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A JOURNAL OF SOCIAL EXPLORATION

Disturbing Conventions

National Stress: A Stimulus to Social Action

Magdalen

Doctors Courageous: Serbia

Dolores: Vendor of Snails

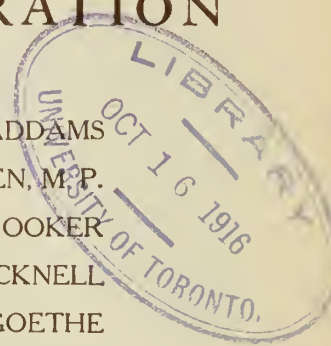
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SHADOWS OF THE WAR

Kneeling Women in a Church in the Italian quarter of New York

OCTOBER 7, 1916

DRAWN FOR THE SURVEY BY JOSEPH STELLA

PRICE 25 CENTS

Charles E. Hughes and Social Progress

Why Workers in Social, Civic and Industrial lines
are eager for the election of Hughes

By Frances A. Kellor

THE BIG ISSUES OF THIS CAMPAIGN ARE:

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The preservation of American standards of living.

Social and industrial preparedness.

Economic and efficient national housekeeping.

A fair chance for the Youth of America.

These can be guaranteed to the nation only by national action.

Of laws to secure them, we have merely the first crude outlines. We must push on, and in the meantime have an administration of the few Federal statutes marked by high vision, sympathy and courage.

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The decisions that will face America after the war will determine her future. The workers who have been through the grime of battle with Governor Hughes in New York know that he will do for the nation what he has done for New York.

Upon his record as Governor of New York State, we ask the people of this country to elect Mr. Hughes as President. The qualities he has shown in the State of New York are the qualities most needed in a National Executive for these United States in the critical years before us.



THE RECORD OF GOVERNOR HUGHES.

Let us examine his record as an effective worker for social progress in New York.

Every social and civic worker was behind Hughes when he was Governor of New York.

They were always welcome, they were consulted, and they were trusted to serve the State in many responsible positions.

Hughes used the power, the vision, the spirit, the intelligence, the facts, the organization, the resources and the facilities of these workers for the State-wide improvement of conditions.

From 1906 to 1910 the record of social progress in New York State is a record of co-operation, understanding and service between the Chief Executive and the thousands of disinterested public spirited men and women who work unceasingly for the welfare of the whole people of the State.

GOVERNOR HUGHES' CONSTRUCTIVE ACTS.

He reorganized the Department or Labor, and made it a real power in the State.

He secured the passage of laws restricting the employment of

children in factories, and prohibiting their employment in certain kinds of dangerous trades.

He insisted upon the adequate inspection of mercantile establishments, so that the safety and protection of women might be greater.

He strengthened the regulations of employment agencies so that the New York law now offers the most adequate protection the unemployed have in any state.

He initiated the movement for Workmen's Compensation. New York was the first state to adopt the principle of compulsory compensation.

He protected the savings of the people by a thorough system of banking reform. He protected the youth of the state by the abolition of race track gambling.

In all these efforts Mr. Hughes was a pioneer, building solidly as he went. The stability of his social measures and their permanent place in our national record are due to their combination of social idealism with sound legislative detail.

GOVERNOR HUGHES FOR AMERICANISM.

What America is discovering in 1916 of the need for uniting America under one flag, New York under Governor Hughes in 1910 knew, and set about to remedy. A Commission of Immigration was appointed and its findings led to the organization in the State Department of Labor of a Bureau of Immigration to

deal with all the phases of the problem—education, citizenship, employment, home conditions, savings.

This Bureau of Immigration provided information centers, where the immigrant could be started right, and also for a court of conciliation—the first in America—where the immigrant could be set right in his relations to other men. It provided facilities for learning English and for qualifying for effective citizenship.

New Jersey, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and California have since appointed commissions based upon the New York State policy.

GOVERNOR HUGHES AND THE HOME.

Failing to get legislative authority in 1910 for the appointment of a commission to study congestion of population, Governor Hughes nevertheless named an unpaid commission, appointing to it such experts as Florence Kelly, John Mitchell and Stephen Wise.

He signed bills curbing the "loan sharks," controlling dance halls, restricting the sale of cocaine, guaranteeing a safe milk supply, protecting sailors in New York harbors and in boarding houses. He stood against every attempt to weaken the law governing tenement houses. It was during his administration

that the anti-tuberculosis crusade was inaugurated and laws passed establishing county hospitals.

antagonism, a law was finally passed creating a state commission to supervise the reform of the probation system. Later, Governor Hughes secured other laws to extend the system and increase its efficiency. In the appointment of probation officers, he was a staunch defender of the merit system.

A law passed under his administration authorizing the appointment in New York City of a board of inebriety contained the most modern ideas on the subject of the reformatory and curative treatment of drunkards. It included the protectionary oversight of those not under the care of institutions, and it provided a farm colony, a hospital and a parole plan for those committed to institutions.

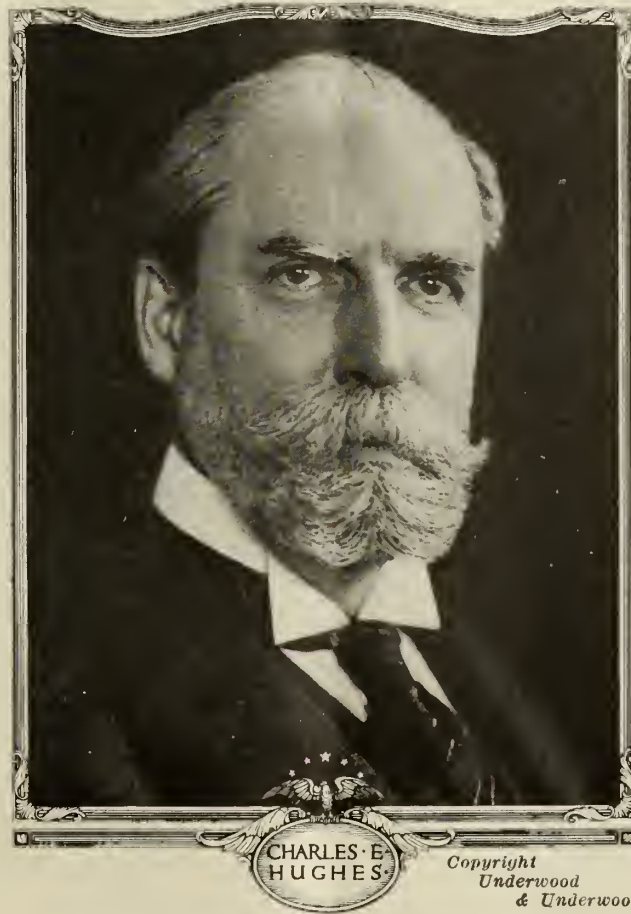
Now, all this is practical Americanism. It insures a united America in the homes and industries of

America. Every one of us who is interested in social progress wants to see such a programme translated into action on a national scale, and we know that the

man to do it is the one who made this record as Governor of New York—Charles E. Hughes!

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It is a union of men of all parties. The Hughes Alliance is not the Republican party; it is not a party at all. Whatever your political creed, you can join the Alliance without cutting loose from your own party. There are no dues; no pledge to support any party platform or any candidate except Hughes. Women may enroll through the Woman's Committee through The National Alliance.



In his first message as Governor, he advocated a probation system which deals with offenders without commitment to institutions. In the face of vigorous

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THE SURVEY is a weekly journal of constructive philanthropy, founded in the 90's by the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York. The first weekly issue of each month appears as an enlarged magazine number.

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MORE THAN 1,000 cooperating subscribers enrolled in Survey Associates, Inc., for the fiscal year ending September 30, bringing the total up to the goal set four years ago and now for the first time achieved.

JANE ADDAMS finds the new chivalry of women for each other as well as a gentler attitude of society toward sex immorality based in part on the personal experiences of women who have been forced to challenge the age-old conventions safeguarding family life. Page 1.

TYPHUS and famine have been more cruel invaders of Serbia than the Austrian armies. Between sanitation and food distribution the Rockefeller War Relief Commission has been kept on the jump trying to patch together this broken Balkan state. Page 6.

THE SAME old drama of man and wife and "the other woman" enacted in a Slovak tenement house with a new motive and a new ending. Page 26.

THREE red lottery tickets landed Dolores, the Spanish snail vendor, in jail. And the same mania to get something for nothing has landed Spain in a muddle of corrupt politics and false standards of work and play. Page 15.

BELLINI painted the Magdalen with sorrowing clear eyes, white skin, wonderful long hair. But today realism would put on the canvas Violet Lanz, foul with disease, wasted by drugs, ugly and filthy. Page 20.

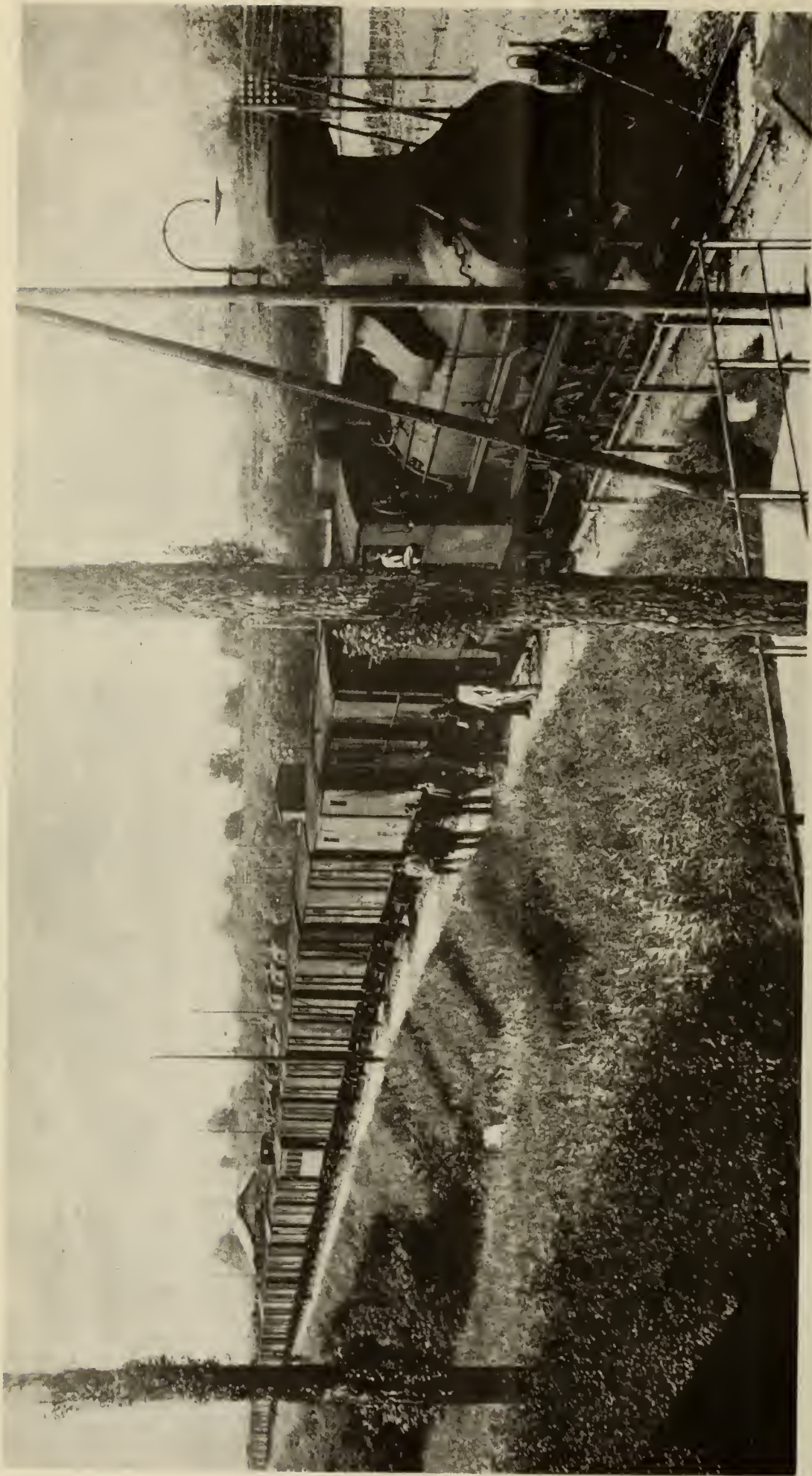
GOVERNMENT regulation of food prices, housing, the liquor traffic and employment is evidence in England that the state is taking new interest in the citizens that serve it. If only the spirit of social reform can endure after this period of national stress, one member of the English Parliament believes the terrible cost of war may be mitigated. Page 23.

MILK may be worth its weight in molten gold in New York city by the end of this week. The newly organized Dairymen's League and the milk-selling companies are at loggerheads. Page 30.

THRIFT in its larger social aspects was one of the chief topics discussed by the American Bankers' Association at a meeting marking the centennial of the first savings bank. Page 30.

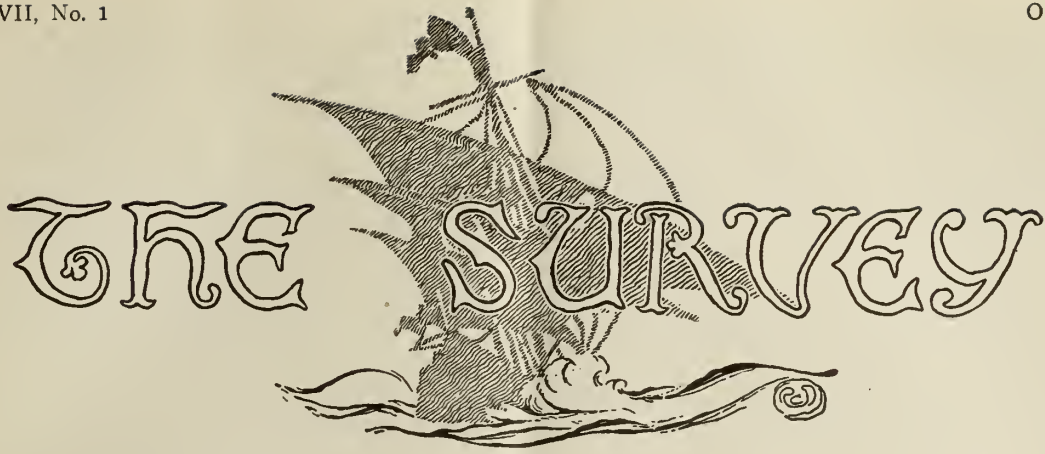
CHARITY?—with a question mark—and How Life Begins, two motion picture films in the social field, were privately exhibited last week. Page 33.

FOOD in Philadelphia has been put under fly-netting, a first step, it is hoped, toward real regulation in the interest of the public health. Page 32.



THIRTY CAR-LOADS OF FOOD FROM MARSEILLES TO BELGRADE

THIS Red Cross train ran from France through Switzerland and Austria and into Serbia. It is probably the only train which has crossed such a succession of hostile frontiers in Central Europe since the outbreak of the war; and as a feat of ingenuity and persistence, is attributable to Dr. Edward Ryan, who was first active in fighting the typhus epidemic in the Balkans and later in the relief work. It took three months to carry through the negotiations, uncoiling the red tape, unloading and transhipping the cargo at each frontier. Repeatedly, when the way seemed open for smooth progress, some new complication from an unexpected quarter would threaten to defeat the entire project. Dr. Ryan would then dash off to Marseilles or Paris or Berne and break the deadlock. At the other end of the journey were thousands of impoverished and destitute civilians in interior Serbia. (See "Doctors Courageous," by Ernest P. Bicknell, page 6.)



Disturbing Conventions

By Jane Addams

IN sharp contrast to the function of memory as a reconciler to life, are those individual reminiscences which, because they force the possessor to challenge existing conventions, act as a reproach, even as a social disturber. When these reminiscences, founded upon the diverse experience of many people unknown to each other, point to one inevitable conclusion, they accumulate into a social protest, although not necessarily an effective one, against existing conventions, even against those which are most valuable and are securely founded upon cumulative human experience. But because no conventionalized tradition is perfect, however good its intent, most of them become challenged in course of time, unwittingly illustrating the contention that great social changes are often brought about less by the thinkers than by "a certain native and independent rationalism operating in great masses of men and women."

The statement is well founded that a convention is at its best, not when it is universally accepted, but just when it is being so challenged and broken that the conformists are obliged to defend it and to fight for it against those who would destroy it. Both the defenders of an old custom and its opponents are then driven to a searching of their own hearts.

Such searching and sifting is taking place in the consciences of many women of this generation whose sufferings, although strikingly influencing conduct, are seldom expressed in words until they are told in the form of reminiscence after the edges have been long since dulled. Such sufferings are never so poignant as when women have been forced by their personal experiences to challenge the valuable conventions safeguarding family life.

A WOMAN whom I had known slightly for many years made an appointment with me one day and came to Hull House escorted by her little grandson. Her delicate features, which were rather hard and severe, softened most charmingly as the little boy raised his cap in goodby from the vanishing automobile. In reply to my admiring comment upon the sturdy lad and his affectionate relation to her, she began the interview by saying abruptly: "You know he is really not my grandson. I have scarcely

admitted the doubt but the time is coming when I must face it and decide his future. If you are kind enough to listen I want to tell you my experience in all its grim sorrow.

"My husband was shot twenty-seven years ago, under very disgraceful circumstances, in a disreputable quarter of Paris. You may remember something of it in the newspapers, although they meant to be considerate. I was left with my little son and with such a horror of self-indulgence and its consequences that I determined to rear my child in strict sobriety, chastity and self-restraint, although all else was sacrificed to it. Through his school and college days, which I took care should be far from his father's friends and associations, I always lived with him, so bent on rectitude and so distressed by any lack of self-control that I see now how hard and rigorous his life must have been. I meant to sacrifice myself for my child; in reality I sacrificed him to my narrow code.

