventure on untried projects. Thus hedged in, he summons patience to his aid and pursues the old, tried ways. So he is conservative. This conservatism also runs into family relations. Women and girls of the owner class practice a commendable Victorian coyness; those of the disadvantaged groups are careful about propriety. Anyone who has tried to supervise a party in a rural recreation program is aware of this. In church, too, orthodoxy reigns. When Sunday comes the farmer likes to hear a sermon applying Gospel truths to the individual. The preacher who interprets the Bible in a literary or social way is looked on skeptically; perhaps he will receive a nice little sobriquet like "agnostic." Among the less literate of both whites and blacks a highly emotional seasoning is relished, along with a generous dash of superstition. Social problems that are rocking the world find little response from the farmer. Organized labor is an aversion and public welfare kindles no enthusiasm.

Associated with this conservatism is a trait that we usually think of as its opposite—individualism. The development of this trait in an extreme form is what we might expect when we consider the solitariness of the farmer's work, how he has to design and execute it without council, and how a routine repeated year by year drives him into a habit groove. Besides, he is not under pressure of the mass mind, which rowels toward conformity. In his small home circle and with his few neighbors he finds no disputants abler than himself. Popularity, which is such a prize in urban social circles and so essential in most urban business, is of little worth to him. This individualism manifests itself in many ways. It makes the farmer think that he is independent, which he certainly is not in an economic sense. It also thwarts the forming of public opinion in the country. There

is family opinion and local church opinion, but no opinion of the whole countryside arrived at by discussion. Unanimity of ideas and attitudes concerning current social, economic, and political issues is further deterred by the presence of Negroes in the same area. Sometimes fierce dealings drive tenant farmers and textile workers into the same political camp, but that is a class movement.

Aversion to organization also characterizes the farmer. Towns have to organize for civic purposes—lighting streets, maintaining a supply of pure water, supporting a police force, and other corporate projects—but the country has none of these to fuse its people together. In isolated regions, too, crowds do not gather, so mutual emotions are not kindled. The individualism of the farmer together with the lack of incentive to link his efforts with others leave him callous toward organization. The Farmer's Alliance, the Cotton Association, and other like movements found no widespread and sustained support. Farm women, especially those trained at Winthrop College, have done better, but they are puny along this line in comparison with their urban sisters, who support no end of clubs and committees.

Thriftiness is another trait of the farmer. Despite the general opinion, work in the field and about the farmstead demands long days through long seasons. While industrial workers have reduced their hours appreciably in recent years the agricultural worker keeps about the same task time as he kept a generation ago. We should also bear in mind that the character of farm work is such that it cannot easily be standardized, for it must deal with the vagaries of the weather, the care of livestock, and the incursion of plant pests. Cotton is a highly exacting crop. It must have land prepared before the end of frost so that the seed can be planted early enough for the plants to mature sufficiently to cope with the boll weevil when he arrives. Then there is the lengthy season of chopping and plowing. And finally comes the picking of the staple, which goes on until frost comes around again. Yet this long grilling effort brings few financial returns. Cotton is a cheap crop, and

most of those who have raised it in recent years stick to it because they cannot see their way out of the system. Others of our crops, while not so exhausting of human energy, bring small returns to their makers. Money gotten with such painful toil is likely to be held to grimly. Hence the farmer saves, and with his economy he is able to exist, and sometimes to send his boys and girls to college.

Resourcefulness must be had in that kind of life. Far from shops, and hemmed in by lack of income, the farmer is forced to make his equipment go as far as it will, with only such repairs as he can give. His family also has small purchasing power and is remote from stores and other sources of household supplies. Bakeries, laundries, food shops, ice and fuel companies, are seldom within their spatial and financial reach. Sewing, cooking, canning, preserving fresh meats and vegetables, must be carried on at home. In many areas of this State household arrangements are as primitive as they were half a century ago. The dwellers there have learned to adjust themselves to the conditions that geography and the economic system have prescribed. Yet a traveler can drive through miles of a farming district and find the same land holders that were there a generation ago. No Main Street can show many merchants or bankers that are at the same stands they occupied thirty years past. It must be because the countryman marshals his few resources so that every unit of them counts.

Writers about things rural have dubbed the farmer, "stoic," "fatalist," "stolid," but none of these is adequate in this State. He is too moved by the spirit of Protestantism and by American hopefulness to be stoical or fatalistic. Nor can he be called stolid, for he is not stupid. Perhaps patience would be the happiest word to designate his trait of taking good or evil as they come—if we have to use one word. In the municipality men's relations are largely social, where persuasion brings results. Here, too, quick changes can be made in business to meet emergencies that arise from sharp fluctuations of prices or the supply of goods or the shift of consumers' tastes. On the contrary, the

farmer's relations are with things geographic, where persuasion is of no avail. Corn may need rain, but the farmer is unable to bring in a shower. Cotton may suffer for want of sun, but he has no machine to brush the clouds away. He can only sit still and let the weather take its own way. Besides, plants and animals mature slowly. If there is a drastic shift in the market no quick adjustments can be made to meet it. Crops cannot be hurried to accommodate themselves to an economic system. So the farmer learns to wait.

SCALE OF LIVING

The scale of living among the farm population of South Carolina is at three levels. The great mass of tenants live at a bare subsistence level, where they have food, clothing, and housing barely sufficient to stave off starvation and to temper to them somewhat the severest elements. A higher level is maintained by the small owners, who operate their own lands and who often labor in the fields. They have a wider menu than tenants, a limited range of comforts in clothes and furnishings, and houses that minister to health and modesty. Large land owners, often called planters in this State, have many luxuries—electricity, refrigerators, home water systems, ample housing, good furnishings, tools of culture, heavily-laden tables. A pyramid might be drawn to diagram graphically the number of persons that live at these levels and their intervening gradations. The base would represent bare subsistence; the middle, comfort; and the peak, luxury.

Little detailed study has been made of the scales of living that prevail among farm families, but research made in this field indicates that the majority live beneath the level of comfort. Miss Mary E. Frayser in 1934 studied the expenditures of 46 rural families in mid-State, and discovered that their annual personal income was $174.24, out of which $71.75 was spent for food.[1] In 1932 Miss Ida M. Moser surveyed 74 farm families in the Piedmont and

[1] Frayser, Mary E., *A Study of Expenditures for Family Living by 46 South Carolina Rural Families*, Clemson College Bulletin, 1934.

found that they spent $69.34 per capita for food. Also she found that 27 of these families had an adequate diet and 47 an inadequate one.[2] In 1935-36 Miss Moser secured 214 weekly records of foods eaten by white farm families and 183 from Negro farm families, all in the Coastal Plain. From these she concluded that approximately three-fourths of the Negro diets and more than one-fourth of the white diets were too low in money value to provide adequately for the families' nutritive needs.[3]

Another piece of evidence as to the small income of farmers is given by the Work Projects Administration. On January 13, 1942, 10,817 persons residing in the open country, presumably from farm families, were on relief projects. To be there they had to come from families in need. But there were many others in this condition for whom work help could not be found. The Work Projects Administration estimated that in December, 1940, 18.88 percent of the rural families—most of them doubtless living on farms—should have been added to the work-relief rolls. That means they were in sore need.

Housing among South Carolina farm families is primitive, to use a mild term. The 1940 Census shows that 83.3 percent of their homes are without electric lights, 94.7 percent have no running water, 76.6 percent boast outside toilets, and 18.8 percent have no toilets at all. The limitation of housing space is shown by the fact that 74.8 percent of the homes have 1.50 or less persons per room, and 25.2 percent have 1.51 or more persons per room. The standard is, 1.50 persons to the bed room and 1.50 rooms to the person.[4] By this, a man, his wife, and four children would need a house of nine rooms, four of them being bed rooms. Socially minded travelers might remember this when they pass shacks, cabins, and small houses, in the country—most of them overflowing with children.

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[2] Moser, Ada M., *Food Consumption and Time for Food Work among Farm Families in the South Carolina Piedmont,* Clemson College Bulletin, 1935.

[3] Moser, Ada M., *Farm Family Diets in the Lower Coastal Plain of South Carolina,* Clemson College Bulletin, 1939.

[4] *Housing, First Series,* 16th Census of the United States.

YOUNG PEOPLE

With living conditions such as we just considered and with the lack of economic, recreational, and cultural opportunities, farm young folk are moved with discontent. Youth is a time of restlessness, of reaching out. It lies between infancy, where life is cared for and totally directed, and adulthood, where full responsibility is assumed and self-support and a career are undertaken. Hence it is the zone in which one develops from being a ward into a mature person. This development is accompanied by a steadying and channeling of the emotions and by a searching for a place in life. These processes are partly conscious and partly unconscious. So we expect youth—the oncoming generation—to find its place in the world and forthwith to occupy it. Now in searching for this place it casts around for the pleasantest and most approved goals. When it is barred from these, youth is likely to fume or to sink placidly into the routines of such occupations as it finds at hand—and here is the tragedy of thwarted youth. The pleasantest and most approved goals are urban centers, where crowds, money, bright lights, home comforts and luxuries, shorter work days, amusements, and a host of other attractions are purported to be. Radios, the press, general talk, and occasional visits to town, confirm this impression in the farm boy and girl. True, the country has the beauty of nature, the satisfaction of companionship with growing plants and animals, individual freedom, and other benefits to set over against the city's glamorous life. But the ordinary farm boy and girl are not poetic or philosophical enough to appreciate such advantages. They are likely to cry out with Alexander Selkirk:

O Solitude! Where are the charms
That sages have seen in thy face?
Better dwell in the midst of alarms,
Than reign in this horrible place.

And so it will be until our farm areas are given more satisfactory living conditions, adequate schools, ample recreational facilities, and better incomes.

TENANCY

As 56.1 percent of the farmers in this State are tenants and 43.3 percent of the tenants are share croppers, the social condition of these folk is one of our major problems. Tenants own no land, and they are usually extremely ignorant, not only of academic subjects, but also of the arts incident to farming. In consequence, they are continually on the move, hoping to come to better land and more adequate living quarters. But this will-o-the-wisp is never reached, for the tenants' lands are fairly well standardized, and landlords, who are usually in straightened circumstances themselves, are not of a mind to make investments in buildings when there are no prospects of return. Doubtless, too, moving is the only adventure that most tenants get, and the desire for new experience is as strong in them as in other folk. Now this continual moving prevents the greater proportion of tenants from becoming integral parts of communities, for permanence is the essence of effective community membership. A temporary resident gets little of the standards and ideals of a locality's politics, society, or religion. Nor does he contribute appreciably to them. What cares he for law and order, or social standing, or church membership, when he is likely to be somewhere else another year? The "we" spirit cannot grow in such soil.

Poverty also dogs the tenant—dire, pinching poverty. Observers going through our farming regions are impressed with the tenants' uniform state of want. The appraising eye sees many blacks and numbers of whites huddled into cabins and shacks, which often have no glass in the windows and whose walls are streaked with cracks that freely admit the elements. In many instances cook stoves are wanting, open fire-places serving for the preparation of meals. A heating stove is a rarity. Bed clothes are skimpy and insufficient. Furniture is meager, unsightly, and broken. At Christmas, when eatables and toys are abundant in other classes, the tenant and his children must do without such cheer, unless kind neighbors go to

the rescue. The good things that civilization has brought to most Americans can only be gazed on wistfully and from afar by tenants.

The characteristics of the tenant which we have discussed bear disastrously on children. High mobility prevents their remaining for any length of time in any one school. To this hindrance should be added a background of ignorance and a lack of incentive toward education. Their clothes, too, make them ashamed to attend schools where other boys and girls are better clad.

It might be thought that the compulsory attendance law would remedy the poor and irregular school attendance of tenant children—and no doubt it helps some—but this law does not deal with extreme poverty, a low scale of living, and a high mobility—which usually reaches its peak on January the first, the middle of the school term.

Conditions such as we have traced breed class consciousness, an evil in a democracy, or a near democracy, like ours. Class consciousness in an underprivileged group walls that group in, and this encirclement is made more rigid if other classes draw from the underprivileged.

When such segregation occurs the class discriminated against is sure to develop its own moral standards and customs, and these will be of a sort to make for social disorganization and personal demoralization. Tenancy follows inevitably this course. What appears to be forlorn and squalid to the observer seems natural enough to the tenant. He has grown up in this social landscape and knows no other. His feelings and thoughts have been organized around conditions forbidden to other folk. Is the stereotype of the tenant shiftless, filthy, a drinker of cheap liquor, a dodger of debt, getting all he can and giving as little as he can in return? These baleful things are the results of a system into which the victim has fallen unwittingly.

Now this net of customs and standards in the tenant class is cultural, it arises out of society and is not inborn. It seems to be the notion of most men that nothing can be done with or for this class, because those in it are of inferior heredity, that Nature has predestined them for a low

place in our social order. Such notions are rationalizations. Those who hold them are simply setting up their wishes as premises. The blood of tenants is good enough; it is their culture that is vile. Yet this class does not nurse its culture apart from the world. It vibrates with resentment, or an inferiority complex, which expresses itself at the ballot box—the only place that it can have effect. So men with small intellect, but with rocking emotions, rally the tenants behind them and ride into office. The consequences that follow this are a weakening of public service and the fumbling inefficiency of many governmental agencies. The successful politician in rural areas—and they constitute most of South Carolina—must keep a wakeful eye on the farm tenant.

ELECTRIFICATION

Next to the cook stove, no modern innovation has helped the farm home so much as electrification. Through its aid it is possible for country people to have refrigerators, radios, washing machines, pumps, good lights, vacuum cleaners, electric irons, and many other labor-saving and comfort-giving appliances. And many other mechanisms are rolling from the hand of the inventor. It is bewildering to see the list of electrically-driven gadgets in one of the mammoth catalogues of a mail-order house. This State has gone far in developing rural electrification.

In 1945 South Carolina had 18,474 miles of rural line extension, which served 90,292 customers. The following table shows the rural electric line mileage according to their builders and the number of their customers:[5]

	Mileage		*Increase*	*Customers*		*Increase*
	June 30, 1944-		*For*	*June 30, 1944-*		*For*
	June 30, 1945		*1945*	*June 30, 1945*		*1945*
Private Utilities	6,755.87	6,899.20	143.33	46,368	48,939	2,571
Greenwood Cnty. Elec. Power Com.	443.50	454.00	10.50	2,148	2,317	169
Electric Cooperatives...	10,090.45	10,477.43	386.98	29,751	33,159	3,408

[5] South Carolina Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report*, 1945, p. 31.

	Mileage		*Increase*	*Customers*		*Increase*
	June 30, 1944-		*For*	*June 30, 1944-*		*For*
	June 30, 1945		*1945*	*June 30, 1945*		*1945*
Municipalities	498.80	523.90	25.10	4,687	4,687	100
S. C. Public Service Authority	119.50	119.50	.00	992	1,090	98
Total	17,908.12	18,474.03	565.91	83,946	90,292	6,346

The rural rates of the larger companies are generally the same as the rates in effect in urban territory, although the minimum monthly charge of the rural customer is generally higher than that of the urban customer. Yet as this service calls for cash payments and as the money income of the great majority of farmers is too small to afford it, the only policy to adopt is to extend the lines to those who can afford the service and to work for the enlargement of the Federal electrification projects.

BEAUTIFICATION

Besides electrification, another means of making the farm home more satisfying is the beautification of the dwelling and its surroundings. Unkemptness usually marks our farmsteads. Askew and unpainted buildings are on every hand. In many sections—especially those inhabited by Negroes—sagging barns and houses are steadied by timbers leaned against them. Fields left fallow are cluttered with dead corn and cotton stalks, which give drabness to the scene and furnish pleasant havens for boll weevils.

The truth is, there is a tradition of negligence and untidiness that pervades our farms. Doubtless this tradition sprang mainly from two sources, cheap Negro labor and the sacrificing of all to a one crop system. Yet however these may have come about, unsightly homesteads have a powerful effect upon their inhabitants. Beauty and utility are not mutually exclusive on the farm or anywhere else. Well tended, clean fields in the midst of which are sightly buildings are more likely to send forth good yields than ragged ones. Too many country folk have leaned to the

opposite view, that beauty does not pay. This begets the cult of ugliness.

On the other hand is the opinion that farm life should be approached with the intention of making it satisfying to the whole human nature of those that participate in it. Flowers and paint on the outside of the home and order and attractiveness within it should become a main objective. Music also, radio-borne or home produced, would add to the winsomeness of the place. Books likewise could while away the long nights uninvaded by company. In short, art in its widest meaning might reach into the country, as it is reaching into urban centers, and make the economic but the means to the larger life. Now in advocating this spread of the esthetic to farm homes there is no notion of molding them into conventional forms. What furniture to use, what flowers and shrubbery to grow, what music to have, how to lay out surrounding fields, and like questions, have to be determined by individual taste, but that taste will grow finer with exercise.

CHAPTER 7

VILLAGE LIFE

An analysis of the State's population revealed that in 1930 there were 278 places with inhabitants ranging in number from 250 to 2500 and that these places had a population of 236,672. In 1940 the number of such places had fallen to 268 and their population to 224,338. Going a little further back we find that in 1920 there were 207 of these villages and that they had a population of 165,427. The significance of these figures is that they show that villages grew in number and population between 1920 and 1930, but they fell off in both during the following decade. The last Census gave the villages 11.2 percent of the State's population. But the place of the village in our corporate life is far greater than these figures indicate.

ECONOMIC CENTERS

While a few of these small centers are industrial, the great majority of them are dependent on agriculture for support. However, that does not mean that they are agricultural villages in the European sense, for in the old world groups of farmers live in clusters of houses, whence they go out to cultivate the surrounding fields. This is practicable over there as the individual land holdings are small or the land is jointly owned by the people of the community. On the other hand, in this country farms are large and their operators live on them. Villages in this State sprang up as trading or service centers to minister to their surrounding territory. River landings, grist mills, railroad junctions, court houses, and the converging points of hard-surface roads, were the nuclei of these centers. With the rise of manufacturing and metropolitan districts there came a demand for quantities of food stuffs and of raw

material. This demand begot the one-crop system—cotton, tobacco, truck—and made the farmers parts of an economic system cemented together by money. To the village therefore they had to turn for financial aid. Thus their old independence, still held by many as a pious fiction, slipped away. A high mobility, stimulated by the automobile, hastened further the dependence of farmers on the village.

Another way in which the small population center functions for its outlying regions is in its furnishing commercial facilities. From such a point products are shipped, and those that are not shipped are stored in warehouses. There are warehouses for tobacco, for grain and for cotton. Those listed for grain are also store houses for seed and materials for fertilizer. Most of these warehouses are in villages. The stuffs so stored are usually sold locally; consequently the money coming from them is spent with nearby merchants. Despite the volume of trade with mail order houses and large urban establishments, the average village is holding its own in merchandizing.[1]

SOCIAL CENTERS

Yet the village's services to its farm community is not only economic; religious, educational and recreational activities of the center are participated in by the farm families. The country church is ordinarily unable to maintain a resident pastor or a preacher of ability. Then, too, because of its widely scattered membership it finds difficulty in keeping a Sunday school going, and because of its poverty it lacks modern appurtenances of worship. The village church usually has these things that the country church lacks. Besides, it is likely to be at the center of population and can be reached from all quarters. Like the country store the church out in the farm lands would disappear, were it not for the deep sentiments that surround it. There rest the family dead, and there the ancestors worshipped. True, many who are moved by these sentiments never attend

[1] South Carolina Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report*, 1945, pp. 187-194.

services there or give any financial aid, but they help to keep warm affections for the old shrine. However, numbers of the more faithful of the older country church members are uniting with their village brethren, while the younger folk are lured by denominational societies for boys and girls, by more attractive services, and by larger congregations.

Yet the village church has many drawbacks. One is the intense conservatism in doctrine and discipline. The modern scientific and literary approach to the Bible is scouted, and this alienates many of the college-trained young men and women and surrenders all intellectual leadership to those outside the fold. Another drawback is the individualistic interpretation of the New Testament and the Prophets, in which the village church is strong. This institution is now in the throes of a cultural lag, but the liberalizing effects of the social sciences are bringing about an adjustment among the younger ministers.

With the general demand for schooling and with the advance in curricula, management, and school architecture, the country is less and less able to meet the demands of a standardized education. On the other hand the village can furnish finances and a large enough body of pupils to insure a sizable institution. Transportation by bus enables country children to attend the larger units. True, there are a number of consolidated rural high schools, but the village furnishes the greater part of the secondary educational facilities. Mr. D. L. Lewis, Supervisor of Rural Schools, reports: "One of the greatest benefits of the larger schools is the opportunity for more effective socialization of the children, and a knowledge of the cultural studies, as music and the other liberal arts. The larger schools also offer vocational courses, which give pupils the opportunity to acquire skills that will be beneficial in aiding them to make a living. The small schools cannot give these educational advantages. The social training of the pupils is necessarily limited, there is little opportunity for the liberal arts, and because of the number of grades and

classes each teacher has, the traditional subject-matter training, particularly as to reading, is inadequate." [2]

South Carolinians generally have not seen the need of recreation. The chief problem, therefore, has been how to stimulate desire for it rather than find ways and means for its support. Young people in our villages and the area surrounding them have little outside of work, the soft drink stand, and the movie house to occupy their attention. Isolation of farmsteads prevents the constant gathering of country people for entertainment, so the village is the logical place in which to develop this activity. In 1940 there were 158 motion picture theaters in this State,[3] many of them being in villages, where they were small and with inferior pictures. The Work Projects Administration, through its recreation program, was the only public agency that promoted play and amusement in our small population centers.

In 1939 this Federal agency supplied 94 percent of the personnel engaged in recreational activities; the remaining six percent were employed in the park departments of Columbia, Charleston, Greenville, Orangeburg, and Spartanburg. In 51 places of less than 1,000 inhabitants and in 100 places of between 1,000 and 5,000 recreational activities were conducted by the WPA.

While these recreational activities were conducted for the immediate benefit of the people, the WPA looked forward to the creating of such a demand for supervised recreation throughout the State that local support would finally supplant Federal grants.

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Another service that the village gives is political leadership. The extent of this may be judged from the membership of the General Assembly. In 1945, the Speaker of the House, the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, and the President pro tempore of the Senate were villagers.

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[2] South Carolina Superintendent of Education, *Annual Report*, 1940, p. 63.

[3] *World Almanac*, 1940, p. 864.

The Governor was a small-town man. As we noted, the population of villages was only 11.2 percent of the total for the State, yet about a quarter of the Senators and of the House members were villagers. Of course these legislators were not elected by their localities only. That is the point of greatest significance. They represented their counties, and so had large groups of farmers as their constituents.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

Professional men gravitate toward centers of population, for there is small opportunity in the open country for them to exercise their knowledge and skill. This movement is also accelerated by the tendency to specialize, notably among physicians. Doctors and lawyers must be in the thick of humanity. Farmers' need for legal assistance is constantly increasing, due to the growing Federal aid to agricultural areas and to the rapid fluctuations of ownership. Rural doctors are also mainly villagers. The old time country doctor, who richly deserves all the romance thrown around him, is giving way before the thrust of new conditions. Two of these new conditions are the penetration of hard-surface roads, which makes quick trips to remote parts easy, and the presence of hospitals in central locations. Not only does modern medicine prescribe the care of the sick, which only hospitals give, it also calls for laboratory tests that hospitals furnish but for which the country physician lacks equipment. Moreover, drug stores are a necessity to present day practice—the old time doctor carried his few simple remedies with him—and these must be in places where groups of customers are large enough to support them.

While the repairing of automobiles and of farm machinery is not thought of as professional, yet it is so highly skilled that it requires men of special training and knowledge. Electrical services, both to farm machines and to household appliances, loom large, now that rural electrification is advancing. Also skilled mechanics are needed to repair the broken or displaced parts of tractors, gins, harvesters, and other kinds of agricultural machinery.

Now farm folk must turn to some center for all these aids, and in many parts of the State that center is a village.

COUNTRY VERSUS VILLAGE

The services and leadership that we have discussed do not appear to have engendered any noticeable rift between countrymen and villagers as classes. This State's being predominantly rural and having no metropolitan areas are doubtless large factors in preventing conflict. Also the mutual interests of the two regions are more numerous than their competitive interests. And this makes for cooperation. Not since the Tillman movement fifty years ago has there been an agrarian uprising. At the time of this movement village merchants, banks, and private financiers of a small and mean sort held heavy mortgages over farm lands, crops and livestock. Indeed, everything that could be seized by an officer of the law sufficed for collateral for loans. That was the golden age of the crop lien system, when farmers had to mortgage their future products—and that at an enormous rate of interest—to provide food for themselves and their families. But a better day is now with the countryman, due to general economic conditions and to the aid given by the State and Federal governments. Another preventive of conflict is the presence of different races in almost equal numbers, which centers attention on the black-white relations rather than those of village-country. True, farm tenants and textile workers united in the Blease movement, but this was no agrarian thrust.

NEIGHBORHOODS

One cannot hold acquaintance with a village even for a short time without being aware of the intimacy that exists among its inhabitants. They know one another by the first name and they are well informed, usually uncomfortably well informed, about one another's personal and domestic affairs. This intimacy encompasses the whole population. It differs with the city, where one's acquaintances are largely confined to one's social circle. In sociological language, village contacts are face-to-face or primary,

while those of the city are indirect or secondary. This makes for a marked character, or perhaps idiosyncrasy, of each village. Each has a stamp peculiarly its own. For instance, one could hardly mistake the flavor of Barnwell for that of Blackville, a sister village nearby and in the same county. And the smaller the place the more pronounced is its personality likely to be. There is the local wag who may jest with impunity about anybody or anything and whose jesting is enormously relished and seldom resented. There is the saint, usually a woman, who calls upon sick or troubled folk and gives great sympathy, and sometimes a little material aid. The saint is likely to be in poverty. There is the local bad man, who will go to any lengths to sustain his evil reputation, of which he is quite proud. There is the aggressively humble Negro, bowed with age and hat in hand. He is the village pet. And there is the banker, who lives in a two-story white house and who is reputed to be of great wealth. So they mingle, saint and sinner, and by a kind of psychological chemistry unite to form a peculiar compound.

As the village is of small dimensions, walking is the ordinary means of getting about, so the movement of affairs is leisurely. This follows the well known principle that human locomotion is paced by the prevailing method of travel. When a grocery installs motor-truck delivery, all other groceries must do the same. When cars in subways shoot away at high speed, crowds rush and business moves with celerity. But in the village there is no use to run, for all competition is geared to walking. All life synchronizes with the leisurely strokes of footsteps. Here too business is conducted on a personal basis. One does not buy a pound of coffee and hasten out. There are social amenities to be observed. Perhaps the salesman's family is sick, or his boy has gone to college, or he has bought a new car. It would be ungracious not to mention such an event.

Another thing about business in the village is that one's clientele is considered a personal possession. The conventional inclusion of good will in the sale of an establishment is a large element in a transaction here. A store's customers are supposed to be loyal, and any breach of that loyalty is

cause for bitter estrangement. To the outsider all the personal quirks and business etiquette and smug self containment are usually amusing or foolish. Yet they are the external, and therefore easily seen, trappings of a life that has a charm to be found nowhere else in the world. Here a person is recognized as an individual. He is not merely a unit in population. Enmity and friendship, feud and goodly tradition, jostle one another around the village, but they give zest to an otherwise too smoothly flowing life.

These considerations lead to the fact that the agricultural village is a growth, not a designed construction. This may not be said of the industrial village, which was laid out according to the plans of the management of the factory that owned the area. Straggling streets, houses out of alignment, varying sizes and shapes of yards, and widely differing architectures characterize the typical agricultural village. Out of a small group of homes and stores it developed through the expansion of families and the settlement of like-minded people from nearby territory. The close associations and the similar backgrounds of the residents produced a culture of sharply defined pattern. So both the physical character of each village and the shape of its personality belong to it alone. Yet there are certain traits possessed by all. One of them is the segregation of Negroes into clusters of cabins apart from the dwellings of the whites. But this residential segregation is not as pronounced as in the city. To be sure, no pretentious house occupied by Negroes would be allowed in a white section, but cabins for blacks are often sandwiched between residences of whites. Another trait universal among the older villages is intense loyalty to the home community. Woe be to the casual visitor who remarks on the superiority of some other small center. This local-mindedness no doubt accounts in part for the difficulty of integrating the State politically and making it the supreme governmental agency it should be.

HINDRANCES

Thus far we have discussed things of the village that are good or near good. We shall now turn to elements not

so pleasing. Writers on social disorganization have dwelt on the immoralities practiced in villages and small towns. Sex offenses predominate in the list of vices, and they are made easier by the nearness of an unprivileged race. While prostitution is not organized and loose women dare not walk the streets, youths find ways illicitly to satisfy nature's urge. Drinking is also a curse to village young men, despite the militant prohibition attitude in the small center. Corn whiskey is easily made and the materials for it are near at hand in every part of the State. Wine and beer are usually considered by older villagers as pernicious as heavy liquors. Gambling is not so prevalent as drunkenness and sex offenses, due probably to the lack of professionals and the dearth of cash. These social sins are carried on furtively, for the eyes of the community are riveted on every indiscretion. No towering and dramatic wickedness looms in the village. Only mean and isolated wrong-doings are entered into. Grand juries and prosecuting attorneys do not get excited over such obscure acts and move to uproot them.