"The very June that he took his master's degree, I myself found him one beautiful morning lying dead in his own room, shot through the temple. No one had heard the report of the revolver, for the little house we had taken was so on the edge of the college town that the neighbors were rather remote, and it must have occurred while I sat alone in the moonlight on the garden bench after he had left me, my mind still filled with plans for his future.

"I have gone over every word of our conversation that evening in the garden a thousand times. We were planning to come to Chicago for his medical course, and I had expressed my exultant confidence in him to withstand whatever temptation a city might offer, my pride in his purity of thought, his rectitude of conduct. It was then he rose rather abruptly and went into the house to write the letter to me which I found on his table next morning.

"In that letter he told me that he was too vile to live any longer, that he had sinned not only against his own code of decency and honor, but against my lifelong standards and teachings, and that he realized perfectly that I could never forgive him. He evidently did not expect any understanding from me, either for himself or for 'the young and innocent girl' about to become the mother of his child; and in his interpretation of my rigid morals he

was quite sure that I would never consent to see her, but he wrote me that he had told her to send the little thing to me as soon as it was born, obviously hoping that I might be tender to the innocent although I was so harsh and unpitying to the guilty. I had apparently never given him a glimpse beyond my unbending sternness, and he had all unwittingly pronounced me too self-righteous for forgiveness; at any rate, he faced death rather than my cold disapprobation.

"The girl is still leading the life she had led for two years before my son met her. She is glad to have her child cared for and hopes that I will make him my heir, but understands, of course, that his paternity could never be established in court. So here I am, old and hard, beginning again the perilous experiment of rearing a man child.

"I suppose it was inevitable that I should hold the girl responsible for my son's downfall and for his death. She was one of the wretched young women who live in college towns for the express purpose of inveigling young men, and often deliberately direct their efforts toward those who are reputed to have money. I discovered all sorts of damaging facts about her, which enabled me to exonerate my son from intentional wrong-doing, and to think quite honestly that he had been lured and tempted beyond his strength.

"The girl was obliged to leave the little town, which was filled with the horror and scandal of the occurrence, but even then, in that first unbridled public censure against the 'bad woman' who has been discovered in the midst of virtuous surroundings, there was a tendency to hold me accountable for my son's death, whatever the girl's earlier responsibility may have been. In my loathing of her I experienced all over again the harsh and bitter judgments through which I had lived in the first years after my husband's death. I had secretly held the unknown woman responsible for his end, but of course it never occurred to me to find out about her, and I certainly could never have brought myself to hear her name, much less to see her. I have at least been better than that in regard to the mother of my 'grandson', and Heaven knows I have tried in all humility and heartbreak to help her.

"She fairly hated me, as she did anything that reminded her of my son—the entire episode had seemed to her so unnatural, so monstrous, so unnecessary—she considered me his murderer, and I never had the courage to tell her that I agreed with her. Perhaps if I had done that, really abased myself as I was willing she should be abased, we might have come into some sort of a genuine relation born of our companionship in tragedy. But I couldn't do that, possibly because the women of my generation cannot easily change from the traditional attitude towards what the bible calls 'the harlot'. At any rate, I didn't succeed in 'saving' her. She so obviously dreaded seeing me, and our strained visits were so unsatisfactory and painful, that I finally gave it up and her son has apparently quite forgotten her. I am sure she tries to forget him and all the tragic scenes associated with his earliest babyhood, when I insisted not only upon 'keeping mother and child together' but also in keeping them with me."

After a moment's pause she resumed: "It would have been comparatively easy for me to die when my child was little, when I still had a right to believe that he would grow up to be a good and useful man, but I lived to see him driven to his death by my own stupidity. I have encountered the full penalty for breaking the commandment to judge not. I passed sentence without hearing the evi-

dence; I gave up the traditional role of the woman who loves and pities and tries to understand; I forgot that it was my mission to save and not to judge.

"As I have gone back over my unmitigated failure again and again, I am sure at last that it was the sorry result of my implacable judgment of the woman I held responsible for my husband's sin. I did not realize the danger nor the inevitable recoil of such a state of self-righteousness upon my child."

AS she paused in the recital I rashly anticipated the conclusion, that her bitter experiences had brought the whole question to that tribunal of personal conduct whose concrete findings stir us to our very marrow with shame and remorse; that she had frantically striven, as we all do, to keep herself from falling into the pit where the demons of self-reproach dwell, by clinging to the conventional judgments of the world. I expected her to set them forth at great length in self-justification and perhaps, belonging as she so obviously did, to an older school, she might even assure me that the wrong to those to whom it was now impossible to make reparation, had forever lifted her above committing another such injustice.

I found, however, that I was absolutely mistaken and that whatever might be true of her, it still lay within me to commit a gross injustice, when she resumed with these words: "It is a long time since I ceased to urge in my own defense that I was but reflecting the attitude of society, for, in my efforts to get at the root of the matter I have been convinced that the conventional attitude cannot be defended, certainly not upon religious grounds."

She stopped as if startled by her own reflections upon the subject of the social ostracism so long established and so harshly enforced, that women seem held to it as through an instinct of self-preservation.

She was, perhaps, dimly conscious that the tradition that the unchaste woman should be an outcast from society rests upon a solid basis of experience, upon the long struggle of a multitude of obscure woman who, from one generation to another, were frantically determined to establish the paternity of their children and to force the father to a recognition of his obligations; and that the living representatives of these women instinctively rise up in honest rebellion against any attempt to loosen the social control which such efforts have established, bungling and cruel though such control may be.

Further conversation showed that she also realized that these stern memories inherited from the remote past have an undoubted social value and that it is a perilous undertaking upon which certain women of this generation are bent in their efforts to deal a belated justice to the fallen woman. It involves a clash within the very mass of inherited motives and impulses as well as a clash between old conventions and contemporary principles. On the other hand, it must have been obvious to her in her long effort to get at "the root of the matter" that the punishment and hatred of the bad woman has gone so far as to overreach its own purpose; it has become responsible for such hardness of heart on the part of "respectable" women towards the so-called "fallen" ones, that punishment is often inflicted not only without regard to justice, but in order to feed the spiritual pride, "I am holier than thou". Such pride erects veritable barricades across the path of human progress, deliberately shutting out sympathetic understanding.

The very fact that women remain closer to type than

men do and are more swayed by the past, makes it difficult for them to defy settled conventions. It adds to their difficulty that the individual women, driven to modify a harsh convention which has become unendurable to them, are perforce those most sensitive to injustice. The sharp struggle for social advance, which is always a struggle between ideas long before it becomes embodied in contending social groups, may thus find its arena in the tender conscience of one woman who is pitilessly rent and pierced by her warring scruples and affections. Even such a tentative effort in the direction of social advance exacts the usual toll of blood and tears.

FORTUNATELY the entire burden of the attempt to modify a convention which has become unsupportable, by no means rests solely upon such conscientious women. Their analytical efforts are steadily supplemented by instinctive conduct on the part of many others. A great mass of "variation from type" accelerating this social change, is contributed by simple mothers who have been impelled by a very primitive emotion. This is an overwhelming pity and sense of tender comprehension, doubtless closely related to the compunction characteristic of all primitive people which, in the earliest stages of social development, long performed the first rude offices of a sense of justice. This early trait is still a factor in the social struggle, for as has often been pointed out, our social state is like a countryside of a complex geological structure with outcrops of strata of very diverse ages.

Such compunction sometimes carries the grandmother of an illegitimate child to the point of caring for the child when she is still utterly unable to forgive her daughter, the child's mother. Even that is a step in advance from the time when such a daughter was driven from the house and her child, because a bastard, conscientiously treated as an outcast both by the family and by the community.

SUCH an instance of compunction was recently brought to my attention when Hull House made an effort to place a subnormal little girl twelve years old in an institution in order that she might be protected from certain designing men in the neighborhood. The grandmother, who had always taken care of her, savagely opposed the effort step by step. She had scrubbed the lavatories in a public building during the twenty-five years of her widowhood, and because she worked all day had been unable to protect her own feeble-minded daughter who, when she was barely fifteen years old, had become the mother of this child. When her granddaughter was finally placed in the institution, the old woman was absolutely desolated. She found it almost impossible to return home after her day's work because "it was too empty and lonesome, and nothing to come back for. You see," she explained, "my youngest boy wasn't right in his head either, and kept his bed for the last fifteen years of his life. During all that time I took care of him the way one does of a baby, and I hurried home every night with my heart in my mouth until I saw that he was all right. He died the year this little girl was born and she kind of took his place. I kept her in a day nursery while she was little, and when she was seven years old the ladies there sent her to school in one of the subnormal rooms and let her come back to the nursery for her meals. I thought she was getting along all right and I took care never to let her go near her mother."

The old woman made it quite clear that, because her

daughter was keeping house with a man to whom she was not married, she seldom went to see her. In her simple code, to go to such a house would be to connive at sin, while she was grateful that the man had established a control over her daughter which she had never been able to obtain. She always referred to her daughter as "fallen", although no one knew better than she how unguarded the girl had been.

As I saw how singularly free this mother was from self-reproach and how untouched by indecisions and remorse for the past, I was once more impressed by the stout habits acquired by those who early become accustomed to fight off black despair. Such habits stand them in good stead in their old age, and at least protect them from those pen- sive regrets and inconsolable sorrows which inevitably tend to surround whatever has once made for early happiness as soon as it has ceased to exist.

Many individual instances are found in which a woman hard pressed by life, includes within her tenderness the mother of an illegitimate child. A most striking example, of this came to me through a woman whom I knew years ago as she daily brought her three children to the Hull House day nursery, obliged to support them by her work in a neighboring laundry because her husband had deserted her. I recall her fatuous smile as she used to say that "Tommy is so pleased to see me at night that I can hear him shout 'Hello, ma' when I am a block away." I had known Tommy through many years, periods of adversity when his father was away and succeeding periods of fitful prosperity when his father returned from his wanderings with the circus with which "he could always find work" because he had once been a successful acrobat and later a clown, and "so could turn his hand to anything that was needed."

Perhaps it was inevitable that Tommy should have made his best friends among the warm-hearted circus people who were very kind to him after his father's death, and that long before the child labor law permitted him to sing in Chicago saloons, he was doing a successful business singing in the towns of a neighboring state. He was a droll little chap, "without any sense about taking care of himself," and in those days his mother not only missed his cheerful companionship, but was constantly anxious about his health and morals. After he grew older and became a professional he sent his mother money occasionally, although never very much and never with any regularity; but she was always so pleased when it came that the two daughters supporting her with their steady wages were inclined to resent her obvious gratification, as they did the killing of the fatted calf on those rare occasions when the prodigal returned "between seasons" to visit his family.

It is possible that his mother thus early acquired the habit of defending him, the black sheep, against the strictures of the good children, who so easily become the self-righteous when they feel "put upon". However that may be, five years ago, after one daughter had been married to a skilled mechanic and the other, advanced to the position of a forewoman, was supporting her mother in the comparative idleness of keeping house for two in three rooms, a forlorn girl appeared with a note from Tommy, asking his mother "to help her out until the kid came and she could work again."

The steady daughter would not permit "such a girl to cross the threshold" and the little household was finally broken up upon the issue. The daughter went to live with her married sister while the mother, having moved into

one room with "Tommy's girl," went back to the laundry in order to support herself and her guest.

The daughters, having impressively told their mother that she could come to live with them whenever she "was willing to come alone," dropped the entire situation. In doing this, they were doubtless instinctively responding to a habit acquired through years of "keeping clear of the queer people father knew in the circus and the saloon, crowds always hanging around Tommy," in their secret hope to come to know respectable young men. Conscientious that they had back of them the opinion of all righteous people, they could not understand why their mother, for the sake of a bad girl, had deserted them in this praiseworthy effort in which hitherto she had been the prime mover.

Tommy had sent his "girl" to his mother on the eve of his departure for "a grand tour to the Klondike region" and since then, almost four years ago, she has heard nothing further from him. During the first half of the time the two women struggled on together as best they could, supporting themselves and the child, who was brought daily to the nursery by his grandmother. But the pretty little mother, gradually going back to her old occupation of dancing in the vaudeville, had more and more out-of-town engagements, and while she always divided her earnings with the baby, the grandmother suspected her of losing interest in him, a situation which was finally explained when she confessed that she was about to be married to a cabaret manager who "knew nothing of her past," and to beg that the baby might stay where he was. "Of course, I will pay board for him, but his father can be made to do something, too, if we can only get the law on him."

IT was at this point that I had the following conversation with the grandmother, who was shrewd enough to see that the support of the baby was being left upon her hands, and that she could expect no help from either his father or mother, although she stoutly refused the advice that the whole matter be taken into the Court of Domestic Relations.

"If I could only see Tommy once I think I could get him to help, but I can't find out where he is, and he may not be alive for all I know; he was always that careless about himself. If he put on a new red necktie he'd never know if his bare toes were pushing out of his shoes. He probably didn't get proper clothes for 'the Klondike region' and he may have been frozen to death before this. But whatever has happened to him, I can't let his baby go. I suppose I've learned to think differently about some things after all my years of living with a light-minded husband. Maggie came to see me last week, for she means to be a good daughter. She said that Carrie and Joe were buying a house way out on the West Side, that they were going to move into it this month, and that she and I could have a nice big room together. She said, too, that Carrie would charge only half-rate board for me, and would be glad to have my help with the little children, for they both think that nobody has such a way with children as I have. The night before, when she and Carrie were playing with the little boy, they remembered some of the funny songs father used to teach Tommy, and how jolly we all were when he came home good-natured and would stand on his head to make the candy fall out of his pockets.

"I know that the two girls really want me to come back, and that they are often homesick, but when I pointed to the bed where the baby was and asked, 'What about him?'

Maggie turned as hard as nails and said as quick as a flash, 'We're all agreed that you'll have to put him in an institution. We'll never have any chance with the nice people in a swell neighborhood like ours if you bring the baby.' She looked real white then, and I felt sorry for her when she said, 'Why, they might even think he was my child, you never can tell,' although she was ashamed of that afterwards and cried a little before she left.

"She told me that she and Carrie, when they were children, were always talking of what they would do when they got old enough to work; how they would take care of me and move to a part of the city where nobody would know anything about the outlandish way their father and Tommy used to carry on. Of course, it was almost telling me that they didn't want me to come to see them if I kept the baby."

My old friend was quite unable to formulate the motives which underlay her determination, but she implied that clinging to this helpless child was part of her unwavering affection for her son when, without any preamble, she concluded the conversation with the remark, "It's the way I always felt about him," as if further explanation were unnecessary.

Was it all a manifestation of Nature's anxious care—so determined upon survival and so indifferent to morals—that had induced her long devotion to her one child least equipped to take care of himself; and for the same reason had the helpless little creature whose existence no one else was deeply concerned to preserve, become so entwined in her affections that separation was impossible?

FROM time to time a mother goes further than this, she fairly "drags memory aloft" with her in her determination to deal justly with the unhappy situation in which her daughter is placed. When the mother of a so-called "fallen" girl is of that type of respectability which is securely founded upon narrow precepts inherited through generations of careful living, it requires genuine courage to ignore the social stigma in order to consider only the moral development of her child, although the result of such courage doubtless minimizes the chagrin and disgrace for the girl herself.

In one such instance the parents of the girl, who had been prevented from marrying her lover because the families on both sides objected to differences of religion, have openly faced the situation and made the baby a beloved member of the household. The pretty young mother arrogates to herself a hint of martyrdom for her faith's sake, but the discipline and responsibility are working wonders for her character. In her hope of earning money enough for two she has been stirred to new ambition, and is eagerly attending a business college. She suffers a certain amount of social ostracism, but at the same time her steady courage excites genuine admiration.

In another case a fearless mother exacts seven dollars a week in payment of the board for her daughter and the baby, although the girl earns but eight dollars a week in a cigar factory and buys such clothing for two as she can with the remaining dollar. She admits that it is "hard sledding," but that the baby is "mighty nice". Whatever her state of mind, she evidently has no notion of rebelling against her mother's authority, and is humbly grateful that she was not turned out-of-doors when the situation was discovered. It is possible that her mother's remorse at her failure to guard her daughter from wrong-doing enables her thus grimly to defy social standards which, al-

though they are based upon stern and narrow tenets, nevertheless epitomize the bitter wisdom of generations. Such mothers, overcoming that timidity which makes it so difficult to effect changes in daily living, make a genuine contribution to the solution of the vexed problem.

IN spite of much obtuseness on the part of those bound by the iron fetters of convention, these individual cases suggest a practical method of procedure. For quite as pity and fierce maternal affection for their own children, drove mothers all over the world to ostracize and cruelly punish the "bad woman" who would destroy the home by taking away the breadwinner and the father, so it is possible that, under the changed conditions of modern life, this same pity for little children, this same concern that, even if they are the children of the outcast, they must still be nourished and properly reared, will make good the former wrongs. There has certainly been a great modification of the harsh judgments meted out in such cases as women all over the world have endeavored, through the old bungling method of trial and error, to deal justly with individual situations.

Each case has been quietly judged by reference to an altered moral standard, for while the ethical code as well as the legal code needs constant revision, the revision is always privately tacit and informal in marked contrast to the public and ceremonious acts of legislators and judges when the former is charged.

Such measure of success as the organized woman's movements have attained in this direction, has come through an overwhelming desire to cherish both the illegitimate child and his unfortunate mother. In addition to that, the widespread effort of modern women to obtain a recognized legal status for themselves and their own children, has also been largely dependent upon it, at least in the beginnings of the movement.