UGLINESS

Travelers going through villages by train or motor are struck with the ugliness of many of these places. Unpainted dwellings, weedy streets, squat stores and rickety warehouses jostling against one another, advertisements slapped on any post or building that dares peek out—these smite the eye of the beholder. One gets the impression that there is general neglect and that the inhabitants are contented to have it so. Happily there are refreshing exceptions to this. In the coast country an occasional cluster of time-mellowed houses nestles under moss-hung live oaks, and upstate one now and then comes across a village that is clean and is colorful with shrubs and flowers. But villages in South Carolina generally lack beauty.

Now this need not be, for our native plants are of a rich variety. The woods are lovely enough; it is lack of desire in the natives that causes the ordinary village to molder in drabness. The correction of this village ugliness lies in the determination of individuals—where most movements

for public betterment lie. When people long for beauty they will work on their surroundings to produce it. Streets may not have parks and monuments—costly projects—yet the yards might be uniformly well tended and useless buildings be torn down rather than be allowed to fall apart piece by piece. But such a drive toward loveliness would be looked on askance in most sections. Like most Americans, our people have let economic interests absorb too much of their attention. In truth, in many places those interests have driven out all other considerations. Another thought germane to this comes to us. The making of one's surroundings pleasing to the eye is a most democratic process, for by doing that one shares with all the community, humble and exalted alike, the sight of things that are interesting and cheerful. A happy sign of better things to come is the rapid spread of garden clubs throughout the State, with their instructions, incentives, and assistance. To these must be added the work of the home demonstration agents, who strive in every county to enrich domestic life.

Another indictment against the village is that it is narrow-minded. The same ideas—some of them excellent—are mulled over until they appear to their holders to contain the whole compass of truth. New ideas are met with suspicion, if not with hostility. In them might lurk menaces to deeply set social, religious, and political convictions—for the average man has convictions rather than surmises and opinions. That might have worked well enough in a static world, but in a world rocking with technology, science and discoveries, the tiny circle of the average village mind is unable to embrace the vast inflow of new knowledge and the reasoning based on it. This obscurantism is a potent factor in driving many of the brightest young folk to towns and cities, for these places are more hospitable to new ideas.

Narrowness of mind begets stratification of society. "A prophet hath no honor in his own country," was remarked by one who was not received by the village wherein he was brought up. Merit in unfavored classes receives no notice or is met with a condescension that is near to insult. If one outside favored circles longs for a deserved advancement,

one will probably go away from the home settlement to get it. Old village families are continually shocked by the sons of nobodies rising to eminence in the world outside, for these families go on the assumption that character and culture are biologically transmitted and that this transmission flows through strains that their class only possesses. Disapproval of a humiliating sort is shown to a bride and groom who come from different social strata. Not that the young folk would have discord because of clashing cultures, but pride in status is wounded by the intrusion of one not on the receiving list.

REJUVENATION

Stabilization is often held forth as a virtue of the village. Yet stabilization is likely to be accompanied by inertia, if not stagnation. In a dynamic age like ours, when revolutionary forces are moving in every part of society—in village and open country as well as in metropolitan district—inertia acts as an insulator. Our corporate life is so interdependent in its parts, and those parts are so heightened in their interaction, that even a small civic center must either move with the new forces or be atrophied. Often we hear in small communities that nothing can be done before some funerals and fires take place, and a truth lies in that statement, though the funerals and fires needed are not so much of persons and buildings as of customs and ideas. A cheering fact now comes to the fore. Already a number of unwilled changes have come in our villages and they may be precursors to soften up a way for willed changes to follow.

CHAPTER 8

PUBLIC HEALTH

Until a short time ago illness was looked upon as a personal matter. An individual who fell sick had neglected to take precautions against disease, or had failed to follow the doctor's orders, or was the victim of the devil (who ever lurked near to see what harm he could do to mankind), or drew upon himself the wrath of God for his sins or sinfulness. In those days magic flourished and quackery grew rich. Two movements put an end to this individualism: the discovery of the origin and propagation of disease through germs and the rise of community consciousness. When Pasteur and other discoverers of micro-organisms made known the true nature of disease men realized that their health lay in coping with the minute animals which carried sickness and death. The water or milk they drank, the food they ate, the insects that pestered them, or the breath of their fellows might be channels of typhoid fever or malaria or tuberculosis or some other scourge. To rid themselves of contaminated channels was therefore the way to a diseaseless life.

When people were generally isolated, if the well from which they drank was a disease-packed pool perhaps the whole family would die of some malady, but the illness went no further. When, on the other hand, population massed in the centers of trade and industry thousands drank from the same source of water, and if it was contaminated they sickened and many died. So pure water became the concern of the whole community. This social consciousness did not spring up suddenly, it came gradually and at a fearful cost of suffering. Even now many communities are backward in taking concerted measures to combat the menace of disease-laden surroundings. But suffering is mankind's greatest teacher, and these backward places will after awhile be spurred by pain sufficient to drive them into adopting health programs.

DEATH RATES

One measuring rod for health is the different causes of death. Eleven primary causes of death in South Carolina for the year July 1, 1944, to June 30, 1945, are given below with rates to the 100,000 population. In a parallel column are the death rates in the United States for the same causes in 1943.[1]

Causes	*Rate in South Carolina*	*Rate in United States*
Diseases of the heart	175.8	318.5
Kidney Diseases	92.2	74.1
Apoplexy, Embolism, a Thrombosis of Brain	88.1	83.2
Violent and Accidental Deaths	82.7	73.9
Diseases peculiar to the first year of life	61.7	41.4
Cancer	61.0	124.5
Pneumonia (All forms)	47.5	54.4
Digestive System	45.4	
Tuberculosis (All Forms)	35.2	42.6
Syphilis	12.6	12.1

In comparing the death rates of South Carolina with those of the United States our attention is drawn to the fact that in this State the death rates from diseases of the heart and cancer are much lower than in the nation as a whole. Perhaps this disparity arises from the higher percent of population over the age of fifty in the United States —the age when these illnesses are likely to occur. It is interesting to compare the rates of this table with those of a few years ago. In 1927, pellagra and typhoid fever were high on the list of death-dealers and tuberculosis had a mortality rate of 64.2.[2] Since then pellagra and typhoid have disappeared from the list and the tuberculosis mortality rate has been cut almost in half. These reductions are a striking example of the results that preventive medicine and education bring.

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[1] South Carolina State Board of Health, *Annual Report*, 1945, p. 213. *World Almanac*, 1946, p. 672.

[2] South Carolina State Board of Health, *Annual Report*, 1928, p. 147.

COMMUNICABLE DISEASES

Most of the diseases today that result in death are degenerative, particularly characteristic of the older age groups, but the communicative diseases are more disabling, they interfere more with our ordinary pursuits. The following table shows the number of persons that were reported as having communicative diseases, July 1, 1944—June 30, 1945. (Only diseases having more than 3,000 victims each are given.) [3]

Disease	*No. of Cases*
Influenza	15,559
Diarrhea	12,652
Gonorrhea	12,385
Malaria	10,535
Syphilis	7,957
Pneumonia (All forms)	4,489
Mumps	3,467
Whooping Cough	3,317

Though tuberculosis is not listed in this table, it had 725 cases reported.

Influenza had the highest rate among communicable diseases. Its form in 1945 was not as fatal as it was in some of its previous visitations. It is a pandemic, that is it sweeps over the whole nation. Bossard said, "It is a disease of cycles. There have been some eighty epidemics of it since 1173, eighteen of which have occurred on the North American continent since 1627." [4] No other disease is so disabling to a community, for it strikes with great suddenness and attacks every part of the population at the same time, often paralyzing homes, schools, churches and business.

Diarrhea is present in all counties, though it apparently is most prevalent among textile workers and their families, where a faulty diet produces it. Excess of fats or sugar, as well as bad habits of eating—bolting food or failure to masticate—cause diarrhea. Patent medicines are often turned to for relief, but only aggravate the trouble. The de-

[3] South Carolina State Board of Health, *Annual Report*, 1945, pp. 216, 217.

[4] Bossard, J. H. S. *Problems of Social Well Being*, New York, 1927, p. 226.

bility that accompanies the disease slows down work and adds misery to the victims. Infants in the first year of life have diarrhea and enteritis—an inflammatory condition of the small intestine—as the chief causes of death.

The venereal diseases—gonorrhea and syphilis—claimed together over twenty thousand cases. Because of moral and religious taboos they received little public attention until recently. When we take into account the hesitance of their sufferers to approach physicians we realize that the spread of these diseases is far greater than our statistics show. Syphilis has widely varied symptoms because of its different forms and centers of attack. Bones, blood, stomach, brain are areas of its invasion. Nor does it always stop with its victims, often it goes on to their offspring, giving them scrofula or physical deformity or feeblemindedness. Gonorrhea, while getting less attention, should not be taken lightly. It makes forays into the bladder and stomach and sometimes enters the uterus, causing sterility of women. Another baneful effect is that it often gives blindness to offspring.

Malaria was probably brought from Africa by slaves.[5] Soon after its introduction it swept through swamps and rice fields of the low-country. Then it invaded the up-country. Williamsburg, Berkeley, Beaufort and Clarendon counties are riddled by it. Charleston County, too, would be on the black list, but it has carried on such an excellent work in sanitation that this disease has a low rate there. Owing to its low mortality and its lack of swift, dramatic invasions much less notice is taken of it than of many other diseases which work smaller havoc. It lowers the vitality of great groups, bringing economic disaster to large areas and keeping it there. Also, it is the main causal factor in many deaths where terminal causes are recorded. And in its sickness rather than in its death rate lies its gravest injury.

Tuberculosis does not appear in the list of communicable diseases that was given, yet it is a dreaded enemy. Let

[5] Roseneau, *Preventive Medicine*, Sixth Edition, New York, 1935, pp. 213, 214.

alone, it is swift-moving and soon brings death. Young men and women are the chief objects of its onslaughts, which gives it added tragedy. When detected in an early stage it responds favorably to treatment. Through fluoroscopic examinations, X-ray pictures and other methods its presence and extent may now be determined.

SOCIAL EFFECTS OF ILL HEALTH

Chronic sickness accounts for a large part of the army of the unemployables. Besides, temporary sickness prevents many more from attending to their jobs. The failure to take work or stay by it brings lessened income and finally poverty .The great mass of workers, both agricultural and industrial, are always on the border of want, so any loss of income throws them into the ranks of the needy. This brings inadequate diet and failure to pay for medical care, which in turn causes more illness and more unemployment. Thus the vicious circle clamps down: sickness and unemployment; more sickness, more unemployment.

Moreover, sickness weakens the family. An unwell mother can give little attention to the upkeep of the home or the care of the children. So unkemptness is likely to prevail. The boys and girls are prone to play truant from school and church and to wander about during the morally dangerous hours of night. Should the father fall ill, income stops. Consequently the family must go without proper food, housing and clothing. Furthermore, the status of the family suffers. Its members cannot enter any activities that require money nor can they dress in a style expected of them. Hence they are driven by pride to remain home, and there they are likely to develop sensitiveness and antisocial attitudes. From material and spiritual assets they become liabilities.

Another result of sickness is lowered production. Farmers who have malaria or hookworm or pellagra can hardly do the heavy labor required for the making of crops, even if they are left enough vitality to desire success. When machine workers are ill they cannot report to mill or

factory, and if the ailment be widespread absenteeism will interfere seriously with output.

Illness is also connected with crime, not as a causal factor but as a creator of conditions in which crime flourishes. Personality degeneration resulting from sickness often lowers resistance to the temptation to break the law. Poverty springing from ailments brings people to ruinous neighborhoods which predispose their inhabitants toward delinquency. Drug addiction, gotten into by sufferers who used powerful anodynes to relieve pain, constantly drives its victims to offenses against the law, such as trafficking in narcotics and crimes of violence.

Progress—material and social advancement—is made by a vigorous folk, for it only takes place when there are definite goals to strive toward and the mutual struggle of a people to attain them. This is understandable, for surplus energy characterizes only the well. Then, too, sickness is so all engrossing that those who have it find little to interest them in the affairs of their fellows. Sympathy, hope, faith in their institutions—these are not developed in a group of ailing persons. Health alone will not bring progress, but progress will never come without it.

MEASURES TO PROMOTE HEALTH

Sanitation is the first measure to take in a community health movement. Sanitation means much more than cleaning up trash and making a place sightly and odorless. It also carries with it the idea of destroying infection at its sources and in its channels. Apply this to a stable yard. Piles of refuse there have rain water seep through them to an underground stream that supplies a well. A family drinks from that well and goes down with typhoid fever. Sanitation would remove the piles of refuse and purify the water in the underground stream.

To insure the public against disease, the State Board of Health inspects the three main sources and channels of infection—water, milk and food. The law requires that inspections shall be made of public water supplies and sewerage. In conformity to this law, the Board made quarterly

sanitary and chemical analyses of 127 municipalities and obtained and published information about the sewerage systems of these places. The Board also assisted dairymen to build sanitary and pasteurizing plants in order that good clean milk might be produced. As far as it was able, the Board also inspected establishments that furnished milk.[6] As this State spent more than a million and one-half dollars in 1945 on abattoirs and freezer locker plants, it became the duty of the health authorities to see that these were sanitary. So the county sanitarians made regular inspections of them.

Rural territory came in for the attention of health authorities much later than towns and cities. At present, because of education and Federal assistance, rural sanitation and county health work are on a fair footing. In 1945 this work accounted for thirty-nine percent of the Board's expenditures. County health departments now operate in every county of South Carolina. Each has a health officer, one or more clerks, one or more sanitary officers, and a staff of health nurses. These last call for more than a passing reference. Says the State Board of Health: "Public Health Nursing is of the utmost importance, both as to the prevention of disease and the educational value through demonstrations of bedside nursing. It concerns itself with practically every activity carried on by the Board of Health, particularly in the county health departments."

Public health nursing includes all nursing services organized by a community or an agency to assist in carrying out any or all phases of the public health program. Services may be rendered on an individual, family, or community basis, in home, school, clinic, business establishment, or office of the county health department. It is the responsibility of the public health nurse to assist in analyzing health problems and related social problems of families and individuals; to help them, with the aid of community resources, to formulate an acceptable plan for the protec-

[6] South Carolina State Board of Health, *Annual Report*, 1945, p. 274.

tion of their own health, and to encourage them to carry out this plan.[7]

THE PREVENTION OF DISEASES

Ever since Pasteur discovered disease-creating germs medicine has realized that its greatest task lay in destroying these microbes. So preventive health came into being, and on this public health work is largely based. The State Board of Health carries on this phase of its operations through the Division of Preventable Diseases. This department reported: "The majority of the work of the Division this year has been the study and control of malaria. Malaria mosquito control was carried on in the extra cantonment areas of the 23 war areas in the State. Control activities were extended during the year to include residual house spraying in eleven of the most malarious counties in the State. No serious epidemics of communicable disease occurred in the State. Meningococcus meningitis, typhoid and paratyphoid fevers, and diphtheria showed slight reductions over the preceding year." [8]

MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH

In the face of modern knowledge there is no valid reason why mothers should go through prenatal trials and the agonies of child-birth only to have their offspring hold their affection for awhile then die. Besides this, human life is a sacred thing. Its value is beyond all material treasure. An infant might offer nothing but an opportunity for its elders to care for it, yet its potentialities are great, for with it lies the future. Therein rests the interests of society. At one time little attention was paid to infant mortality, for the birth-rate was excessively high, means of subsistence were limited, and ignorance made it appear that God willed for a multitude of little ones to break away from earth before they had time to sin. But with a sharp decline in the birth rate, an increase in subsistence, a milder religious

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 90.
[8] *Ibid.*, 107.

sentiment, and an advance in medical science, popular impatience with the tragic waste is developing.

Since the beginning of World War II no doubt infant mortality has soared in countries outside of the United States, but in 1936 the following were infant mortality rates: (These are the numbers of deaths of infants under one year of age per 1,000 born alive) United States, 57.4; South Carolina, 80.8; Australia, 41; Switzerland, 47; England and Wales, 59; New Zealand, 31; Canada, 66; Germany, 66; France, 67; Denmark, 67; and Italy, 100. Chili's approximate figure led the world with an infant mortality of 225.[9]

Maternal mortality is another topic that should give us concern. In 1945, mothers to the number of 201 died in child birth in this State, which is a rate of 2.7 to the 1,000 live births. The United States had a rate of 2.5 in 1943, the last year for which statistics are available.[10] This toll of infant and maternal mortality is not only disturbing in itself, it is also an indication of poor sanitation, neglect, ignorance and poverty. Perhaps no other figures are as good a social barometer as these rates. The State's health authorities are aware of this and are pushing a program to deal with it. Among the items of this program are clinics, nutrition service and the training of midwives. This last item is of great importance, for about a third of the births in South Carolina are attended by midwives. District institutes are held for midwives, in which instruction is given through lectures, demonstrations, and practical work. In addition the midwife is required to attend a regular monthly class conducted by the local public health nurse.

VENEREAL DISEASE CONTROL

As the ravages of venereal diseases were making rapid headway in South Carolina something had to be done to meet the challenge of these loathsome and dangerous menaces. Before World War II the State and Federal govern-

[9] *International Vital Statistics*, Bureau of the Census, Vol. 9, No. 36, p. 409.

[10] *World Almanac*, 1946, p. 524.

ments launched a campaign to cope with them, but after the armed services drew millions of young men into training centers these recruits became the prey of prostitutes. Venereal disease got a fresh start. In 1945, together, they had the highest rate among communicable diseases in South Carolina. In its last annual report the Board said: "During the fiscal year 1944-1945, the program of the Division of Venereal Disease Control was directed toward the expansion and improvement of two activities; namely, the rapid treatment of syphilis and gonorrhea and case-finding through interviewing and contact tracing."

The report said further: "Local disease clinics have long experienced the difficulties of keeping infectious cases of syphilis under treatment long enough to render them non-infectious. Last year's report of this Division showed that only 11.0 of infectious syphilis cases received sufficient treatment in one year. Realizing the great magnitude of the problem, the State Health Officer directed the local health departments . . . to quarantine all infectious cases of syphilis and send them to the South Carolina Public Health Hospitals for rapid therapy." [11]

Case-finding is essential to treatment, but it had been neglected until a short while ago. Now the technique of discovery is pushed, in which two methods are used—clinical tests and interviews with patients and with acquaintance suspects that patients name. "Juke joints" appear to be a promising field for exploratory interviews.

INDUSTRIAL HEALTH

The swift advance of industry in this State has drawn attention to the hazards accompanying work in machine-employing plants. Industrial hazards are of three sorts—biological, chemical and physical. Tuberculosis, pneumonia and respiratory infections are included in biological hazards. Dusts, liquid poisons and fumes are the chemical menaces. Physical hazards arise from unguarded ma-

[11] South Carolina State Board of Health, *Annual Report*, 1945, p. 142.

chinery, lack of ventilation, extreme humidity, defective light, and other environmental elements.

The State Board of Health reported: "Only thirty cases of occupational disease were reported to the division (of Industrial Health) by the physicians of the State [in 1945], all reports being investigated by personal visits or correspondence and recommendations made for the elimination of hazards. Several of these cases were due to the use or manufacture of new products for the Army and Navy. An investigation was and is being made of conditions in monument and stone-cutting industries in the State with the view of better control of dust hazards, another prevention of silicosis." [12]

CANCER CONTROL

Because of its excruciating pain and its high and rising death rate, cancer has recently alarmed the public. In 1935 out of every 100,000 population in this State 51.4 persons died of cancer. By 1945, ten years later, the rate had risen to 61.0. State aid in the treatment of the disease is given to a small number of patients who are recommended by the Department of Public Welfare. Clinics at nine hospitals are held by the State Board of Health. The South Carolina branch of the Cancer Society of America is raising funds for laboratory research into the causes and cure of cancer. Yet it is baffling as to both its nature and treatment. Surgery is employed extensively to arrest it, and as parts of the body which at one time could not be reached are now accessible to the knife, operations are now conducted for cancer removal where once the patient was left to his fate. X-ray and radium have also been resorted to. All these means have brought relief in many instances, yet the incidence of malignant growth increases and its death rate rises. In the meanwhile research and laboratories are working strenuously on the problem with the expectation of finding some clues that will lead to the causes and successful treatment of cancer.

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[12] *Ibid.*, p. 189.

VITAL STATISTICS

If we are to cope intelligently with the factors that enter into public health we should know them. Accurate and complete vital statistics are essential to this. Births, deaths and their causes, how many persons have listed diseases, the localities of these persons, what trends are shown by these figures, and any other facts dealing with the physical well-being of our people which may be related mathematically are recorded by the Bureau of Vital Statistics. It is the listening post or the watch tower in which to detect the various elements of advancing or retreating health.

By the use of 35mm. microfilms the Bureau is making records of births and deaths for permanent preservation. Punch machines are operated to summarize quickly the information on record cards. In brief, all the methods of modern statistics are utilized by the Bureau.

TUBERCULOSIS CONTROL

The decrease of the death rate from tuberculosis is one of the most dramatic figures in the march of health. In South Carolina in 1880—sixty-five years ago—10.4 percent of all deaths were attributed to this cause.[12] In 1945 this rate had been reduced to .04 percent. This decrease came about chiefly through the National Tuberculosis Association and its branch, the South Carolina Tuberculosis Association, established in 1917. Education was one of the first steps of this movement, whereby it was borne into the people's mind that tuberculosis is transmissible, curable and preventable. Then it became evident that the economic was an essential element in the treatment of the disease. Rest for a long period, with proper food, is necessary for recovery. This costs money. So the association was forced to stress social conditions.

The State, through its Board of Health, has two projects: the Division of Tuberculosis Control and the South Carolina Sanatorium. The Division seeks to find cases by means of the fluoroscope and by a mass X-ray survey. The

[12] *South Carolina*, 1883, p. 420.

Hygienic Laboratory examines specimens, mainly sputum, submitted by both public and private physicians. The Board also conducts a sanatorium, where an average of 430 patients were treated in 1945. The total disbursements of this institution in 1945 were nearly a half million dollars.

EDUCATION

In our discussion of physical ailments and the combat against them by public and private agencies we are aware of the fact that many essential items in campaigning for health were omitted, but enough were treated to show the bearing of health on social life. We now turn to the chief measures for promoting health. The first of these is education, the teaching of ordinary laymen how to escape disease and promote health. In order to further this the State Board of Health has set up the Division of Public Health Education and placed at its head Dr. James A. Hayne, a veteran in this field and for many years the State's Health Officer. Too often this kind of education has been in medical language and addressed to physicians, with the result that laymen have turned to more understandable subjects, such as money-making or politics. The intention of this division is to have a generalized program that will not stress any special activity. It will also mobilize social and educational agencies to promote health. Propaganda will be sent out through publications and the radio.[14]

While this is the proper body to take the lead in this kind of education, it can only take the lead. Other agencies come to mind. The great national societies to combat infantile paralysis, tuberculosis, cancer, and other ills have educational programs under the direction of highly skilled specialists. These societies narrow their vision to the maladies they fight, it is true, and likewise engender some ugly competition among themselves, yet they have concentrated on real menaces and have gotten results. However, with the multiplication of these societies, and their inevitable fi-

[14] South Carolina State Board of Health. *Annual Report*, 1945, pp. 180-184.

nancial drives, public sentiment is beginning to clamor for cooperation to take the place of competition.

Social workers, too, are becoming teachers of health. Schools of social work compel their students to take courses in medical information. So large a part of welfare clients come to their needy state through sickness that relief workers see the need of health promotion in the fostering of better family life and preventing poverty. Community organization always carries physical well-being as one of its fundamentals.

HEALTH MAY BE BOUGHT

Health is purchasable. We may have as much of it as we pay for. Tuberculosis, as was shown earlier in this discussion, is gradually withdrawing before the attacks of public and private agencies. Malaria is diminishing in the face of sanitation. Typhoid is ceasing to ravage, now that sources and channels of infection are purified. Maternal and infant death rates are falling before the advance of trained physicians and midwives. But all this takes money, and if diseases are to be routed further more money must be raised. For what shall we spend our money? War or alcoholic liquor or moving pictures or tobacco? Each of these claims a larger expenditure than health. Perhaps we should have some luxuries, but they should not squeeze out essentials.

After all, health is a social problem and must be met by laymen. Doctors, nurses, technicians, and all the other specialists are only instruments to be wielded by the ordinary populace for the promotion of general health.

MAJOR SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

MAJOR SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Fundamental needs of men are linked with desires that drive them toward satisfaction. The satisfying of these has come through organized groups, and the relations binding such groups together have been commonly recognized and approved. Today these social organizations are usually known as institutions. We now list the major desires and the institutions that carry them into effect:

Desire for	*Institutions*
Sex Satisfaction	Family
Knowledge	School
Goods and Services	Economic System
Protection	State
Spiritual Response	Church

The chief functions of institutions are to provide means for the satisfying of desires. They are functional primarily. Yet there is always a tendency to make institutions ends in themselves. The legalist, the formalist, and the institutionalist may be counted on to oppose any modifications in social organizations which might imperil them. They wish the state, the church, the economic system, the school to remain forever the same or to go back to some golden age—golden for the exploiters. And the masses are afraid that unsettlement will accompany change and that the old familiar guides of their lives may be crippled. The struggle between institutionalists and functionalists has been a main theme of history.

One function of institutions is to transmit social experience from generation to generation. Individuals die, but institutions live on from age to age. If each generation had to exist by its own experience only, mankind would be on a stage little, if any, higher than the brutes, whose low estate is never lifted by transmitted knowledge or skill. It is not too much to say that this racial memory is the precious life blood of society and we should not be fanciful if we thought of institutions as the arteries that carry that life blood.

While furnishing channels through which culture flows, institutions also serve the purpose of social control. An institution is a very realistic thing and it brooks no interference, nor does it hesitate to use any methods available to it to impose its will. Physical force, promises of eternal pains or rewards, assurances of success or failure, the smile of social favor or the isolating sneer of social disapproval—these are only a few of the methods, some subtle and others brutally direct, that institutions employ to make us conform in belief, in dress, in language, in the houses we build and the company we keep. Most of us succumb. Only the loftiest and the most desperate stand out in defiance.

Institutions also give stability to society. As they live on from age to age they bind together different generations with common memories, sentiments and principles. South Carolina, for instance, is the same state, though having an entirely different group of inhabitants, that it was a century ago. One does not expect any radical movement in an institution, but if one comes it is called revolutionary. So parents feel confident that their children will not meet a too precarious life, that should change come it would be through an ordered development to which adjustments could easily be made. Institutions are dependable in this shifting world. For this reason many of us cling to them with pathetic tenacity. It is difficult for stable persons to live in a disturbed world, or for disturbed persons to live in a stable world, but when disturbed persons live in an unstable world it is almost impossible for them to find a steady place where they may get a purchase for their lives.

Divergent from one another as institutions appear to be, they are closely knit together in a web that we call the social order. So interdependent are they that if one unit is pulled away the whole fabric is disordered. We cannot have a vigorous home life if industry languishes and the community is morally diseased. Nor can we have a good school if the family, the church and organized government be of a low order. Not only do these institutions sustain or hurt one another in ways that are obvious, but there are also moral

and spiritual contagions that flow subtly from institution to institution. For instance, where racial injustice runs riot in the courts, the school and the economic system reflect it. Deeply pondering men are not likely to look for any resurgence in South Carolina through the trussing up of any one part of our corporate life.

The characteristics of the separate institutions will be considered as each of them is reached. However, all of them conform to the type sketched in the preceding paragraphs. Perhaps one explanation should be added. In dealing with the economic system industry and agriculture only are treated. There are other economic activities in this State, but the two we have under consideration are of main importance.

CHAPTER 9

THE FAMILY

The gate through which one enters the world is the family. Also the face-to-face contacts of the family are the first and strongest social influences from which our personalities spring and are shaped. Hence the life of the family has been of deep concern to all who are interested in social well-being. From remote times this institution was a center of production and consumption, but with the coming of industrialism and its companion, modern business, production was shifted from the family to other agencies. And with production went many other functions. The state took over education, the church received the task of religious training, the bakery baked the bread, the laundry washed the clothes, the cannery preserved the fruits and vegetables, the dairy supplied the milk. A mighty commercial system poured in all kinds of goods to the family. Even most farm families lost self-sufficiency. They gave so much of their equipment and labor to the making of money crops that they neglected their ancient practice of living off the farm.