Women slowly had discovered that the severe attitude towards the harlot had not only become embodied in the statutory law concerning her, as thousands of court decisions every day bear testimony, but had become registered in the laws and social customs pertaining to good women as well; the Code Napoleon, which prohibited that search be made for the father of an illegitimate child, also denied the custody of her children to the married mother; those same states in which the laws considered a little girl

of ten years the seducer of a man of well-known immorality, did not allow a married woman to hold her own property nor to retain her own wages.

The enthusiasm responsible for the world wide woman's movement was generated in the revolt against such gross injustices. The most satisfactory achievements of the movements have been secured in the Scandinavian countries where the splendid code of laws protecting all women and children have apparently been founded on the instinct to defend the weakest, and upon a determination to lighten that social opprobrium which makes it so unreasonably difficult for a mother to support a child born out of wedlock. In Germany, where the presence of over a million illegitimate children under the age of fourteen years made the situation acute, the best women of the nation, asserting that all the attempts to deal out social punishment upon the mothers resulted only in a multitude of ill-nourished and weakened children, founded the Mutter-schutz movement which, through its efforts to secure justice and protection for these mothers, has come to be the great defender of the legal rights for all German women.

In this contemporary modification of an age-old tradition there are also evidences of that new chivalry of women for each other, expressing protection for those at the bottom of society. It suggests a return to that idealized version of chivalry which was the consecration of strength to the defense of weakness, unlike the actual chivalry of the armed knight who served his lady with gentle courtesy while his fields were ploughed by peasant women misshapen through toil and hunger. There are many examples of this new chivalry such as the recent protest of the best women of Hungary who rose in protest against a proposed military regulation requiring that young women in domestic service who are living in the vicinity of barracks be examined each week by a medical officer in order to protect the soldiers from disease. The women spiritedly resented the assumption that these girls simply because they are the least protected of any class in the community, should be subjected to this insult. An incident of this sort once again illustrates that moral passion is the only solvent for prejudice, and that women have come to feel reproached and disturbed when they ignore the dynamic urgency of memories as fundamental as those upon which prohibitive conventions are based.

TWO POEMS

By Charles Haven Myers

THE BIRTHRIGHT

A CHILD is born. 'Tis God's divinest ray
That sends, washed clean in heaven's etheric sea,
This lovely, throbbing casket of sweet clay.
The answer to a mother's holy plea.
Today the hope of life mounts higher;
Here dimly burns the potent fire of one
Ordned to rule or teach; perchance his lyre
Shall catch the music of the primal sun.
What sacred venture waits this urgent soul
To conquer fear and hate, to stem the tide
Of sordid lust and still maintain control.
O Love, enswath with Truth and calmly guide
Until he face the battles for the Right,
Then dower the man with regnant will to fight.

THE INTRUSION

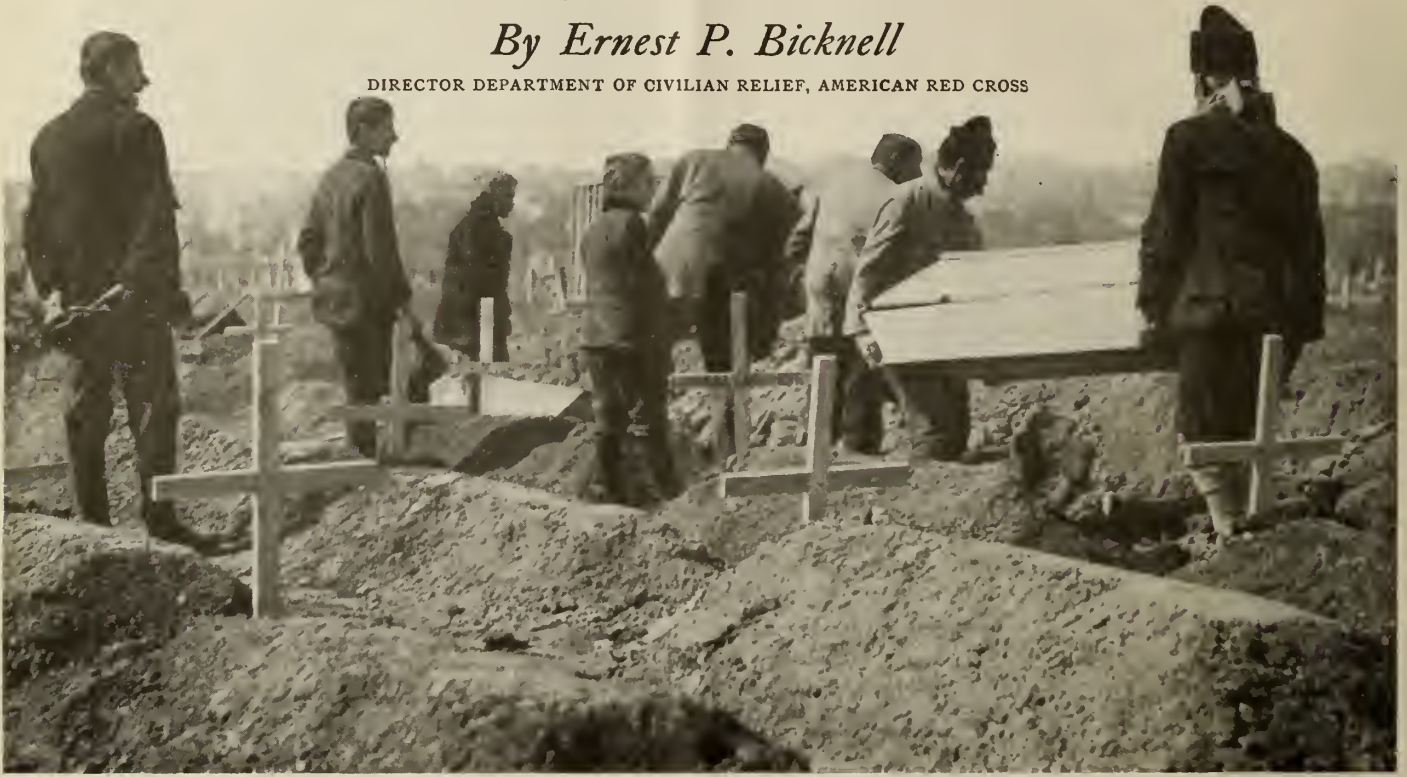
A CHILD is slain. Immortal plans are spoiled
And swift the painful tremor runs until
Each lonely star doth know God's will is foiled.
Once more the laws of Moloch we fulfill.
Shall nascent dreams of eager youth be wrecked,
Shall lust for pelf, or deadly ignorance,
Or our emasculated creeds neglect.—
Nay, kill these tender buds of innocence?
Where prison-mills shut out the fragrant air,
Where poisoned alleys reek with fetid breath,
Where speeds the wicker motor car to tear
In crimsoned dust a crumpled form—grins Death.
Awake! Ye stupid men. Stain not with blood
Of helpless babes the Galilean code.

Doctors Courageous

Serbia, the Battleground not only of the Balkan Armies but of Physicians and Nurses

By *Ernest P. Bicknell*

DIRECTOR DEPARTMENT OF CIVILIAN RELIEF, AMERICAN RED CROSS



BURYING THE TYPHUS DEAD

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SIR THOMAS LIPTON visited Serbia at the height of the typhus epidemic. He brought physicians and nurses and hospital supplies in his yacht, "Erin," to the harbor of Saloniki, and transported them thence by rail into the interior. On entering Serbia he called at the American Red Cross Hospital in Gevgheli, where he quickly established himself on terms of friendship. Two weeks later, returning through Gevgheli, Sir Thomas learned that his friend Dr. Donnelly was lying dead of typhus. Before the physician had passed into the period of delirium which characterizes the progress of typhus, he stated that in case the attack should prove fatal he wished to be buried with the American flag and the Red Cross flag wrapped about him. The hospital in Gevgheli possessed no flags large enough for this purpose. When this story was told Sir Thomas, he sent immediately to his yacht for large flags, which were hurried back to Gevgheli, and Dr. Donnelly's dying wish was granted.

This is but one incident in the history of the Balkans during the last two years, one human episode perhaps a trifle more dramatic than others, which has marked the process through which sturdy and independent little Serbia has been beaten to earth by a series of crushing misfortunes, and throughout which help has been reached out to her stricken folk against unexampled odds, by physicians and nurses and friendly people of many nations.

To what extent Serbia has been the author of her own miseries I know not, nor shall I here attempt to discuss that subject. A country of simple, primitive peasantry, Serbia had fought herself free from the yoke of the Turk,

and had arisen erect and vigorous after four hundred years of galling subjection. Through a succession of internal wars, won first by the leaders of one and then of another of two rival families, she had gradually brought herself into the forms of a stable government.

A period had been reached some five years ago when Serbia seemed ready for industrial and commercial development. It was true that the individual pastoral life of the farmers and mountaineers had not equipped them for the more complex relations of such community life as accompany the upbuilding of industrial and commercial centers. Education was not extensively developed, but had not been neglected. A national university in Belgrade was attended by several hundred students. A statue had been erected in Belgrade to a famous educator who had simplified the language and had reformed the alphabet by eliminating four of its thirty-six letters.

As Serbia, like her sister Balkan states, is without recognized caste or social stratification, she has no class of nobility expect the members of the royal family; and as the royal line has shifted frequently from one dynasty to another, even the recognition of royalty itself has not led to the establishment of a permanent and hereditary royal line. Kings have been set up and removed so frequently by revolutionary movements, that the monarch is not hedged about by those traditions of sanctity or divine right which are to be found in older and more highly developed societies. No iron bonds of custom prevent Serbia's lowliest shepherd from aspiring to place or responsibility in the public service. The men of Serbia have universal suffrage.

Serbia is a land of small estates. Great landholders are virtually unknown. As a rule the Serbian farmer or mountaineer lives upon his own small farm. He is assured of the permanency of his home by a wise law which provides that a certain minimum number of acres of land cannot be taken from him for taxes or debt. He cannot mortgage or otherwise encumber this land in such a manner as to make it possible for a creditor to deprive him of it. He is also entitled to retain, against all financial obligations, a certain number of oxen and other farm animals and a certain equipment of implements. It has thus come about that Serbia is owned by a great number of small farmers who are absolutely secure in the possession of their homes. The result is that there are no large fortunes in Serbia and that there is a remarkably uniform and equitable distribution of land. This system makes for the development of a highly individualistic and independent people. The idea of combined effort or co-operation has made but little impress upon the Serbian mind.

Lady Ralph Paget, who has lived much in Serbia, where her husband for some years was the British Minister, said to me that the loyalty of the Serbian is to his home rather than to his country. It was her opinion that the impelling force which drives the Serbian to join the army and fight valiantly is the intense desire to save his home. Lady Paget was authority for the statement that in the course of the war which now prevails the Serbian soldier in some measure lost heart and determination when the section in which his own home was situated was overrun and captured by the enemy.

Although Serbia has no titled nobility, a sharp and striking distinction exists between the peasants and the military leaders. The contrast between the simple, plodding peasant, in his primitive homespun garb, and the dapper, alert, elegant, and ultra-sophisticated army officer is constantly thrust upon the attention of the traveler. As a whole the people are hospitable and kindly, but the necessity for protecting themselves for centuries against the exactions of the Turks, and later against the aggressions of ambitious and lawless factional leaders among their own people, has made them cautious and suspicious. It is only fair to say of them that their troubles as a people have been due, so far as Serbia has been at fault, to the machinations of a few ambitious leaders. The people as a whole would be content to live quietly within their mountains and valleys, with little thought or knowledge of those questions whose solution leads to relations either of friendship or hostility with other nations.

Simple, Independent and Home-Loving

If I have accomplished my purpose, I have pictured the Serbian people as strong, simple, kindly, independent and home-loving. Although not yet developed by education and experience to a high order of ability in the organization of complex public or private affairs, the nation seemed to have so freed itself from the handicap of oppressive governmental fetters as to be on the threshold of a new epoch of prosperity and advancement. At this point Serbia's attention was diverted from the cultivation and strengthening of her home affairs by the outbreak of the war with Turkey, in which Greece and Bulgaria were her allies. No sooner was this war carried to a successful issue than a controversy arose between Serbia and Bulgaria in the division of territory wrested from Turkey. This difficulty led on immediately to war, in

which Serbia was the victor, with the result that a large section of Macedonia, which had been taken from Turkey and claimed by both Serbia and Bulgaria, was added to Serbian territory.

Serbia now found herself saddled by a national debt of over two hundred million dollars. Her population was about four and a half million, of which one-third, living in the territory just taken from Turkey were unassimilated, unfriendly and a source of immediate expense rather than help. She had lost approximately thirty-one thousand men by death through the wars of the two years preceding, and her recuperative power had been further reduced by the permanent disability of many thousand men who had been wounded. Here the system of small land holdings proved of great value, because it enabled the wives and children of the soldiers to successfully continue the cultivation of the farms while the wars proceeded. The country, however, was much reduced in resources, which only years of effort could restore.

Before the recuperation of the country could fairly begin the heir to the Austrian throne was assassinated by a Serbian, and Serbia was again plunged into war. Her lack of preparation for this contest was obvious and pathetic. However, she put her army, now composed largely of thoroughly tested veterans, into the field, equipped as well as possible under the circumstances. Then came the outbreak of an epidemic of typhus, believed to have been more extensive and fatal than any similar outbreak of that disease of which any record exists. Finally came the tremendous invasion by the Teutonic and Bulgarian forces, which swept the army, the court, and the entire governmental organization beyond the country's boundaries and left the little nation prostrate and helpless in the hands of the conqueror.

Serbia's Multiplied Woes

FAMINE followed quickly upon the subjugation of the country, and the people, especially those within the cities and towns, faced the threat of starvation. Thus, Serbia's woes have been multiplied and heaped mountain high during the last five years, these crowding calamities having fallen upon the country at the moment when her prospects for future prosperity and development seemed brightest.

In the autumn and winter of 1914 Serbia was twice invaded by the Austro-Hungarian forces. Although in both instances the Serbian army drove the invaders out of the country, these invasions and counter military operations resulted in great destruction of life and property in the northwestern part of the country, which is its most fertile and productive section. Five-sixths of Serbia consists of mountains, the remainder comprising the level and well-cultivated plain adjoining the frontier of Austria together with many narrow, winding valleys, which contain restricted agricultural areas.

The military operations in the region invaded, therefore devastated the most highly developed and densely populated portion of the country. The population of this region fled southward into the mountains or congregated in the cities and towns remote from the Austrian frontier. Of the population of Belgrade, the capital, amounting normally to approximately one hundred thousand, only fifteen thousand remained in the city when that place was taken by the Austrians. The flight of the refugees southward led to a serious congestion of population in the cities and towns of the interior. Without accumulated stocks of food supplies and with the richest farm lands in

the hands of the enemy, Serbia saw her people brought suddenly face to face with famine.

Fugitive reports of these conditions came to the attention of the War Relief Commission of the Rockefeller Foundation, whose mission in Europe was to investigate the effect of the war upon civilian peoples and to assist in organizing measures for the relief of distress among non-combatants. Accordingly, the members of the Commission of which the writer was director, resolved to visit Serbia for the purpose of offering their services if an investigation confirmed the reports of suffering which were in circulation. As it was not possible at that time to cross the Austro-Serbian frontier, the commission traveled by way of the neutral countries of Roumania and Bulgaria (the latter not having declared war at that time), and entered Serbia from the east, reaching Nish, the temporary capital, in the middle of February, 1915.

It was not until the commission had arrived at Nish that we learned of the actual extent of the epidemic of typhus, of which we had previously heard only incidental mention. For military and diplomatic reasons, it seems, the Serbian government and its allies had withheld the full facts from publication. Therefore it was with surprise that we found ourselves in the midst of conditions which were more menacing and deadly than the threat of armed invasion by the enemy's forces.

Origin of the Typhus Epidemic

DIFFERENCES of opinion exist as to the origin of the epidemic. In Nish, we were informed by the Serbian authorities that the outbreak of typhus and its swift extension to every part of the country were to be explained as follows:

When the Austrian army invaded Serbian territory it brought with it this disease. Many Austrian soldiers died of typhus while with the army of occupation, and in this way Serbian houses, in which Austrians were quartered, became infected. Later, in an important battle in which the invading army was defeated, the Serbians captured about sixty thousand Austrian prisoners. The burden of maintaining and guarding these prisoners was so heavy that the Serbian government found it necessary to distribute the load. Accordingly, detachments of prisoners were sent to all the important cities and towns in the country, where they were quartered in public buildings. In this way the seeds of typhus were widely scattered.

Serbian soldiers, who guarded the prisoners, and civilian employes about the places of confinement, contracted the disease, and through them it spread into both homes and barracks. All the railway cars in the country were employed in the transportation of the prisoners, and the lice, which are the medium of the dissemination of typhus, were left in the cushions and upholstery and crevices of the cars. When civilians occupied the same cars later, they carried away some of the lice upon their bodies or clothing, and these dangerous insects were gradually distributed among the private homes, the hotels, the soldiers' quarters, and even the cabs upon the city streets. A more effective means of introducing infectious disease into every section of a country and into every home cannot easily be imagined. It became quite impossible for anyone in Serbia, no matter how scrupulously he endeavored to safeguard himself, to avoid exposure to the disease.

Later we were officially informed by Austro-Hungarian authorities that their armies did not introduce typhus into Serbia, but that, on the contrary, their soldiers had

found the epidemic when they entered the country and that it had been only by the application of the most drastic measures that the typhus had been prevented from causing widespread havoc among the Austrian and Hungarian troops.

No matter what had been its origin, the epidemic had reached appalling proportions when we entered Serbia. Absorbed in the prosecution of the war, without adequate resources to combat the spread of the disease, and with a tinge of fatalism which seemed to explain the absence of that fierce activity of resistance which similar conditions would evoke in a Western population, the helpless people were swept away by thousands.

Typhus Conditions Described

ONE DAY during our stay in Nish it was reported that the local cemetery contained the unburied bodies of two hundred and fifty typhus victims, the force of grave diggers being entirely unable to keep up with the work. In the city of Skoplje, with a population of probably about seventy thousand, including refugees and soldiers, we were informed on our visit there of more than two thousand cases. In the American Red Cross Hospital in Gevghele, out of about fourteen hundred patients, one thousand were suffering from typhus. In the American Red Cross Hospital in Belgrade, where health conditions were better than at any other point in all Serbia, were 165 cases of typhus, with a much larger aggregate number in several other hospitals in the same city.

In a camp near Nish containing two thousand Austrian prisoners, we found 666 cases. No facilities existed for segregating the sick from the well, but all together occupied long, unfloored buildings, where they lay upon loose straw placed upon the ground. The single medical attendant was an Austrian physician, himself a prisoner, but when we visited the camp this physician had himself fallen a victim to the disease. Serbian soldiers, guarding this camp, came and went freely between camp and city, and civilians also traveled back and forth frequently in connection with various kinds of employment. There can be little doubt that this camp served as a malignant center of infection for the city of Nish and the surrounding country.

A military hospital in the outskirts of Nish was so crowded with patients that it had been necessary to fasten the narrow iron beds together in pairs and to place three patients crosswise upon each pair of beds. This expedient was still insufficient, and several hundred patients lay upon blankets on the floor between beds. Of the nine hundred patients in this hospital, about three hundred and fifty were suffering from typhus.

In going about this hospital we came upon one elderly woman engaged in washing the hospital linen. She had had several companions, but all had died from typhus contracted by contact with the linen from the hospital beds. Other women refused to accept this dangerous employment. The only washing of hospital linen for the nine hundred patients was therefore being done by this one woman, with the aid of the most primitive equipment.

Doctors and Nurses Unprotected

THE PHYSICIANS of Serbia could do little. We were told that in all Serbia, prior to the outbreak of the last war, there were only 367 physicians. During the first sixty days following the outbreak of the epidemic, ninety of these physicians had died of typhus, and before the epi-

demic was terminated in midsummer fully one-third of all the native physicians had given up their lives.

Many foreign physicians and nurses had gone to Serbia, following the outbreak of the war, to give their services in the care of the sick and wounded in military hospitals. The United States, France, England, Russia, Greece, Switzerland and perhaps other countries were represented among these groups. When the typhus suddenly swept across the country, the foreign doctors and nurses were caught wholly unprepared to protect their patients or themselves against its approach. Wherever we went about Serbia stories were told us of the calm courage and the gallant fight which these foreigners had made against hopeless odds.

In Skoplje, where eighteen English doctors and nurses, sent by the British Red Cross Society, were in charge of a hospital, only three of the number had escaped the disease at the date of our visit. Several had died, others had been invalided home, and others were at that time lying ill in the care of the three members of the unit who had not yet succumbed.

Lady Ralph Paget, at the head of another unit of doctors and nurses, informed us that her people were being attacked by typhus one by one, and she stated, in a matter of fact and entirely passionless way, that she had no doubt whatever that she herself would presently be attacked by the disease. About two weeks afterward, and just after we had left Serbia, we learned that Lady Paget was a victim of typhus and that her recovery was extremely doubtful. Happily, however, she did recover, and resumed her work immune now and more capable of useful service than before.

Six American Red Cross physicians and twelve American Red Cross nurses were in charge of the military hospital at Gevghele. This hospital was situated in an ancient tobacco warehouse, and was without any modern and adequate facilities for sanitation or disinfection. When the epidemic appeared among the patients, the physicians and nurses, without the means of self-protection, threw themselves with unselfish devotion into the attempt to check its spread. This they were unable to do, but as a result of their self-sacrifice, two of the physicians and nine of the nurses contracted the disease. Dr. James Donnelly, head of the unit, died. Dr. Ernest MacGruder died. Fortunately, the others recovered. Throughout this bitter ordeal the little group of foreign men and women, far from home and friends, faced their terrible plight without panic, going steadily about their duties until one by one they were struck down.

Even in Belgrade, where better conditions and facilities were to be found than elsewhere for combatting the spread of the disease, it continued for many weeks in the hospitals and among the civilian population. Several of the American Red Cross nurses contracted it but eventually all recovered. Dr. Edward Ryan, director of the hospital, himself came down, but after his associates had despaired of his recovery, fought his way through, and at the end of weeks of slow convalescence resumed his duties.

As an illustration of that calm strength and unswerving devotion to duty which characterized the services of the American physicians and nurses in Serbia, I may be pardoned for relating the following story:

It was in the early winter of 1914 when the armies of Austria had forced their way into Serbia. The surrender of Belgrade, the capital, was imminent. Late at night a Serbian official hurried to the Red Cross Hospital, awakened Dr.

Ryan and informed him that the Serbian army was evacuating Belgrade. He was urged to get his American doctors and nurses quickly together and accompany the evacuating forces. The Austrian army, it was said, was expected to attack the city at any moment.

Refused to Desert His Post

DR. RYAN declined to go. He said that his hospital was filled with sick and wounded men, and that it was the duty of himself and his associates to remain. He was strongly urged, and the dangers of remaining, while the victorious, conquering army entered and took possession of the city, were pointed out to him. He conferred with his associates, and steadfastly refused to leave. When the Serbian official found that it was impossible to persuade the American Red Cross unit to flee, he requested Dr. Ryan to take charge of several other hospitals in Belgrade, filled with sick and wounded Serbians. This increased responsibility was accepted. The Serbian army withdrew; the civil governmental officials, both national and municipal, also, and with them went most of the people of the city.

After the evacuation, the Austrian forces did not at once come into the city, and a number of days elapsed during which Belgrade had no government. Disorders broke out among the lawless part of the population, robberies and murders were committed upon the streets, and a period of demoralization began. Dr. Ryan called a conference of such men of substance as could be found, and led in the formation of a committee of fifteen which set up a provisional government for the city. This government quickly restored order and maintained it until the

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VILLAGE SCENE IN SERBIA

The ox-carts are bringing water from the mountains.

Austrian armies entered. Without authority, without citizenship, this young American doctor, by force of moral courage and determination, thus rendered an important service to a large number of helpless and leaderless people.

When the Austrian army entered Belgrade and took possession of the city, an officer called on Dr. Ryan and notified him that the Austrian military authorities, being now in full possession of Belgrade, desired to take charge of the hospitals, and requested that Dr. Ryan and his unit withdraw. Dr. Ryan declined, stating, as he had previously stated to the departing Serbians, that his duty to the great number of sick and wounded in his charge required him to remain. He added that he was ready to care for Austrians as well as Serbs. The Austrian officer's request changed to a demand, but without avail. Dr. Ryan then went to the headquarters of the commanding officer of the Austrian forces, explained his position and his sense of duty to the thousands of patients in his charge, and the commanding general thereupon yielded, consenting to allow the Americans to remain in control.

Enmity Died Under Red Cross Flag

IMMEDIATELY the Austrians began sending their sick and wounded into the hospital, and soon the suffering soldiers of both Serbian and Austrian armies, enemies as they were, lay side by side, under the neutral flag of the American Red Cross. Then appeared the great underlying fact that these men were not personal enemies at all. They fraternized in the hospital, and seemed for the time to forget the deadly warfare which existed between their countries.

Two weeks after the Austrian armies marched victoriously into Belgrade, the Serbian forces again drove them back across the border into their own country, and the Serbian people were once more in control of their capital. They found the Red Cross hospitals filled with patients, of whom now a majority were Austrian. Before the Austrian army departed, its commander expressed his strong appreciation of the stand which Dr. Ryan had taken, and of the devoted and skillful service which his group had given to the Austrian patients placed in their charge. He stated that his army was now about to leave, and he asked only that Dr. Ryan would look after the welfare of his Austrian patients, following the departure of the Austrian army, as bravely and faithfully as he had looked after the welfare of the Serbian patients following the entrance of the Austrian army into the Serbian capital.

This story cannot be complete until I have added that Dr. Ryan and his people remained peacefully and usefully in Belgrade until the last invasion by the Austrian and German forces. When Belgrade was again taken the captors again found Dr. Ryan and his group in charge of the hospitals. This time, without question and with every evidence of confidence, they placed the care of their own sick and wounded men in his care.

A Benevolent Regicide

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION War Relief Commission spent two weeks in traveling about Serbia, observing conditions among the civil population, conferring with government officials, the officers of the Serbian Red Cross, the National Serbian Relief Committee, and many local officers and committees. Every facility for obtaining all necessary information was placed at our disposal, and an attaché of the Foreign Office was detailed to travel with us in order to give us every possible assist-

ance. In the city of Skoplje we received great help and many courtesies from the military commander in charge, who proved to be General Popovich, one of the leaders in the conspiracy which a few years before had caused the assassination of Serbia's King and Queen. The connection of General Popovich with this desperate enterprise naturally led us to regard him with peculiar interest. Regard for fairness compels me to say that he is a man of benevolent appearance, with a kindly blue eye and gentle manner. He was thoughtful of our comfort and wishes, self-effacing and most courteous, possessing none of those outward characteristics which might be expected to mark a man who had been an active participant in so tragic and deplorable an event.

As we went about the city of Skoplje, a member of our party observed in a shop window some ancient, brass-bound and richly ornamented weapons, and remarked that, when opportunity offered, he intended to return to the shop and purchase one or two as souvenirs. Later in the day an officer drove up to our hotel and left for us an armful of strange, picturesque and beautiful old pistols and yataghans. He also left a message from the commanding general, who begged us to accept these mementoes with his compliments. Afterward, when we again saw the general and protested against the acceptance of these rare weapons, he assured us with a shrug and a wave of the hand that in the recent war with Turkey the Serbians had captured vast quantities and had tons of them stored in a warehouse.

We permitted ourselves to be persuaded to retain these gifts, and later packed them into a shipping case and entrusted them to an express company to be forwarded to New York. They eventually reached the Bulgarian port of Dedeagatch, where they were deposited on the dock and were awaiting the arrival of a steamer when the port was bombarded by British warships. The waterfront is said to have been badly knocked to pieces, and we have heard no more of the fate of General Popovich's souvenirs.

Serbia has but one line of standard gauge railway. This traverses a series of narrow and winding mountain valleys, southward from Belgrade through the country's greatest length, and terminates in the Greek port of Saloniki. At the city of Nish, about mid-way of this railway line, a branch line extends southeastward across the Bulgarian frontier and on through to Turkey to its terminus in Constantinople. Several short, narrow gauge lines connect with the main line and lead back through the valleys into the interior.

Because of its inadequate railways, Serbia experienced great difficulty in transporting her troops and military supplies. The facilities were taxed to the utmost. Passenger travel as a result, was extremely slow and inconvenient. All passenger trains were packed to the limit of their standing room with soldiers and civilians, and it was common to see scores of men perched on the tops of the cars.

The members of the War Relief Commission traveled from Nish to Belgrade by a night train. At every station throngs struggled to get on board, and in each instance the train drew away leaving many angry and disappointed persons on the station platform. For our comfort there had been reserved for us a compartment, which the three of us occupied with our Serbian attaché, a young man provided by the Foreign Office.

As the train proceeded, passengers crowded solidly into

every available foot of space. The corridor outside our compartment was densely jammed with standing passengers. But our door was locked and we were protected from invasion. The compartment was lighted by a candle, and through a crevice in the door, those standing in the corridor were able to see that we were traveling in comfort, with ample room. We were not quite conscience free concerning these conditions, and suggested to our guide that the door of the compartment be opened in order that some of those in the corridor might enter.

The guide, however, had been expressly charged by his superiors to protect us, and he resolutely declined to open the door. As the hours passed, the men in the corridor

The result of our observations in Serbia led to the conclusion that although a great deal of destitution existed throughout the country, the typhus epidemic so far overshadowed all other problems at the moment, that first of all an attempt should be made to establish measures for its control. We thereupon sent a cable message to the Rockefeller Foundation explaining the conditions and urging that a commission of American physicians and sanitary engineers be sent to Serbia for that purpose.

In response to this appeal the trustees of the Foundation conferred with the officers of the American National Red Cross, with the result that the Red Cross undertook the organization of a sanitary commission for Serbia, the

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ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION WAR RELIEF COMMISSION

Photographed soon after their arrival in Serbia. Mr. Bicknell stands at the left between two officials of the Serbian Foreign Office. At the right are Henry James and Collin Herre.

became more weary and discontented, and began trying the lock. Finally at about three o'clock in the morning they threw themselves against the door with such a tremendous effort that it splintered to pieces and flew back with a crash. They crowded tumultuously into the small compartment, crushing themselves into the seats, crowding over and about us in a manner which at first seemed to promise serious trouble. They were young officers of the Serbian army, in uniform and wearing their swords. The candle was knocked from its socket in the scramble and we were all in the dark. When the outcries and confusion had subsided, and the candle was re-lighted the invaders learned that the occupants of the compartment were foreigners. They became quieter though they thrust our guide out into the corridor, learned our mission through one of their number who spoke French, and the remainder of the night was spent in discomfort—but quiet.

expense of which was borne jointly by the two organizations.

Dr. Richard P. Strong, professor of tropical diseases in Harvard Medical School, was selected as head of the commission, and a staff of about fifty eminent physicians and competent sanitarians was rapidly brought together. The commission sailed from New York on April 3, 1915, and before the end of that month had entered upon what to many seemed its hopeless task.

While the sanitary commission was in process of organization in the United States and was en route to Serbia, members of the War Relief Commission traveled from Serbia to England and France, where conferences were held with the heads of the medical service of the armies of those countries for the purpose of securing their cooperation with the American Commission. This effort was entirely successful, and a large number of English and French physicians joined with the Americans in com-

prehensive measures in Serbia.

Upon the arrival of the American Commission in Serbia all cooperating agencies were combined under the name of "International Sanitary Commission of Serbia." The personnel of the governing board of this organization was as follows: President, the Crown Prince Alexander; vice-president, Sir Ralph Paget; medical director, Dr. Richard P. Strong; other members, the chiefs of the British, French and Russian missions, the chiefs of the Serbian civil and military medical departments and a medical representative of the Serbian Parliament.

Under the administration of this board the work went forward harmoniously and effectively. It was not thought advisable to place men of different nationality in the same community. The country was therefore divided into fourteen administrative districts, with the British, French and Russian groups in seven of these and the American group in seven. The combined effort received all requisite legal and moral support from the Serbian government.

Typhus Vanished Swiftly

THE RESULT of this united and comprehensive attack upon the epidemic was successful beyond the expectations of the most optimistic. Typhus is a winter disease, and always subsides in virulence with the coming of warm weather. The measures taken by the sanitary organization, reinforced by the approach of summer, caused the epidemic to disappear with a rapidity scarcely less amazing than the swiftness with which it had enveloped the entire country a few months earlier. By the middle of August it had almost vanished, and a few weeks later the main body of the Sanitary Commission withdrew, having completed its task and leaving Serbia wholly free from the presence of the scourge.

As executive head of the work, Dr. Strong spent much time in traveling from district to district. For this purpose he was provided with a special train of three cars and a small automobile. Of the three cars, one was fitted up as office, bed room and bath room for Dr. Strong's personal use; one was occupied by his assistants, and the third was an open flat car for his automobile. In this primitive train Dr. Strong lived during the greater part of his stay of four months in Serbia. When it became necessary to visit places not reached by rail, the train was taken to the nearest railway point and set on a sidetrack. Then the automobile was called into service to carry the party into the interior.

Upon Dr. Strong's return to the United States he prepared for the Red Cross a brief report of the work of the Sanitary Commission. From this report the following quotation is taken:

"House to house inspection for the discovery of cases of typhus in the cities, with the removal of the patients to hospitals and wards devoted to the care of typhus cases; disinfection of such individuals, disinfection of the other inmates of houses in which cases of typhus had been discovered, as well as of their clothes, and finally disinfection of the houses themselves, was systematically begun. Quarantine of individuals who had been in contact with typhus cases was undertaken after disinfection of their persons and clothing. In a number of such instances, these were cared for in tents sent by our Red Cross where houses were not available as detention camps. In some instances the districts were so badly infected that it was necessary to evacuate them en masse and to destroy, by partially tearing down and by fire, the majority of the dwellings. Dispensaries were established in the different

cities where the people were treated free of charge. These proved a great aid in the finding of cases of infectious disease.

Sanitary Trains Are Operated

"AS TYPHUS is conveyed from man to man by vermin (the bite of the body louse) the bathing and disinfection of very large numbers of people and immediate disinfection of their clothing, became an important problem in combatting the disease. For this purpose sanitary trains, consisting each of three converted railroad cars, were fitted up. One car contained a huge boiler which supplied the steam for disinfection of the clothing. In a second car fifteen shower baths were constructed. A third car was converted into a huge autoclave (disinfector), into which steam could be turned under atmospheric pressure. In this manner the vermin were immediately destroyed and the clothes thoroughly disinfected.

"Large tents were erected beside the railroad sidings on which the cars were placed. The people were marched by the thousands to these tents, their hair was clipped, and a limited number undressed themselves, carried their clothes to the disinfecting car and then passed to the car containing the shower baths. After a thorough scrubbing with soap and water they were sprayed with petroleum as an extra precaution for destroying the vermin. They then received their disinfected clothing. In instances, in which the clothing was very badly soiled, fresh clothing was supplied. Many of these people stated that they had not bathed for ten months or longer. Their faces in some instances betrayed surprise and in others fear when the water touched their bodies.

"In the larger cities and in those situated away from the railway, disinfecting and bathing plants were established and separate hours were arranged for bathing women and men in large numbers.

"In many towns the clothes were disinfected by baking them in ovens, either specially constructed for this purpose or those which had been built previously for the baking of bricks, or other purposes. As all the hospitals were infected it was necessary systematically to disinfect them as well as their inmates.