Industry and business are carried on by individuals, not families. Hence dispersion comes. The father may be an engineer, one son a machinist, another son a clerk, and a daughter a stenographer. All work at different places and at different hours. It naturally follows that less dependency is placed in the home and more on the job. Also the spirit of freedom and the right to individual happiness has been abroad in the land, and this spirit has pressed on children. It has generally been held that the child should be permitted to lead his own life in his own way, solve his own problems without anxious parents hovering over him, develop his own personality. Progressive education has encouraged this viewpoint. Strict discipline imposed by parents has faded before these new ideas and children have been given a voice in the conducting of the family.

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS

With these structural changes, the family has undergone accompanying psychological alterations. Its mind is not what it used to be. The stress and strain occasioned by its efforts to adapt itself to a swiftly-moving world have given it uncertainty about some of its functions and a greater assurance about others. The clash of desire for ease with the parental urge has produced a lower birth-rate and many childless families, with the consequence that numerous homes are insufficiently supplied with children on whom parents could exercise their normal affections and who might laden the atmosphere with vigor and cheer. Both the shock of the clash and its results have torn many a family with conflicts that have made its mind sick. South Carolina has one of the highest birth-rates in the nation, and a fairly low death-rate, yet its family decreased in size from 4.8 members in 1930 to 4.4 in 1940.

Then, too, the family no longer relies on religion as its mainstay. It is a civil institution that goes its secular way, whether or not it be blessed by the clergy. This change of reliance on "Thus saith the Lord" to "Thus saith the legislature" has moved it from its comfortable anchorage in the eternal to the moorings of a movable stake. The shift of course rocks its inner being. Likewise the removal of the father from his patriarchal position and the freeing of women raised questions that harry the already confused family, and its mind is still trying to find itself in the face of this dethronement and this freedom.

FUNCTIONS OF THE FAMILY

While these inner and outer changes may trouble some, yet to others these changes mean that the family can now perform its essential functions better than ever. The other agencies that assumed its tasks are more able to perform them. We may now pertinently ask: What functions are left to the family? Three at least stand out as of prime social significance, though there are others with which a more comprehensive treatise than this would deal. These

three are: The transmitting of biological and cultural elements, the training of children, and the furnishing of means for satisfying the affectional nature.

BIOLOGICAL TRANSMISSION

The family is the channel through which flows the life of man from one generation to another, and this can never be delegated to any other institution. So no fear need arise that the day will come when the family will disintegrate. Companionate marriage and other such vagaries have from time to time intrigued the unstable, but the great flow of human life moves on in its wonted channel, and will continue so to move until mankind's pilgrimage ends. As the family has this life stream in trust it is necessary that its channel be kept pure. Vices that contaminate men's bodies, riddling them with diseases which breed in their offspring feeble-mindedness, insanity, and a troop of other ills that sear and cripple, strike at racial vigor.

In the chapter on Public Health the rates of infant and maternal deaths are given, and they are disturbingly high. It is not difficult to find the chief causes of these excessive rates in South Carolina. They flow from low income and ignorance and these two factors are closely related. Low income brings poor housing, inadequate food, insufficient clothes, and want of medical care. With ignorance are connected lack of personal and environmental hygiene, carelessness about the condition of expectant mothers, and want of knowledge concerning the care of infants. The economic and the literate levels usually rise and fall together. In the following table the per capita income, infant death rate, maternal death rate, and illiteracy of the different regions of the United States are listed in parallel columns. While one would hardly claim that illiteracy and ignorance are synonymous, yet the two are so akin that they are likely to have the same results in a large population. As the educational levels of the different regions are not available at present the illiteracy rates of 1930 are given.

INCOME, ILLITERACY, MATERNAL DEATH RATE, AND INFANT MORTALITY FOR THE UNITED STATES, FOR GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, AND FOR SOUTH CAROLINA, FOR THE YEAR 1939, EXCEPT WHERE NOTED.[1]

	Annual Income	*Illiteracy Percent (1930)*	*Maternal Death Rate per 10,000 Live Births*	*Infant Mortality*
United States	$554	4.3	40.4	48.0
New England	669	3.7	33.7	39.8
Middle Atlantic	728	3.5	34.5	41.7
East North Central	662	2.1	33.3	40.6
West North Central.	471	1.4	33.8	40.3
South Atlantic	425	8.3	50.0	58.0
East South Central	277	9.6	54.0	55.7
West South Central	374	7.2	51.0	60.2
Mountain	494	4.2	40.4	63.7
Pacific	705	2.1	31.1	40.6
South Carolina	300	14.9	59.1	66.2

A CHANNEL OF CULTURE

Generations do not come and go in waves. There is an even inflow and outflow of individuals, and the incoming of individuals is just numerous enough and so spaced that entrants may learn the ways of their groups before they get to the stage of action. Thus there must be agents through which culture can be carried. One of the chief of these is the family. From his first day a child begins to absorb the kind of culture that is practiced by his family. Not only does their contagion invade him but he is surrounded by barriers that prevent other kinds of culture from reaching him. He is not permitted to hear naughty words nor observe improper manners. And as he advances in childhood a thousand new customs play on him and thousands of others are headed away. Slowly, easily, naturally, and without his being consulted or even knowing about it, he is shaped to the form of his kind. The pervasive working of this in society is often maddening to the person interested in human betterment.

[1] Data for this table were gathered from: *Economic Almanac*, 1942, 1943, National Industrial Conference Board, New York, p. 389; *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1941, pp. 56, 102; *Summary of Vital Statistics*, Bureau of the Census, part 2, p. 1611.

There are certain families in South Carolina from which we expect vice and crime; their children appear to be born with faces turned toward evil, though their mentality is normal. There are other families from which good men and women come regularly through successive generations. These families marked for good or evil have different cultures in which they mold their offspring, and as long as these cultures are retained the quality of the children will remain the same. For instance, the homicide rate in this State hovers around 14 to the 100,000 population, while the United States gets along with eight and England in normal times contents herself with .76. No reform can appreciably diminish the figure for South Carolina, unless families cease to hand on the folkway that it is manly to kill for certain offences.

Good heritages are found in every part of the State, borne there by the family. One finds along the coast good manners in all classes and in both races. Suavity, deference and ease in bearing are a continual delight to travelers in that region. Here, too, is an attitude toward women reminiscent of chivalry, though a little frayed, which is an heirloom from days of opulence. In several of the upper counties, settled by the Scotch-Irish, the older families have a stern conscience that will not tolerate certain modern intrusions on morals. It stands upon the rock of "Thou shalt not." This conscience is a precious treasure handed down in the home, and is especially noticeable in isolated rural households, where the social pattern is not modified by outside pressure. We also find an age-old family culture among folk of German ancestry living in mid-State. Their ancestors settled here nearly two centuries ago, yet their descendants hold to the thrift and tireless labor in the field, and even the superstitions, brought from the old country.

CHILD TRAINING

But the family is not an inert channel through which biological forces and culture flow; it has a task for itself to perform. It must train children. It has to take them as crude individuals and make them persons, quite the most

difficult undertaking that man has set his hand to. At one time we thought that heredity could be counted on as a big help in this, but the latest researches of psychologists show that "like father, like son" is not something that comes down through the blood stream but through the stream of social heritage. Another prevalent notion was that personality is formed near adulthood, that adolescence is its period of greatest development. Now the critical time is pushed back to early childhood. Socialization—the creating of the "we" spirit—obedience to authority, loyalty to the home group, and sharing possessions with others, are bred into the very young. And besides these fundamentals of society, the child is trained to take his place in the family circle, among laboring folk to do chores or help in the house work and among the privileged to care for possessions and to cultivate qualities that will later on be useful in professions or positions of trust. Should the basic training not be attended to by the family, children would develop an indolence and selfish egotism that would make them a burden to society.

Then, too, the emotional nature must be looked after. Impulses toward anger, toward falsehood, and later on toward sensuousness, may easily settle into habits, habits that grow stronger as maturity nears. When one or a group of these impulses becomes fixed at the center of the self it is likely to send one into eccentric or futile action. However, many drives are susceptible to favorable development, as anger may be turned on evil practices or bodily passions be guided toward parenthood. In former times suppression was the approved treatment of powerful primal drives, but a wiser counsel now prevails. We aim them at socially approved objectives. Persons will form habits. Some hold that the person is a bundle of habits. Now, the family is the chief agent to train the child into a wholesome, happy person so that he will not have devastating inner conflicts nor be a social liability.

Training in religion, not theology, is also a function of the family. By religion is meant the life of God in the soul of man. The church propagates dogmas, systematic

formulations of doctrines. This is necessary. The family supplements this with informal, yet steady, emphasis on religious behavior. At one time parents were solicitous about the religious ideas and views that their boys and girls received, hence many opinions and much doctrines were driven into tender minds. Today we are more concerned about their attitude toward life and the dynamic behind that attitude. It is of little import whether or not infant lips can lisp a definition of God but it is of great matter that a child start out with confidence in a Divine Father and with a friendly face toward the world.

Holiness of life as a supreme value is an ideal difficult to hold; perhaps it is held persistently by only a few. Yet to have glimpses of it often enough for it to be a luring force must come in the home. Among the clamoring goals of business or politics or pleasures in the world outside one becomes confused. What things the family thinks of supreme worth will prove the marks toward which its children will steer. Faith, hope, love—which form the tripod of our religion—are easily borne in upon a child, but if once his chief good appears to him to be other than these and his life gets organized about that lower thing it will be almost impossible to change him.

AFFECTIONATE RESPONSE

Deep desire for intimate companionship finds satisfaction in the family. In the early days of their marriage the young husband and wife share each other's inmost souls; later, children draw the affections of their mother and father. Later still, when the children have grown up and scattered, aged parents lean on each other for fellowship. This round that affection makes is a charming circle, and it is in many more homes than some writers would have us believe it to be. Moreover, where it revolves, divorce and desertion cannot enter.

Now that in towns and cities many services are leaving the home and the housewife's labors are diminishing in intensity and length of time, the married woman must find in companionship recompense for her former occupations.

Among farm women in the State, home drudgery is still the rule, as was brought out in the chapter on Country Life. However, the number of underprivileged homes is lessening, through the introduction of modern facilities and by the removal of the sorely beset to towns and cities. So in no distant future we may see the country matron have leisure for companionship. In our time, too, woman has enlarged her interests and climbed through education to intellectual equality with man. Hence husband and wife need no longer travel roads that are alien to each other. When it is realized that the two are to be together long years after the fire of romance has flickered out, the growth of this intelligent comradeship must be hailed cheerfully by all those who would make a brave and happy journey as the end of the forties is closing in.

Children likewise find in the family a response to their affectional outreachings. In their early years they want fondling; later they crave something to twine their affections on. If they are denied these they are likely to develop some serious personality ailment—gnawing hatred or moroseness or an inferiority complex or even a split personality. Much anti-social behavior also springs from thwarted affection. Case records of delinquents show backgrounds of step-parents, broken families, and homelessness which denied children normal love. Sound reason backs this evidence. The child's personality is not a set of separate faculties susceptible to treatment each by itself. Rather it is a living whole and if any force in it be neglected or thrown out of balance the whole delicate mechanism will sway or perchance be disrupted.

But when children's affectional natures are properly developed, a force is carried into the world that gives both drive and meaning to society. Without this warm and moving element the social order would be a cold and heartless machine. Loyalty to our social institutions and to the humanity they serve springs from the affections that flow out of the home. Altruism also comes from the same source, giving one a passion for the welfare of others rather than an exclusive devotion to one's own interests. Compassion

for the weak and the suffering as well as admiration for those who serve their fellows greatly grow from the germ of generous emotions planted and tended by the parents in the child.

NEEDS OF A GOOD FAMILY LIFE

If the family is to function adequately in the ways discussed in the preceding paragraphs it must have certain aids, and, as society is so largely dependent on the family for its maintenance and effectual working, society should see that these aids are furnished. Four of these should be stressed: an adequate income, laws that will foster and protect, education for family life, and home ownership. The necessity for an income large enough to care for the family can hardly be disputed. There is a minimum standard of living to support, to fall below which not only entails physical inadequacy and even suffering but also the loss of self respect and the aspiration to advance spiritually. This minimum standard of living is rising continuously, and it will rise further as mechanisms to promote comfort, amusement and improvement increase. Most of the exhortations in behalf of the simple life are masked appeals for the masses to recede from their demands for those commodities and services which our age has spread so lavishly in their sight. When the per capita income is excessively low as it is for this State, it is evident that either gnawing unrest or the removal from low-income areas must come as the people's reaction—or that portion of them not too depressed to react.

EDUCATION FOR FAMILY LIFE

Besides sufficient economic income, another foundation for the successful building of the family is education. To get the proper kind of education we shall have to swing our curricula from many survivals that are no longer dynamic to subjects, or rather trainings, which are related to the life of the present as it swirls in our streets, businesses, homes, and public affairs. You would never imagine from all the requirements for promotion, the marchings, and the

regimentations in our schools that most of the girls and boys there will get married and that the most important thing they will do in life will be the founding and maintaining of homes. Some domestic science is taught, but courses designed to give the mind a home-set, to teach the young how to approach marriage companionship in a reasonable way, to counteract the emotional jaunt that the merely romantic marriage is, to show the high service of parenthood, and to inject the sensing of the glory of the common soldier into a people who would march toward happiness—such courses are not given in our elementary or high schools. Several of the institutions of higher learning offer courses on the family and on marriage, but they are electives. Of course education is no cure for all parental maladjustment or the mismanagement of children, but it would certainly be as effective here as in other areas of life.

LEGISLATION

While legislation cannot set all the affairs of the family right it could aid in warding off many evils and make it easier for families to perform their functions. And here we might add that the General Assembly should insist that law enforcement agencies carry out its mandates. Among the most urgently needed measures is one to deal with hasty marriages. A marriage license, therefore, should be issued and published at least one week before the wedding of the persons for whom it is issued, and the marriage should be performed in the same county that issues the license. As the venereal diseases of parents often maim their offspring, besides frequently bringing invalidism, insanity and death to the husband or wife, and as persons of feeble intelligence cannot give birth to or properly support a normal family, there should be required a certificate from a reputable physician that the persons seeking marriage are of such physical and mental soundness that they could have children of good health and intelligence.

HOME OWNERSHIP

In 1940, 69.4 percent of the families in South Carolina were tenants, that is they lived in houses not owned by

them. The United States as a whole had a tenantry rate of 56.4 percent for its families.[2] Now the owning of a home is much more than a financial investment, it has a spiritual value. In the first place it insures permanency of residence. This makes for membership in the community with the implication of sharing that community's character and social institutions. This produces good citizens. Besides, when a family owns its home it is likely to improve it. One does not usually wish to tidy up some one else's property and make it attractive. "Better homes and gardens" is hardly a slogan for renters. Linked with the element of permanence is that of status, which a home-owning family has. The power of this is shown in the effectiveness of the appeal in times of danger for men to defend their firesides; they would hardly risk their lives for their landlord's property. Prestige comes with status. Pride lifts a family when it feels the glow of ownership. The boys and girls lift up their heads when they mingle with children of the home possessing class. The cause of this is easily understood, for our forefathers came across the ocean to gain land and houses for themselves and to bear the envied title of freeholders. Thus our heritage is weighted with it.

[2] *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1942, p. 46.

CHAPTER 10

THE CHURCH[1]

South Carolina's first settlers were Protestants. Governor Sayle, our first governor, was said to be a Puritan, and he was evidently a member of the Church of England for he had attended services in that church regularly for eight years before sailing for this province. No doubt the majority of those who accompanied Sayle were of this denomination. The colony had hardly started when Protestants from France—Huguenots—arrived. Presbyterians from Scotland and Ireland soon followed, and they were joined by Congregationalists from England and New England. Baptists also organized about this time. A few Catholics, Quakers and Jews mingled with this Protestant miscellany. The Church of England being the established form of religion, and having behind it the authority of the government, its doctrine, discipline and worship held supremacy under the "grand charter." However, religious liberty was assured to all—an assurance that gave way when dissenters were barred from participation in government.

So by the end of the seventeenth century the chief faiths of the Western World, with the exception of the Lutheran, had representatives in this province. In the first quarter of the next century Lutherans settled at Orangeburg and soon after Presbyterians from Pennsylvania spread through the up-country. About the middle of the eighteenth century the Methodists began to make headway among the less educated. Like the Baptists, they were fortunately untrammeled by high academic and theological standards. The bulk of the inhabitants in those early times had little use for doctrinal elaboration. Their religion, like their lives generally, was elemental and unspeculative. Hence Baptists and Methodists appealed to them. Through this early start with the masses these two denominations have come to a membership that in 1936 comprised 32 percent of the total

[1] The statistics of this chapter were derived from: Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies*, 1936, Summary and Detailed Tables, Vol. I.

population and 82 percent of the church membership of South Carolina.

The total church membership in this State in 1936 was 710,163, which was 38 percent of our population. The following table shows data of the five churches in South Carolina having the largest membership.

Denomination	*Churches*	*Members*	*Expenditures*	*S. S. Pupils*
Baptist	2,075	407,151	$1,940,857	215,632
Methodist	1,156	174,956	1,192,997	96,689
Presbyterian	368	49,885	849,785	36,369
Lutheran	104	27,166	232,518	14,008
Episcopal	156	20,597	251,186	6,514

When the word "church" is used in this discussion, organized Christianity is meant. While the religious pattern of the masses is Christianity, it bears the special coloring of Protestantism. All denominations have the same framework of doctrine, in which the most prominent elements are: the divine inspiration of the Bible, the Trinity, the Atonement, salvation through faith, and the immanence of God. Having the stamp of Protestantism, church members are theoretically individualistic and place the center of authority in themselves rather than in their religious organizations. To be sure, this militates against formal discipline, but the opinions of each group, which are based on the cultural pattern prevalent in the group, hold the members in leash.

ANSWERING UNIVERSAL NEEDS

Deep in the ordinary man is a reaching out for something beyond the material. However, this movement is groping until it is given direction by an organization containing those who are convinced that they have found "the way." Hymns, sacraments, ordinances, prayers, rituals, symbolic architecture, and many other means direct the searchers into the sure path. Psychologically, men may be classed as introverts—those who center their lives within themselves, and extroverts—those who seek satisfaction in the exterior world. The set of personality will express itself in religion as it does in politics, society, and all other areas of life. Some men cling to those means that stimulate the inner

world, that set faith glowing, that lead to prayer and meditation. Such are of the mystic type. Others there are who find an outlet in organizing, in looking after finances, in formulating rules and regulations, in seeing that the accessories of worship are provided. They are popularly, but inaccurately, known as the practical type. Both types are in every church. Each feels that it is the highest and final expression of religion. But it would be hard to conceive how a church could exist without both the Mary and the Martha types.

Another purpose that the church furthers is the softening of the keen, hard edge of reality. Physical and mental suffering, disappointment in ambition or in the objects of love, death—these visit all mankind. In the face of these stark realities man is given fortitude by the church. He learns that adversity tries him and that death itself is but the door to a joyous and endless existence. Beyond the changes and chances of this mortal life is the Changeless One, forever loving and forever strong, with whom the believer identifies himself—a Providence that sees all and knows all in ways that he cannot understand. A few heroic souls might be defiant under the bludgeoning of fate, but mankind generally is not of this mold. Help is given to the distraught. By its dramatic representations the church sweeps its devotees from bitter complaining into triumphant singing, from a dark past and present into a glorious future where there is no night. Hope sees in these that which it seeks.

Furthermore, the church bears witness to the existence of a world beyond this sensuous earth. Into this unseen world neither pure logic nor science has penetrated. Faith, however, reaches to this vast region beyond. The believer is convinced that an all wise and all loving God is in that mysterious realm and that he orders all things aright. Now, the church speaks assuringly of this, sometimes crudely so that crude men may apprehend, at other times in more intricate terms that appeal to those highly developed in taste and intellect. So the lowly tenant and the sophisticated scholar are led to the same conviction. In the tiny Negro

church in the backwoods and in the great city church week after week the same satisfying gospel is proclaimed. In the laboratory a few men have a few questions answered, but in the church the masses find answers to all the deep enquiries that rise in their souls. Of course many of these replies are as crude as the questioners. Yet the great thing is that the masses are made aware of the mighty world of spirit.

THE CHURCH AND SOCIETY

The church should not be expected to set up a finely articulated program for the social, economic and political orders. It is not within its province to prescribe rates of interest, hours and pay of labor, tariff scales, an etiquette for inter-racial relations—though all of these bear on the common good. An ecclesiastical assembly is not made up of experts in the various areas of the present intricate corporate life. But it is within the church's province—more than that, it is its duty—to condemn all practices that make toward the degredation of human beings. Now while the church is not competent to deal with a number of social problems, many of its members are. After all, social betterment comes when the great masses of citizenry are moved toward treating one another in the spirit of brotherhood—a most Christian practice. When men set their hearts on doing a thing they usually do it. So if Christians go forth with the attitude that Christ had toward his fellow men then Christians will find ways of modifying the machinery of government or economics or social life generally.

In addition to energizing its members to extend Christ's principles into all human relationships, the church may pioneer in a direct ministration to the social welfare. The first hospitals, orphanages, outdoor care of the sick, social service, schools, and other means of relieving need or forwarding the good of the community were fostered by the church. Then as humanity required more extensive services than religious groups could give, the government or private secular agencies took over these humane activities. Hence today the church is stripped of many of its former functions. Yet it should not be forgotten that the great philanthropies

that characterize our modern world stem from groups of believers. And the opportunity for social pioneering still stares the church in the face.

Great stretches of rural South Carolina have little or no contact with scouting, community recreation, the family welfare movement, mental and physical clinics, uplifting music, or other means to promote social adequacy or the more abundant life. Yet every community in this State has one or more places of worship, which, unfortunately, feel that they have done all that is required of them when they have a weekly hour of prayer, praise, and preaching. These devotional services should be had, but the members might organize to alleviate the suffering that surrounds them and pour some radiance into the drab lives at their doors. A limited survey shows that there are hardly a half dozen county churches in the State that have any buildings that approximate community houses.

No estimate has been made of the extent of the Church's influence on society generally. Yet on every hand the results of that influence are patent. In public welfare, in exalting the family, in protecting childhood, and in the general attitudes of the citizenry the radiating power of religion may be observed. Yet more, religion sanctions the current moral standards. To non-believers—there are a few of them in this State—morals appear to be the most workable code of conduct that experience has taught. The church accepts this and adds divine approval. Monogamy, for instance, is the most reasonable state for married folk. In this both the religious and the secular agree. But the church goes further than mere agreement. It has a ceremony to unite the man and the woman. It pronounces a blessing over the union. It proclaims that God has made the twain one. Likewise, we find sanction given to temperance in drinking, to private property, to criminal law, to representative government, to justice. Now a cynic might point to many breaches of this list of approved virtues, and he might make uncomfortable reflections thereon. Yet it must be borne in mind that the masses of both whites and Negroes have a long way to travel to reach an exalted plane of morals and that

their present advance is due to what they believe to be divine commands. One can imagine how much of the moral code would be dissipated if this stay of religion were removed.

Missions, especially foreign missions, usually raise little enthusiasm among the rank and file of church members. The locally-minded man is likely to call attention to needs in the community as soon as missions are mentioned, though he is not likely to practice self denial to relieve nearby distress or to remove its causes. Yet world mindedness is growing among us. Events are forcing it. Material civilization is leaping across seas and penetrating the farthest lands. Tools of luxury, lethal weapons, intoxicants and diseases of the West are streaming to pre-literate and partly civilized peoples. It is to be expected that world exchange in commodities will be accompanied by world traffic in ideas. Those ideas might be utterly devoid of spiritual content. If so, a Nemesis will overtake mankind, for the fruits of materialism are not those of the spirit. So it behooves the church to be world-minded, if for no other reason than to ward off world calamity. No smug provincialism nestles in the words, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." The predominant missionary activities are religious services and ministrations, relief, medical aid, and education. These have social effects far greater than might be expected from the money expended on them.

METHODS AND MACHINERY

Five means are used to carry the church toward its objectives: services accompanied by preaching, organizations of laymen, church schools, pastoral care, and the press and radio. Services, including sacraments, are necessary to focalize religious life, to integrate the members into a unified body, to inspirit the congregation with the gospel message, and to practice corporate devotions. From its first days the church has held regular services. Roman Catholics, Lutherans and Episcopalians employ liturgies; members of other denominations have more freedom in their public devotions. One concludes from observation that the music,

prayers and ceremonies among Protestants are becoming more chaste and dignified. Yet several new sects that have recently invaded this territory carry on emotional orgies at their devotional gatherings. It is evident that the educational levels of the participants in religious services determine whether those services shall be intelligent or soundboards for primitive passions. While the congregation's level of education is of prime importance, the clergyman's position as designer and leader of public devotions places him at a strategic point. He may either give way to unbridled emotions or stand on higher ground and draw the congregation upward.

That the ministry generally is on higher ground than that occupied by the congregations can hardly be doubted. The several denominations are encouraging and aiding their candidates for the ministry and their younger clergy to gain both an academic and a theological education. Many of the clergy are outstanding through their enlightened leadership not only of their flocks but also of their communities' life beyond their churches' bounds. In the 1940-41 edition of *Who's Who in America,* South Carolina has 248 names, 10.8 per cent of whom are ministers. That is a higher percentage than for the nation as a whole, if previous reports of the proportion in *Who's Who* still hold.

SUNDAY SCHOOLS

Sunday schools are for the instructing of the children in the Bible and the doctrine of the several denominations and, in many instances, of applying these to the technique of personal morals and devotions. An increasing number are emphasizing the social implications of the gospel. As the public schools have as their chief objective the training of the young in citizenship in the community and the state, so Sunday Schools aim at training their scholars in the citizenship in the kingdom of God. The effectiveness of the church tomorrow depends on the religious education of the boys and girls today. Once we were ashamed at the high proportion of secular illiterates in our population, but we are not deeply stirred by the religious illiteracy so prevalent among

us. Every teacher of literature is often astonished at the ignorance of high school and college students about religious history and doctrines to which standard readings constantly refer. In former generations, when children were taught religion at home, there was a much larger knowledge of these things. Recourse is now had to the Sunday School for church instruction. But getting them there is one thing, and having them properly taught is another.

Many of the Sunday School teachers are unskilled in directing little folks, and many are ill informed in the subjects which they present. On reaching adolescence the brighter pupils are quick to sense such inadequacies, and many of them slip away. This is known as leaking at the top. And when these boys and girls attend college they are often confused by the viewpoint and revelations of science and by the liberal attitude toward religion, so reasonably maintained. At a time when they should have undergone conditioning to meet the new world they were being bored by meagerly equipped men and women who felt there was some sanctity in provincialism. Now, later on these young folk will go back to be leaders in their communities. The colleges are not to be blamed. In this State they are sympathetic with religion and are constructive in their teaching, but they cannot descend to the obscurantism of many a Sunday school teacher. Modern graded courses, trained and oriented teachers, and proper equipment are needed by so many weak and spiritless Sunday schools. Yet it would be unfair to close this subject on such a repining note. Many denominations are keenly aware of the hindrances just discussed, and they are trying to overcome them. Denomination headquarters are promoting local teacher training and the use of more interesting and better organized courses of instruction.

LAYMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

Women's and men's clubs and auxiliaries aid the church by emphasizing special interests such as missions, temperance, and church extension, and by assisting in raising funds. But the characteristic movement of the twentieth

century is the rise of youth. It manifested itself in the denominations in the founding of the Baptist Young People's Union, the Epworth League, the Young Peoples' Service League, the Christian Endeavor, the Luther League, and other like societies. These organizations have devotional meetings, doctrinal discussions, social studies, entertainments and outings. The programs are such as appeal to boys and girls approaching adulthood. Not only are juveniles thus held to the church, but also a youthful spirit flows from them and this tends to make the church more flexible and understanding. Religious leaders are usually advanced in years, persons whose mental processes and ecclesiastical attitudes were fixed a generation ago. The present generation is more fluid in ideas, more tolerant of opposing religious opinions, a trifle startling in its language, and quite daring in its notions. Statistics of membership in young people's societies in this State are not available. Yet this is known, youth has gotten a permanent position in the church and its organizations have multiplied in numbers and have increased in membership.

PASTORAL CARE

Pastoral care is an ancient practice in the church. It brings the minister in close personal relation with members of his congregation. The pastor goes regularly from home to home in ordinary visiting, and in times of sickness or bereavement he goes straight to the stricken. Yet a few city churches have such large congregations and such a maze of organizations that their pastors, even when aided by assistant ministers, cannot make rounds of door-bell ringing for all families in their flocks. However, when serious illness or grief comes to the homes of their people the clergy make visits of consolation. As the great majority of churches in South Carolina are in open country, villages and towns, due to the size of the congregations resident ministers may live closer to their members. Preaching and the accessories of worship are usually not as good as in city establishments, but a compensation is had by the constant personal contact with pastors.

PRESS AND RADIO

Recently the press and the radio have come to the aid of the churches. Daily newspapers carry the hours of services and other notes of interest, and the daily and weekly papers generally publish explanations of the International Sunday School lessons. The radio transmits services, sermons and sacred music of a high order. National Vespers, the Lutheran hour, the Catholic hour, the Jewish hour, and the Old Fashioned Revival hour are some of the nation-wide offerings. They are usually interesting, moving and of good taste. Added to these are local broadcasts of a religious nature. At almost any hour on Sunday one can listen to a sacred program. These programs are a boon to the shut-ins, the sick and the blind. Some have held fears that the radio would usurp the regular congregational worship, but there is a social element in the gathering of the people that makes such fears groundless. How many persons listen to these devotional offerings and how far the listeners are influenced cannot be measured, but, like ventures in music and drama over the radio, faith in the great cause justifies the effort.

TOWARD MORE EFFECTIVENESS

In South Carolina there was one church to every 434 inhabitants in 1936. This means overchurching, with its results of duplication and competition. In many a community there are several tiny churches, half starving yet lingering on. Together they might muster just enough to pay a living salary to a resident minister, gather enough Christians to make a sizable congregation, and corral a sufficient number of musicians to compose a passable choir. Furthermore, such small units have no surplus energy to expend on needed and feasible social projects nearby or to contribute to their denomination's support. Competition also springs up among them, which divides their neighborhoods. Nor can such feeble groups breathe inspiration and aggressiveness into their adherents. Bright young liberals have suggested that there be federated churches or union churches or community churches to replace these weak bodies. It is

a noble gesture. But sectarianism has gone too far to diminish the number of churches, many of which will die of anemia, anyway. But certainly no new ones should be established in areas already supplied with enough churches to minister to the spiritual needs of the inhabitants.

If unity cannot be had before the altar and in the pulpit, religious folk may turn to a place where it may be gotten. In the pagan business system weltering in many communities, in the thwarting economic system that sends men and women into want and moral desperation, in a political system where helping self is generally recognized as an impelling motive—in these fields men of all faiths and those of no religion might find opportunities for unity of action. And this would be a good unity. Among its very Christian results would be a criterion for separating the sheep from the goats, a criterion we now lack and yet which is necessary in all forward movements. It could add a new orthodoxy that would demonstrate its soundness by the fruits it bore. Should an adventure toward such unity be entered into the denominations could go right on in their accustomed ways of holding services, conducting rites and ceremonies, and constructing interesting systems of theology.

CHAPTER 11

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Public schools as we know them today—free schools for all the children—did not exist in the State before 1871, and for some time after that year they existed only in unenforced statutes. The Constitution of 1895 ordered a tax of three mills on all property, which was to be for school purposes, but this gave hardly an opportunity for all the children to take a nibble at the three R's. To provide adequate schooling this constitutional levy would have had to be supplemented by large State appropriations, as the poor school districts could not raise the necessary funds. But the State was slow to recognize its responsibility to educate the whole youthful population, as it still had a cultural lag stemming from an aristocratic class feeling and an intense individualism. The results of this neglect were apparent in the high illiteracy rates of the adults. However, we should not conclude that slowness to inaugurate an adequate public school system sprang from an apathy towards education; it rather came from the fact that private schools were functioning well and that public schools appeared to be a useless duplication of expense. The sociologist sees in this a social lag.

In 1924 the 601 Act was passed. In this act the State guaranteed six month's schooling, provided the county or district insured a seventh month. Certification of teachers was also prescribed and salaries of teachers were standardized. Thus educators were brought nearer to a professional status. In this measure the State took its mightiest stride forward in providing instruction for every child in its borders. It did more, too. It assumed responsibility for this instruction instead of leaving it to local units of government. The provision that one month's support be provided by the district or county was a concession to the forces that strove to confine educational responsibility within sectional lines, a concession that was soon to go.

In 1935 the counties and school districts were relieved of providing one month's schooling, and the State assumed re-

sponsibility for seven months. This made education entirely a function of the State. To be sure, localities might supplement this—many do—but every child is insured a desk, a teacher, a comfortable room, and in many instances transportation to and from school—all for seven months.

Recently two measures were taken by the General Assembly to increase school attendance and to make it more effective—the rental system for text books and the employing of attendance officers. If schools are really to be free they must make free all the tools that the pupils use, and that means free text books. While many parents are able to purchase these, others are barred by poverty from even this small expenditure. It is manifestly a poor policy to spend millions of dollars a year to provide instruction for every child and then hamstring many by refusing one more step, that of giving them text books. Of course this would necessitate more taxes, but the taxpayer's children would get their books free, and this in many cases would offset the extra outlay. Yet the time has not come in South Carolina for this obvious advance, so the expedient of text book rental has been launched.

Compulsory attendance is the logical conclusion of the State's inauguration of schools for all. If provision is made for the pupils, then pupils should be made to accept the opportunity. Moreover, if parents are so sunk in ignorance and in lack of ambition for their offspring that they will not bestir themselves to get their children to school then the State should compel these boys and girls to have some exposure to education. For in a few years these youngsters will take a place in the social order that will make great demands on intelligence. Besides, it is a surrender of State responsibility to permit children to be sacrificed to their parents' ignorance or prejudices or to employers' greed. Every child has a moral right to a chance in life, and a chance these days can hardly be had without literacy. So the General Assembly made provision for the employment of attendance officers to compel all parents of children of sound body and mind between the ages of eight and fourteen to send those children to school.

DEMOCRATIZING THE SCHOOLS

With these movements to provide schools for all the children and to compel attendance there was a parallel progress in giving a wider sweep to the curriculum. If schooling is given to all, then it should be fashioned to fit the needs of all. Not only its quantity but also its quality needs to undergo a change. Like other Americans our people generally have a notion that mere schooling will work magic by lifting boys and girls from an overall to a white-collar status. As education from earliest times was given to favored classes only, it came into our day—the day of technology—with an aristocratic tinge. It was chiefly cultural, to refine the minds and polish the manners of the elite. Culture was a characteristic of the classes and vocation belonged to the masses, and never the twain should meet. But with the uprising of the masses, culture and vocation had to be fused. Though the fusing process lags, as might be expected in so ancient an institution as the school, yet it is going forward steadily.

Now the only excuse for taxes to be levied for the education of children is that those children are to be trained in citizenship in order to perpetuate and bring to a fairer character the social organizations of their several communities and their State. There is no valid reason why a man should be deprived of a part of his income to pay for the training of other men's offspring if they are to use that training in selfish advancement or in conduct that makes against the common good. The dear desire of the professional educator is likely to be a longing to send forth scholars and professional men of eminence. We need these, of course, but the run of pupils will not be distinguished in any way. They will go from school houses, big and small, to carry on the ordinary life of the world, to be fathers, mothers, voters, workers, traders, neighbors — in short, they will hold and build upon the civilization we possess. After all, the burdens of mankind have rested on the back of mankind. "The illustrious obscure," to use Shelley's phrase, have made this world what it is. So the schools are called on to train their wards in citizenship.

HEALTH

When we analyze this thing called citizenship we find that its main elements are susceptible to school treatment. Let us look at these. First there is physical health, for we can have no efficient, progressive social order if there are a number of weak or ailing persons to drag it down. How health should be taught and how it should be correlated with other disciplines in elementary and high schools must be left to professional educators. However, the public has a right to demand that health be one of the main objectives of the curricula of our common schools. At present our health authorities are hampered by the ignorance and superstition of the masses and by the inertia of the favored strata. These bulwarks against the combating of disease and low vitality caused by malnutrition can be destroyed by education only.

Our school authorities are becoming more health conscious. Besides carrying health in the curriculum, three new projects have been started: Alcohol Education, Physical Fitness and Health Education, and the serving of school lunches. The objective of alcohol education is to present the pupils with the scientific facts about the effects of alcohol on the human body and to help them see "the value of exercising reason, judgment, conscience, self-criticism, and self control and to develop an understanding of the relation of the use of alcohol to these functions." [1]

The Director of Physical Fitness and Health reports:

> There is a better understanding of the objectives of the program and increased interest and growing encouragement on the part of most administrators. The program is being broadened in many of the schools and greater numbers of boys and girls included in these activities. Where there is no physical fitness program, the reason is, practically everywhere, the inability of the school authorities to find a man or a woman trained to do this work. There is a very noticeable improvement in the type program being conducted. The old method of just "throwing out a ball" is rapidly being replaced by well-planned and wisely-selected activities with objectives that are acceptable as educational activities. There

[1] South Carolina State Superintendent of Education, *Annual Report*, 1945, p. 73.

> is an almost universal desire to enlarge and extend the program in the schools which is a most wholesome condition for the future of physical education.[2]

School lunches were introduced originally to meet the needs of half famished and undernourished children. Then it was discovered that most children have faulty or unbalanced diets and need to have some training in the use of food values. Federal aid stimulated the program, and State, county and local communities gave their financial support. In 1945 nearly five million dollars was spent on this project—an amount almost double the State's total appropriation for schools twenty years ago. The School Lunch Division reported:

> South Carolina again this year ranked at the top in the nation in number of schools participating and number of children being served. More emphasis is being placed on the educational phase of the program by supervisors, teachers and school officials. In a large number of communities elaborate lunchrooms and buildings are being constructed and equipped. During the year approximately 2,037 schools, 1,035 Negro and 1,002 white, participated in the program, serving around 22,000 children.[3]

PARTICIPATION IN CULTURE

The second element of citizenship that the schools can forward is participation in the best culture. Culture is a fluid word whose content is difficult to capture. Yet we know that at its highest reaches are the best that people have thought and done. The great works of art and literature should be opened to juvenile citizens, for after all the highest culture cannot flourish without general support. Both for individual enrichment and for the producing of a fairer civilization in this State the masses need to lift their eyes above the daily task. Besides, acquaintance with the ebb and flow of mankind's life throughout the world, commonly known as current events, tends to destroy provincialism. Thus self-centeredness and provincialism, the two greatest menaces to our corporate life, are combated by the invasion of worthwhile and noble thoughts and things.

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[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 151-152.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 151.

Of course all schools teach reading, and that is the great beginning. But even in the limited field of literature reading is not enough. Guidance in reading should be given, along with material to read. School libraries go a long way in promoting this. While we are not told the quality of the books in our school libraries, we presume that it is excellent. We are informed as to the number of such libraries and the extent of their contents. Elementary schools to the number of 1,329 have libraries, and 371 high schools have them. Elementary schools numbering 2,249 and 117 high schools are without any. These libraries have about 1.56 books per enrolled pupil. Refining these figures further, we find that there are .94 books for each Negro and 2.9 for each white pupil.[4] These statistics may be taken as a measuring rod for the culture of our school children, for books are the only road that leads to the knowing of the best that people have thought and achieved.

SOCIALIZED PERSONALITY

The third element to consider is socialized personality. Most pupils come from highly individualistic backgrounds and are further driven by individualistic urges that nature and our American culture have placed in them. Individualism was an asset in our early history, when aggressive men who brooked no heading off had to care for themselves and their families in a sparsely settled wilderness, but life nowadays is characterized by interdependence. We are pressed upon by people of different cultures, with varying attitudes and behavior. With them we have to make adjustments, both for our happiness and our achievements. The social order, too, has to be carried on by socially minded folk, who are able to do team work without pouting because they are not recognized as star performers. And beyond this, the government, state and national, is drawing heavily on its citizens for financial and moral support. Public health, education, obedience to law, patriotism in peacetime, need money and spirit.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 291.

Now, to get adjustments and personalities set to further the common good it is necessary to start with boys and girls when they are very plastic. Until lately social training was kept in abeyance until pupils' personalities were taking their final shape. Then they thought of social disciplines as studies about institutions far removed from the interests of the average man. The consequence was that we approached a world demanding socialized folk with a set of people who worshipped the great god Me. The Depression followed. While socialized personalities do not get from academic circles any favor for their set of mind, yet events are driving the schools to a new course. Back as far as the kindergarten modern teachers are training little folk in personal adjustment, in *esprit de corps*, in loyalty to the common good. Contrary to the opinion of many, the socialization of the curriculum does not mean an inundation of new courses, it rather calls for a social interpretation of existing studies. History, geography, languages, even mathematics, are amenable to such manipulation. It is hard to see how citizenship can be taught without this social emphasis.

OCCUPATIONAL SKILL

A fourth element in training in citizenship is the attainment of skill in some occupation. This is commonly called vocational education. In a society such as we have every person should contribute to support himself, and usually his family, or be placed on the relief rolls of private or public agencies. This latter gives a poor outlook for citizenship. Therefore, the public school system is coming to consider the necessity of training all its pupils in vocations. Should some of these youths later go into professions or managerial positions, their discipline in ordinary occupations would give them more stamina and a keener understanding of human relations. However, as reasonable as these educational objectives appear to be—and few would gainsay them—parents in this State do not relish the notion of having their sons and daughters instructed in common occupations. To them education means book learning exclusively. Parental hesitancy at best, and obstruction as

a rule, dampen any enthusiasm about the subject which schools might otherwise have. The rank and file of educators also are chary about going into vocational training in a large way. This inertia is readily understood. Educators are usually mature persons, trained in a standard curriculum, and staunchly set in their methods. Moreover they are bulwarks of conservatism and resent radical innovations—and this would be a radical innovation.

Another element in the situation is business and industry, which should be geared with the school's vocational program. And why should this element not cooperate? Business and industry's greatest need is a steady inflow of well trained and reliable employees. So the kind of training advocated is not solely a problem for educators, it is also a question for the whole community to face.

FARMING

In this State vocational education is given in four fields: agriculture, trade and industry, distributive education, and home economics. Agriculture lends itself more readily to preparatory training than do the others. Agricultural laboratories surround every country school and every farm home; pupils have farm traditions bred in them; each scrap of knowledge may be put to use in a little while, thus shortening the distance between learning and earning; a minimum of shop equipment is called for; and the courses are simplified by a well thought out delineation of objectives and methods. Besides these advantages there is Federal aid for agricultural instruction.

The Supervisor of Agricultural Education reports:

> The war affected considerably the enrollment of farm boys in vocational agriculture. A great many of the older boys were drafted and went into military service. Some of them went into war work of various kinds. The younger high school boys, in many cases, were kept busy with farm work and were unable to stay in school, as regular as they should have. The entire teaching program in agriculture for high school boys was based upon the production of food for family use, for war purposes, and of feed for livestock.
>
> Promotional activities are also being provided for the

> New Farmers of South Carolina, an organization which is made up of the Negro boys who are studying vocational agriculture in the State. Contests are being provided for these boys and promotional activities are being set up and sponsored that will encourage very definitely their program in vocational agricultural training.[5]

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

Efforts in this field of education are for the purpose of training workers primarily for the trades, such as machinists, engine and aircraft workers, sheet metal workers, automobile mechanics, welders, ship carpenters, electricians, textile operators, and the like. There are also significant developments which carry the training into many new areas.

The Supervisor of the Division of Trade and Industrial Education reports:

> New shops have been developed for the training of workers in the field of cosmetology at Anderson High School, Anderson, S. C., Sterling High School for Negroes, Greenville, S. C., Murray Vocational School, Charleston, S. C., and Burke Industrial School for Negroes, Charleston, S. C. These shops are well equipped and have had a very successful year's work.
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> A second area of training entered into during the year has been the training of practical nurses. This program was started at Orangeburg, S. C., under the leadership of an excellent graduate nurse who had approximately twenty years of experience. This program was worked out in cooperation with an advisory committee representing the Negro medical association and the Negro nurses association. We had twenty-eight (28) to complete the training at Orangeburg.[6]

DISTRIBUTIVE EDUCATION

A new kind of management and salesmanship is called for by the new world of business. Chain and department stores demand efficiency and courteous service. Wholesale and independent retail stores of various types are seeking for employees who understand the affairs of the establish-

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 221, 225.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 182.

ments and can push their wares with a smile. The public, too, is growing in its discrimination of goods and services. The old easy method of take it or leave it cannot stand in such a system. On the other hand, the mounting output of farms and factories, accompanied by a decrease of labor units, drove many to seek employment in carrying this flow of goods to the public. Towns and cities are growing through the influx of young people who are seeking employment in the distributive trades. These are added to the residents who are already in like occupations. Knowledge and skill are eagerly sought by employers in all merchandizing activities, and this gave rise to distributive education.

The Supervisor of Distributive Education reports:

> Carrying out the same plan that was begun two years ago, the emphasis was placed on improving the stores, both in appearance and service. With this as the objective, some stores were used as a laboratory and the class as a whole would remodel it or suggest the plans to be used. Shelves have been reworked, stock worked down, attractive displays made, painting done, inexpensive fixtures made, which brought about more interest on the part of the merchants in distributive education. Merchants who haven't gotten away from the old habit of allowing things to accumulate, have taken a very active interest in the program and have benefited from it. Salespeople have taken more interest in their work, especially since the War Programs for store people have been offered. It has made them realize their responsibility in the distribution of goods during this war emergency. More intelligent personnel, better selling practices and improved customer service, and a more thorough understanding of war regulations have resulted from the training.[7]

HOME ECONOMICS

Home Economics trains girls in the arts of homemaking. Such arts do not come by instinct. Not only does it teach the physical technique of the various branches of housekeeping—such as cooking, sewing, arranging the house for easy and efficient work, it also treats of personality adjustment to the members of the family and to the neighborhood, the care of children, and the giving of esthetic satisfaction to the family.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

The Supervisor of Home Economics reports:

> For the past several years, stress has been placed on the offering of homemaking education in the upper three high school grades; so that increasing a large number of the older girls may have more opportunity for instruction and that more of these girls might be reached. The inauguration of the twelve year program has given impetus to homemaking instruction thru the twelfth year. The upper high school grades with small girl enrollments do show an increase in enrollment in home economics while the total enrollment shows a small decrease this year for the day school.[8]

KNOWLEDGE OF GOVERNMENT

The fifth element in good citizenship that the schools can promote is knowledge of government. This includes a grasp of the principles of political organization in a democratic society and information about the general framework and the officers of government—county, state, and national. As one considers some elected and appointed officials one cannot but wonder how intelligent people selected these persons for positions involving judgment, energy, and specialized knowledge. One great reason for this negligence is the lack of civic information by the public at large. Today, when government is impinging heavily on every department of life—home, school, business—the old qualifications of a cheery word and a slap on the back will not suffice for public service. So it comes that voters should know what they are about. No magic is worked by casting a ballot. If an inefficient man is elected to office or an inefficient system of government is permitted to continue, the fact that they were approved by a majority of the voters will not forestall the havoc caused by their inefficiency.

Adolescence is the time in which alertness to this should be started, for then the mind is plastic and independent. The method employed should not be limited to recitations from the text, but should also employ discussion and encourage the free utterance of opinion. Thought about public problems should be stimulated. Also the significance of pressure groups, log rolling, special privileges, and other

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

like realities of political action ought to be made clear and, where feasible, illustrated from current political events.

THE TWELVE-YEAR PROGRAM

South Carolina held tenaciously to her eleven grades until recently. The North and the West have long had twelve grades in their schools, but they did not have meager finances and the race question to contend with. Most of the Southern states too, on their emergence from dire poverty, introduced the twelfth grade. Then, in 1944, South Carolina saw the light and felt in her pockets and found them not empty, so she likewise joined the procession and made arrangements to add another grade to her schools.

With the large influx of new subjects into the curriculum, administrators found that boys and girls were rushed through the grades without having time to digest the subjects offered them. There was an unseemly hopping from grade to grade, which added to the nervous tension of an already overwrought life. Then too, comparatively few pupils go on to college, hence whatever formal education the masses get must be obtained in the public schools. With the addition of another grade those students may be better fitted to make a living and to build up their communities. It would be well for us to remember that the common life is carried on mainly by those who never glimpsed the inside of college walls.

In introducing a twelfth grade the intention was not to add the college freshman year; it was rather to give more time for pupils of the public schools to mature. The added year will not be just another layer of learning, but will instead improve all the work from the kindergarten to graduation. So those who are fearful that our educational system is ever reaching for barren ornamentation may set their minds at rest. The prolonging of the common school's course is to do better what we are already doing.

ADULT EDUCATION

Life moves on—social, political, economic, and religious life—and it moves among those who are out of school. In

fact, the world is carried on by men and women who are beyond the school age but are not beyond the learning age. In a democracy, power is in the hands of the masses, whether they are prepared or not to sense the direction in which they are moving or to handle the instruments of social control. The 1930 census showed that 14.9 percent of the people of this State could not read or write. While the 1940 census did not enumerate the illiterate, yet we know from our backward educational facilities that ignorance of letters still lingers in appreciable measure in our midst. This prevalence of illiteracy besides being an evil in itself is also an indication that there are numbers of persons whose ability to read is so small that they cannot enter the world of events beyond what they are told. So the demagogue finds in them an easy prey. They believe his unfounded assertions and thrill to his primitive emotions. Hence he marches over their ignorance and fury to high political office.

In time compulsory schooling will overcome the ignorance born of illiteracy. In the meanwhile adult education will have to furnish some of the mature folk with the simple tools of learning—reading, writing, arithmetic. But the world will always be changing, so adult education looms large in the future. Besides, the great amount of leisure developing through industrialism needs to be partly absorbed by continuation schools. Denmark has shown the way. In that little country folk schools were established to lead the people to social and economic recovery after their disastrous defeat at the hands of the Prussians in 1866. These schools were ungraded and without examinations, but through the technique that they developed the masses were instructed in various phases of agriculture, in the nation's history and folklore, and in co-operatives for consumers and producers. From a tenant ridden, forlorn land Denmark became a happy, prosperous country, with little tenancy and with a world-wide trade in farm products whose income was fairly evenly distributed among all the people. Adult education all over the Western world has been stimulated by Denmark's remarkable achievements.

In South Carolina adult education in its beginning had to do mainly with illiterates, but it is veering more and more toward teaching mature persons, literate and illiterate, how to live in their contemporary world. Miss Wil Lou Gray, Supervisor of Adult Schools, who has done notable work that is nationally recognized, reports:

> In an effort to meet the needs of every county in the State, the following general adult education offerings were made available to every county in South Carolina:
>
> 1. War Education Centers where folks of all levels could meet together for the purpose of discussing problems pertaining to the common good.
>
> 2. Literacy classes not only to teach the three R's but classes in consumer education, nutrition, production and conservation, with special attention to discharged veterans and dislocated workers and their families, who are aware of the need for further education in order to make necessary adjustments to the post-war world.
>
> 3. Special classes for teaching the three R's to midwives, organized with the co-operation of the State Board of Health.
>
> 4. Continuation Classes for those who have not completed high school and who wish to work toward a high school diploma.
>
> 5. Special Summer Program of industrial centers.
>
> 6. Camp Opportunity School, Jr., a special war camp designed to take care of teen-age boys of working mothers.
>
> 7. Opportunity School, with new courses planned especially for wives of soldiers and their babies.
>
> 8. Counseling Service for the Opportunity School alumni and others interested in continued education and particularly in securing a high school diploma by taking a standard examination given by the University of South Carolina in co-operation with the State High School Division.
>
> 9. Opportunity School alumni study groups and the publication of "Lander Days" which serve to motivate continued study.[9]

COMPETENT TEACHERS

In every field which we have considered—grade schools, vocational training, and adult education—there is an inadequate supply of properly trained and conditioned teachers. "Conditioned" is used advisedly, for many teachers are woefully lacking in socialized personality and in holding

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

the vision of democratic education. For the training and conditioning of teachers two measures are requisite: the professionalizing of their occupation and giving them an adequate income. Outside of college professors, superintendents and principals, supervisors, and a few special instructors, teachers are not looked on as members of a profession on a level with doctors, lawyers, clergymen, or engineers. A decision to take teaching as a life work and the pursuit of advanced courses in a school of education would be prerequisite to this. Another step toward the professional plane would be the adopting of an ethical code. But as long as a great number of young women teachers feel that school work is only an interlude between college and matrimony and a large portion of men teachers think of their jobs as a means of making money wherewith they may go on to a real profession, teaching will remain an occupation only.

The State Superintendent of Education reports the pay of teachers as follows:

AMOUNT PAID CLASSROOM TEACHERS[10]

	White	*Negro*	*Negro and White*
Elementary:			
Men	$ 322,182	$ 361,514	$ 683,696
Women	7,023,700	3,349,028	10,372,728
Total	$ 7,345,882	$ 3,710,542	$11,056,424
High School:			
Men	$ 1,219,796	$ 260,427	$ 1,480,223
Women	2,977,088	403,548	3,380,636
Both	$ 4,196,884	$ 663,975	$ 4,860,859
Total number classroom teachers employed	9,114	5,975	15,089
Total amount paid classroom teachers	$11,542,766	$ 4,374,517	$15,917,283
Average annual of all classroom teachers	$ 1,266	$ 732	$ 1,055

It is manifestly impossible for teachers to live in dignity, buy books, take occasional summer courses, and be relieved of financial worry on such incomes. We may compare these

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 260.

rates with those of industrial employees. For all wage workers, of all ages and races, in all the industries of the State the average yearly pay was $1,447.33. Yet most of these were of small literacy and had gone through nothing like the prolonged training required of teachers.

In 1945 the General Assembly passed the South Carolina Retirement Act, whereby teachers may cease work at the age of sixty-five and receive pensions for the remainder of their lives. This places them on a parity with employees of private business, who receive Old Age and Survivor's Benefits through the Federal Government.

CHAPTER 12

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture has come out of the remote past, preceding civilization itself, of which it was the necessary basis. And it has had an unbroken existence from its beginning to the present. In this long way that it has traveled it has gathered knowledge, skill and traditions. Most of these were handed on by example or by word of mouth from father to son. What was handed on was vast in extent, for farming is not a specialized occupation like a trade or a profession, it is a general art. It embraces horticulture, stock breeding, care of animals and poultry, growing of crops, rough carpentry, knowledge of fertilizers, care of land, orchard culture, and many other subjects. Such an extensive art, transmitted from age to age and from land to land, inevitably runs in a well-defined channel that comes within our definition of an institution.

The first settlers that came to South Carolina brought with them cotton seed, indigo seed, ginger roots, canes, several sorts of vines, and olives. Dense forests covered the land, the lush growth of semi-tropical climate. It took six men six weeks to clear six acres of it. When the land was cleared it had to be fenced in to protect its crops from deer and other wild animals. Besides this, the vegetation, stimulated by a warm moist atmosphere and fed by a rich soil, grew so luxuriously that it continually threatened to revert to original forests. So the colonists and their few Negro slaves labored hard the first few years to get a start for fields and crops. From this feeble beginning the settlers went on to develop a mighty agrarian economy along the sea coast.

Rice was their first commercial crop. At the beginning it was grown in uplands and swamps, especially cypress swamps, but about 1784 a method was invented whereby tides would back up the fresh water streams to flood the fields of rice. This change from the inland to the river swamps also came about the time that an improved rice mill

run by water was invented by Johnathan Lucas, whereby the staple could be better prepared for the market. Tidewater Carolina had great wealth flow into it from this crop, such wealth as no other part of America knew. As rice was mainly hoe cultivated, it needed gangs of workers, and as the rice fields had to be tended most closely in mid-summer these gangs were forced to brave torrid heat in humid lowlands. Then, too, dykes and gates required the constant attention of many. So when the Negroes were freed they drifted away from this grilling toil, and rice fields reverted to marshes. About the time that the Negroes began to desert these fields lowlands of the Mississippi valley commenced to produce rice at a cost so low that the Carolina product was driven from the market.

Indigo rose to commercial heights about the middle of the eighteenth century. The deep blue dye that the plant produced was in great demand in Europe, and to stimulate its production England gave a bounty on each pound shipped abroad. The plant came from the West Indies and was first successfully grown and processed in this State by Miss Eliza Lucas. She later married Colonel Charles Pinckney and became the mother of two eminent Carolinians, Charles Cotesworth and Thomas Pinckney. A mere slip of a girl and an aristocrat at that, she perhaps did as much to promote the economic advance of South Carolina as any other person in its history. While it did not replace rice as a source of income, indigo supplemented that crop, and several years, when rice brought a low price, indigo rose in production and made up the deficit. With the coming of the Revolution the English bounty on indigo ceased, and the plant was raised no more in any considerable quantities for the market. Its cultivation for home use lingered for some years, then was supplanted by coal tar products.

The third staple crop of this State was cotton. It was planted the first year of the colonial settlement, but probably because of the difficulty of separating the lint from the seed—about four pounds a week to the hand—it made no marked progress for over a hundred years. Then came the cotton gin in 1794, and the fleecy staple leaped to the fore.

South Carolina grew about a million and a half pounds in 1791 and twenty million in 1801.

Dr. Wallace comments thus on the swift rise in cotton culture:

> The whole economic life of South Carolina outside the rice area was revolutionized by the invention of the cotton gin, which made this enormous increase in production. Farmers gave up about everything else. A society based on a self-sufficient varied agriculture and normal manufacturing development disappeared before the system of cotton raised almost exclusively and exported to buy everything else. Cotton was indeed king, and the gin was his throne. The opinion has been expressed that the cotton gin has been the mightiest single economic cause in human history; for out of it have come a whole social and economic system, great wars, and economic, social and political problems that are the most serious that still confront the American people. As to the South, she sunk into slavery to cotton of which the slavery of the African was a mere incident, and which remains as a galling servitude of a whole section long after the African has been set free.[1]

The crop increased steadily until 1860, in which year it reached 350,000 bales, worth about 14 million dollars. The Confederate War and its backwash diminished production, but by 1880 cotton was strong again with a yield of 450,000 bales. By 1901 it had reached a record of over a million and six hundred thousand bales. Later the boll weevil, the rising cost of production, and the low market price forced the yield down. In 1945 the crop was 635,000 bales.