"The patients were removed from a ward, which was then thoroughly disinfected first by sulphur fumigation to kill the vermin. Beds were then removed and disinfected, mattresses, sheets, etc., being disinfected with steam or boiled. Walls, ceilings and floors were then scrubbed with solutions of bichloride of mercury or carbolic solutions. In many instances the interiors of hospitals were thoroughly whitewashed. The patients were given a thorough bath by being scrubbed with soap and water and disinfectants. They were then given clean clothing and placed in the disinfected ward. Their old clothing was usually boiled.

"During the last three weeks before my departure from Serbia we could not find a fresh case of typhus. The sanitary condition of the army and of the people was then excellent. I trust that the sanitary demonstrations, in the prevention of typhus, which have been given the Serbian people, and the construction of the various permanent disinfecting plants throughout the country will prevent the occurrence of another epidemic of typhus such as we have just witnessed and which destroyed between 135,000 and 150,000 people."

At the end of the summer of 1915, when the typhus had been driven out, Dr. Strong and most of his men withdrew, leaving, however, a party of twelve physicians and sanitary engineers. This remaining group was to devote six months to the completion of certain plans intended to permanently improve health conditions in Serbian towns. Problems of water supply, drainage, disinfection and kindred subjects were to be studied and the

most practical means of solving them pointed out to the proper authorities.

Flight of the Serbians

BUT IN THE MIDST of this work the Teutonic Allies launched their overwhelming drive against Serbia, and all other interests were swept away. The Serbian army, fighting stubbornly, was driven southward into Greece and westward into the mountains of Albania. With the retreating army fled the King and his entourage, the Skuptschina (parliament), most of the official body of the national and municipal civil governments, and scores of thousands of the civil population.

This flight, through wild mountain passes in mid-winter, was marked by frightful sufferings from cold and hunger. Many thousands of the weaker refugees, the old, the children, the frailer women, succumbed to the hardships, and their bodies were left scattered along the trails over which the multitude had passed. It is to be regretted that no strong, commanding spirit arose to this emergency by calling upon the Serbian people to remain quietly in their homes. There was reason for this flight of the army and the court, because, if captured, they would have been imprisoned and the hope of repairing the country's unhappy fortunes would have seemed to be destroyed. But so far as the common people were concerned, they would have been much better off at home, where, after temporary inconvenience and doubtless some hardship occasioned by the quartering of the enemy troops upon them, they would have settled down to approximately normal life.

With the Teutonic invasion, the sanitary work of the American Red Cross Commission suddenly terminated. The members of the commission were instructed to turn their attention to the relief of the Serbian refugees, and for that purpose divided their forces, one group going to Saloniki, another to the Albanian coast and another to Corfu.

From Sanitation to Relief Distribution

AFTER A FEW WEEKS, reports were received that much destitution existed in the interior of Serbia and Edward Stuart, director of the commission, was instructed to go to Sofia for the purpose of requesting permission of the Bulgarian government to establish a relief organization in southern Serbia, that section of the conquered territory having been taken over by Bulgaria. This permission was denied. Mr. Stuart then traveled to Vienna in the hope of obtaining permission to undertake relief operations in northern Serbia which had fallen to Austria. The Austrians were more responsive than the Bulgarians, and granted the requested permission in part.

The Americans were authorized to set up an organization for the distribution of relief among the civil population of Belgrade, the Serbian capital, where about thirty thousand persons were in need of help. As supplies of food could not be obtained in Austria or Serbia, and could not be imported from America, because of the blockade which the entente Allies had thrown about the Central Powers, these supplies were purchased in Roumania, and transported by barges up the Danube river to Belgrade. Several months later the Austrian government so broadened its permission as to allow the extension of relief operations into the interior of northern Serbia, where a preliminary investigation had indicated that probably one hundred thousand persons were in extreme destitution.

While Mr. Stuart continued to represent the Red Cross

in negotiations and conferences with the Austrian government and the distribution of relief supplies in Belgrade, Dr. Edward Ryan was placed in charge of distribution in the interior. Both Mr. Stuart and Dr. Ryan, because of extended and varied experience in Serbia in the earlier part of the war, were particularly well equipped for the administration of relief among the Serbian people. Both had shown such discretion and such a sense of fairness that they had won the respect and confidence of Austrians and Serbians as well. Dr. Ryan had just completed the very unusual enterprise of transporting a train of thirty car loads of food from Marseilles, through France, Switzerland and Austria to Belgrade, when Austria gave permission to extend the relief operations into the interior and was therefore immediately available for that service.

Food Train Breaks the Embargo

DR. RYAN'S accomplishment in the transportation of this train load of supplies was characteristic of the man. The American Red Cross had these supplies in a warehouse in Marseilles and was most anxious to have them moved to Serbia where they were much wanted. Because of the determination of the entente Allies that no food should be sent into conquered territory held by the Teutonic Allies (with the exception of Belgium and northern France), it seemed sheer folly to expect that France would permit the shipment of these supplies in Marseilles, across Austria, to Serbia. Dr. Ryan was commissioned by the American Red Cross to see what could be done, and in the face of apparently insuperable obstacles, succeeded.

Much traveling back and forth was necessary; active negotiations were carried on for many weeks with representatives of France, Switzerland and Austria; all supplies had to be unloaded and transhipped at each frontier, and miles of red tape had to be unwound. Repeatedly, when all arrangements seemed complete and the way opened for smooth progress, some new complication from an unsuspected quarter would threaten to defeat the entire project. Ryan would then dash off to Marseilles or Paris or Berne, or would set the telegraph lines humming, and presently the troubles would begin to disappear. About three months elapsed between the day he was sent his cable of instructions and the day on which his food train rolled triumphantly into the city of Belgrade.

In the subsequent distribution of relief in Serbia, methods have been adopted which, in some particulars, are a departure from those employed in similar work in the United States. These have been fitted to the unusual conditions and circumstances, and of necessity have been in accordance with the wishes of the Austrian military government in Serbia.

A quotation from one of Mr. Stuart's letters will give a vivid picture of the actual "days work" of distribution in Belgrade:

"These people are all registered at the City Hall and are known by the Citizen's Committee to be in need of assistance. They are all supplied with a red card known as their 'legitimation.' The city of Belgrade is divided into fifteen 'reons' or districts. One Saturday, for example, it is decided that the first five reons are to receive their supply of corn meal or flour on Monday. A crier then goes through these five reons with a drum and announces to the people that they are to go to the American Red Cross on Monday.

"On Monday, they appear at our depot with their legitimations, and are kept in line by gendarmes furnished by

the military, and present their cards to the several women clerks furnished us by the Citizen's Committee, who have the registered lists before them. The name of each person is checked off and the amount of corn meal or flour and the date are entered. The person then passes to the counter, presents the card again, on which has now been marked the amount to be received, which is checked off, and the bag which has been brought is passed to a Russian prisoner who holds it under a funnel. Behind the counter is a large box of corn meal or flour. Several Russians fill small tins holding various quantities of meal or flour, 2, 4, and 6 kilos, or 2½, 5, and 7½ kilos, as the case may be, and dump the required amount into the funnel, thence into the sack. In this way the work goes very rapidly, and a large number can be handled in a day; the record at present being 1,578 families in one day, or about 5,000 people.

"Other classes of people are more difficult to register; first because some apply for help who are not in very great need, and secondly, there are many families in serious condition who are ashamed to ask for assistance. At first all applicants were required to go to the City Hall and there have their applications passed upon by the Citizen's Committee, but there were so many, the committee was rather overwhelmed by them, so that I was not entirely satisfied with the first list.

"I therefore called a meeting of the committee and the representatives of the military government and insisted that a very careful examination of each applicant be made in order to eliminate all of those who have sufficient income to buy the bare necessities. At present, therefore, all applicants from any one reon must present themselves before the chief of the reon, who investigates the cases, usually knowing the applicants personally, and who then passes the list to the Citizen's Committee which revises it and returns it to the reon chief. It is again gone over by both, and then sent to us. We are trying to make it as fair as possible to all concerned, and we shall continually be at work upon the list rejecting names and adding new ones. The method of distribution to these people is the same as that above described. I am also requesting the reon chiefs to seek out those destitute families who are ashamed to ask for charity so that we may help them.

"Recently I have again visited the orphanage and the old people's home regarding which I have already reported to you; and where the conditions which were existing at

the time of our first visit have greatly improved. All the inmates have been moved into a large building situated in an open place; and in which the hygienic conditions are far better than in the previously occupied buildings. They still have a large supply of condensed milk which we have sent to them, so that they are receiving milk twice a day. On account of the flour which we sent to them, they are enabled to have more bread and various kinds of food made from flour. With further and more assorted shipments arriving, we shall probably soon be able to supply them even better than at present."

What the Future Holds

SERBIA'S fate hangs in the balance. Her king and her leaders are in exile. The broken fragments of her army are in Greece under the control of the English and French officers who for nine months have been consolidating them and trying to convert them once more into an effective fighting unit.

Those of her citizens who fled from the country before the invading armies and survived the horrors of the Albanian mountains are scattered in remote places. Some are in Greece, some in Italy, many in Corsica, and others in southern France. They know not the fate of their kindred left behind nor do those kindred know who of the exiles still live nor where is their present abiding place.

Austrian armies have been fortifying the mountain defiles of that share of Serbia which was apportioned to them and Bulgarian armies have been trying to make sure the possession of their share of the conquered territory. For the time Serbia as an integer among nations has vanished. Her tragedy seems complete.

Gathering ominously along the Mediterranean shore to the southward is a huge army of the allies of Serbia. Its movements are veiled, but its object is clear,—to drive northward in an effort to force the conquerors out of Serbia and sever the connecting link between Austria and Turkey. Whether that effort succeeds or fails, Serbia is again a battle ground. Her regeneration can come, if it is to come, only after another period of destruction and bloodshed during which her people once more will be trampled under the feet of war.

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STRICKEN SERBIAN SOLDIER

The caption on the photograph describes him as seated on the door-step of a deserted house, unable to find admission in one of the over-crowded hospitals at the early stages of the epidemic.



Dolores, Vendor of Snails



B C. W. Goethe

[The fourth of a Series of Articles on
"Exporting the American Playground"]

DOLORES was a cliff-dweller. Not all cliff-dwellers lived only in by-gone days, or only in the painted desert country of Arizona with its faded blue, faded pink, faded yellow mesas. Our cliff-dweller, Dolores, was of our time and an Andalusian. With a bright red poppy in her black hair, with clicking castanets fluttering their red and yellow ribbons, with the guitar of Juan Baustista, her lover, tinkling the softest of half-Moorish music, she used to dance on the bit of cactus-lined flat in front of her mother's cave-like home.

Juan was a vendor of water. Recalling the Orient, big earthen jars imprisoned in thick basket-work, hung on either side of his tiny burro. These diminutive beasts of his country were, like his music, a legacy from Moorish days.

On the road that ran from the row of cliff dwellings hung on the mountain side to the city below, was a little church. To this went Dolores and Juan one day, and there they were married.

Marriage made little change in Juan's work. Month after month he continued mounting the *sierra* to the spring just below the snows for his "coldest of waters." Then through the hot hours, when the sun's rays fell like javelins into the burning streets, he would cry his plaintive "*Agua! agua!*" And on the way to the city, he would improvise songs; for every Andalus is a born poet, a born musician. But all this was many days ago.

One day he was treading the narrow path back to the thirsty and watching the broad green *vega*, or plain, spread out before him. The apricot trees were in blossom, nightingales were pouring out their melodies; everything, everybody seemed happy. Juan sang of Dolores and of their wee daughter, Chico, the little one; Chitquita, the very little,—yes, Chiquitita, most tiny of all.

From the pink and green *vega* his eyes wandered to the little green valley indenting the jagged rock-mass of the mountain. Into the hollow of each dale nature had poured a flood of bright red poppies. In springtime, the Spanish vales always look as though each were filled with the blood of men who once had made the very name of Spaniard a terror throughout Europe, men now forever eliminated from the Spanish race by battle, some thinkers say, by the jungle, say others; and yet others, by the Inquisition. The red poppies in the green valley would have been a token to Juan, had he but known. But Juan knew nothing of history; he could not even write his name. If, once in three years, he had need to send a letter, why, there was the public letter-writer under the tree in the plaza. Juan was merely drinking in the glory of the landscape.

Suddenly, a roar on the mountain above—a landslide plunged—a rock struck Juan's head—a little frightened burro hurried back along the mountain path, alone.

That is why, from that time forward, the family in the house scooped out of the cliff, consisted only of Dolores, old Mercedes, her mother, and Chiquitita, tinstest of all. And that is why Dolores, trying to support all three, had become a vendor of snails.

One morning in the following spring, Dolores started down the road from the little house of one door and no windows. She met the usual wayfarers. Ahead of her walked some English folk, around whom clustered the usual beggar children calling, "A fat dog, señor! Just one fat dog. No? Ah! Then a little dog!" The children, like their elders, jokingly call the copper coins stamped with the lion of Spain "fat dogs," "little dogs."

Hardly had they been driven away before a turn in the road brought another group. One child of these, Matteo, advanced, whining the doleful formula, "I have no mother;



AN ANDALUSIAN SNAIL VENDOR

I have no father; I have no food. Just one fat dog, even a little dog, and God go with the stranger." One of the foreign folk tossed a copper to the youngster. Instantly all appearance of sorrow vanished from his shrewd little face. With a yell of delight, he darted down a side street. In a few moments as she passed thitherward, Dolores saw the child running to a seller of *dulces*. She paused to watch what she knew would follow.

Over large parts of Spain, it is the custom that no child may buy sweets or ices outright. He must gamble with the vendor. Matteo found his *dulce* woman, squatting by the gutter. Her stock-in-trade was wonderful. Her sweets were great brown sugar bubbles, blown into shapes of game-cocks, goats, chickens, burros. When a ragged little customer arrived with a *perrito* or "little dog" in his chubby fingers, out came her gambling wheel. Our little mendicant already had something for nothing; he would again increase his capital without work.

The match between the seller of sweets and Matteo commenced amid the usual excited crowd of children, with a few grown-ups, including Dolores. The wee youngster was successful. Soon half a dozen favorites in the admiring crowd gleefully munched the sugar animals.

Dolores did not go far before she heard more shouts. Little Pedro had also begged a copper. Children came scurrying from everywhere to see the fun. Pedro resisted all the blandishments of a seller of green and purple sea-urchins. He passed three, four *dulce* women, hardly daring to look at their colors, bright against the cloths spread on the flagstones. But he knew of a new



HOME OF A CLIFF-DWELLER

gambling device. At the farthest street corner stood a new trader in ices—white ices, and pink, and yellow. Dolores, too, had heard of this man who had come down from Seville with his wonderful spiral and its bright colored marbles.

Here was an adventure! The Andaluz has always time for an adventure. So Dolores stopped again, this time to watch Pedro try his luck. He laid down his coin, considered the different colored marbles, and selected the red one. Round it went along the curving path, slipped through the hole, hesitated as if it were human, and then finally dropped into the twenty! Perdo had *hielos* enough for all the children; even one for his friend Dolores.

The Sevillian pretended to grumble. The seller of sea-urchins winked, enviously whispering that the ice-seller had intentionally lost so as to advertise the new device.

Dolores proceeded down the narrow winding streets. The crowd thickened as she neared the bazaar. Even in Spain, the bazaar is of the unchanging Orient. But for the different dress of the people, one might be in India, in Java, in an oasis of the Sahara. One man was frying doughnuts, just as they do in Fez, Delhi, or Shanghai. The Moors were no longer there; the camels were no longer there. But so much that is Moorish, so much of the Moor wars had remained! Even the bazaar women crooned to babies wrapped in their black shawls, "The Moors will get you if you don't watch out."

Reaching the bazaar, Dolores went to where stood



A VENDOR OF HIELOS

The can to the left contains the tiny colored bricks found on sale wherever Spanish civilization has penetrated, even to Mexico and the Philippines. The cover of the freezer which has been lifted to the ground contains the inevitable "wheel of fortune"



THE ROAD FROM DWELLINGS TO T

Miguel, the snail king. An old man, shrivelled, evil-eyed, he looked like the miser in the Chimes of Normandy. The bazaar women said his father had been a bandit in the good old days; that Miguel, as a lad, had a hand in some of these affairs of the road; that before sixteen he had killed his man. But whatever his earlier adventures, now he was unquestioned ruler of the snail market. None of his underlings got anything for nothing.

He stood at the end of the row of stalls, surrounded by several dozen baskets, each covered with a rough bit of sack-cloth. In each were snails. One by one the snail women arrived and took their baskets. They squatted on the cold stones just outside the market walls and commenced calling their long-drawn-out "Ca-ra-ca-les!"

Like Dolores, these snail-sellers were practically all widows. Most of them were older, wrinkled, unkempt. Dolores' place was at the end of the line. Old Miguel had shrewdly noticed that she had not deadened, like those who had been long at the selling. She still had life enough

to pick from the roadside a bright red poppy for her black hair. Coldly calculating, he said to himself as he shrugged his shoulders, "In a year or two, she'll move up the line. Today she deserves the best place."

Between the calls of her wares, she crooned softly to little Chiquitita who was unusually restless. Babies are often restless in Spain, for among the resemblances of Spain to the Orient is the high infant death-rate. For several nights Dolores had not slept much. Chiquitita had been sick. There had been no money for a doctor,



A SELLER OF ICES

The freezer is beneath and the wheel on top. The leather to the right shows how even this heavy load is carried by the seller. The man with the cane is a vendor of lottery tickets. The two are, frequently found together. The heilo man deals with the children while the ticket seller plies his trade among the adults

none for medicine. Her week's commission had accumulated hardly enough to pay the few *pesetas* for the rent of that hole in the cliff she called home.