Sea-island cotton had a phenomenal career. Because of its long fibre it was at one time sent to France, where it was mixed with silk in costly textiles. The first successful crop in this State was planted in 1790 on Hilton Head by William Elliott. It brought a good price. Then the culture spread up and down the coast and was a rich source of revenue. In 1828 Mr. Burden of Colleton County sold two bales of extra fine cotton at two dollars a pound. In late years the staple has met disaster. The boll weevil found it more lush and defenseless than upland cotton, and pro-

[1] Wallace, D. D., *History of South Carolina*, New York, 1934, Vol. II, p. 380.

ceeded to destroy it. Today it is of romantic memory, along with rice and indigo.

When cotton growing waned, tobacco culture took an upsurge. Before the coming of Europeans, Indians raised tobacco in small quantities, which they smoked both socially and ceremonially. In early colonial times it was extensively planted, but the cost of growing and curing it, together with the competition of other crops, made it of minor consideration. Climatic and soil conditions confine it mainly to the Pee Dee section, where it has been a major crop since 1890. When the boll weevil came and the cost of producing cotton was greater than returns for it, the Pee Dee farmers turned in great numbers to tobacco to save them. At first their product was used as filler for cigars, but now practically all the tobacco raised in this State is employed in the manufacture of cigarettes. In 1939 the total sales of tobacco amounted to $13,530,272, and in 1940 they fell to $5,026,373, a diminution in one year of $8,503,900. The best year financially tobacco had was in 1945, when the crop brought $61,390,502.[2] As the range of territory in which tobacco can profitably be grown is much smaller than that favorable to cotton, tobacco is not likely to meet the reverses that befell the latter crop. However, there are adverse factors that will be discussed further on in this chapter.

The decline in cotton culture not only stimulated the growing of tobacco, it also drove trucking forward. A recent Clemson bulletin says: "Commercial truck crops in South Carolina represent normally a value of about $10,000,000. Only cotton and tobacco exceed these crops in total receipts. The total acreages of asparagus and cucumbers grown annually in South Carolina constitute 16 and 11 percent respectively of the United States acreage." [3]

While many kinds of fruit are grown within our borders, those of commercial importance are peaches, apples, pears, grapes, strawberries, pecans, and figs. Of these peaches are the only fruit that looms large in the market. In 1945

[2] South Carolina Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report*, 1945, p. 236.

[3] Clemson College, *Bulletin No. 301*, June, 1935, p. 60.

the crop brought $15,264,000. This placed the State third in the nation, only California and Georgia producing more peaches. Peaches are grown in the sandhills, Ridge Spring section, and in the Piedmont.[4]

South Carolina cannot compete successfully with the great grassland states in raising cattle for market, but it can produce more for local consumption. Hogs, on the other hand, thrive here. Corn fed to them brings a much better return than when it is sold directly. Swine are of two main types, those grown for bacon and those for lard. The latter type is prevalent in this State. Though this type fattens quickly it also gives good meat. Poultry thrives here, and the market demand for it and the ease with which feed for it is raised suggest that it be developed.

FORESTRY

While lumbering and the gathering of naval stores for export were among the first occupations of the early settlers of this province, they were carried on in an exploiting way with no thought of what might be the later consequences of the destruction of forests. Early travelers were astonished at the wealth of the stretches of pines, oaks, cypresses, and other species of trees, but these travelers were impressed mainly by the scenic beauty and the source of wealth that these forests had. Conservation never entered their heads. When most of the virgin forests were gone and cut-over lands and reaches of scrub oaks had replaced many of them a sense of irreplaceable loss began to move in sensitive minds and there arose a determination to stop tree slaughter and to restore as far as possible our woodland wealth.

Under the leadership of natural conservation thinkers the General Assembly in 1927 established the State Commission of Forestry. Its duties were: "To inquire into forest conditions, preservation of forest, effect of destruction thereof upon general welfare: to use means to prevent and control forest fires and enforce laws concerning woodlands,

[4] South Carolina Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report*, 1945, p. 43.

give assistance to private owners in planting and protection, and to cooperate with Federal Government: to have supervision of construction and operation of State Parks." [5]

Care of the forests is of prime importance to the farmer, for they are the source of his fuel and in many instances they supplement his waning income from crops. According to the State Commission of Forestry, "Nearly 10¾ million acres, or 55% of the total land area of the State is forest land, that is land that can reasonably be expected to be devoted to no other major purpose than the growing of forest trees. This forest land represents potential values to the State in excess of $135,000,000." [6]

Now our soil, temperature, and moisture are most favorable to forest growth, as favorable as for raising cotton, tobacco or corn. Besides, there remain, after all the tree slaughter, vast forested tracts that with care could be brought to a good condition. Much of the land underlying these would be submarginal were it planted to crops. The market, too, is ready to take all the wood that this State can produce. Cotton gins, tobacco barns, numerous industries, and city dwellings call for fuel; wood is needed for pulp and paper mills. There is a demand also for saw logs, poles, pilings, and cross ties. Added to these is the builders' demand for lumber. And all these clamors are fronted by dwindling supplies. So forestry presents long term market possibilities possessed by no agricultural crop. And finally, a tract of woodland gotten into good shape needs but little labor to care for it and prepare its products for the market, which contrasts with the toil expended in raising cotton, tobacco, or truck.

Approximately 50 percent of our forest area is under cooperative forest fire protection. This is carried on under the supervision of the State Commission of Forestry, which gives technical advice and other aid to associations and counties endeavoring to protect their woodlands. The next step is for the State to assume responsibility for all

[5] *Legislative Manual*, 1940, p. 267.
[6] *What about Forestry?* a pamphlet from the Commission of Forestry, no date, p. 7.

protection against forest fires, for these not only menace the lands on which they start, but also invade adjoining lands and cross county lines.

MECHANIZATION

The consideration of the main sources of agricultural revenue brings up the hindrances that the farmer faces. A chief one of these is the impracticability of using much machinery. Tobacco, cotton, livestock, corn, and truck are cared for mainly by hand. They have been grown largely because of this, for Negro labor was plentiful and cheap in the low-country and in the up-country farms were small and were of uneven surface. Yet this is an age of technology, when machinery lifts and pulls burdens that our fathers moved by bare muscle. The South Carolina farmer looks hungrily at the combines, tractor plows, and other labor-saving devices employed in the North and West, while he has to trudge behind a mule, or lift tons of material with pitchfork and spade, or chop out his crops with a hoe, or further his yield by hand. Since the invention of the cotton gin a century and a half ago no machinery has been introduced that could appreciably lessen the bodily labor of the farmers in this territory. On the other hand, the small amount of tools and machinery is dwindling. In 1920 the value of these on our farms was over 48 million dollars, in 1940 it had decreased to a little over 24 million dollars—a falling off of nearly a half. Unless cotton is to degenerate into a peasants' crop, machines will have to be developed for its cultivation. The cotton-chopper, weeder and cotton picker are coming into a useable stage. However, they would be too expensive to employ on small farms. The remedy is the enlargement or consolidation of farms to a sufficient acreage to justify mechanization.

SOIL DEPLETION

There are three means of soil depletion—crop removal, leaching, and erosion. All of them are in full operation in this State. Cotton and tobacco, especially when not rotated

with other crops, soon wear out the soil. Nor can the commercial fertilizer poured on the land stay the depletion. Tenants are increasers of this drain, for they practice "soil mining" in trying to make impoverished earth bring forth enough in a year to give subsistence and to pay for the annual moving. Leaching takes place in porous soil where the fertilizer or other plant food seeps through. Sandy soil with subsoil far beneath is depleted by leaching. Such land had better be given over to forestation, where the subsoil can feed the trees.

Erosion is where the topsoil is washed away. Crops are raised on topsoil, so when that comparatively thin surface is destroyed crops dwindle. A farmer's topsoil is his capital. It would be as foolish for a farmer to let his land be eroded as for a landlord to let his houses rot down or a merchant to permit his goods to be systematically carried away by sneak thieves. Yet for generations our farmers looked with little concern on this wastage. In fact they hastened it. By plowing furrows straight up and down on sloping land, by neglecting to terrace, and by refusing to plant cover crops, they have had thousands of acres of their fertile soil washed into creeks and rivers, never to be returned. "Thirty per cent of the State's area, or 5,979,165 acres, has been affected by sheet erosion due to improper cultivation. On some of this land as much as three-fourths of the topsoil has been washed away, and nearly 600,000 acres have been essentially destroyed for tillage by severe gullying." [8] Because of soil depletion large amounts of commercial fertilizer are used—about 20 million dollars worth a year,[9] which is four times the value of our annual truck crop. While Federal and State agencies are aiding in soil conservation the farmers themselves are taking the lead. They have organized twelve districts, embracing 12,461,360 acres, to forward this project. In 1937 the first certificate for organization was issued by the Secretary of State. These districts have in their program: terracing; strip cropping,

[8] *Discussion of Economic Conditions of South Carolina*, a bulletin of the Extension Division, University of South Carolina, about 1940, p. 15.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

whereby the wash from terraces is taken care of; crop rotation; cover crops; and woodland management.[10]

TENANCY

Farm tenancy is a twin evil with soil depletion. Its origin and development took place so quietly and it fitted so snugly into our agricultural system that its ravages went unnoticed until recent years. After the Confederate War our white farmers were prostrate. Many of them had only their lands left. On the other hand, the emancipated slaves had only their labor and field skill. Without premeditation, the labor of the Negro and the land of the white man were joined in a system of tenancy. All supplies were provided by the white man—seed, work stock, and dwelling, for which he received from a third to a half of the gathered crop. Landless whites soon drifted into the system, for at that time there were few textile mills to absorb them.

From an economic viewpoint the evils of tenancy are manifold. As the tenant cultivates the land for what he can get out of it in one year he mines the soil and leaves it in a worse condition than he found it. He also neglects buildings, stock, tools and fences, so that they deteriorate and become worthless before their time. And why should the tenant strive to care for the plot? All the improvements he might make would go to benefit others. Such an improvident life, whatever its causes, begets shiftlessness. So the tenant works as little as he can, basks in ambitionless poverty, and receives nonchalantly the maledictions of good citizens. When these folk live submarginal lives they compete with labor by holding down wages. Were there no tenants landlords would have to bestir themselves to better management and the giving of better pay. Another consideration to bear in mind is that tenants must raise money crops and so cannot give much attention to poultry, milk cows, hogs, and vegetables. Hence, undernourishment and physical weakness dog these forlorn folk and slow down their production. It is manifest that the kind of tenancy we

[10] *The State*, June 25, 1941.

have is an economic blight that will hamper agriculture as long as such tenancy exists.

WHY APOLOGIZE RATHER THAN ADVANCE?

In contemplating the condition of agriculture in this State one is likely to ask the question: Why not change the whole system? Two answers to this come to mind. One is that agriculture is an age-hardened institution, with customs and mind-sets, brought into a new age where it is asked to make money rather than subsistence for its operators. It has vested interests and cultural traits all intertwined in a system. Besides, farmers are generally intensely individualistic and have no effective organization, so they wait on the movement of events. Business men take time by the forelock, move quickly at the first sensing of approaching change. Farmers have to wait on the cycles of biological life. Now here is a new thing in the world. Agriculture is required to adopt business ways, and the farmer, besides having his many tasks to look after, must work in harmony with an intricate economic system. If the current of events had been favorable to him, as it was to his brothers in the North and West, the farmer might have found the new order easier to deal with.

The second reason why the agricultural system is not drastically altered is found in the poverty of most farmers. They prefer to bear the evils that they have than fly to others that they know not of. The greater part of the tillers of the soil in this State are too poor to experiment. They are inured to privations, but they have lived and they fear to launch their thin margins on new ventures. So the vicious circle revolves—lessening yields, poverty, lessening yields, more poverty. The downward trend of the value of farm lands and buildings in recent years throws light on this. In 1920 the value was 813 million dollars; in 1925, 457 million; in 1930, 379 million; in 1935, 285 million; and in 1940, 338 million. The figures are in round numbers.[11]

[11] *Agriculture, South Carolina, First Series,* Federal Census of 1940, table 2.

While the price of land has surged upward since the return of soldiers from the war the basic hindrances remain. We might as well face the fact that cotton farming for profit can only be carried on successfully by larger units equipped with adequate machinery and financed for long term operations.

CHAPTER 13

INDUSTRY

Industrialism in this State developed within our social framework, hence it had many sectional peculiarities—some of them strangely anti-social to visitors from other parts of the land. Ours was a patriarchal system, not only in the family but also in politics and in economic life. This might have been expected among a people predominantly agricultural and stratified in its society. Industrialism within our borders sprang from this mind-set.

Our first industrialist to grasp the social and economic import of manufacturing was William Gregg. Of the social help that might come from it he said long before the Confederate War: "Shall we pass unnoticed the thousands of poor, ignorant, degraded white people among us, who, in this land of plenty, live in comparative nakedness and starvation. Many a one is reared in proud South Carolina, from birth to manhood, who has never passed a month, in which he has not, some part of the time, been stinted for meat. Many a mother is there, who will tell you that her children are but scantily supplied with bread . . . It is necessary only to build a manufacturing village of shanties, in a healthy location in any part of the State, to have crowds of these poor people around you, seeking employment at half the compensation given to operatives at the North. It is indeed painful to be brought in contact with such ignorance and degradation; but on the other hand, it is pleasant to witness the change, which soon takes place in the condition of those who obtain employment." [1] On the economic phase of manufacturing Gregg commented, "There is no lack of capital in South Carolina; Charleston, herself, possesses all the requisites, and it is only necessary that public attention should be properly directed to those vast fields for profitable investments, in this State—to bring it out, and

[1] Mitchell, Broadus, *William Gregg*, Chapel Hill, 1928, p. 24.

to stop the millions which are being all the time transferred from the South to the North." [2]

In pursuance of these ideas Gregg organized the capital of and built the Graniteville cotton mill some thirteen years before the Confederate War. But all of his superb pleading, linked with the later success of the Graniteville Manufacturing Company, made little impact on South Carolina's economic system. That system was under the spell of King Cotton's magic wand, which spell made it pour out millions for Negro slaves who might have been hired at a living wage, thus freeing huge capital for industrial advance.

Soon after Gregg's great beginning the Confederate War came, followed by Reconstruction; South Carolina lay prostrate. Then Hampton and a new confidence emerged. Slowly at first, then with accelerated speed, industry made headway. By 1905 the number of establishments was 1,399 with a capital of $113,422,224. The annual wage per worker was $233.31. About this time many smaller establishments consolidated and larger ones were launched. This led the *Handbook of South Carolina, 1908,* to say: "There has been marked tendency since 1900 toward incorporated company rather than individual and firm ownership of plants. Incorporated companies now control 96.8 percent of the capital, give employment to 89.9 percent of the wage-earners and produce 91.9 percent of the value of output, while owning but 29.5 percent of the plants. Corporate ownership is most pronounced in the textile, cotton seed and fertilizer industries." [3] This is significant, for it marked the passing of the pioneer stage where small, personally managed concerns held sway, and the entrance of large-scale industry, which was impersonal.

Considering our agricultural set of mind and the limits of our financial resources, it must be acknowledged that the energy and acumen of our industrial leaders have been great. One might notice that the establishments are not as varied as they are in New England or Middle Atlantic States. This, of course, limits the opportunity of workers

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 24.
[3] *Handbook of South Carolina,* 1908, p. 394.

and slackens competition for labor, thus holding down wages. For instance, the average annual wages for industrial workers in South Carolina in 1940 were $767.58, whereas they were $1,152 as of 1939 in the United States as a whole.[4] Yet we must bear in mind that neither capital here, easily accessible raw material, nor organized markets encourage a wide diversification.

The State Department of Labor in 1945 listed 34 industries whose capital, employment, and value of products warranted special mention. Of these, six are outstanding in their significance to the economic and social life of the State—textiles, oil mills, fertilizer, lumber and timber products, paper and pulp, and electricity. Textiles loom largest among these, because of the size of their investments and the number of their operatives.

COTTON MILLS

In the early 1880's a fair sized economic wave rolled over South Carolina. Cotton fields spread on every side—there was the raw material; a mass of landless whites were ravening for jobs—there was the source of labor; and some money in many small amounts drawing a precarious interest was in most communities—there was the well of capital. Community vied with community in procuring a mill, as town vied with town in the Middle Ages in building a cathedral. It should be added that a spirit of philanthropy was diffused through the movement, though if there had been no prospects for good profits philanthropic motives would not have been so loudly proclaimed. We might think of this as the founding period, for though a few mills were in operation before this time they made small stir. In this first period the mill organizers and officials were not such by training. They were originally lawyers, merchants, cotton factors, school teachers. In fact, they were drawn from the work-a-day world and had no class consciousness as mill executives.

At that time slavery was remembered by all middle-aged

[4] *Economic Almanac,* National Industrial Conference Board, New York, 1941, pp. 274-275.

men, the men who took the lead in forwarding mills. Moreover, the old paternalism still lingered. It was therefore to be expected that employers would feel some responsibility for their employees. And they did. A cynic might hold that this fatherly attitude was a pleasing mask for cunning Shylocks, but it is an over-simplification to arrange things in such a few-lined pattern. The truth is that the pioneers in this industry were usually neighborly men, men of good will, who found this a way to make money and to gain prestige. Such questions as meager wages, child labor, and long periods of work did not disturb men who had grown up in a society where it was held as a dogma that some classes are born to serve and others are predestined to manage. Besides, the poor whites whom the mills employed were thought of as a forlorn folk, full of laziness and entirely hopeless of finer development. They lived to themselves in sand hills, near kaolin beds, as tenants on worn-out farms, as squatters in low-country clearings, and in the coves of the mountains. They had been driven back to submarginal lands by a stronger breed. Present-day ideas about heredity and social welfare were not prevalent, and one would hardly expect mill owners to have them. Yet there was a sympathetic bond between employers and employees, which showed itself when sickness or bereavement came to the workers.

After awhile a new generation of mill operators emerged. Their ranks were augmented by Northern officials, who came from the group of heavy investors in Southern textile factories. This new regime had a class consciousness; they had the status of officials, they were money-wise industrialists and capitalists. About this time New England mills were fast declining. Laws against child labor, against night labor for women, in favor of a shorter work week, these in conjunction with high wages forced by competition with other industries for manpower brought dwindling profits to the establishments beside the Connecticut and the Merrimac rivers. South Carolina had few hindering labor laws, a large body of white folk with only subsistence incomes, good undeveloped water power sites, and no unionized textile

workers ready to do battle. Hence, down came many New England mills. All of them brought their officials, some brought their machinery, none brought its operatives. South Carolina was happy to have this influx of capital and these new establishments. The invasion also benefited employees, for the new comers were of no mind to set up huge plants and equip them with costly machinery then have them crippled by large labor turnovers. So they made better working and living conditions, and thereby held their operating force. The Northern mill men also brought better management and more efficiency into the business, elements which were sorely needed, as many native stockholders are keenly aware.

The depression was painfully felt by our textile mills. Especially did employees suffer from its ravages. However, with the coming of the New Deal textiles began to look up, economically, not politically. But a new woe lurked in returning prosperity—organized labor. Section 7A of the National Industrial Recovery Act, which became effective in 1933, gave labor the right of collective bargaining. Textile workers, feeling the power of government behind them, began to organize openly. Employers, also sensing the new order, fostered company unions. In 1934 strikes at Honea Path and Ware Shoals gave vent to the newly found independence of the textile workers. The Wagner Labor Disputes Act was passed in 1935, which confirmed the right of operatives to organize and which outlawed company unions. Hard on the heels of this came the Fair Labor Standards Act, whereby minimum wages and maximum hours of employment were established.

So with these standards fixed for industry in every part of the country much competition, and often conflict, of establishment with establishment, state with state, section with section, was eliminated. Now establishments can settle down to outdo one another in quality of products, in efficiency of management, and in improved machinery. We might term this present period the stage of stabilization. The cotton mills are now concentrating on tasks they can perform and are not dissipating their energies in ex-

hausting strife. A report of their condition in 1945 is given by the State Department of Labor, which follows:

Number of establishments	238
Total capital invested	$222,784,871
Average number of persons employed	109,517
Average yearly earnings of each employee	$ 1,448.99 [5]

To these figures should be added the number of stockholders. As estimated by the Cotton Manufacturer's Association of South Carolina November 1, 1938 there were 24,178 of them, of whom 12,235 lived within the State and 11,943 lived outside of it.[6] We are not told the number of shares of stock thus held nor their average value nor the average dividends they produced.

MILL VILLAGES

The population of the mill villages in 1945 was 185,597 according to the State Department of Labor.[7] This comprised 17 percent of the total white population of the State. Until a few years ago mills had to provide houses near the plants for their operatives, as it was necessary to have all machines manned when the power was turned on and as the workers came to the mills so destitute that they could not provide lodging for themselves and their families. Besides, many mills were established at sites distant from towns and cities. At first it was the custom to charge the occupants no rent, for the wages were pitifully low, so the owners realized an income from their villages through giving small pay to their employees. Later on rent was charged, but at a lower rate than brought by similar houses in nearby territory.

It should also be noted that villages vary greatly among themselves. Some are of a pleasing appearance, having well kept lawns, houses differing from one another in plans and color, abundant and well arranged shade trees, and

[5] South Carolina Department of Labor, *Annual Report*, 1945, pp. 17, 38.
[6] *Facts and Figures about the Cotton Mills of South Carolina*, Cotton Manufacturers' Association of South Carolina, Clinton, 1938, p. 51.
[7] South Carolina Department of Labor, *Annual Report*, 1945, p. 39.

clean, paved streets. Other villages have rows of unsightly box shaped houses, trash strewn streets, weedy yards, and a general air of drabness. No doubt the operatives are somewhat to blame for this, but the executives are the main offenders. Where mill management is in the hands of progressive men villages have the stamp of good management and thrift.

Some have charged that the villages are too much regimented by mill officials, who hold the whip over the local churches, schools, recreation and politics. This once was so, but the condition is rapidly passing. Those churches and schools that are financially dependent on the mills of course have to tread softly when skirting certain economic and social problems, as churches and schools everywhere have to do when they lean heavily on moneyed men for support. However, the new labor laws, the State-supported schools, and the demand for workers more or less skilled in handling modern delicate machinery have given employees greater independence. In politics the management can no longer use roughshod domination of voters, though they often can, and doubtless do, influence politicians. Yet even here they make little headway if the measures they propose clash with the plain good of the workers.

Another charge against the village is that it makes for class consciousness. It does that. Other types of industrial workers are scattered through the general population. There is no machinists' town or carpenters' town or railroad trainmen's town. To be sure, farmers have farmers as neighbors, but farmers are of different economic and social gradations. The mill town is more or less segregated and has its own churches, schools, recreation centers and social groups. Hence it is isolated culturally from the nearby population. This engenders a limited occupational, social and political outlook. Life in such an environment lacks the stimulus of variety.

Also, the industry has millions of dollars invested in such property. Careful economy suggests that the village houses be sold and the proceeds be placed where they may produce dividends. This suggestion is being followed by

several large establishments in the State. No doubt many other mills will follow this lead. Nor are any more mill towns likely to be built. Besides, many workers' families are doing subsistence farming; that is, they live in the country near their places of employment, some of the members tending the fields while others are laboring at the plants. Shorter hours will facilitate this. So hard-surface roads, cheap automobiles, and the economic drive of textile establishments are conspiring to solve a knotty social problem that only daring reformers tackled a short while ago.

OTHER INDUSTRIES

Cotton seed has become a source of several valuable products in recent years. Among the most valuable of these are substitutes for lard and butter—foodstuffs largely imported from other states. Besides, the oil mill utilizes what was waste not long ago, and a great waste, too, for to every pound of lint there are two pounds of seed. In 1945 the State had 26 oil mills, in which were invested $17,264,865. Their employees numbered 890. In addition to oil, meal, linters, hulls and soap stock are processed.[8]

In 1945 there were 55 fertilizer plants in South Carolina, with a capital investment of $5,686,047. The average number of employees was 1,838, most of whom were Negroes. Employment of common labor in this industry is seasonal, late spring marking its peak.[9]

The lumber and timber products industry engages in the manufacture of lumber sawed from hard woods and pine. Doors, windows, some kinds of furniture, cypress shingles, and other such products are turned out. In 1945, $7,563,612 was invested in the establishments of this industry. The average number of persons employed was 5,026, with an annual wage of $1,082.12. Of the total output, 52 percent was shipped out of the State.[10]

Wood pulp derived from pine on a commercially profitable basis is the gift of industrial chemistry. Before this

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 49.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

process was discovered a mill in Hartsville utilized gum. But when it became known that pine could be employed large plants were erected in Georgetown and Charleston. In 1945 this industry had $31,465,692 invested in it, which placed it after textiles and electricity in the value of its holdings. While the payroll of these establishments is comparatively small, having only 3,222, the number of persons indirectly employed is large. With interest in commercial forestry growing, with the State furnishing a most favorable area for growing the required wood, and with the advancing demand for pulp products, this industry bids fair to become a financial mainstay.[11]

The electrical industry is carried on by establishments generating electrical power by steam, water and internal combustion engines. The amount of capital invested in the industry in 1945 was $160,071,323.[12] Said the State Planning Board, "Not only does South Carolina have a very high rating of electric energy horse-power-per-workman, but even more significant, eighty to eighty-five percent of the power generated in the State is derived from water resources. Each of the 128 thousand industrial workers of the State in 1938 was supplemented by more than 4 horsepower of electric energy, 80 percent of which was generated in hydro plants. This compares with 6.3 horsepower-per-workman for the United States as a whole, 2.4 for England and .12 for China." [13]

LABOR

Three recent pieces of legislation have been of great help to labor: the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1935; the Workmen's Unemployment Compensation Act, 1936; and the Fair Labor Standards Act, 1938. The first of these was entirely of State origin. The second was made in conjunction with the Federal Government. The third was solely of Federal devising. Victims of accident under the old law could recover damages if they showed the courts that their

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 49.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 49.
[13] *The Natural Resources of South Carolina*, bulletin of the State Planning Board, March, 1944.

injuries were received through the probable fault of their employers. Suits against these were often wearisome and costly. Frequently the victims and their families were thrown on the public for relief. Under the act a board of five members, appointed by the Governor and known as the Industrial Commission, hears the applications for compensation; if those applicants show that they were injured in pursuance of their occupations they are awarded compensation according to a regular scale of payments. Every commercial establishment employing 15 or more persons, with a few exceptions, comes under this act and has to insure its employees against injury while occupied.

Because of business cycles, technological unemployment, recurring depressions, and other disturbances in our economic system industrial labor finds little assurance of continuous employment. Yet the mass of workers live in rented houses and depend on the market for their subsistence, all of which call for cash payments. So the employee constantly faces the hazard of no job and no means of getting the essentials of living. The Unemployment Compensation Act deals with this situation. It was instituted to implement for this State Title VII of the Federal Security Act, whereby workers in establishments employing eight or more persons are insured against unemployment for a term of weeks. Funds for the carrying of the provisions of this act into operation are collected from employers, three percent on their payrolls being assessed for that purpose. Under the State law three commissioners, elected by the General Assembly, administer the funds thus provided.

The Fair Standards Labor Act is a Federal measure and is commonly called the Wage and Hour Law. It is administered by the Wage and Hour Division of the Federal Department of Labor. The hours a week are 40 and the minimum pay 40 cents an hour. Employees may work more than 40 hours a week, but they must be paid time-and-a-half for overtime. Just and helpful as this law is, it applies only to those who work on commodities that are for interstate commerce.

LABOR CONSCIOUSNESS GROWING

Agricultural regions are usually inimical to unionized labor, and South Carolina presents no exception. Yet with the rise of industry in this State, the pressure of labor in the nation, and the pro-worker policies of the New Deal, the consciousness of the needs of the employee is growing among us. Textile workers are also a mounting political force, and their solidarity has to be reckoned with. So the General Assembly is forced from time to time to enact such measures favorable to labor as public clamor demands. An advance along this line was made in 1936 by the establishing of the Department of Labor, with the Commissioner of Labor at its head. The purposes of the Legislature were to give the workers an official voice in the government and to provide for the enforcement of the State's labor laws.

Organized labor is the counterpart of organized capital. It was only through some kind of unionization that hours of employment, wages, conditions of work, and the consent of management to meet with employees were assured. Most intelligent persons know this, but some still hold to paternalism. These latter feel that unions are an affront to the tender concern of owners and managers. However, it is to be noted that only when employees united and demanded them did they get better pay, hours, and conditions.

CHAPTER 14

GOVERNMENT

Our State government sprang from the Proprietary rule established under grants from England's king. Its shaping was conditioned by geographic factors, as we saw in the first chapter, and by the complex social experiences through which our people have gone. The mark of the first settlers within our borders is still clear in our laws and general political attitudes. The other colonies of America were settled by immigrants coming directly from Europe, but South Carolina received her first white inhabitants largely from the British West Indies. General McCrady wrote, "While in the formation of the other colonies the whole structure of society was of necessity built up from the very foundations in accordance with the peculiar environment of each, the social and political system of Carolina was to a considerable extent transferred from that island [Barbadoes] in a state of advanced development." [1] So the colonial system, with its resourcefulness and aggressiveness, was well known to the first comers to this province.

The colonial government was composed of a Governor, appointed at first by the Proprietors and later by the Crown, together with a Council made up of members chosen by him and an Assembly whose members were elected by the freeholders. Early in the province's life, conflicts developed between the Assembly and the Governor over taxes, trade, the setting up of courts, the personnel of officials, and other causes in which the interests of the colonists clashed with those of the mother country. Far from their original home land, the colonists were not constantly under the pressure of ancient traditions. Over here there was a vast uncharted wilderness instead of well laid out fields and settlements. Hostile Indians were the neighbors of the new comers. Hence they thought more of getting something to eat and of a roof over their heads and of protecting their lives and property from savages than of promoting

[1] McCrady, Edward, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

English interests. They also claimed that they were subjects of Great Britain and should be accorded the rights and privileges belonging thereto as scrupulously as if they lived in the island kingdom itself. These attitudes were not shared by the British, who looked upon the colony as a field from which to gather revenue rather than a place to rear independent citizens. Finally the conflicts flamed into the Revolutionary War and South Carolina got its independence.

The State then set up its own government, using the outlines of its Provincial political structure. The idea of checks and balances at that time was almost a sacred dogma, so, like the Federal Government, South Carolina organized with three theoretically co-equal departments—the executive, the judicial and the legislative. However, it remembered the bitter conflicts between the Governor and the Assembly and decided to have no more of one man's dictatorship. Hence the Governor was shorn of many of his traditional prerogatives. The judiciary was to be elected by the General Assembly. This General Assembly was entrusted with its own proper functions, with the addition of having to elect the judges and the Governor and of possessing general supervision over the affairs of State. From that founding time until the present the legislative branch has held the reins of political power; perhaps South Carolina has been, and is, the most legislature-dominated State in the Union.

THE GOVERNOR

At the head of the executive branch is the Governor. The Constitution thus bravely defines his position: "The supreme executive authority in this State shall be vested in a chief magistrate who shall be styled 'The Governor of the State of South Carolina.'" While the Constitution grants the Governor few prerogatives to justify the grandiose title it confers on him, yet the General Assembly has seen fit to grant him power to appoint members of certain commissions and boards. These Legislative grants, to-

gether with Constitutional directions, give the Governor the following powers:

1. To veto acts of the General Assembly,
2. To pardon, reprieve or parole persons convicted of crime,
3. To call out the militia,
4. To sit as a member *ex-officio* on several important boards,
5. To appoint members of some boards and commissions and a few minor officials,
6. To recommend to the General Assembly measures that he deems necessary to be enacted.

Besides having these specific powers the Governor is the unofficial spokesman for the State. His position also gives him a prominence that makes him sought after by institutions and gatherings that need a speaker of note.

It is manifest that this array of functions omits many items that would enable the chief executive to control the machinery of administration. Yet experience with some governors has made the people chary of extending too much authority to the head of the State. One may surmise the calamities that might have followed the appointment by several of our governors of judges, heads of departments, and other State employees, and the permission to remove county officials. However, with all his limitations, the Governor may be of great service to the State if he uses his powers with wisdom and energy.

THE LEGISLATURE

In theory the function of the General Assembly is to enact laws, leaving the judiciary to interpret and the executive branch to enforce them. But such a simplification does not apply to South Carolina, for the duties of our Legislature carry the reach of that body into every part of government, State and county. These duties are:

1. To make laws,
2. To elect judges and various commissions and State officials,

3. To exercise supervision over State institutions and agencies,

4. To remove from office any encumbent, against whom there is a formal impeachment for crime, including the Governor, and any officer except the Governor who may be found derelict in the performance of his duties.

5. To make appropriations for the maintenance of the county and State governments,

6. The Senate has power to confirm or reject the Governor's appointees.

To this list of prerogatives Dr. Wallace adds the residuary powers not held by the Federal government nor delegated to some other department of the State. Said he, "A fact of the greatest importance which is regrettably overlooked is that the state legislature possesses all powers of government that are not denied to it by the state or federal constitution. This is true neither of Congress nor of any other agency of government either state or national." [2]

The General Assembly is composed of the House of Representatives and the Senate. The House has 124 members, elected to serve two years and apportioned to the counties on the basis of population. The Senate has 46 members, one from each county. Half of its members go out of office every two years, leaving half to hold over and thus insure a continuous personnel. Making laws is the chief function of the Legislature, a huge undertaking in the complicated social life of the present. It is no easy task to steer the State so that it will not collide with Federal regulations on one side and the interest of farmers, business men, and industrial workers on the other.

Besides, the fields of health, education, finances, social work, road construction, and other areas demanding State action are so specialized that the average legislator is helpless before them. Laws for these must therefore be passed on the recommendation of the several departments of the government. Yet the General Assembly looks with suspicion on such departments and is grudging in the support

[2] Wallace, D. D., *The South Carolina Constitution of 1895*, Columbia, 1927, p. 58.

of activities that it so little understands. In consequence there is a turmoil in every session of the Legislature. However, every state in the Union faces these difficulties. With this in mind it seems feasible for the Legislature to enact into law only major public policies and not get into the quagmire of details.

With all these limitations, there is yet no valid reason why crying social evils that are easily comprehended should not be dealt with. Most social classes that need legislative protection maintain no lobbies to thrust information on the law-makers or to prod them into action. If a member of the House or the Senate happens to be a driving personality and is interested in some phase of social betterment he may get favorable action on the subject that interests him. But if another social need arises that has no such champion, nothing is done. Today when the great lack is that of human conservation, a comprehensive survey should be made of the human resources of South Carolina and legislative action taken to protect and develop them.

Electing judges and various commissions and officials takes a considerable portion of the Legislature's time, especially when lively contests arise. While this method of selecting judges is perhaps the best one for this State, the electing of commissioners and officials breaks into the consideration of important measures, and sometimes shunts those measures into a succeeding session or into their graves. Two criticisms of this method have been put forward: it prolongs the sessions and it gives those members looking for an office a favored chance. Hence office seekers run for the General Assembly and if they get there they use their influence to land a position for themselves or to establish new offices or commissions to which they aspire.

In exercising supervision over administrative institutions and agencies the General Assembly is undertaking a task it cannot cope with successfully. A better procedure would be to establish supervisory bodies to keep constant watch over the administrative machine. Penal and charitable institutions especially need close and continuous observa-

tion, rather than an annual look over by well meaning but untrained committees. As it is now, only gross inefficiency or reports of scandal move the Legislature to make investigations. Of course such sporadic probings cannot bring smooth and efficient administration.

It is the undisputed function of the General Assembly to make appropriations for the maintenance of the government and to levy taxes adequate to implement them. Now appropriations draw little popular fire, but taxes always meet disapproval. It is not therefore to be wondered at that legislators seek to assess taxes on quarters that are likely to cause little disturbance. The outcome of this is a system that sags and bulges and is shot through with uncertainties.

The makers of the Constitution of 1895 thought in terms of property, so the instrument they forged directed that "a uniform and equal rate of assessment and taxation should be established for all property, real, personal and possessory" and that "all taxes upon property real and personal shall be laid upon the actual value of the property taxed." [8] These specifications were never fully carried out. For instance, jewelry, which brought no income, was to be assessed at its full value and taxed just as was profit-giving property like a store or a farm. The consequence was the failure of most citizens to declare the full extent of their personal belongings. To do so would have exposed those belongings to virtual confiscation.

Many of the various and often surprising prerogatives of the General Assembly were not purposed when that body was established. They accumulated slowly to meet difficult situations. There was no *coup d'etat* by the united law-makers. Yet when we consider the heavy burdens undertaken by itself we must admit that the General Assembly has done better than one might expect. It would be unreasonable to expect two houses, having together 170 members, many of whom represent competing interests, to work smoothly and with celerity. If they were in session for forty days only each year, the period contemplated by

[8] *The Constitution of South Carolina*, 1895, Article 10, Section 1.

the Constitution, or if they met biennially, as the voters in a recent general election preferred, then some of the duties assumed by the law makers would have to be surrendered.

THE JUDICIARY

There are two kinds of State courts in South Carolina, the Circuit and the Supreme. Circuit courts sit twice a year in each county seat, where they try both criminal and civil cases. When trying the former they are Courts of General Sessions and when trying the latter they are Courts of Common Pleas. They are called circuit from the custom of having their judges rotate through the fourteen judicial districts into which the State is divided. When convicted persons or litigants are not satisfied with the verdicts of these courts they may appeal to the Supreme Court. This court is composed of the Chief Justice and four associate justices, elected by the General Assembly to serve terms of ten years. Circuit judges are elected by the same body to terms of four years.

The bench is of high integrity and its accomplishments are generally more satisfactory than those of the legislative and executive branches. Three reasons make for this. The judges are drawn from the ranks of men trained in the law, whereas there are no prerequisites prescribed for the personnel of the other two branches. A tradition of dignity and professional ethics characterizes the bench. And the citizenry demands that its judges should be just, for law and order cannot be had if the judiciary be partial or unfair. Of course the system has its weak spots as all human systems have. Judges are likely to reflect the prejudices and foibles of the society whence they sprang. Some of them are of small social vision. And all of them have to deal with many poorly constructed statutes and conflicts in the law. Yet with these limitations they form a body of which the State is justly proud.

Improvements, however, might be made. Were judges given life tenure they would have a more independent position than they now hold. Before 1868 this was the case,

and that was the golden age of our judiciary. Another improvement that should be adopted is that of permitting judges to comment on the evidence given in trials before them. The Constitution of 1895 directs that "Judges shall not charge juries in respect of matters of fact, but shall declare the law." [4] Annotations to this in the Code of 1932 state, "A trial judge cannot convey to the jury, either expressly or impliedly, his opinion of the force and effect of testimony upon any question of fact at issue. . . . Not only must the formal charge to the jury be kept free from any statement of any facts in issue or expression as to the weight and sufficiency of evidence, but it has been frequently held should not by the interrogation of witnesses, by remarks in ruling upon evidence offered, or by comment upon the facts in relation to interlocutory motions, indicate opinions or express views reasonably calculated to influence the jury in deciding a material issue of fact." [5]

Besides the Circuit and Supreme courts we have county and magistrate courts, which try cases of less importance. They reflect local sentiment more than the upper courts reflect it. For this reason magistrate courts especially vary in social worth. Magistrates are elected by small communities and often think more of those communities' attitudes than they think of the great body of the law—if haply they know it.

THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

The direct primary for nominating public officials first came into State-wide use during the Tillman movement, some fifty years ago. It was instituted to banish political trickery, to give all white men an equal say in the conduct of their government, and to make the Negroes impotent in political affairs. Only white Democrats can vote in the primary. Before casting his ballot the voter takes an oath to support in the general election all the nominees of the party. Recently support of nominees for Federal

[4] *Ibid.*, Article 5, Section 26.
[5] *Code of Laws of South Carolina*, 1932, p. 1078.

office was excluded from that oath. As Democrats hold the preponderant majority of electors here, nominees of the primary are always elected.

An adjunct of this system is the joint debate. Candidates for office face one another on the stump, discuss the issues of the campaign, tell of their own merits, and often call attention to the short-comings of their opponents. This last practice is called "mud slinging," which is openly condemned by the masses but in moderation it is privately enjoyed by them. Originally these debates were intended to be a kind of forum wherein public questions might be illuminated and the people informed on important issues, but soon the only issues were the personalities of the candidates. Audiences dropped off. And now only a few gather to hear the stream of candidates that flows over the stump. A widely distributed press and the radio are rapidly outmoding the political debating tours.

COUNTY GOVERNMENT

There are 46 counties in this State, with an average population of 41,300 and an average area of 673 square miles. The figures for the United States give the average county population at 43,787 and the average area as 1,217 square miles. So the subject of county government is critical in all parts of the nation, yet it has received little attention as compared with research into the political affairs of the states and the Federal Government. No doubt this is due to the differences among the counties in function, organization and finances. The tangled mass of these small units is difficult to get at. In this State the county was organized so that its inhabitants would be in easy reach of the county seat, which had to be of small mileage when horse-drawn vehicles were the chief means of transportation. Sentiment grew around the county, county-mindedness developed, office-holders stood guard over their positions, and the inertia of the people kept all fundamental political stirrings from making headway. In the meantime automobiles and hard-surface roads cut traveling time to a fraction of what it was. County functions changed. Taxes

soared. Yet the dear old 46 went right on as if nothing had happened. These small units of government are a heavy financial burden. As property is the main source of their revenue they are forced to draw on this to the limit.

Several counties, feeling the pinch of taxation and seeing that good business administration would benefit them, have set up boards of administration and one—Darlington—has employed a county manager, but the movement for this kind of supervision has not spread far. Nor is it likely to, for office holders would not relish efficiency and strict accountability stalking through their court houses. Another recent development is that the delegations to the General Assembly have become the real boards of managers for their counties. They not only hold the purse, but they may also have the Legislature enact laws that will arrange county affairs to suit the delegations. This they do under the plea of local matters.

With all these strictures, we yet must acknowledge that county government is local government—perhaps the last remnant of it. Political life today is gravitating toward centralization in Columbia and in Washington. Now the State government seems far from the ordinary citizen, and the Federal Government is more remote. He can envisage his own county, though, and influence its affairs. So it is apparent why local government is so tenaciously clung to. Besides this, the Democratic tradition, coming down from Jefferson, makes much of local government and is suspicious of political ordering from a distance. The conclusion is that we should retain the county and purge it of its abuses.

STATES' RIGHTS

That a state should be self-sufficient politically, except where defense against enemies and foreign relations are concerned, has been a doctrine cherished by South Carolina since Revolutionary times. For it we fought to exhaustion in the Confederate War. No others know the problems of the inhabitants of a state as well as the people of that state know them. Nor does a political group relish the hand-

ing down of decisions in other sections touching questions of life, property or social attitudes. Pride is here forfeited by a long and contentious history. So child labor, wages, business, banking, labor problems, and a host of other social and economic issues have been held as subjects of state treatment only.

The depression found us clinging to this doctrine. Yet in the last part of the nineteenth and the first part of the twentieth centuries manufacturing and commerce had become world-wide instead of state-wide or even nation-wide. The inhabitants of the whole earth were being knit into a single economic community. All this had its reflection in politics. There were put into operation such measures as the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Social Security Act, and a train of other aids to distraught persons and businesses. These incursions of the national government were so widely approved that though they were of Democratic origin their general principle was accepted by the Republican candidates for the presidency in 1936 and 1940. South Carolina approved of them vociferously. Since the New Deal began, this State has received over half a billion dollars from the Federal Government.

Under such impacts the States' Rights doctrine has almost vanished. In only a few areas, notably in race relations, does it now function. Perhaps in its palmy days it was used as a brake rather than as an accelerator. Progressive social legislation was likely to find it a barrier. However, it is not a dead doctrine. As long as this is a State it must bear some sovereignty over its people. Out of the clash of new social and economic forces there must emerge a clear understanding of South Carolina's exclusive rights. The corollary of this must also hold, that the State must assume responsibility. Many functions possessed by the State only have been partially or wholly taken over by the nation. Though some of these were so geared up to national welfare that they had to go, others were so poorly carried out that the Federal Government was compelled to assume responsibility for them. When facing social or economic questions that vitally affect its citizens South

Carolina should not ask, "How little can I get by with?" but, "How much am I permitted to do?"

TRENDS IN GOVERNMENT

In 1790, when the first constitution of South Carolina was adopted, the necessary activities of the State were few. Only four executive officials, besides the Governor, were provided for—two Treasurers, one to sit at Columbia the other at Charleston; a Secretary of State; and a Surveyor General. To maintain order, secure civil rights, provide for a militia, and promote the opening of main highways—these were the chief objectives of the State government in its formative period. So the government developed from being mainly a police power to restrain to being an instrument of help to citizens in the chief affairs of their lives. Education, agriculture, commerce, labor, health, social security, and many other fields of the general welfare were invaded by government. What new fields will be the scenes of political action depend on the development of society. Of this, however, we may be sure: whenever anything is considered a general necessity and cannot be supplied by private effort, the public will be summoned to provide it.

This socializing process is accomplished by specialization in the organs of government. Gone are the conditions that led President Andrew Jackson to say in his first annual message: "The duties of all public officers are, or at least admit of being made, so plain and simple that men of intelligence may readily qualify themselves for their performance; and I cannot but believe that more is lost by the long continuance of men in office than is generally to be gained by their experience." In contrast to this pronouncement is the conviction, growing slowly but surely, that any good hearted hand-shaker cannot do highly specialized work without training. This conviction is forcing the entrance of civil service and the merit system into the departments of government. Already the merit system is operating in the Department of Public Welfare, the Unemployment Compensation Commission and the State Board

of Health. Civil service, being more comprehensive, is only in the offing, but events are opening a way for it. The effective government of the present differs from the government of two generation ago as completely as an automobile factory differs from an old-time wagon works.

As government ramifies into many different forms of service, it touches us in many new ways. It dictates limits to business and agriculture. It says who shall be educated and how much education each must have. It sets ages, hours of employment, and minimum wages for industrial workers. It puts a speed limit on our automobiles. It tells the hunter what is to be the limit of his quarry, and the fisherman where he may not fish. This regimentation may be irksome, but it is the price demanded of good government in a machine age.

Together with the specialization and the regimentation that we have just considered, there is needed a wider knowledge of civics and a deeper interest in political officers and measures. As government dominates men's lives, more and more it behooves citizens to see that it is efficient, economical, and devoid of favoritism. This calls for the focusing of intelligence on politics. Now politics resolves itself into officials and issues. The ordinary voter is confused when he comes to selecting candidates. He usually has one or two persons whom he wishes to be elected, the others on the list are mere names. Such uninformed voting ends in disgusting many proficient men whom the government sorely needs and in the vaulting to power of others who can only limp through their tasks—or pay others to limp for them.

Besides needing to know the personnel of the contenders for office citizens should be informed on issues—informed not merely on one issue like prohibition or the Highway Department, but on all the major issues in their county, state and nation. Many voters do not know the millage that their county or state lays on property for taxes, nor how the revenue derived therefrom is distributed, nor what institutions and departments South Carolina supports, nor how crime is faring hereabouts, nor what ravages sickness

is making in these parts, nor how the school laws are being enforced, nor what natural resources we have and how they are or might be developed. The list of political ignorances is disheartening.

THE SOCIALLY WEAK

THE SOCIALLY WEAK

For ages it was believed that paupers, insane folk, delinquents, and other persons who were a menace to social order and comfort were individually responsible for their plight. Pity was sometimes given them, but oftener the public looked on them with impatience and heaped harsh, even cruel, treatment on them. Then came science, energized by humane emotions. Social thinkers went beneath the surface of anti-social behavior and explored the deep recesses of heredity, environmental influences, social opportunity, and other factors in the making of personality. These efforts brought a wealth of understanding of those who are mentally and morally sick. This understanding led to intelligent treatment. More emphasis was placed on prevention and restoration, less on restraint and punishment. The State established schools for delinquents and the feebleminded, changed the Asylum for Lunatics into the State Hospital for the mentally sick, and gave relief according to their needs to the poverty stricken and the physically handicapped. But we could not spring with one bound from the old methods of condemnation to the new programs of help. So there is a cultural lag in the treatment of the under-privileged.

One element that seriously retards modern treatment is its cost. It appears to be more expensive to furnish adequate care for the socially weak than to leave them in their suffering, just as it appears to be cheaper to let diseased folk endure pain and come to untimely deaths than to care for them by hospitalization or public-supported medical care. But the added expense is only apparent; society pays much more for inadequacy than for treatment.

Another contingency we must meet is the growing numbers of defectives, delinquents and dependents in the population. As competition becomes severer, standards of living rise, and long established criterions of character give way, we may expect many social casualties. However, the size of the wastage might be exaggerated. In other times we hid or ignored many that we would not care for.

CHAPTER 15

THOSE IN POVERTY

Poverty is the outstanding social evil in this State. It is not only a curse to its victims, but it is also the parent of nearly every other social ill. Poverty is spawned by vice, crime, sickness and other corporate afflictions, and in turn produces most of the miseries that harass the social order. In earlier discussions it was pointed out that South Carolina's lack of metals, a sick agriculture, and widespread ignorance make for impoverishment. These are augmented by disease, mental inadequacy, and a backwardness in developing our natural resources. The reply to all this is that there are other states which have as great or greater drawbacks. But we are responsible for South Carolina and not for other states. This sensitiveness solves no problems nor conceals from ourselves or others our social deficits.

Yet whatever be the causes of poverty those who suffer from it must be helped. This smote us in the early thirties, when millions were without employment and were faced with the need of subsistence. Charity, the ancient method of meeting such crises, failed. The wealthy merely measured their gifts by the offerings of the poor or near-poor. The burden became too great for volunteer aid to bear. Only the government could muster financial strength sufficient to care for the army of dependents. So the Federal Social Security Act was passed in 1935, whose purpose was to furnish the means for all needy folk to live in health and decency. In 1939 this act was amended so as to give fuller assistance to its beneficiaries. Aid was offered the people of the states under nine categories: old age and survivor's insurance, old age assistance, aid to dependent children, aid to the needy blind, maternal and child health, aid to crippled children, child welfare services, public health, and unemployment compensation. For a state to receive the aid thus proffered by the Nation that state had to participate in the financial cost of the relief given and its administration.

THE STANDARD OF LIVING

If the needy are to be relieved, standards must be established to mark the objectives toward which relief workers are to strive. Many of us still are dominated by the notion that when starvation and the severities of the weather are warded off our concern for the poor should cease, but modern welfare confines itself to no such limitations. Its objectives have been refined into the items of the standard of living.

This term means the way the members of a group *should* live. It is often confused with the "scale of living," which means the way the members of a group *actually* live. Standard carries with it the idea of an adequate measure, a criterion. During the depression millions had a much higher standard than scale of living. One of the great tasks of social work is to induce those living on a low scale to bestir themselves toward a normal standard of living. Now this may be taken either subjectively or objectively. In the former sense it denotes that people have the qualities set forth in the criterion, such as health, education, spiritual welfare. If taken objectively it means the instruments by which those qualities might be gotten. Whether people desire to employ these instruments is a question that the designation of a standard does not involve. In South Carolina, at the present stage of advancement, the following items appear to be sufficient as a measuring rod of the normal standard of living:

1. *Food.* Sufficient, varied, and balanced.
2. *Clothing.* Comfortable, and of a quality recognized as "respectable."
3. *Housing.* Adequate to maintain health, comfort, modesty, and shelter from the elements.
4. *Agencies for Health.* Amply implemented to prevent the spread of disease and to promote physical vigor.
5. *Common Schools.* Sufficient in number, equipment, and geographic position, to give to all the people—children and adults—access to the best vocational and cultural knowledge.

6. *Recreation.* Adequate to give all the people opportunity to use their leisure time in play and in creative activities.

7. *Tools of Culture.* Books, radios, musical instruments, and other such means as their possessors can use.

8. *Organizations for Spiritual Welfare.* Churches and other institutions and agencies that minister to the building and energizing of character and ideals.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

In order to give all its citizens access to this standard of living South Carolina made provisions to apply to all within its borders the measures set forth in the Federal Social Security Act. Preliminary to this it was necessary for the people to amend their Constitution, for that instrument allowed pensions to war veterans only and made the counties individually responsible for the care of their destitute residents. The Constitutional changes left the General Assembly free to give regular monthly sums to dependents wherever they might live in the State. So in its 1937 session the Legislature established the State Department of Public Welfare.

Four fields of service were prescribed for this Department. First, it was to study the various social problems confronting the State, "inquiring into their causes and possible cures, making such surveys, gathering such statistics, and formulating such recommended public policies in connection thereto as may be in the interest of the State, and make such information available in published form." (Section 2) This is a wise provision, for if the citizenry of the State is to support the vast program that universal welfare calls for it should be informed of the actual social conditions that obtain among us. Yet this would take a bravery not ordinarily seen in government circles. To bare the sore spots in South Carolina's corporate life is a risky procedure for those seeking appropriations. Second, the Department has "authority to make investigations into the administration and affairs of any institution or agency,

public or private, in the State concerned with the care, custody or training of persons or the handling of problems of delinquency, dependency or defectiveness." (Section 61) Third, the Department is required to investigate any charitable organizations petitioning the Secretary of State for the issuance of a charter or the amending of one. (Section 62) This is to protect unwary but humanitarian citizens from the forays of pious tongued rascals or deluded cranks. Fourth, the Department was given the supervision and administration of the public welfare activities and functions of the State and on it was devolved cooperation with the Federal Government in carrying into effect some of the categories of its Social Security Act. (Section 2)

Only assistance to aged persons in need, aid to dependent children, aid to the needy blind, child welfare services, and general relief were allocated to the Department. The Federal Government reserved to itself the administering of old age and survivor's insurance, while maternal and child health, aid to crippled children, public health, and unemployment compensation were placed under other departments of the State.

The form of organization designated by the General Assembly placed the South Carolina Board of Public Welfare in control of the Department. This Board consists of seven members, one from each Congressional District and a chairman from the State at large, all elected by the Legislature. Provision was also made for a County Department of Public Welfare in each county, whose function is to administer relief locally under the several Social Security categories. The head of the State Department is the State Director, and each County Department has a County Director as its chief officer.

ASSISTANCE TO THE AGED

Old people have a difficult time in this age. In the past they had the dignity which authority gives. White hair was the badge of long experience and mellowed wisdom. Then household articles and articles for commerce were handmade and demanded good craftmanship. Skill, not

speed, was the dominant element in production. As a man advanced in age his workmanship was likely to improve. At the advent of machinery this was changed. The machine turned out commodities while the workman tended it. The speeding mechanism set the pace of the worker; he had to synchronize his movements with its wheels and bands or production would be held up. Forty became the deadline in many industries, so the aged were laid on the shelf, and that without benefit of income.

Likewise in non-industrial occupations old age is no longer looked up to. The personal experience of the grandmother in caring for children cannot match the knowledge of the young doctor, nor the toil-taught technique of the old farmer cope with the training of the recent graduate of an agricultural college. Science and the printed page diminish the worth of personal experience. Moreover, with less and less service to contribute the aged become more and more a burden to their adult children. In old times, especially in farming regions, they were of great help and little cost, but now they are of little help and a financial burden. In towns and cities, where rent is high, they take up room that is needed for younger members of the family.

Yet with these troubles harrying them, persons over sixty-five are increasing in numbers. With health measures bringing down the death rate of all younger classes it is only reasonable to expect this. The advance of population into the old-age zone is shown by comparing census figures. In 1920, persons over sixty-five years of age composed 3.2 percent of this State's population, in 1930 it was 3.3 percent, and by 1940 it had grown to 4.2 percent. Before Social Security came these folk were packed away to county alms houses, where they were herded with children, feeble-minded folk, the mildly insane and the bed-ridden. In most instances, this was a pitiful climax to a hard life. Then came the Department of Public Welfare, which was directed to pay as much as $240.00 a year to each citizen of the State who is over sixty-five years of age, who has no means of support and whose annual income does not exceed

$240.00. Inmates of publicly supported institutions cannot be granted this assistance.

In the fiscal year, July 1, 1944–June 30, 1945, the Department of Public Welfare awarded $3,560,109.40 to the aged, which averaged $14.14 a month per person. The average number of recipients for the year was 21,393.[1] The State advanced one-half of this sum and the Federal Government the other half.

AID TO THE NEEDY BLIND

Of all the physically handicapped persons the blind have received the most public sympathy. This sympathy springs from concern about the economic plight of the blind and pity for their deprivation of the pleasures of vision. People generally think of the blind as being totally without sight, but among social students blindness is considered a vision acuity below one-tenth of normal sightedness. In South Carolina, as throughout the nation, the affliction is had by more males than females and by more blacks than whites.

The Department of Public Welfare has two functions in connection with the blind—the giving of services to the sightless and the awarding of financial aid to those of them who are in need. To promote the giving of services the South Carolina Welfare Act provides that an Advisory Council be appointed to work in conjunction with the State Board and under the direction of the State Department to: "(a) Inquire into the causes of blindness, inaugurate and cooperate in the preventative measures, and provide for the examination and treatment of the eyes of the blind or those threatened with blindness for the benefit of such persons, and shall pay therefor including necessary incidental expenses; (b) Aid the blind in finding employment, teaching them trades and occupations within their capacities, assist them in disposing of products made by them in home industries and do such things as will contribute to the efficiency of self-support of the blind;

[1] South Carolina State Department of Public Welfare, *Annual Report*, 1945, p. 31.