Miguel cared little for the sufferings of his salesfolk. Taking his station half way up the next block in the shade of some projecting red tiles, he watched the ebb and flow of the tide of buying.

Then the unusual occurred. The line of saleswomen suddenly noticed that something had happened to the snail king. The oldest woman in the line, the woman nearest his wonted station, whispered to her next neighbor, and soon they all knew it. He had had an ugly misunderstanding with a muscular fisherman named Sanchez. Miguel had a mortgage on the fisherman's boat. The boat was all with which to eké out a living that Sanchez possessed. The loan was a very small one at first, but Miguel had demanded a rate of interest that would have staggered a Hindu *chetty*. The fisherman was a big brawny fellow, with the quick temper characteristic of the dwellers upon the Mediterranean littoral. He was ablaze in a moment when Miguel told him that morning that the interest had consumed the boat.

There was much chattering in the line of snail-women over the discomfiture of their taskmaster who had half run, half been driven by his irate debtor.

Dolores' morning sales had been unusually good. A black-eyed Romeo, enough savage in his make up to be attracted by the red poppy in her hair, had purchased sufficient to treat a boat's crew of passing sailors. The other women craned their necks. Though Dolores thought



E CLIFF
CITY



MILKING
THE GOAT

only of her dead Juan, of the little Chiquitita, yet the snail wives gossiped of a new lover as they enviously stared at her growing pile of coppers. Three baskets of snails were already sold. She would have enough money to make up the rent. If she and Mercedes broke the hard crusts at home into smaller pieces, there would be sufficient for the man at the drugstore. Then little Chiquitita would have medicine.

Dolores had already saved, first of all, the money for the baby's goat's milk. This she bought from another cliff-dweller, Manuelita. Manuelita charged more than Jesus Maria did, who drove the goats along the cliff-dweller's road; but the goat's milk at Manuelita's was pure. Jesus Maria had a rubber bag under his arm with a tube that came down his sleeve. Even while you watched him milk the goat, each pressure of his hand squirted water from the bag. The drugstore man said it was the bad water thus squirted into the milk-cup that had made Chiquitita sick. So Dolores pinched that there might be a little more money to buy from Manuelita instead of from crafty Jesus Maria.

Then, even as Dolores was dreaming about that pile of coppers, something again happened. From up the street where Miguel and the fisherman had gone half fighting, half running, appeared one of those human vultures found all over Spain, and wherever Spain has colonized. A thin, bony fellow he was, puffing a cigarette and carrying a bundle of slips of paper. He bore the name of gentle St. Anthony of Padua, but was a peddler of lottery tickets. One glance showed Dolores to have the most empty baskets. He knew that here was the biggest prize, the greatest heap of coppers.

He commenced to talk alluringly of winnings that had been made. Dolores, begging him to go, told of stale crusts, of overdue rent, and pointing to restless Chiquitita, spoke of higher cost of milk at Manuelita's. Antonio's oily words flowed all the more rapidly. He exclaimed, what a shame she should be in rags, sitting on cold stones; told of the things to be bought with a big winning—perhaps, down on the *vega*, a farm with an olive tree. What purpling figs, what blushing grapes, what bursting chestnuts, what reddening *pimentas* there would be! She could have a fine dress; of lace mantillas, there would be several black and one creamy white. Why, with a winning like one that had been made in Ronda last month, she might even have a carriage drawn by mules, like the bishop's.

Dolores tried to resist. Psychologists tell how deeply habit paths are worn into our brains. Dolores' gambling habits had been there since almost infancy, cut while her child brain was yet plastic. The desire to get something for nothing had worn deep. She had so often joined a group of children spinning the dulce-woman's wheel.

Before she knew it, her hand clutched three pieces of numbered bright colored paper, and Antonio sauntered down the street, jingling all her hard-earned coppers in his pocket.

Just as Antonio turned the next corner, Miguel appeared. Far from handsome before, he was hideous now. His head smeared with blood and gravel, there was a nasty cut over one eye. Most of all to be feared was the rage within. With an oath he demanded his money from the trembling Dolores. She hopelessly showed him the tickets that were to bring mantillas, a little farm, a carriage with mules. He grabbed the little Chiquitita, tossed her into the arms of the next woman, and dragged the sobbing Dolores to the bazaar officer.

TEN minutes later the jail door clanged, and Dolores was moaning piteously behind the barred windows of her cell.

Students claiming Spain as their Motherland, earnestly trying to solve her problems; wise men of other lands, who have unbounded faith in the recuperative powers of the Iberian race.—both advance theories about Spain's present loss of place among nations. Three reasons, each with some probable basis in fact, are generally given. This elimination of the best race strains they hold due to first, war; second, excessive colonization; third, the Inquisition. Is there not perhaps a fourth reason? Studying Spain from another angle, one becomes convinced that there is.

This fourth reason is, that the play of Spain warps the future of many of her Dolores, her Pedros, her Matteos, even her shiftless lottery ticket-sellers, her Antonios. Into impressionable child brains, their play, steeped in custom, cuts deeply the habit paths of deceit, of begging, of gambling, of cruelty. At maturity, is else to be expected than that these children shall plot to get something for nothing? The river of national life cannot rise above its source—that source is the play of its children. If Trafalgar and Waterloo were really won on the fields of Eton and Rugby, may we not just as reasonably assert that Buenos Ayres and Lima, Manila and Santiago de Cuba were lost at the bull-ring, at the cock-pit, at the spinning of dulce-wheels?

New Spain, with yet other capitals as brilliant as these, once stretched thousands of miles from the wintry, galeswept straits of Magellan, across the dark, dank silvas of the equator, to where, at the blockhouse of Russian-America's southern outpost, a yellow-haired Slav lieutenant flirted with Señorita Conception, black-eyed daughter of the commandant of the nearby Presidio of San Francisco.

The history of this downfall of New Spain is one full of tales of the conquistadores' recklessness with gold, of how Pizarro's men gamed with one another for their bloody booty from the gold-tiled Inca Temple of the Sun. The reckless gambling of their gains; their avarice; their desire to gain more gold, were exceeded only by a cruelty that unfeelingly decimated their unfortunate Indian victims. Where has the law of cause and effect worked more clearly than with these men from a play environment like Matteo's and Pedro's? New Spain, founded by Dolores' ancestors, once the greatest of empires, has shrunk to the dimensions of a pricked bubble.

In commerce, the results are similar. Many thinking Spaniards complain that so few of their countrymen venture into trade, industry, mining, compared with the numbers who scheme for even underpaid government positions. These students deplore their hopelessly corrupt politics. Nor are they alone in these thoughts. Foreigners with extensive business, mine, factory interests, speak bitterly of the bribe-taker's palm so frequently extended. "Something for nothing" has become almost instinctive.

At one Spanish port, the foreigners in shipping firms say that half the customs' duties "leak" on what should be the way to the royal treasury. These business men complain about the petty annoyances at the *octroi* stations located wherever a road enters an Andalusian town. Coming from the suburbs into town, workingmen each morning are examined from crown of head to soles of shoes for smuggling. Imagine this tolerated in an American factory town!

Spain's *octroi* collectors often gather hardly enough for their starvation salaries; yet they take pride in their "government job." It is genteel. They are enjoying a kind of



"PLAYING BEAR," OR COURTING IN SPAIN

(In the picture at the right the senorita has opened her barred windows to get a look at the photographer.) The whole system of courting in Spain seems to an American based upon suspicion instead of upon that confidence that relies upon honor among young people, which is found so valuable in playground work. This, like the bull-fight, was transplanted to Latin America

COCK-FIGHTING

This demoralizing form of gambling like the bull-fight, has spread wherever Spanish civilization has gone. One of the problems American officials are working on now is the substitution of American baseball for cock-fighting in the Philippines. Cock-fighting is a gambling game, largely sedentary; baseball, a game requiring skill as any boy who has learned to pitch a curve

knows
Moreover, baseball calls for the team-work necessary for that cooperation requisite to a healthy democracy. It gives expression to primal instincts such as striking, using a stick, throwing, running and chasing. Just as a juvenile court judge stopped the breaking of Pullman car windows by offering the gang the substitute of a diamond with a bat, ball, mask and gloves, so baseball is a tremendous factor in educating the vigorous Philippine lads not only in the play they instinctively yearn for, but in the team-work which is needed to eliminate some of the unfortunate features of the older civilization



"something for nothing"—a freedom from labor. One Spaniard exclaimed, in language like Caesar's description of Gaul, "All Spaniards are divided into three parts—the 'ins,' the 'outs,' and those who have neither brain nor 'pull' ever to fill office, must as they desire it."

Spanish everyday life is saturated with "something for nothing" politics. Is this not the fruit of the begging, and the gambling games of its Pedros?

Spain's colonization history is characterized, too, with cruelty born of mock bull-fighting. The student from the American playground becomes profoundly convinced that the results of Spanish children's play may be traced through the history of not only Andalusia, but Mexico, Peru, the Philippines, Venezuela, Honduras. "Tell me what you eat and I will tell you what you are," may almost be paraphrased into, "Describe your children's play and your national history may be predicted." Cross the Pyrenees, and, with the exception of an occasional tame bull-fight as at Niemes, the sport sickens and dies. Nor does one there ever see children playing at mock bull-fighting.

Spain had a great handicap over her northern Latin neighbor when the latter entered the races for colonial expansion. Today the venturesome Spaniard has little more remaining than the Canaries and a bit of Morocco. His stay-at-home, Paris-loving Latin brother to the north

knows his Tri-color floats from Algiers to the African equator over tens of thousands of square miles. The Spain that failed could ill afford long wars, excessive colonization, the Inquisition, vicious play. She has had to bear all four. And has this last, though unnoticed, been the least?

Has America a substitute for a play system which has thus always made for laziness and for cruelty, which destroyed the affections of Spain's colonies, which paralyzed the latter's politics, her commerce, and saturated both with a "get-everything-possible-for-nothing" standard? Some social students believe most emphatically that America has. That remedy is the playground.

In a previous article on bull-fighting, a Mexican governor was quoted upon the need of substituting in his country directed American play for the national game inherited from Hispania. The same essay also described the substitution in the Philippines of baseball in place of the demoralizing cock-fighting, another legacy from the Conquistadores. Bull-fighting, cock-fighting, gambling for *dulces*, a false Castilian pride about the labor that should dignify—all these would melt away under directed education through play. More Matteos, more Pedros would learn the fun of playing the game squarely, of the joy of expending physical and mental energy, and there would be a continually lessened number of Dolores to sorrow.



LIFE'S CLINIC

THE CONCLUDING SKETCH OF A
SERIES WRITTEN FROM BETWEEN
THE LINES OF SOME MEDICAL
CASE HISTORIES

MAGDALEN

EDITH HOUGHTON HOOKER

A FRIEND of mine came to see me last week whom I had not seen before for nearly ten years. She was announced by the following letter written in a thin hand with many impotent little flourishes and "personal" scribbled in pencil across the upper, left-hand corner of the envelope:

THURSDAY 7, 1915.

DEAR, DEAR MRS. EDITH:

Your little girl Violet Lantz of long ago is sending you these few lines asking if I may be permitted to see you once again before we pass to that great beyond. Just to see you once again, to see you and feel that you still have a warm spot in your heart for me. I have been very, very ill and lonely since the years of absence, and many times if I could have only seen you and felt you near, would have been happier.

Please do not regard this note with coldness, dear, dear Mrs. Edith. God knows I have lived a sad, lonely life since we parted. I know my life has been a sad failure, but could it be otherwise? Dear Mrs. Edith, perhaps the most beautiful years of my life have been wasted, but tonight I feel that I have tried to do my best, and should death claim me tonight I feel prepared to meet my God!

Praying you will grant me this pleasure and see me, will sadly bring to close this missive, I remain, the same true, loveing little

VIOLET LANTZ,
40 East Hamburg Street.

AT LAST

P. S.:

I come to thee at last, O Lord for rest
With wasted years, with mind oppressed
And now Thy promise is to me so sweet
That I shall find forgiveness at Thy feet.
Thy ever heart-broken little

VIOLET.

The letter came nearly a month ago and I replied promptly, urging Violet to come to see me the following Monday. The hour appointed came and went, but brought no Violet and no response to my letter. As the days wore on I decided that she had lost courage or had set forth upon some new adventure.

Then one morning from an upper window I caught sight of someone coming slowly up the hill whom I knew at once must be Violet. She had the same delicate way of stepping, like a small bird, that I remembered so well, and her manner of wearing her hat and carrying her shoulders bent timidly forward a trifle was indescribably characteristic. There had been a violent ice storm the night before, and the hill on whose crest I live was sheeted with a coat of glass, making it impossible to get firm footing.

Above the steep road the glistening trees shrieked and crackled, now and then letting fall small showers of melt-

ing ice and water. Despite the heavy dripping, Violet had not raised her umbrella. She used it instead as a stick to lean on. Occasionally, she would stop as if exhausted and look curiously about her. For some moments I stood watching her, swift, vivid pictures of our past association coming into my mind. It was almost precisely ten years ago that I had come across her, standing irresolutely in the long, gray corridor of the maternity ward with her baby in her arms.

"So you are leaving us, Violet," I had said, "you and your little Lucy." Then in an afterthought, "You will let me hear from you sometime, how you get on? Tell me now, where are you going?"

She had lifted startled, deer-like, brown eyes to my face.

"I don't know. That's just it," she had answered unsteadily, clasping the sleeping child more closely. "I don't know where we are going."

It was after four o'clock on a January afternoon, and she was but eighteen years old, motherless and turned adrift by her family. Eight months later she had come to me again, a few days after my return from a six weeks' visit to England. She was dressed all in black, a great picture hat surmounted by flowing plumes setting off her pale little face to singular advantage. I had never before realized the possibilities of her beauty.

"Lucy is dying," she had whispered brokenly. "Oh, I am a bad, bad girl; it's my sin that's the cause of her dying."

She had been turned off, it appeared, with a week's notice by the uptown woman in whose service I had left her. Then it was a room in Green street where the door had to be kept locked to ward off intrusive male visitors—for what respectable house would take in a girl with a baby?

"I tried, oh, believe me, dear Mrs. Edith, I tried oh, so hard, but they paid only 15 cents a dozen for stitching the rompers. I lived on tea and dry bread for two weeks, and my milk dried up and I couldn't buy good milk for Lucy, and it was so hot and there was no air in my room. Then I took her to the hospital, and they sent her to the Thomas Wilson. It was because I was so lonesome, so sad, dear Mrs. Edith, I went out with him because I wanted to forget, and I was so hungry."

As I watched her painfully picking her way across the frozen grass, I could feel her once more leaning half fainting in my arms as a few days later we followed the dingy undertaker with the slim white casket under his arm to the edge of the small open grave in Hope Cemetery. Three ill-clad children, two little boys and a girl had been playing about the new grave waiting with lively interest for the spectacle of burial.

As the tiny casket, ironically inscribed "Our Darling"

was lowered into the clay, the young mother's grief broke and she flung herself face downward upon the ground, crying out in a very abandonment of despair, and striving with impotent arms to reclaim the dead child below her. The children, horrified, fled, and peeped at us fearfully from behind tombstones at a distance.

Driving home afterward in the swaying hack, with the undertaker sitting aloft, cheerfully smoking beside the driver, I was again struck with the girl's fragile beauty. As she leaned back in the corner, outworn by her grief; now and then she would close her eyes, letting the long lashes shade the softness of her cheek. There was nothing distinguished about the cut of her features, the charm lay in the exquisite texture of her skin, and in the tender youthfulness of her face and slim, small figure. Chiefly it was her eyes that came back to me out of the past, great, innocent, brown eyes, with the look of a wild fawn in them.

I HEARD a step crunching the ice on my veranda, and hastened downstairs to open the door.

"Mrs. Edith, Oh, Holy Jesus!" The umbrella fell to the floor with a rattle. Two sticky black kid gloves with bare fingers protruding seized my hands. My greeting died on my lips. My very flesh recoiled in horror. I tried to turn my eyes away, but my glance seemed frozen.

Could this be Violet? This livid creature with the long purple scar over the left temple, and with the crooked, bulbous nose? The right eye swollen almost shut and lodged in a discolored mass of flesh twitched incessantly as it leered up at me. The left eye, red rimmed, bare of brow and eye-lash, contained in its depths a hideous suggestion of the girl that I had known.

With a cry, the dank, miserable figure flung itself head-long into my arms. "I can see it in your face, I have changed. I am no longer the same Violet." She pressed her face against my breast. I could feel the scalding tears. As I looked down at her bent head, I saw the nits of vermin on her scanty frizzled hair.

"Child, child!" I soothed her, patting her shoulder, "we have both changed somewhat; remember, it is almost ten years."

She lifted her tear-streaked face from which spots of paint had rubbed off on my blouse, and the scaly lips parted in a hungry smile. One of the front teeth was missing, leaving nothing but the blackened end of the root.

"After all this time you love me still, Mrs. Edith?" She crushed my fingers with the old caressing sinuous movements.

"I love you still," I answered mechanically; then as the girl out of the past seemed to look at me from behind the sordid mask, I added with a certain inward passion, "Yes, more than ever," and my eyes were suddenly blinded by painful tears.

I led Violet in beside the library fire and furtively surveyed her as she stood drawing off her dilapidated gloves and warming her swollen hands before the blaze. She had on a scant suit of black velvet from which the nap was almost wholly worn off. It was trimmed with wide bands of mangy white rabbits' fur, altogether bald in spots, and soiled with the foulness of city streets around the skirt at the back. On her head was a battered velvet hat, put together with pins and white cotton, and trimmed with an enormous red satin rose above which a crestfallen white feather stretched its dingy length. Her left ankle, red,

chapped and dirt-begrimed, showed through a hole in the stocking over the back of her run-down, high-heeled shoe.