(c) Undertake such other activities as may ameliorate the condition of blind citizens of this State." (Section 48)

The Division of the Blind was set up to facilitate the services of the Advisory Council, which services include prevention and home teaching. Prevention is a fundamental though undramatic phase of the work. Because of the ramification of causes cooperation of many agencies is requisite. For instance, fifteen percent of blindness is due to syphilis, with which the State Board of Health has to deal. Accidents account for about a fifth of blindness. This is a problem of industry. Special sight-saving classes in public schools would go far in conserving vision, which educational authorities would have to handle. Medical services, together with hospital care, are considered preventive measures and are paid for by the Division. This work is carried on by a staff trained in handicrafts, and consists of a supervisor, stock room workers, and two home teachers. "All materials used in home teaching are bought by the Division at wholesale prices and furnished blind workers from the agency stockroom at cost. Payment for labor is made directly to the sightless workers . . . immediately upon return of the finished product and upon inspection by the handicraft supervisor." [2]

That the blind should earn to the limit of their capacity is now accepted as proper. They are happy when they are employed and they are miserable when they are forced into idleness by a misplaced public sympathy. When blindness comes in adult years the victim has the same physical strength, skill and personality make-up as he possessed before darkness fell on him. Recognizing this, the Division has instituted vocational rehabilitation whereby the sightless may be trained to occupations suitable to their ability. Besides the training thus given the blind receive placement and aid in concession stands and small businesses.

One of the most useful services given by the Division is the keeping of an active register of the State's blind. The listing of these cases shows that in 1945 there were 2,572

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

of them. The Federal Census of 1940 enumerated the blind in South Carolina as 1,028.[3]

Through its Division of Public Assistance the Department of Public Welfare gave direct money aid to an average of 893 persons, which was thirty-five percent of all the blind in South Carolina. The amount so donated averaged $19.66 a month per recipient.[4] The State law allows as much as $300.00 per annum to each sightless person, payable in monthly installments. Half of the sum awarded comes from the State and half from the Federal Government.

DEPENDENT CHILDREN

The South Carolina Public Welfare Act declares, "The term 'dependent child' means a child under the age of sixteen (16) years who has been deprived of parental support or care by reason of the death, continued absence from home, or physical or mental incapacity of a parent, and who is living (with a relative) in a place or residence maintained by one or more of such relatives as his or her own home and if not granted aid is likely to become a public charge or who would otherwise be deprived of proper support, care or training." The causes of child dependency are thus succintly set forth—death, desertion, sickness, and mental incapacity of parents. Death of one or both parents leaves the child an orphan. Thus thrown helpless upon the world the parentless child must find support either from relatives who usually are too poor to undertake the burden, or from society. Before orphanages were instituted these unfortunates were sent to alms houses or were indentured to persons who desired cheap labor. In either case the plight of the destitute child was pitiful.

In 1794 the Charleston Orphan House threw open its doors for inmates, and so started a more humane care of dependent children. Of late years foster homes have given a refuge to these helpless boys and girls, but these homes

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 23, and *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1941, p. 90.

[4] South Carolina State Department of Public Welfare, *Annual Report*, 1945, p. 31.

were seldom those of relatives, so the children were brought up by persons not of their own blood. Often when death removed the breadwinner, families were broken up, the children going into orphanages or foster homes and mothers into occupations. This practice in most instances was inhuman and expensive, so many states appropriated money for mothers' aid, South Carolina not being one of them. When Social Security came provision was made to assist relatives who cared for their orphaned kin.

Desertion also often leaves children without support. As the population trends toward urban centers, vices grow, for towns and cities are more given to loose living than are rural regions. Then, too, where illegitimacy is high one would expect the fathers of children born out of wedlock to desert their offspring. South Carolina had a high rate of illegitimacy in 1939, twenty-four per cent among Negro and two percent of white babies were thus brought forth.[5]

The South Carolina Public Welfare Act provides that dependent children living with relatives shall be aided by payments to such relatives. The amounts are not to exceed fifteen dollars per month for the first child nor ten dollars per month for each additional child in the same home. Contributions to orphanages and other children's institutions are prohibited.

In the fiscal year July 1, 1944-June 30, 1945, the State Department of Public Welfare awarded aid to an average of 3,529 families, which had 10,437 children. The average for each child was $8.05 per month.[6]

CHILD WELFARE SERVICES

The National Social Security Act provided for Child Welfare. By this term the Act meant the care of those children not supported by relatives assisted through grants for dependent children. The fundamental aims of this provision are stated as follows by the South Carolina Department of

[5] *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1941, p. 101.
[6] South Carolina State Department of Public Welfare, *Annual Report*, 1945, p. 32.

Public Welfare: "First, to extend to every county in the State of South Carolina a good substantial child welfare program so that each community may become aware of its own problems. Secondly, to interpret the needs of children in each county so that eventually a unified child welfare program will be established in order to meet individual needs of children in their own communities. Thirdly, to strengthen the existing agencies already giving child welfare services for the protection and care of all children in South Carolina by helping them raise and maintain their standards of care. In order to work out an effective program which will be sound and which will maintain the best standards of care for children, it is necessary to take stock of what each agency and each community can offer to the children, then plan a coordinated program to prevent duplication which will be effective." [7]

This somewhat formal statement does not vibrate with the emotions that are likely to be set off when the story of help to children is told. Child welfare workers of the Department of Public Welfare cooperate with State, county and local agencies to rescue needy children and to give them the kind of help they require. As the department well says, "Many children in South Carolina are neglected before they are born. Their mothers receive inadequate medical care, have inadequate diets, and lack natal and postnatal care. Many babies die before they reach one year of age. Others lack proper diet and proper physical care." Those who survive, having had such a helpless beginning, are likely to be headed for tragic woes. Some of them are abandoned; others are allowed to roam the streets, where they are exposed to the contagion of vice; troops are crippled—5,505 are registered with the State Board of Health; many thousands more are mentally handicapped; and streams of youngsters are making toward delinquency or are already skirting it.

The Child Welfare Division was enabled during the year which ended June 30, 1945, to give services to 2,954 chil-

[7] South Carolina Department of Public Welfare, *Annual Report*, 1940, p. 75.

dren in their own homes or in homes in which they were supported. As no limitations hampered its services, the Division helped 220 children in institutions.[8]

GENERAL RELIEF

Aid to the needy aged, the needy blind, and dependent children is known as "categorical relief," as any person coming in one of these categories merits assistance. But there are many cases of need which do not fall within one of these classes. A sick industrial worker under sixty-five years of age, a young laborer who suffered a disabling accident, a mother who was crippled in childbirth, a couple in advanced middle age who lack subsistence—these and many others are not provided for under any categories of Social Security. So the General Assembly directed the State Department of Public Welfare to administer relief wherever it was needed. This comprehensive aid is known as "general relief." The act stipulated that a county to receive such relief for its citizens had to contribute one-half of its cost, but this stipulation was recently removed. In the year ending June 30, 1945, the monthly average of cases awarded general relief was 2,688, with an average grant of $11.00 per case.[9]

OLD AGE AND SURVIVORS' INSURANCE

The Federal Government administers directly old age and survivors' insurance benefits. All employees, with the exceptions noted later, are covered. Provision is made for persons 65 years old and over who have retired from their regular employment, and for their survivors and dependents. Annual premiums of three percent paid by employers and three percent by employees on the yearly wage of employees are prescribed for this purpose. The formula for computing monthly benefits is 40 percent of the first $50.00 of average monthly wage plus 10 percent of the next $200-.00, with an added one percent of the amount thus obtained

[8] South Carolina Department of Public Welfare, *Annual Report*, 1945, p. 16.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

for each year in which the worker earned $200.00 or more in covered employment. Thus a single person with an average monthly wage of $50.00 for three years would on retirement receive $20.00 monthly. If he received a monthly wage of $100.00 his monthly benefit would be $25.75. Provision is also made for added benefits for married persons and persons with children. When an insured person dies benefits are provided for his survivors. Those in domestic service, farm laborers, and those working for private institutions or agencies not conducted for profit, are exempted from old age benefits. Only industrial and commercial employees are favored.

AID TO CRIPPLED CHILDREN

The physical restoration of crippled children has been given to the State Board of Health, their vocational training belongs to the State Superintendent of Education. The State Board of Health reported, "The Division for Crippled Children accepts for care patients who meet the qualifications as to age and financial status and who are suffering from crippling conditions . . . No patient or applicant 21 years old or over can be accepted for care. Crippled children may be reported to the County Health Department by any interested individual or organization." [10]

The South Carolina Convalescent Home for Crippled Children at Florence accepts cases who are suffering from crippling conditions including cardiac and nutritional cases, providing they are indigent. During the year ending June 30, 1945, the Home cared for 123 children.[11] The total number of cases reported for physical restoration was 367. The total amount spent for all services was $200,364.16. In the State register of December 31, 1944, there were listed 5,505 crippled children.[12]

The Division for Vocational Rehabilitation in the office of the State Superintendent of Education is responsible for

[10] South Carolina State Board of Health, *Annual Report*, 1945, p. 169.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 172.
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 174, 175.

the training of crippled persons so that they may be productive citizens. "The procedure follows through interview and diagnosis; through aptitude and ability tests; through the removal of individual problems as far as possible by physical restoration services; through equipping the individual with artificial appliances which overcome certain physical handicaps; and through special training of the handicapped for vocations and professions suitable to the needs of each person." [13] The case load flow for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1945, was 3,677. What proportion of these was children we are not told.

The 1945 General Assembly made provisions for special educational services for the hard of hearing children. Arrangements will be made to have the children with a high loss of hearing examined by an otologist. As about one in eight of our public school pupils has impairment in hearing, school work is often hampered and the fault goes unobserved.

TRAINED WORKERS

In times past relief workers were usually settled women of good reputation and kindly disposition. If they were somewhat emotional about the afflicted it heightened public esteem for them. As they had to raise money for their own support and for gifts to their clients they gave much of their time to stimulate the charitable to give generously, to give till it hurt. Sob stories were their mainstay, for the public loved, and still loves, dramatic instances saturated with tears. Their approach to social disorganization was to blame it on some special evil which they abhorred. Purlieus of vice were no places for these gentle souls to enter, nor would they use the frank, realistic language that young social workers so glibly roll out today. Yet gird at them as we may, the old time charity workers were a romantic band and the harbingers of the social workers of the present.

When millions of tax money were poured into public

[13] South Carolina State Superintendent of Education, *Annual Report*, 1945, p. 231.

relief demand was made that the dispensers of those millions should be trained men and women who knew what they were about. As in medicine before it, social work gradually relinquished the apprentice system and substituted for it special-school training. Social work is now reaching toward a professional status. It is based on social science; knowledge not sentiment is its foundation. For this reason it requires a long and severe discipline that demands listening to lectures, wide reading, taking part in class-room discussions, and doing field work that calls for objective analyses of cases.

Yet Social Security came so rapidly that it could not demand high technical skill in all of its case workers. This State's Department of Public Welfare has adopted minimum standards which all of its employees are expected to reach. A merit system has been adopted whereby welfare workers are tested for their fitness. Yet standards are continually advancing and as young graduates come from schools of social work they will replace untrained men and women.

CHAPTER 16

PUBLIC OFFENDERS

Crime from the viewpoint of legal procedure is the breaking of a law with a penalty attached. As laws are the expressions of public attitudes, when those attitudes change laws change. Hence what may be a crime at one time or place may not be so considered at another time or place. Selling alcoholic beverages was not a crime in 1915, it was in 1925, and it was not in 1935. Marriage of a white person to a Negro is a crime in South Carolina, but in Massachusetts it is not. Polygamy was a permitted practice among the Patriarchs of the Old Testament, whereas it is bigamy under our statutes. The chief function of our criminal courts is to determine whether persons charged with offenses against our criminal statutes are guilty or not, and if guilty what their punishment should be.

To the sociologist or social worker, however, crime is an attempt to solve a problem by committing an anti-social act, one that tends to disorganize society. From this viewpoint the life-history of the offender is of paramount importance. This should not be interpreted, however, as setting the legal and the social approaches against each other, for in our State crime and antisocial behavior are likely to coincide. The difference between the two approaches is pointed out only to show that there is a difference and that delinquency must be attacked by both law and social work.

Criminal statistics are needed to measure crime and its trends. The numbers of both crimes and those who commit them should be had, but many such figures are unavailable. The statistics of crime—how many assaults, thefts, arsons, etc., were committed—are not recorded, save in the case of homicides. Policemen, constables, magistrates, and sheriffs are reluctant to tell—if they could—the number of offenses reported to them for fear of political consequences, for the citizenry would look with disfavor on the great disparity between the number of crimes and the relatively

few criminals caught. The number of those convicted in the circuit courts are available, but those found guilty in petty courts—mayor's, magistrate's and recorder's—are not reported to any central authority, and are therefore beyond the reach of any but the most probing and expensive research.

EXTENT OF CRIME

Crimes of the more serious sort are dealt with by the circuit courts. The county clerks of court in the fourteen judicial circuits of South Carolina make detailed reports to the Attorney General every three months. These reports give the name, sex, color, age, offense charged, and the disposition of the case of every person tried in the cricuit courts held in the several counties. In the annual report of the Attorney General for the year ending June 30, 1932, no age, sex or color was recorded. Hence ten years only—1930-1940—with 1932 omitted—were analyzed. However, the statistics of 1932 were employed where they added to the interpretation. On this analysis the statistics of criminals in this chapter are based.

In analyzing this table we discover that 20,875 whites and 22,712 Negroes were convicted—86.4 percent of those tried. Of these, 19.5 percent were juveniles under 21 years of age, of whom 69 percent were Negro and 31 percent white. Of this age group 58 percent had housebreaking and robbery, and larceny—two forms of crime—as their offenses. The next age group, that from 21 to 35, contained the largest number of persons, 28 percent of all those convicted. Their chief delinquency was housebreaking and robbery, and larceny. Of all convictions under this head they contributed 56 percent. In violating the liquor laws 29 percent of these young adults were offenders. Of all the violators of the liquor laws 65 percent were white, while Negroes accounted for 63 percent of those found guilty of housebreaking and robbery, and larceny.

The annual reports of the Attorney General for this period also reveal the trends of crime. Convictions for housebreaking and robbery, and larceny rose from 1,015

in 1930 to 1,710 in 1932. This rapid increase was probably due to the depression. Then the numbers fluctuated in a marked degree until 1940, in which year only 899 were recorded, the lowest figure for the period studied. Assault and battery had a more even progress. In 1930, 479 persons were found guilty of it. The year 1932 brought 581 convictions, and 1940 saw the number rise to 620. So as thievery diminished, assault increased.

While South Carolina is not outstanding in other crimes, it has an unenviable record in homicides. The following figures are the numbers of such offenses and the persons executed for murder in the year indicated:[1]

Year	*Homicides*	*Executions*
1930	230	5
1931	270	8
1932	258	9
1933	293	5
1934	364	10
1935	266	6
1936	240	5
1937	266	2
1938	245	3
1939	268	10
1940	258	4
Total	2,958	67

CAUSES OF CRIME

No matter how we may rave at this ugly thing, it will not down or even be diminished until we ferret out its causes and deal with them. This is the way of science, as is shown in medicine. For countless ages plagues and diseases were treated in all kinds of fantastic ways until it was discovered that they are the effects of germs. The simple conclusion then came that the ancient enemies of man's body must be met and routed. The outcome of the war with germs was a drastically lowered death rate and

[1] Homicides 1930-1936, *Mortality Statistics*, Bureau of the Census. Homicides 1937-1940, *Vital Statistics*, Bureau of the Census. Statistics of executions obtained at the State Penitentiary.

an expansion of life expectancy. Now this should give us a clue as to how we should proceed to deal with crime.

The first and most powerful factor is the general attitude of the public. The popular notion is that when relations between husband and wife are invaded, the intruder should meet short shrift at the pistol point; that when one's wife is insulted, resort must be had to a deadly weapon; that when a Negro is blatantly impudent to a white man, the offender should be assaulted, and if his death ensues it is justifiable; that carrying lethal weapons to guard one's person or to enforce one's will is proper. All these lead straight to homicide.

Likewise, the toleration of vice—gambling, prostitution, drunkenness—makes for the creation of evil resorts that are anti-social in themselves and the breeders of a variety of crimes. In slums and near-slums, both rural and urban, forms of delinquency are woven into the cultural pattern. Practices that shock or disgust the outsider appear natural enough to the denizens of these places. Such plague spots are tolerated by the public because of ignorance and because of a general feeling that such areas belong to their residents and are of no danger as long as the outside is not molested by them. One might as well hold a like attitude toward disease-infected districts. Both disease and delinquency invade nearby territory. There is no known way to keep them in bounds. Yet the cavalier attitude exists that as long as vice and delinquency do not flout themselves brazenly in the public eye their lairs should be left alone. The masses of our citizenry seem to think that a law might be rightly disregarded if this raises no sentiment of vengeance among the people.

RAPID SOCIAL CHANGE

Another precipitator of crime is the rapid social change that has come within the State. Numbers of folk have removed from simple neighborhoods, where they were under the eye of their relatives and neighbors, to larger towns and cities, where most of their doings go unnoticed. Urban vice battens on recently arrived country boys and girls.

And with this mobility there is also associated a change in standards. The family pattern of morality, which obtains in most rural communities, is replaced by the looser and more indefinite scheme of population centers.

Modern conditions interfere with the keeping of many ancient customs. The general abandonment of a strict observance of the Sabbath is an instance of this. Now when old standards are weakened and new ones have not solidified, social disorganization appears. Wonted restraints are slackened, and what was once considered the command of God is thought of as the plaint of old fogies. Then, too, swift locomotion makes the escape of criminals easy. With a high-powered motor car the robber can make a haul of goods or money at midnight and by morning be in a different state. Bootlegging of liquor is also greatly aided by rapid transportation. Moreover, mechanical inventions have brought in things easily stolen—bicycles, automobiles, tires, gasoline, cigarettes, and the showy goods carried by ten-cent and department stores.

NEW LAWS

New laws add to the population of our penal institutions. Setting woods and dry fields afire to oust rabbits and destroy boll weevils was once looked upon as a nuisance at most. Now it is considered as destroying natural resources and is punishable by the courts. Sex offences by girls were looked on a generation ago as vile, but they were not subject to legal action. Nowadays such trespassers are committed to the Girls' Industrial School or are sent to jail. Driving a motor car while intoxicated became a misdemeanor only after the introduction of the automobile. With the advance of civilization and the consequent interdependence that is imposed on individuals, social control has to be extended, and the only way the State has of enforcing it is through penal measures. Hence we may expect to have many more laws that will command us to do certain prescribed things and to refrain from others.

ADVERSE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

A root of crime, and a sizable root, too, springs from adverse economic conditions. When a low income or no income is received, the ordinary ways of life have to be changed. To be sure, not many resort to larceny or homicide to get something to eat or comfortable clothing when their finances fail. Our welfare programs provide the necessities of life for the poverty-stricken or the paupers. On the other hand, numbers turn to crime as a means for providing drink or obtaining stakes for gambling or to prop up a failing prestige. Low income also pushes many into slums or semi-slums, where moral standards are meager and vice is an ordinary practice. Families do not settle in these districts because they desire to live in disease-infested, evil-ridden neighborhoods. They would gladly move into comfortable dwellings in pleasant sections, but they cannot pay the high rent demanded for these favorable places. Moreover, an inadequate income or unemployment often drives toward a feeling of inadequacy, an inferiority complex, or some other form of mental distress. Victims of these become fretful and chafe in maladjustment. Their mental states are highly emotionalized, and in many cases they press toward family disorganization, assault, suicide, or some other form of anti-social behavior. It is not to be wondered at that a society largely dominated by economic competition should have a high incidence of social failures.

INADEQUATE MENTALITY

Feeblemindedness and mental disorders account for some crime. However, we must bear in mind that many feebleminded persons are the tools of normal men who take advantage of the weak faculties of others. Yet as insane and feebleminded folk often cannot meet situations with enough judgment to cope with them successfully, they take the direct action route, which is likely to be anti-social. Also, they are apt to lack self control, so when their anger flares they strike with fury. The feebleminded never enter the

ranks of professional criminals, where shrewd planning and judgment are necessary. Girls of low intelligence are in danger of violating sex standards, while boys with deficient minds may take to stealing to solve their problems; for girls can sell their sex but boys cannot sell theirs. Of the 52 inmates of the South Carolina Industrial Schools for Girls in February, 1933, most of whom were there for sex offences, one was of superior mental level, 12 were normal, 13 dull, 10 border line, and 16 definitely feebleminded.[2] Statistics of the intelligence levels of prisoners at the State's penal institutions are not available for a date later than 1921. In that year the National Committee for Mental Hygiene made a survey of South Carolina. It diagnosed as feebleminded 19.4 percent of the penitentiary population, 10 percent of the jail, and 20.5 percent of the State Industrial School for White Boys.[3] Besides feeblemindedness, mental disorders characterized a still higher proportion of the prisoners at these institutions. In the face of these facts and figures one could hardly doubt that feeblemindedness and mental disorders play an important role in the making of our offenders.

FAILURE OF COURTS AND PRISONS

The failure of courts and prisons is responsible for an appreciable amount of crime. According to our procedure, an accused person is innocent until he is proved to be guilty, but what is proof is left to the discretion of juries. Now juries are composed of men untrained to sift evidence. Besides, most professional men—doctors, lawyers, clergymen, teachers—are exempt from jury duty. The one impartial man in court, who listens to testimony day in and day out, is the judge, yet he cannot comment on the evidence. Lawyers paid by the defense and the prosecution may interpret the evidence to the jury, and if the evidence is weak they may fortify their cases with emotional appeals—and these appeals are often grotesque to intelligent men. But never a word on the evidence is allowed from the bench. Only abstractions may come from that sacred quarter. Federal

[2] Data in hand of the writer.
[3] *South Carolina Mental Hygiene Survey*, 1922, pp. 26, 30.

courts are not hampered by such restrictions, hence law breakers make every effort to keep out of them.

After prisoners are found guilty they are turned over to a penal system that has little to show in the way of reforming its wards. In fact, the penitentiary, chaingangs, and industrial schools publish no figures on repeaters—persons who have served one or more previous sentences. The only red figures they appear to employ are those showing financial deficits. The last study that was made of repeaters was in 1921. In that year the National Committee for Mental Hygiene discovered that 40 percent of the inmates of the penitentiary and 47 percent of the inmates of the county jails had served previous sentences. When it is remembered that many convicts indulge only once in crime, it is apparent that our penal institutions have small influence over their prisoners.

The factors that make toward crime, which we have just discussed, do not operate singly, they are synthesized. Yet the popular opinion appears to hold that there is only one efficient cause in a given delinquency. This popular notion usually pounces on some moral phase as a key to the situation. It is said that the law breaker is bad, and he knows that he is bad. Human life is a compound of many motives, drives, mental promptings, ignorances. It is so among those whom we please to call the normal. It is so among offenders. Therefore, to understand a criminal act one has to factor out the main elements in it. And in this factoring one discovers that every criminal act is a different compound from all other similar acts. Here is the rub, for we are facile in attributing crime to some pet cause that our casual observations or biases suggest—race, evil ancestry, poverty, bad environment, a corrupt nature. Only a probing analysis of the total situation, which includes the personality of the offender as well as the attendant circumstances, can give an explanation to any delinquency.

TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS

The treatment of offenders in this State stems from the European system, which rested mainly on vengeance and

deterrence. Persons over there who broke the laws were cruelly dealt with to appease the rulers' or the public's wrath. For ages it was the custom to torture criminals publicly. Burning at the stake, whipping at the cart tail, cropping ears, branding, hanging in chains, were some of the methods used. Rationalization came in to justify these cruelties and it was held that they would act as deterrents, that would-be law breakers would look on the suffering victims and refrain from their intended offenses. While the idea of deterrence no doubt began as rationalization it became the dominant reason when a more humane spirit developed in the nineteenth century. At present the theory held by most citizens in this land is that punishment diminishes delinquency by furnishing painful memories to convicts after their sentences have been served and by forewarning potential malefactors.

Such a view does seem logical, but results do not bear it out. One fact not borne in mind when coming to the conclusion that deterrence is the cure-all is that only a small proportion of the doers of crime are detected and punished. This may be seen in the number executed for murder. The table of homicides and executions given earlier shows that one person was put to death for every 44 homicides. The proportions of convictions and punishments for other crimes is probably much greater, but it is small enough to give the criminal the belief that there is a good chance for his escape. Another fact often not noticed is that mere punishment is negative and has no character building elements, and it is character that holds men from evil.

PENAL AND CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Before the Confederate War Negro misdemeanants were dealt with by their masters. Punishment of slaves for any but the gravest offences was a domestic affair of which the courts took no cognizance. Whipping and deprivations were the punishments usually meted out. When slaves committed murder or some other crime that menaced the community they met swift and terrible penalties. Owners were

in constant fear of slave uprisings, hence repressive measures were taken to prevent them. Teaching Negroes to read was forbidden, they were not allowed away from home without passports, and if they slew their masters they were hanged or burned without much sifting of evidence.

White culprits were also summarily dealt with. They were taken from the places of trial and immediately received the punishment imposed—hanging or sitting in the stocks or flogging or standing in the pillory. The populace was rough and hearty, and it enjoyed the spectacle as much as the victim was pained. No soft sentiments marred the pleasure of a holiday graced by a figure writhing at the whipping post or swinging from the gallows. No sentences to prison were given, as no prisons existed.

There was no publicly owned jail until after 1769. Before that time the Provost Marshal held prisoners in his own or a rented house, where he fed them at his own expense. The earliest jail in the Province was at Charleston, which was described as the "close, stincking gaol." Here sixteen persons were sometimes incarcerated in a twelve foot square.[4] We find a jail at Camden in 1771, which was probably for the sole purpose of detaining prisoners.[5] When counties were established after the Revolution jails were built at the county seats and some convicted persons were sentenced to them. These jails were forbidding structures, reared to prevent escape and to make life gloomy for their inmates. Within the gaunt brick or stone walls, with their tiny barred windows—mere port holes—there were stout iron rings fastened to the floors to which prisoners were chained. Lack of any sanitary facilities made the stench in these places nauseating. A brief sojourn in one of these holes could only degrade a person and a long stay bestialize him.

In 1866 the General Assembly passed an act to establish a State penitentiary. This was made necessary by the lawlessness of the recently freed Negroes and by the increased

[4] Wallace, D. D., *The History of South Carolina*, Vol. 1, pp. 268, 269.

[5] Kirkland and Kennedy, *Historic Camden, Colonial and Revolutionary*, Columbia, 1905, p. 12.

number of white offenders that came as an aftermath of war. This kind of institution was well established in many states and was generally looked on as the best way to care for criminals. Hardly had the penitentiary begun to build when the Radicals got control of the State. They fell on the prison and looted it of funds. When the State was restored to Democratic rule an earnest and honest but poorly conceived plan was launched. By this plan the convicts were leased to farmers and to a railroad. Replacing animals and machinery was expensive, but replacing ill or dead convicts cost nothing. Hence the animals and machinery were cared for, but the prisoners were overworked, poorly fed, and forced to live in unsanitary quarters. In consequence, many died and many others were broken in health.

The penitentiary was forced to call off this leasing plan and to return its wards to life within the walls. There they made brooms and worked in a hosiery mill. They also aided in digging the Columbia Canal. Also to find work opportunities for its inmates the penitentiary purchased two large farms in Sumter and Kershaw counties. In 1945 the Superintendent reported that the prisoners were engaged in making furniture, in running a garment factory, in making automobile tags for the Highway Department, and in laboring on the farms. Recently a prison for women was built on penitentiary lands on the Broad River several miles above Columbia. This was for the housing of women prisoners committed to the penitentiary. It relieved the main institution of the care of women, a problem that had plagued it for many years.

CHAINGANGS

Another branch of our penal system is the county chaingang. How many counties have chaingangs, how many prisoners are on them, and how these men fare no one knows, for no reports are made by the officers of the gangs to any central authority nor are the gangs inspected by any State officials. The task of these groups of prisoners is to labor

on county roads. The chained men on many gangs sleep in tents or shacks or cages. When they sleep in tents or shacks their shackles have a chain run through them, and this chain is locked to a post or a tree. Discomfort, and often great pain, ensues from this practice. While at work they wear stripes and often shackles, precautions against escape, we are told, and it must be admitted that there is every temptation for these pathetic creatures to get away. Punishment is frequently administered with a strap, a piece of leather about three inches wide and two and a half feet long. The prisoner is laid over a barrel or log and from forty to fifty strokes are given him. This beating is so severe that it often lays up the man for weeks; it usually dazes him so that after the flogging he reels as if drunk. This is clearly a breach of the constitutional provision that corporal punishment shall not be administered. The pay of chaingang guards and foremen is so pitifully small that seldom can any but the most ignorant white men be gotten for these positions. Such men are often filled with race hatred and take advantage of their positions to wreak cruel treatment on the Negroes under their control.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

The institutions for delinquent children are: the South Carolina Industrial School (for boys), Florence, established in 1908, with a capacity for 200 and a population of 250; the South Carolina Industrial School for Girls (white), near Columbia, established in 1918, with a capacity for seventy-five and an enrollment of eighty-nine; and the John G. Richards Industrial and Training School (Negro boys) near Columbia, established 1900, with an enrollment of 237. There is no institution for Negro girls. Should such girls fall into delinquency the county jails and the penitentiary must provide for their care. From the viewpoint of danger from vice and crime—the viewpoint of most citizens—the Negro girl of loose morals presents the most serious danger that we face.