The crisp, clean winter sunlight danced cruelly over the tawdry figure; the night glow of the city streets would have been more kind. When she stripped off her coat I could see through the flimsy waist great vivid scars on her breast and arms, unmistakable signs of neglected syphilis, and at the back of the low-cut waist brown spots around the neck gave further evidence of the disease. On the back of the right hand curiously enough was another deep round scar seeming to cry aloud the taint in her blood.

As the warmth of the crackling fire permeated her damp clothes the room became filled with a nauseating odor of uncleanness and disease. I seemed to smell the reek of disinherited humanity thrust back beyond vision into ill-kept almshouses and foul jails.

Suddenly she turned full toward me disclosing six oblong bright red buttons as large as plums which pretended to clasp a foot wide girdle around her emaciated waist. Her bare little eyes were overflowing with tears.

"I am so tired," she half whispered, "so tired of trying to please the men."

With the quick impetuosity I remembered so well, she threw herself on the rug at my feet, hiding her face in my lap and bathing my hands with her tears. She had discarded her hat and I could detect round hairless spots on her scalp which she had vainly attempted to conceal with a false braid. So riddled did she seem with disease that I dumbly wondered if even in her tears the pollution could be carried.

"You believe I am still a good girl," she whispered, clasping and unclasping my fingers with her moist hands. The question wrung my heart.

"I believe you have traveled a hard road," I answered, "that you have been unthinkably mishandled by men." I could feel a quiver run over her. She raised a hard, narrow-eyed face.

"There aren't any good men in this world," she said, "anyone that thinks so hasn't seen them the way I have." She smiled wryly, trying to hide the missing tooth by pulling her lip down. "Married men, men with families, men with their collars buttoned down the back, judges as judges us, lawyers, doctors, policemen, army men, sailors, mothers' little boys with the down on their cheeks—they're all the same, rotten, rotten, rotten, through and through."

Her voice rose shrilly. "And the best of them is the worst of them, for it's them as makes us believe 'em. It was a young doctor from the University Hospital who led me off before Lucy died. He kept sayin' it was just nature, that there could be nothing wrong in nature, and I believed him because he seemed clean and true. That's what they all tell girls like me, that it's right to live as you please according to nature, but I notice they don't say the same thing to their daughters or their wives or to the girls they're going to marry.

"There are some men who say they don't know why girls go wrong, but they'd know if they'd look to their own conduct. Who is it that makes the street the easiest way for a girl to earn her living? I've earned as high as \$125 a week from men, but I couldn't earn \$8 a week in a factory."

She hid her face suddenly. "What'm I telling you? I didn't come to tell you all this. I wanted you to believe in me. It was that, your believing in me that seemed to keep me up all those years, that kept me from being

bad inside like some of the rest of 'em." She struggled to her feet with the evident intention of leaving.

"You're good," she said dully, "good, and so you can't understand, and without understanding you can never forgive me."

"I can forgive you," I answered with a curious sense of inadequacy, "when you prove that you no longer mean to live this life."

She shook her head despondently. "It isn't that kind of forgiveness I want," she said. "Besides, you don't know what this life does to a girl. It ruins her in mind and body so she can't go back to honest work. The drugs, the drink, yes," she fairly hissed it at me, "the disease—they take the very life out of you."

"Three years ago I went to the matron at the University Hospital and told her I wanted to study nursing. She said to come back in a few days. I believe she meant to accept me. But when the time came I couldn't go, my nerves were all shattered, I couldn't count on myself. After awhile I went and told her my sister had been sick and I couldn't come, but it wasn't my sister. It was me. Look at me!" She stretched out her arms shaking as if with a palsy. "Who would want me now? What steady work could I do?"

"You can rest and get well and start over again." I assured her.

She burst into uncontrolled tears. "Listen," she said, when she had regained some composure. "I know it's about the end for me. That's one reason I came today. I won't live this life any longer, and there's nothing else I can do."

I sketched out pleasant plans for the future. A long visit in the quiet country, adequate medical care. To all my suggestions she surrendered but a skeptical attention, she was fondling my hands and looking strangely into the fire.

"If I could only tell the others," she said finally. "The good girls that are still young, that will come to take my place, then it wouldn't seem all so much wasted. For I know," she added quickly, "better than you, better than anyone who hasn't been through it, why it's wrong. When Lucy died, when I got the bad disease and it showed so I had to take up with drunken men or young boys who couldn't tell it on me, when I only could get a quarter or perhaps a drink, then I began to see why it was that girls should be straight and that men had no right to tempt them in the beginning."

"I might be married now and have children. Oh, God—children! If I had known that it was life that I was selling, life that had been given me to protect. If you would tell them, the girls and the men, too, that what they're doing is to take their pleasure at the cost of their own helpless little children, then they wouldn't sell out so cheap just for a little fun."

"I'm broken, I'm ruined," she went on wildly, "but I've learned my lesson. I learned it down there," indicating an abyss, "down in that hell. I would kill myself, I'd kill Lucy rather than to let her do what I have done. It's burned into me, it's branded, here and here and here," she touched the livid scars. "love and life must not be bought and sold."

Abruptly she stood up and approached the fireplace with unsteady feet. Her eyes were consuming a beautiful colored print of Bellini's Mary Magdalen. "A man

painted that," she said hoarsely, "I used to love it when I came to your house long ago, you remember, because I thought it true and beautiful. I used even to pray to it, but now I know it is a lie. Look at her wonderful gold-red hair, look at her white skin, her clear, pitiful eyes. See her lovely bosom, her fine delicate hands. Those are real pearls and rubies and emeralds that she wears. She looks like a queen, only more tender and more kind. But that wasn't the Mary that came to our Lord Jesus and threw herself at his feet, that wasn't the Mary he lifted up and forgave and told it'd be all right if she'd go and sin no more."

"No," she went on, the tears rolling unheeded down her cheeks, "that Mary was a woman looked more like me. She was ugly and wasted and foul with disease, but her heart was broken like mine, and our Lord looked straight through and saw her soul purified. And he loved her," she exclaimed, a great light of triumph coming into her face, "he loved her because she had learned."

She threw herself passionately on the floor at my feet, hiding her face in her hands. "Oh, Holy Jesus," she sobbed, "that's the kind of forgiveness I mean."

WHEN she left me it was all arranged that she should first stay at a nursing home and then go out into the country with some simple Quaker people whom I knew. Unconsciously I felt her lack of faith in the plan, so I was not especially surprised when they rang me up an hour or so later from a police station in a downtown quarter of the town.

"There's a body here we want you to identify, a woman. She may be almost any age. They got her in the water down near Long's pier. She looks like a woman who was not much good. In her pocket she had a letter signed by your name. Come, if you can, before the inquest. That will be at four o'clock."

I was there still in the room where I had seen her. Near the hearth was a small pool of dirty water that had dripped from her miserable clothes. The sunlight had shifted slightly along the rug. The fire had ceased its ardent crackling, that was all.

Meanwhile, there had been a struggle down there in the bitter wharf water and one of the many thousands had struck out for peace. A place was empty, as she had predicted,—to be filled by whom? There came upon me with appalling clearness the enormity of the thing. This was not just one case. It was the case of thousands. Today—tonight—tomorrow, the "young girls who would take her place" would be thrown into the mill to come out carrion.

She was but twenty-eight years old, and yet her life was done. The lust of men had devoured her as fire guts a building. She had been left by her mother an innocent and tender child, full of sweet promise. Eleven years under the hands of men had made of her this abject thing, degraded beneath all other degradation.

"YOU have sons, I have sons," an eminent lawyer, counsel to one of America's great railroads, said to me recently, "they cannot, in all probability, marry early. What would you have them do?" The shrug of his shoulders took prostitution for granted.

Would he, I wondered, have the heart to repeat his words in the presence of this dead girl?

National Stress

A Stimulus to Social Action

By Percy Alden, M.P.

IT is extremely difficult while the shock of the earthquake is still being felt to predict the shape, or the lack of shape, that earth will take after the convulsions which have affected it. The war in Europe has produced such profound emotion, such terrific changes in the contour of our national life that we can only prophesy in general terms. We do know that things can never be the same again. The belligerent countries have thrown everything they possess into the alembic of this war; what will emerge from the fiery crucible is beyond the knowledge of the ablest statesman and the most experienced social investigators. In the words of Thomas à Kempis: "It is one of those dark and hidden things, for ignorance of which we shall not be condemned in the day of judgment."

This much, however, is certain that the slaughter and the carnage which we have witnessed and are witnessing will affect us for many generations yet to come. The booming of the guns in France and Flanders and on the eastern front will reverberate down the centuries. Our children's children will bear the marks of the wounds which are now being inflicted. Peace will come, but if we are not careful it will be the peace of exhaustion, and something more than that is required. When the men return from the trenches they will undoubtedly be tired and weary of war.

The story of the bishop of Birmingham who, taking as his text the bestowal of the Victoria Cross upon a wounded soldier who was present, was suddenly interrupted by another man calling out, "Never mind about the Victoria Cross, give me the Victoria bus," typifies the spirit with which our soldiers will return.

Nearly everyone who writes of the war points out that with all its evil there is a higher side to it, that it does produce certain heroic qualities which are only latent in the heart of men, that it does cause a vast output of moral and intellectual energy. For the time being class and caste disappear. Even our criminal population has disappeared. The national life is on the anvil and under the hammer of social stress caused by the war, petty jealousies and petty differences disappear. The community feeling begins to emerge—the desire for a common ideal achieved through suffering and self-sacrifice.

All this is true; but it reminds me of what Balfour said of Winston Churchill who in a speech had made the statement that during his few weeks in the trenches his mind had been clarified with regard to the aims, objects and methods of the war. Mr. Balfour in his reply remarked that "it seemed a pity that it should require a European war to clarify the right honorable gentleman's mind." And in the same way I think that it is a pity that it should require a European war to enable us to discover how great a calamity war must necessarily be.

I don't think that we must disguise from ourselves the fact that war is always a disaster and that this war is an appalling disaster. Of course, there is truth in the saying

of Shakespeare that "there is some soul of goodness in things evil," but I cannot think that the view which is sometimes taken of war as a "purgation of the passions," to quote Aristotle, in respect of the "play," is a correct one. It may purge some passions and it may evoke some good qualities very much as a famine or a pestilence would, but it brings to the surface the worst and most evil side of man and intensifies the brute in our nature.

There may also be some truth in the saying that "this war will help to end war"; that all the belligerent countries concerned will be more inclined to settle their differences by arbitration and conciliation. It is quite possible that just as the circumstances of the war have unified our feeling in Great Britain, so the reaction which this war will produce will subdue the passions even of the militarists in each country and thus enable those who are laboring to create an international mind, to achieve some measure of success.

We must not, however, expect too much in this direction. The war will not solve the problem of nationality, or produce natural frontiers just where we want them, or abolish all the differences created by creed and race. The war won't work a moral regeneration because we want it to. It will work a moral regeneration just in proportion as the democracies of the countries concerned awake to the fact that they have not been governing but governed.

If this great catastrophe does produce a desire to think strenuously upon the causes of war, if it does produce an effort to understand other nations and other races, then there is some hope for the future. The real tragedy will be if following on this war we waste the opportunities which are now offered of building up a new national life. These opportunities have been wasted in the past.

One cannot say that either the Crimean war or the South African war, so far as England was concerned, did much good. The struggle against Napoleon did produce a sense of unity which was of value. Our own civil war of 260 years ago caused the figure of Oliver Cromwell to emerge and in a sense made modern England possible, but in every case we had a reaction. I well remember after the Boer war the chastened feeling that existed amongst our people. We were saying this was a foolish and bloody adventure. Let us now try to heal the wounds of South Africa, and let us also try to remedy the social evils which have too long been neglected in our own midst. An attempt was made, not altogether unsuccessful, by Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, to reconstruct and rebuild our shattered ideal.

What are we going to do when the period of national stress is over? Are we going to relapse into a stupid individualism? Are we going to relinquish our collective effort and once more leave everything to chance? I hope not, and it is that hope which enables social reformers to go on working in these dark days.

Let us for a moment look at the most immediate effects of the war in England. Amongst the best men there was a good deal of heart burning. They knew that the narrow individualism of the past had made it difficult for us to rise to the emergency. Educationalists saw that Germany at all events, whatever may have been her motive, had done much to prepare the nation for any crisis that might come. We did not at first even see what ought to be done to safeguard ourselves against a shock which threatened the stability of the nation itself.

You will remember the measures that were devised to maintain our credit, how that all bankers and financiers of the country were called to the aid of the government. You will recall the steps that were taken to secure our food supply, and the large funds that were raised to help that section of the people which we felt would feel most of all the distress occasioned by the war.

Those who anticipated a considerable amount of unemployment began at once to organize to meet what they conceived to be the probable need. There never was a time in the history of the United Kingdom when measures, astounding in their magnitude, were devised and passed through the House of Commons in the space of a few days. All opposition to social legislation was swept away. Confronting a gigantic need, even the hide-bound Tory consented to a form of Socialism which would have horrified him at any other time. Money was voted in millions, not only for specific purposes, but for all sorts of unspecified purposes contained in the various expenses arising out of the existence of a state of war, assisting the food supply, promoting the continuance of trade industry and business communications, whether by means of insurance or indemnity against risk or otherwise, and for the relief of distress. Not only was this money voted, but the prime minister said that the moment it became apparent that more was required that moment he would not hesitate to ask for a further grant.

England's Food and Drink

A SYSTEM of insurance for ships and cargoes was set up, the government assuming 80 per cent of the risk. Committees were appointed to deal with the question of food prices, and all the existing traders' organizations were mobilized to the assistance of the government. A method was devised for fixing prices both for food and all military supplies, and the unreasonable withholding of food supplies was made illegal.

In fact, the Board of Trade had power if it wished to requisition all foodstuffs in the country, just as the war office or the admiralty requisitioned material for their own purposes. Every possible step was taken to prevent the big dealers from speculating in food, and in the case of sugar it was felt necessary that the government should create a sugar monopoly, which it has done by purchasing nearly 200,000,000 dollars' worth of sugar in the markets of the world. In that way the price of sugar has been controlled by the Board of Trade and although it has gone up in price the profit is partly an exchequer profit. The trade can be dealt with immediately simply because the actual price he pays to the government is known.

Just at first the rich started the bad practice of buying large stocks of provisions and traders were told that if this practice were encouraged by them they would be dealt with as criminals. Since that time there has been no need even for such a threat.

In connection with this question of food, it ought to

be mentioned that the co-operative societies of England, owing to their promises not to make any extra profits by the rise in prices, have secured an enormous increase of membership and there is no doubt that co-operation from this time forth is destined to play a much larger part in our economic history than ever before.

It is interesting to note that the government has pursued the same policy but on a still larger scale. It is now sole purchaser of practically all the meat consumed by the British and French and to some extent Italian armies.

What is not required for the armies is sold to the dealers at the market price. This was not achieved without a great struggle. The railways had already been unified and placed under government control, but the shipping had not been fully commandeered, although the government possess now nearly 70 per cent of all the mercantile marine. The shortage of meat owing to the enormous armies in the field made it possible for the foreign owners of cattle and of sheep to greatly increase their prices, and this price would have become prohibitive had not the government commandeered or purchased all the cold storage space in the British mercantile marine and as much more as was obtainable. New Zealand and Australia commandeered this entire supply of mutton and beef. In this way it became quite impossible for the big meat producers in South America or anywhere else to charge exorbitant prices, because in that case the government simply refused to carry the goods. An attempt to monopolize the whole of the meat producing trade on the part of a few companies was thus broken down at its outset.

Mr. Lloyd George was anxious to secure if possible a large measure of prohibition in connection with the liquor traffic, but this effort failed. Since then, however, choosing the line of least resistance, he has been able to place all the areas of the country that can in any way be considered munition areas (and that, of course, means the greater part of the country) under a board of control which has almost unlimited powers.

This board can, for example, in any munition area take over the whole of the public houses and saloons and close any that it chooses. It can run the rest itself, making them in effect government concerns. It can start canteens of its own inside or outside the works. It can sell just what liquor it likes or if it chooses no liquor at all. By extending the area in each case, it has now succeeded in covering the thickly populated parts of England and Scotland, and the result will be seen in the diminished statistics of drunkenness and in the enormously increased output of the munition shops.

Added to that there is a recent decision to take over all the spirit distilleries of the United Kingdom and run them all for munition purposes. Spirits can no longer therefore, be manufactured, and only existing supplies can be used. The price will no doubt be increased and it is hoped the quantity consumed will be seriously diminished.

Side by side with this campaign against the evils of the liquor traffic in time of war is a limitation of the hours in all camp and troop areas, during which saloons are entitled to be open.

Organizing Employment

MAY I now return for a moment to the question of unemployment which seemed to many to threaten at the outbreak of the war? Herbert Samuel, who was then president of the local government board, urged all traders

and manufacturers to keep their mills and factories going even at a loss. The road board which had some millions of money on hand was instructed to use any such funds for employing laborers in improving the condition of the roads, and the development commission was urged to take action in the same way. The development commission had already made its plan for very big constructive and reclamation enterprises.

Circulars were sent out to the municipalities and county councils urging that their undertakings should not be curtailed but rather increased, and the War Emergency Workers' Committee was appointed representing every section of labor. The business of this committee was to co-operate with government departments in the efforts that were being made to reduce the distress from want of employment and later to deal with all questions of labor disputes and labor conditions arising out of the war.

Happily the unemployment measures proved unnecessary, although they may be required after the war is over, but it is significant that such steps should have been taken and that a measure for building working class cottages in agricultural districts which had been suggested was put through both houses of Parliament in a few days. That measure, housing (No. 2) bill, appropriated \$20,000,000 for the building of houses and cottages for the working classes in the United Kingdom.