The South Carolina Industrial School for Girls had a fair beginning. In its first years it was conducted as a school,

and had social understanding and sympathetic guidance. But later it fell a prey to political maneuvers and became more of a juvenile prison than an educational establishment. Stout barbed wire fences were strung around the grounds and unstable girls were harried with the lash. However, the school has recently come into good hands again. The Superintendent reports that it is now a part of the Richland County educational program. It also has an accredited high school, where, besides the regular academic curriculum, stenography and typing are taught. Hobbies, games and movies are the chief recreations of the girls.

The South Carolina Industrial School for Boys has had a brighter experience, though it too was miserably managed until lately. The Legislature has never appropriated sufficient funds to install and maintain proper equipment for the school. The boys till the farm, tend the dairy and carry on regular academic work. Their recreations are baseball, football, basketball, and other outdoor games.

Negro boys at the John G. Richards Industrial and Training School fare badly as far as any rehabilitation measures go. If a taxpayer thinks that many delinquent Negro youths in this establishment will be conditioned so as to make socially productive and law-abiding citizens he will be disappointed. But if one holds that black boys who break the law should have rough treatment and be set to hard labor, then one would be pleased at this school.[6]

OUT FROM UNDER PENITENTIARY CONTROL

The 1946 session of the General Assembly removed South Carolina industrial schools from the State Board of Correctional Administration, whose main task is to manage the penitentiary, and placed them under the direction of a new board which the Legislature created. This new body was given the title of "The Board of the State Industrial Schools." This body is composed of five members, appointed

[6] Information from the South Carolina Correctional Administration.

by the Governor with the approval of the Senate, no more than three of whom are to be of the same sex. One provision of the act establishing the Board should be emphasized. It states, "The Board is authorized and directed to employ the services of one or more psychiatrists. All the boys and girls admitted to said Industrial schools shall be given thorough physical and mental examination."

WHAT MAY BE DONE

The criminologist is not drenched with sentimentality. He has no desire to coddle the criminal or to deal softly with him. Instead, he is anxious to have offenses diminished and the public relieved of violence and insecurity. But we cannot treat the crime apart from the criminal. Every murder has a murderer and every larceny has a thief. To deal with law-breaking it is therefore necessary to reach the law-breakers. To do this we shall have to approach them as individuals. The personalities of these folk differ from one another as markedly as they differ among bankers, lawyers, and teachers. Yet we are likely to make a stereotype of "the criminal" and squeeze all offenders into it.

Now some criminals are moved with a steady enmity against humanity, others are buoyant and have only an occasional flare into intense anger, and yet others are dull witted and do not sense the gravity of their behavior. Moreover, some are mere children with unformed characters, and others are hardened criminals. To deal with these varying types as if they had like personalities is absurd on the face of it. It will be impossible for a long time for South Carolina to employ individual case work with all its offenders, though it is now possible to segregate them into like minded groups. If such grouping were employed fewer prison vices would flourish, tricks of the trade would not be taught to newcomers, occasional offenders would not acquire an anti-social attitude, and association with the better sort of prisoners would tend to give a more favorable approach to life. This State already has most of the

material facilities for such groupings. It needs only an inclination to use them.

PROBATION AND PAROLE

Many prisoners are energetic and reliable yet they must serve out their sentences while the public pays for their upkeep and often, too, supports their families. In seeking to remedy this condition, the General Assembly gave the governor the right to "suspend sentence or parole any prisoner upon such terms or conditions as he may deem just in the exercise of executive clemency." No machinery was set up to implement this authority, so Governors fell prey to shrewd attorneys, high-pressure politicians, and labor-seeking individuals and companies. Several Governors handed out paroles and pardons with an abandon that raised ugly suspicions among the citizenry. In the meantime a stream of convicts flooded into the penitentiary and overcrowded its meager quarters. Something had to be done, and the thing done was most reasonable. An excellent system of probation and parole was established.

In 1941 the General Assembly passed an act that created the South Carolina Probation and Parole Board. This act provides that the board shall consist of six members, one from each Congressional District, to be appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Senate; that the board shall appoint a Supervisor of Probation and Parole; and that the Supervisor shall appoint, with the board's approval, "such probation officers as are required for service in the State." An appropriation was made to pay these workers a living salary. The act also directs: "That after conviction or plea for any offense, except a crime punishable by death or life imprisonment, the judge of any Court of record with criminal jurisdiction at the time of sentence may suspend the imposition of the execution of a sentence and place the defendant on probation or may impose a fine and also place the defendant on probation."

Provision is made for investigation by a parole officer, when so directed by the Court, "of the circumstances of an offense and the criminal record, social history, and present

condition of the defendant, including, whenever practicable, the findings of a physical and mental examination of the defendant." After a prisoner is placed on probation or parole he is required to: "(a) Refrain from the violation of any State or Federal penal laws; (b) avoid injurious and vicious habits; (c) avoid persons or places of disreputable or harmful character; (d) permit the probation officer to visit at his home or elsewhere; (e) work faithfully at suitable employment as far as possible; (f) pay a fine in one or several sums as directed by the Court; (g) support his dependents; (h) follow the probation officer's instructions and advice regarding recreational and social activities."

To be eligible for parole it must appear to the satisfaction of the board that a prisoner shows a disposition to reform, the probability of his obeying the law and leading a correct life, and a record of good conduct during his imprisonment. It must also appear that the interests of society will not be impaired by this prisoner's parole, and that suitable employment has been secured for him. Probation officers are directed "to aid and encourage persons on probation or parole to bring about improvement in their conduct and condition."

By 1945, during its five years of service, the Probation and Parole Board had recommended 428 prisoners for parole, all of whom were released to the Board's custody. Of these only thirty-eight, 8.8 percent of the whole number, had their paroles revoked.[7] Besides those paroled, 2,923 were placed on probation under the Board's oversight. The parolees and probationers made an amazing financial record. The parolees under the Board's supervision earned $522,288.62 and the probationers $2,520,181.78. There should be added to these sums $84,841.00 paid by probationers as fines at the time of their trials.

Concerning this fiscal showing the Board comments: "It has been ascertained by the United States Bureau of Prisoners that the average cost of providing food, clothing and lodging alone amounts to ninety cents per day per pris-

[7] South Carolina Parole and Probation Board, *Annual Report*, 1945, p. 9.

oner; therefore, one can readily see that the cost of keeping the subjects, under our supervision, in prison would amount to $1,193,440.50, whereas, the cost of supervision under our staff only amounts to $20.10 per person per year." [8]

[8] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 17

THE MENTALLY ILL AND THE FEEBLEMINDED

As the stability of society rests upon the regularity of the behavior of its members, any marked departure from a group's customary way of acting is not tolerated. Sometimes one who transgresses in what is considered a nonharmful way is ridiculed or shunned, but if the offender puts other men's persons or property in jeopardy he is treated more harshly. But occasionally a person departs from the customary because he is of such an emotional or mental makeup that he is unable to conform to the main requirements of society; such a person is said to be insane.

Before the nineteenth century mental disorders were usually looked on with abhorrence and were explained as visitations of evil spirits. When men lost their minds they were restrained or even punished if they became violent; if they only "acted queer" they were watched closely. The twentieth century brought in a more humane attitude, so asylums were established to care for the insane. Scientific physicians in treating the inmates of these institutions found that their behavior traits clustered about certain well defined types. On this classification modern psychiatry —the treatment of mental diseases—was founded.

TYPES OF MENTAL DISEASES

Insanity is a legal and social term applied to those who have such an impairment of their mental mechanisms that they cannot adjust themselves to the requirements of society. It is a loose word, like "sickness" or "poverty" or "crime," which the populace uses as a stereotype. Psychiatrists, however, employ more exact language and specify their patients according to the character of their diseases. So they speak of the various psychoses as well-defined maladies, as the physician refers to tuberculosis or typhoid or pneumonia. Yet only the grave disorders are referred to as mental diseases. Thus "psychosis with pellagra" means that a pellagra patient has a mental disease

accompanying his physical disorder. For the year 1945 the South Carolina State Hospital reported 975 first admissions having psychoses. Of these sixty-three percent was due to the following diseases. The number of patients that each claimed is also given.

Psychoses of First Admissions[1]

Psychoses	*No. of Patients*
Manic-Depressive Psychoses	183
Dementia Praecox	140
Psychoses with Cerebral Arteriosclerosis	139
Psychoses with Syphilis	126

Dr. O. L. Horger, formerly the able head of the hospital's medical staff, made a statistical study of the relative frequency of the mental disorders had by first admissions in the ten year period 1931-1940 (inclusive). Of the 12,144 patients he found the following diseases claimed the percentages given:[2]

Manic-Depressive Psychoses	30.04%
Dementia Praecox	20.12%
Psychoses with Syphilis	11.02%
Psychoses with Cerebral Arteriosclerosis	9.57%

The chief disease shown in these tables is Manic-Depressive Psychosis. This disorder appears to occur twice as frequently in women as in men. Its name comes from the behavior of those it attacks in their alternation between manic and depressive states. At one time the patient dances and sings, is boastful and has delusions of grandeur, and bustles about with energy. From this manic state he plunges into melancholy and sobs with grief. Perhaps he suffers from an imaginary pain. Often he loses his appetite and would starve if not forced to eat. But the patient's behavior does not always alternate between manic and depressive states; sometimes it is confined to one or the other. So there might be a sustained joy or grief. These are only a few of the manifestations of this disease. A large number of manic-depressives are discharged from the hospital and return to normal life. Nor does the disease

[1] South Carolina State Hospital, *Annual Report*, 1945, p. 43.
[2] Information furnished the author by Dr. O. L. Horger.

as a rule impair the mind or disorganize the personality. It is well established that this disorder is hereditary.

Dementia Praecox, as its name connotes, is a disease of youth. As the writer stated in an earlier work: "The annual reports of the State Hospital, 1918 to 1927, show that the mean age of dementia praecox patients at the time of their admission was 28.5 years, while that of all patients was 39.4 years. Another fact that these reports reveal is that of the total admissions 20.13 percent of the whites and 25.56 percent of the Negroes had this disease." [3] In recent years there has been a tendency to supplant the term dementia praecox by the name schizophrenia (splitting of the mind). This shift of emphasis from the age of the persons it attacks to the character of the disease makes it more understandable to social workers who are not psychiatrists. In schizophrenia the emotions, reason, memory and other functions of the mind instead of working together goes each a separate way. Hence the patient can have neither an harmonious inner life nor an adaptation to his environment. This disorganization prevents one from grappling successfully with life's problems and so brings a feeling of inferiority. This malady often springs from faulty personality habits which have their beginnings at an early age. Evasions of difficulties frequenty grow into flights from reality, dammed up thrusts of the flesh turn to fantasies, and failure to receive recognition makes toward sensitiveness and suspicion. Adolescence is the period in which the disease has its greatest incidence, and that should give us no surprise, for that is a time of emotional stress and strain when no end of personal, social and religious questions arise in quick succession. Outbursts of anger, vague yearnings, the push toward independence, bizzarre modes of dress and speech are strewn through these middle teen-years. After the disorder has lodged securely in a person it is practically impossible to remove it. The patient lives on and may finally sink into a vegetative state.

[3] Williams, G. Croft, *Social Problems of South Carolina*, Columbia, 1928, p. 99.

The number of patients with psychoses accompanying cerebral arteriosclerosis (hardening of the arteries of the brain) is increasing. This is due to two causes, the tendency to diagnose patients as having this disorder rather than senile dementia (old-age dementia) and the growth of population in the old-age zone. While young people might have an onset of the disease it usually attacks those of advanced years. Stupor, high emotionalism, disregard of personal cleanliness, and frequent delusions are some of the manifestations of this malady. The ethical sense is often blunted, especially in matters of sex, and the patient is likely to be childish and stubborn. Anxiety also frequently appears, baseless worries about the security of self and others. Memory too will probably fail. These behavior symptoms are often accompanied by dizziness and headaches. Patients are troublesome but seldom dangerous or unmanageable. For this reason many of them may be kept at home, though a few need institutional care.

General paresis is caused by syphilitic infection. Once it was called "softening of the brain," but we know now that the brain becomes crumbly when the venereal germs work in it. Frequently the behavior symptoms arising from paresis are so unobtrusive that the family of the patient, and even his physician, do not observe any degeneration in his personality. As the disorder progresses, irritability, fatigue, inability to think, disturbed sleep and headaches develop. In the advanced stages of the disease, delusions, usually grandiose, occur. A progressive weakness and incoordination of all voluntary muscles develop. About three-fourths of all paretics suffer from convulsions sometime during the course of the disease and the sense of where he is (orientation) may be lost to the sufferer. The State Hospital reported in 1945 that seventeen percent of the deaths in that institution was attributed to syphilitic infection.[4]

MINOR MENTAL DISORDERS

Besides the diseases that are included under the term "insanity" there are other mental disorders, known as

[4] South Carolina State Hospital, *Annual Report*, 1945, pp. 56, 57.

psychoneuroses. The word is derived from the Greek words *psyche,* mind, and *neuron,* nerve. Formerly it was held that the physical and the mental were two different entities and that neurotic symptoms had a bodily cause while mental symptoms arose from the mind. The trend among psychiatrists now is to ignore this distinction and attribute the morbid condition of their patients to the whole person, which is an integration of both physical and mental. Of seventy-nine admissions of phychoneurotics to the State Hospital in 1945, all were whites,[5] which indicates that the strain of the dynamic whites does not disturb the Negroes. Modern psychology has thrown light on the afflicted of this group of disorders in showing that forces well up from the unconscious to find strange expressions. Inner conflicts give rise to functional disturbances, such as flight into physical illness or aphasia or double personality. In such cases no organic defect is discovered, the bodily machine appears to be sound in all its parts and as a whole, but the mechanism does not work normally.

There are three main forms of psychoneuroses—psychasthenia, neurasthenia and hysteria. Neurasthenia, taken literally, means nervous weakness. It is characterized by fatigue. One suffering from it thinks that he cannot make exertions, wakes tired in the morning, and is said to be born tired. This weariness is frequently accompanied by irritability. Noises, cold, bright lights and other strong excitants are not tolerated. The patient often complains of poor memory but memory is not lost; he does not remember because he does not concentrate long enough on anything for it to register in his consciousness. A person in this state is frequently a chronic complainer and dogs the doctors, who are likely to diagnose the trouble as a case of bad nerves.

Psychasthenia according to its derivation is debility of mind. Compulsions and phobias mark this disorder. Obsessive ideas take hold of the patient, ideas that he realizes are trivial and meaningless yet nevertheless he cannot shake loose. Often the thought is indecent, which gives a sense

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 43.

of uncleanness or guilt. Compulsion is also likely to drive toward action. The kleptomaniac is seized with an uncontrollable desire to take things belonging to others, even though he has no use for them himself. The pyromaniac sets fire to buildings against whose owners he holds no grudge. Phobias (persistent fears) are also manifestations of this complaint. Fear of high places, of shut-in rooms, of disease germs, of birds shiver through the person. While phobias are held by numbers of normal people their attacks are more persistent and violent in psychasthenics.

One of the most dramatic of mental disorders is hysteria. The State Hospital reports that of the seventy-nine admitted with psychoneuroses in 1945, forty of them had hysteria, of whom three were men and thirty-seven women. The malady is protean in form, but whatever shape it takes the impelling force is deep emotional drives. As these drives are unstable they beget freakish behavior. Among the common mental disturbances observed in hysteria are fugues (flights), paralyses, fits of sleep, and anesthesias. Fugues are the wanderings of a person seized by the disorder. We often read in the news of one who has strayed from home and has forgotten his identity. Occasionally a wealthy girl is lost and later turns up as a servant in some restaurant, oblivious of her social position. Now after a time—a week, a year—those who have thus fled home have no recollection of their strange experience.. Sometimes hysteria paralyzes a part of the body, leaving blindness or lameness or inability to speak. The difference between this paralysis and the organic sort is that the hysteric ignores his affliction. If the leg is affected he will let it hang and drag without making an effort to use it. Besides, the hysteric's paralysis is usually only temporary. Another disturbance of hysteria is sudden fits of sleep into which the patient falls. When facing a crisis, such as the death of a relative or looking forward to an operation, he may lapse into unconsciousness. Frequently when he is undergoing no observable trial he may sink into a trance-like condition, probably moved thereto by emotions generated by inner conflicts.

The failure of a sense to record stimuli is referred to as an anesthesia. A queer thing about it is that it does not follow the distribution of a nerve but is confined to an area that the patient's idea of anatomy prescribes. "Glove anesthesia" is a numbness of the hand as far as the wrist line but does not affect the nerve higher up the arm. Areas of the skin may be insensitive to the prick of a needle or the touch of a red-hot poker. In Medieval times such areas were thought to be marks of witches.

STATE HOSPITAL

In Colonial times the insane in this State were cared for by their families unless they were destitute, in which case they became wards of their parishes. In those days no treatment was given for mental disorders and the deranged were hidden away from public sight by sensitive relatives. We know little about the extent of mental disease in those days. However, the pitiful condition of the destitute insane moved the inhabitants of Charleston to organize the Fellowship Society for the care and relief of the demented. The earliest institutional care was given by the poor house at Charleston. Robert Mills tells of this in his *Statistics of South Carolina,* published in 1826. "The poorhouse, and asylum (for lunatic persons), situated near the corner of Queen, near Mazyck Street . . . was founded at a very early period; it is built of brick, three stories high and is crowned with a large cupola . . . the number of paupers and outdoor pensioneers average 983 in the year; of these, twenty are lunatic persons, who are placed in an out-building by themselves." [6]

In 1821 the Asylum for Lunatics was established by the General Assembly, and in 1828 it was opened for inmates. The first admission was a young woman, whose mother was employed as matron. In 1895 the Constitutional Convention changed the title of the Asylum to that of the State Hospital for the Insane. In 1920 "for the Insane" was dropped from the title and we now have the State Hospital.

[6] Mills, Robert, *Statistics of South Carolina,* Charleston, 1826, pp. 451, 452.

The evolution of the name carries the story of the development of the institution from being a place of custody to one of treatment. It now has in Columbia ample buildings for the housing and treatment of its inmates and for laboratories. A branch of the hospital is also had for Negro patients at State Park. The grounds about the buildings both in Columbia and State Park are well landscaped with lawns, trees and flowers.

METHODS OF TREATMENT

The administration's general attitude toward the patients is one of cheerfulness and a strict adherence to fairness, which begets confidence in return. From the old chains for maniacs and the later straight-jackets there has emerged a gentle discipline based on a belief which should be held by all institutions, private or public, that "A good pasture is the best tether for straying cattle." This attitude finds application in specific means of treatment, of which these seven deserve passing notice:

Hydrotherapy, in which tubs, showers and needle baths, with warm water, are used to quiet disturbed patients.

Medication is employed where there is insomnia, extreme agitation or habit disorders.

Occupational Therapy gives employment to inmates who are not too impaired mentally to work. Most of the tasks at the institution are performed by patients.

Diversion, like occupation, takes the patient's attention from himself. Parties, dancing, moving pictures, choir singing and playing in the band are the chief amusements of the inmates.

Fever Therapy is used with paretics. Mild forms of malaria are given them, which destroy syphilitic germs in the brain.

Shock Therapy is applied through electricity and is extremely beneficial to manic depressives.

Psychotherapy seeks by interview and other psychological methods to find the springs of a patient's disorder and to treat him through suggestion and persuasion. It is a

long and difficult treatment of which the curtailed medical staff can give but few.

GROWTH OF HOSPITAL POPULATION

That the number of mental patients is rising perturbs many. It has been stated that there are more beds in hospitals for mental and nervous disorders than in general hospitals for all other ailments, but the United States Census Bureau shows just the opposite. However, the growth of population in hospitals for mental diseases, both in the nation as a whole and in South Carolina, is challenging. The table that follows sets forth the number of inmates in our State Hospital taken in five- year intervals.[7]

Year	*Population*	*Year*	*Population*
1915	1,719	1935	3,564
1920	2,205	1940	4,529
1925	2,532	1945	5,591
1930	3,122		

The swift rise in the number of hospital patients—over threefold in thirty years—raises the question, Are mental disorders increasing? Many psychiatrists hold that they are not, claiming that modern life, with its hurry and conflicts, only develop latent diseases. A parallel to this is seen in heat's making measles pop out. But here is the rub. We know about the germs of measles and other communicable diseases, but the sources of most mental disorders are unknown to science. Yet psychiatrists and psychologists are fairly well agreed that emotional difficulties are basic in producing these disorders. Modern life is characterized by speed, complexity and insecurity, elements that give rise to emotional tensions. Hence the multiplying of disorganized personalities is to be expected. In face of this a cynic might cry out that man cannot stand civilization.

There are other factors however which account for an increase in our hospital population. Several of them are: the public looks with less sensitiveness on its members with sick minds; the hospital is a place of more comfort and hope of recovery than the old Asylum was; families irked

[7] South Carolina State Hospital, *Annual Reports*, 1915-1945.

with the care of troublesome members unload their burdens on an institution supported at public expense. Whether these factors are more potent in enlarging the hospital's clientele than the shove of modern conditions is a pretty question for experts to mull over. The social interpreter in this instance can only record trends without pronouncing what their causes are.

THE FEEBLEMINDED

Unlike the insane the feebleminded start life with mental weakness. While the mentally sick once were normal and later developed psychoses, the feebleminded, on the other hand, at birth or soon thereafter had a retardation of mind that unfitted them for social adaptation. There are three grades of deficients: idiots, imbeciles and morons. An idiot is an adult whose intelligence never develops beyond that of a child two years old. Usually he cannot stand upright, or care for his body or speak. Frequently he utters unintelligible sounds. Among idiots there is a type known as mongolian, who resembles the Chinese in skin color and facial contour. Defective functioning of the endocrine glands is perhaps the cause of mongolianism. Another type is the cretin, who has a large body and short, stumpy hands and feet. Thyroid deficiency is known to cause this condition.

An imbecile is an adult who has a mental age of a child from three to seven years of age. In the higher grades of this deficiency one can learn simple tasks, such as scrubbing, washing dishes, and running on little errands about the house. Imbeciles often make good plowmen and cotton pickers.

A moron is an adult with the mind of a child from eight to twelve years of age. He can care for a room and make beds; in the higher grades he can do regular work, use tools, look after animals, use machinery, but cannot plan.

MEASURING FEEBLEMINDEDNESS

Classification of the feebleminded in these three categories is only a rough way of placing them so that the

public can get some idea of the problem they present. Psychologists, however, employ a more refined system. They try by tests to determine the I. Q. (intelligence quotient), which is arrived at by dividing the mental age of a person by his chronological age. For instance, if a child (all feebleminded persons are called children) is twenty years old and has a mental age of ten he has an I. Q. of fifty. The following table contains the generally accepted intelligence grades:

Mental Type	*Mental Age*	*I. Q.*
Idiot	0-2	Under 20
Imbecile	3-7	20-45
Moron	8-11	50-70
Borderline	12-13	75-80
Dull Normal	14-15	85-95
Normal	16-17	100-105
Superior	18 and over	Under 110

EXTENT OF MENTAL DEFICIENCY

Only in recent years have people generally recognized the higher grades of feeblemindedness. They looked on morons as they looked on victims of mild mental disorders, as being bad morally. Then specialists invaded alms houses, prisons, detention homes for prostitutes, and made mental measurements of their inmates. Public schools were likewise entered and the children tested. The results were startling.

In 1921 the National Committee for Mental Hygiene made a survey of South Carolina, the only survey of its kind ever made in the State. It revealed "that 2.8 percent of the white public school children examined were feebleminded, and 4.2 percent of the colored school children. If these figures hold good for the entire public school population of South Carolina—and we believe that we selected a fair sample—then there are over 13,000 feebleminded children in the public schools of the State." [8] This approximates the present extent of feeblemindedness throughout

[8] *South Carolina Mental Hygiene Survey*, Columbia, 1922, p. 13.

the Nation. Merrill and Elliott said: "No two recent authorities agree on the extent of feeblemindedness. If we accept the criterion of an intelligence quotient of below 70 as marking the definitely feebleminded, there have been estimated of from 2 to 6 percent of our population coming within the category." [9]

BEGINNINGS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

In 1916 the State Board of Charities and Corrections in conjunction with Winthrop College employed Miss Helen F. Hill, a well-trained psychologist, as field agent to investigate a number of public institutions and ascertain the amount of feeblemindedness among their inmates. The State Board of Charities and Corrections reported the results of Miss Hill's investigations in the statement: "Miss Hill's work, when she relinquished it in February, 1918, had demonstrated beyond all doubt several points: first, that South Carolina, like all other states, bears its full share of one of the greatest social and economic burdens of modern civilization; second, that not only were there enough feebleminded persons in the State to make immediate provision for institutional care imperative, but that there were so many as to make it impossible to provide adequate institutional care for many years to come, if ever; third, that the relation of mental defect to dependency and delinquency is such that in attacking the problem of feeblemindedness we are also attacking the problem of pauperism and crime at its very roots." [10]

The General Assembly of 1918, mainly because of the pressure of the Board of Charities and Corrections, established the State Training School for the Feebleminded. Later this title was amended to read The State Training School. The institution was opened for inmates on September 14, 1919, under the superintendence of Dr. B. O.

[9] Elliot and Merrill, *Social Disorganization*, New York, 1941, p. 488.

[10] South Carolina State Board of Charities and Corrections, *Annual Report*, 1919, p. 25.

Whitten, who has continued his efficient administration to the present.

THE STATE TRAINING SCHOOL[11]

The State Training School is near Clinton and is surrounded by well kept grounds back of which stretch the vegetable garden and fields. The institution has brick and frame buildings for dormitories, class rooms, offices and a hospital. The daily attendance in 1945 was 974, which was the saturation point, for the plant is not large enough to accommodate more children. A classification of the boys and girls shows in some measure the problems that the school has to cope with.

Classification of the Children According to Mentality

About 21 per cent Normal
About 20 per cent Dull Normal
About 17 per cent Borderline Deficiency
About 40 per cent Mentally Deficient

From this table it may be seen that there is a wide disparity in the ability of the pupils, so there can be no grading of them as there is in the public schools. Those who train the feebleminded have to face not only mental retardation, but also deficiency in physical strength, acuteness of senses, and lack of emotional stability. To meet these conditions the school had put into operation a training program which deals with widely varied personalities and which veers to the vocational rather than to the academic. This program includes:

Habit Training where concentration is had on coordination of muscles and nerves, health and social adjustment.

Home Making in which sewing and cooking are taught and where children are prepared for home-building and for economic independence.

Elementary Handwork is given to small groups of advanced boys and girls. Instruction is imparted in embroidery, needle-point, rug making, and weaving.

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[11] Data for this section were gotten from the State Training School, *Annual Report*, 1945.

Kindergarten. Here are promoted speech development and muscular control through arts, like clay modeling and drawing.

Academics comprises tool subjects—reading, writing and spelling. Only about one-third of the children are capable enough to enter this training.

Recreation consists of dancing, basketball, baseball, walks, club meetings, little dinners, singing and general games.

These activities are not mutually exclusive, but are synthesized for individual cases according to their natures. It should be stressed that the institution is for the segregation of feebleminded folk, especially girls of child-bearing age, from the pitfalls of what we are pleased to call "normal society."

SOCIAL EFFECTS OF MENTAL DISORDERS AND DEFICIENCY

Because of the difficulty, mental and emotional, of the insane and the feebleminded to adjust themselves to our economic system where initiative and judgement are required, poverty becomes their lot. Those who have major mental disorders or are idiots or imbeciles become custodial cases and cease to struggle for income, but morons and those having minor mental disorders work for a living and get only a meager one. They are also improvident in expending that little. What proportion of our general population belongs to these two classes cannot now be estimated, but we know that there are multitudes of unstable folk and that they want for many elements of a normal standard of living.

Besides poverty a certain amount of crime is traceable to mental disorders and deficiency. But this has often been overstressed by alarmists. Crimes of violence against persons often have mental instability behind them. On the other hand, offences against property are committed by these persons not as leaders but as agents under the control of others. Sex transgressions by girls are likely to be

prevalent among the sick or weak of mind, where they are unprotected.

Family disorganization is frequently due to unsteadiness or impotence of mind. Minor mental disorders unhinge the emotions and bring quarrelsomeness into the home. Also, morons and phychoneurotics are not likely to have personalities sufficiently stable to make adjustments in the husband-wife, child-parent, or home-community relationships.

THE END

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