It is desirable that some of that money should now be used in certain areas in order to provide accommodation for the working classes who have crowded into certain war districts. The government has, however, already spent a very large sum in places like Woolwich where large numbers of cottages have been built for the extra workers attracted to the arsenal. The number of legislative measures put through Parliament during the first six months of the war was beyond all belief. Many of them, of course, were purely military measures but at least half were designed to meet the emergencies of the moment. It must be admitted that many of these measures have been successful and yet in the face of all this, I wish to urge that there is still a great opportunity which ought not to be wasted and it is with that thought I propose to deal for a few minutes.

Hundreds of thousands of my fellow countrymen are sacrificing their lives at what seems to them the call of duty. What is the business of those who remain? Surely it is a resolution not only to prevent the recurrence of such a war but to deal drastically with what we know must be the evil effects of the war after all this vast expenditure of blood and treasure. We need some clear thinking. We need a vivid sense of social duty. For the danger will be that after the war is over we shall fall back into the usual rut, content ourselves with the gospel of self-interest and allow that stupid individualism which has been our bane in the past to once more assert itself. Individualists fail to recognize that the highest degree of individual welfare can only be attained by considering the welfare of the whole community.

The Britisher has been condemned as a money grubber. one who cares nothing about the state and nothing about the nation as a whole. We are beginning to see that he has another side to his nature—that he does respond to the call of self-sacrifice, that he can unite and that he can submit to discipline. But he lacks imagination; he fails to see, for example, the importance of spending money on education. In America, there is far more real interest in the colleges and universities than there is in

England. Rich men display a public spirit which is almost unknown on our side. There is no hesitation in giving millions to help research work or to strengthen one side or another of university life. The great universities of Oxford and Cambridge are suffering just now for lack both of men and money owing to the war.

An Educated Democracy

IF WHEN the war is over, combined with a great reform movement, there could be an increase in the funds available for these and other universities it would help us to recover some of our lost ground in the educational world. But, there must be a real reform of educational method and our educational system must not leave out of account organized labor. Both the churches and the universities in the past have been far too apt to forget that after all the great mass of people are manual workers. I sometimes say of the churches "the paucity of Christians is astonishing considering the number of them" and the churches have much leeway to make up if they are to be of use after the war.

If we are to have a true democracy we must have an educated democracy, and I think I may be allowed to add a religious democracy, using "religion" in the broadest sense. The churches in England have perhaps failed to see the possibilities that lie in an organized movement throughout the whole community, in the direction of a better and truer education—an education which makes for citizenship.

When Robert Lowe extended the franchise and created a democratic electorate, he said now we must "set to work to educate our masters." From that time to this, either we have made no attempt or the attempt has been abortive. The people as a whole do not understand the problems they are called upon to solve—problems of economics, of administration, and of international policy and for the matter of that many of our legislators are equally ignorant though they think they know. And then we complain that they make mistakes. Lord Bryce said to me in an interview which he gave me some time ago, "Nations respond to the appeal that is made to them in a time of great national emergency when they have been trained to love truth and honor, to cherish justice and liberty."

Have we trained our people to respond to the call of such high principles? Have we not rather given them a mean and materialistic and selfish view of what England and the empire stand for? How can we expect the average workingman to comprehend what is meant by the British empire or as I should prefer to call it the British commonwealth? How can we expect him to make sacrifices for that commonwealth when he has no conception whatever of what it means and when his interest in his own country has so often been destroyed by the lack of elementary justice. Knowledge is all important. Clear thinking is invaluable, and after this war if the effect is to create a public spirit and increase our social energy, knowledge may enable us to deal with many questions which up to the present have been neglected in whole or in part. We must not drop our interest in the housing question, the question of unemployment, of old age, the drink question, the declining birth-rate, infant mortality, and the shocking frequency of disease amongst the school children of our land.

These will be social duties, not mere matters of inquiry and statistics. These will be moral duties, for every

well-ordered reform is the expression of the moral life of the community. Then again just see what a change the war has wrought in our outlook on the railways, the coal supply, the food supply, the question of shipping, the government control of the manufacture of munitions of war! It is not improbable that after this war is over we shall continue to control all the railways of the country. It is just possible that we may control in the same way the shipping and the mines as being indispensable industries, and meanwhile the state is in almost complete control of thousands of munition works, the largest of which are state owned.

Look at the question of the liquor traffic! Why we have made more progress in one month on the drink question than we had made before for fifty years. It used to be said "better England free than England sober." There is no reason why it should not be both. Indeed, I am inclined to think unless England is sober she will never be free. If the state controlled the whole of the liquor traffic it would give the people a chance to discover their true selves.

This war is a terrible evil—so terrible that we are unable to conceive all its innumerable horrors. Our imagi-

nation boggles at the picture of starving millions and the vast armies of dead and wounded men. Can it fail to be a mighty education for the future? I hope that amongst the lessons we have learnt is the lesson that there must be far more democratic control of foreign policy and less secret diplomacy, but that is only possible if the democracy has knowledge and training. We are so pathetically ignorant in these matters. Ignorance is the enemy of all true progress. True education is the stepping stone toward every pure ideal. I prophesy that party divisions will have much less effect in the future than in the past, that foreign questions and social questions will be, if only we take the right steps, treated as scientific problems to be solved by all earnest thinking citizens, and finally we shall give to the working classes the fullest educational facilities so that democracy may be equipped for the responsible duties which have been committed to its charge.

I don't suppose that I shall live to see more than the slender beginnings of this new republic, but I find my comfort in the words of a great English poet

"For us the day lives only for a little and is gone,
Time and the fruitful hour are more than we."

A Reproach Among Women

By Louise Montgomery

MARY SLOVENSKO laid the four round balls of hamburg steak on a pie-tin and placed the tin at the back of the stove next to the frying-pan. Then she unlocked the kitchen door which was the only means of entrance to her little three-room flat, and sat down on the unpainted wooden chair near the open window.

It was half-past five by the little clock on the shelf over the sink. The supper-table with its spotless oil-cloth covering and thick blue dishes was laid for two, and there was a basin of warm water in the sink within easy reach of a cake of yellow soap and a clean crash towel. For fifteen years Mary Slovensko had made the daily preparations for the evening meal and had sat down to wait by the window that looked out upon the littered and ill-smelling alley through which, during the same fifteen years, her husband had never failed to take the short cut from the the stockyards to the rear of the tenement house.

Mary understood him well, this solid, stolid, hard-working husband. She had once given it as her reason for never leaving the flat at this hour that he always liked to hear "something frying" while he was climbing the two flights of stairs. It was a comforting sound to the man who ate his cold lunch in the sausage room where he worked ten hours a day on six days of the week, and Mary was wise enough to perceive it. In all the simple ways known to women she patiently tried to please her husband. His clothes were carefully washed and mended; she never kept him waiting for his meals, and the three-room flat was always clean. Not that he was more difficult to please than other men. Mary knew that from the beginning she had found favor in his sight and that he still loved her; yet the wife walked humbly before her husband and in the sight of the world, for Mary Slovensko was a childless woman.

As she sat waiting by the open window, the daily conscious sorrow of her married life oppressed her as it always did in her moments of idleness. With her forefinger she gently worked the earth in the green box where each year she planted sweet peas that she might behold anew the miracle of the germinating seed. It was the middle of May and the cool warmth of a spring day stirred her heart. On a day like this ten years ago, after her five years of patient waiting for motherhood, her heart had cried out to her husband even as Rachel had cried unto Jacob more than three thousand years before, "Give me children, or else I die!" And like Jacob her husband had replied with an impulse of anger that he was not in the place of the God who sends or withholds the child. Then Mary had hung her head and sobbed, and from that day her passionate longing was buried in the secret chambers of her own heart.

SHE turned from the green box and saw her husband coming up the alley. His left hand was carrying the empty dinner-pail and his right was holding the four corners of an immigrant's bundle which he had thrown over one shoulder. A young girl followed about three feet behind him. Mary did not stop either to wonder or to look again. Even so unaccustomed a sight could not inhibit the daily act of her married life at the appointed moment. The four round balls of hamburg steak were frying in hot fat when Jaroslov Slovensko reached the upper landing, pushed open his own hospitable door and motioned to the young girl to follow.

Mary's soft blue eyes questioned her husband.

"Julia Mlinik is her name," he replied. "She's no place to go. She's come over to work with her sister Annie and can't find her. Annie worked in the yards in the soap-house and lived by Burzinsky and his wife where

she paid for her room two dollars a month. Burzinsky says Annie didn't come back last night after work. They won't keep this girl who has nothing. She is Slovak like ourselves. You know Burzinsky is a Pole. He brought the girl to me. He says it is more just that we keep her till Annie comes back."

He spoke slowly in the Slovak tongue, according to the habit which fifteen years of life and work in Chicago had not changed, dropped the pail and the bundle on the floor and moved to the sink to wash in the basin of warm water.

The mother-heart of Mary was touched as she looked at the fresh red-cheeked young girl in her peasant dress standing helpless and silent in their door-way. She laid a hand kindly on the girl's shoulder.

"Put off the shawl and sit down. You shall eat with us tonight."

Julia Mlinik spoke for the first time.

"I had reason to come," she said, and pulled from a pocket deep in the folds of her full skirt a soiled letter from Annie bearing the address of the Burzinskys and setting forth the alluring wage of six dollars a week offered to all young girls who could work ten hours a day in the stockyards.

"And now Annie is not here. My sister leaves me like this in a strange country."

Her blue-grey eyes were full of tears, but she sat passively holding the letter between the red palms of her large strong hands.

Again Mary laid her caressing hand upon the young girl. A situation like this was not wholly new in the neighborhood. Mary remembered that she had come with her father and mother, but she knew that the past ten years had seen many young girls leaving their parents in the old country home and coming alone to meet brothers, sisters, or even village neighbors who had gone before them. Lost and mistaken addresses, unaccountable separations and mysterious disappearances were too often a part of this eager search for a new world, and many an aching heart made no outward cry.

"How many years have you, my child?" she asked.

"I have seventeen years today," replied Julia.

Mary shook her head sadly and repeated her hospitable invitation. "Come, put off the shawl. Wash and we will eat. You shall stay by us till something comes."

Jaroslov had his usual portion of meat but Mary shared hers with the newcomer. After the meal the two women washed the dishes while the man smoked his comfortable pipe, pausing now and then to ask some question of the old country. Mary grieved over the poverty that did not allow her the possession of an extra featherbed, but she opened the full drawers of her small chest and drew out sheets and quilts and a pillow to make a bed for the girl on the floor of the front room.

THE next morning Julia followed Jaroslov who showed her where to take her place in the line of women and girls waiting to be selected for the day's work. She returned at six o'clock with the joyful news that she had been one of the first to be chosen to pack the dried beef in the cans for one dollar a day as long as she worked well. Mary's heart yearned over the girl and Jaroslov silently figured that with this amount she could easily pay two dollars a month, which would be clear gain to them, for her lodging in the front room; and as for the cost of food, she would pay for her portion according to the

Slovak custom. It did not once occur to any one of the three that it might be possible to find Annie, for initiative and resourcefulness are not the characteristics of their race, and patient endurance has been for many generations the lot of this people without a national history.

At the end of the first week Mary bought a small mattress to make the girl more comfortable and by the end of the month she had saved enough out of her husband's wage of nine dollars a week to pay for a single bed to place under it. Thus it came about that Julia Mlinik took up her unquestioned abode with Jaroslov Slovensko and his wife Mary.

The summer months passed quickly. Julia had but few idle weeks even when work grew slack and she could report to Mary that many other girls were laid off, for her strong hands were controlled by a mind that placidly and obediently accepted the daily task. When the autumn days came with the frost in the evening air, Mary said to her husband:

"Shall we also keep her through the winter? You must think. It will take more heat if the front room is open."

Jaroslov remembered that it had been their custom during the cold months to close the door between the front room and the kitchen and seal the cracks with heavy brown paper from the butcher's shop, thereby cutting down the cost of fuel. To Mary he seemed to ponder the question long and unduly before replying.

"I think we must keep her for the winter."

SO Julia Mlinik stayed and worked and faithfully paid for her lodging and food. At Christmas she was ill without cause, so Mary said to Jaroslov, and the first week in January found her still unable to return to her work. Then Mary spent fifty cents of her carefully hoarded money for some dried herbs, which the corner druggist assured her he had secured from the southern slopes of her own Carpathian mountains, and from these she brewed an ill-tasting mixture that Julia obediently swallowed at intervals and in such quantities as the elder woman directed. Another fifty cents went for additional fuel because Julia insisted on wearing her shawl in the house and complained of the cold draughts. Seven days dragged by and still the girl seemed to Mary's anxious eye to be spiritless, unhappy, unlike herself and loth to follow Jaroslov to the yards.

It was half-past five by the little clock. Mary sat down in her accustomed seat and with her thumb and finger tried to scrape the frost from the window-pane that she might catch a glimpse of her husband coming up the alley through the falling snow.

"The cold is heavy tonight," she said. "Julia, bring me the big knife."

Julia walked heavily to the drawer in the kitchen table and Mary turned suddenly to look at her. In an instant the woman and the girl faced each other.

"Julia Mlinik, put off the shawl that you must wear to hide your shame."

The girl silently dropped the shawl from her shoulders to the floor.

"Julia Mlinik, what disgrace do you bring to honest people who took you in and cared for you like a daughter. Is it true what my eyes now see for the first time? What man is father to the child that will come to you?"

Mary's voice rose with each accusing question and her soft blue eyes grew steel grey and relentless.

As Julia stood passive and silent. Mary took her fiercely by each shoulder and shook her.

"You must speak! You *must* speak!" she repeated. Then in a gentler tone—

"Tell me. You are after all but a child. If it is some foolish young fellow from our own country that made love to you. Jaroslov will find him and bring him here. The fellow shall marry you and give you a name for the child."

The compelling power of the elder woman broke the stubborn silence. Julia lifted her head.

"Your husband. Jaroslov."

Mary unloosed her hands and shrank from the girl.

"It is a lie you speak. Jaroslov—my husband—he has never been like that. I have cherished a viper in my bosom and now it rises up to strike at my heart. Speak again. The truth!"

Julia shrugged her shoulders. Mary, searching the young face thought she saw a look of scornful and conscious superiority in the girl who was soon to fulfil the destiny of woman. She shrank before that look and clapped her hands to her ears as if to shut out Julia's next words.

"Again I say, Jaroslov. Your husband."

For the first time in all the uneventful years of his married life Jaroslov missed the comforting sound of frying meat as he climbed the stairs. Instead he heard the unfamiliar, strained and high-pitched voice of his gentle Mary mingled with Julia's deeper, persistent, accusing tones, and knew that the crisis in their affairs had come. He pushed through the door and stood before the two women. Mary walked straight to him; she brushed the light flakes of snow from his sleeves and straightened the narrow coat collar that he had turned up to protect his neck from the cold, while her beseeching eyes called for the truth.

"It is a lie that she speaks, Jaroslov. I know it is a lie that she speaks."

Jaroslov Slovensko drew a deep breath and waited, for his tongue was heavy in his mouth.

"She speaks the truth. I want no words now. Get to work, one of you, and make the supper ready."

Silenced before the authority of the man, unquestioned by women of their kind, Julia hastened with the interrupted preparations for the evening meal, but Mary stood idly by the frosty window. Yet when the three sat down together all things were as usual to the outward eye except that by the little clock on the shelf over the sink, supper was fifteen minutes late.

Relieved of the heavy burden of secrecy Julia was soon sleeping soundly in the little bed Mary had bought for her. Then Jaroslov added fuel to the kitchen fire, opened the oven door to let more heat into the room, and drew two chairs together before the stove.

"Sit down, Mary," he commanded.

The wife drew her chair apart and obeyed.

"Now we will talk," he said.

But Mary's lips were firmly pressed together and a stubborn silence fell between them.

"You are accusing me," he broke forth angrily, "you who could not give me a son to work for me in my old age and make my name live in America."

Mary bowed her face in her strong hands and sobbed aloud.

Jaroslov stood up, walked around her chair and back again, and sat down. She had not cried like that since

the time when he had chided her for the *outrage* that had burst from her after her five years of waiting for motherhood. He rose up again and stood over her with a coarse and heavy hand awkwardly trying to caress the bowed head, while he struggled with his explanation in quick short sentences.

"Listen, Mary; listen, I say. The boy shall be ours. He shall stay with us. You shall be his mother. Julia can soon go. The city is large. Nobody will know. There is plenty of work away from here. After a time some man will marry her, and we shall have a son—a son for our old age."

Mary had listened. She arose and faced her husband, confusion and conflict in her simple mind.

"Jaroslov, Jaroslov, did you think of—of me?"

Again Jaroslov Slovensko drew a deep breath and waited. It was hard to speak many words before the look in Mary's face.

"I have said it, Mary; I have said it. Julia shall go; the son shall stay by us."

They grew calmer after these moments of unwonted intensity and Jaroslov retold the story of how he had lost his name in America; of the time fifteen years before when, only half comprehending the questions put to him, he found that he had been registered in the stockyards by the name of the district from which he came, Slovensko. He did not know how to change this mistake and he had hoped for a son to restore the name. Then the talk turned on ways and means. They must keep Julia till after the birth of the boy. She must be well fed and comfortable, for the only son must be strong. It would cost money, but Mary thought it would be possible for her to earn the price of a day's washing now and then and Julia might yet work a few weeks.

DURING the two months of waiting that followed Mary was outwardly calm, practical and busy. There were little clothes to be made and a crocheted cap. She pondered long upon the size of the cap but decided that it must be of good size. Jaroslov was a well-built man and the son would surely be like his father. As they could not afford a cradle, Jaroslov brought a soap-box from the grocery, whittled off the rough edges with a knife and put wheels under it. Then Mary padded the sides and lined it with bright-colored cloth, and from her own pillow took the feathers to make two tiny feather beds. Julia had no part in these preparations. Without will or conscious purpose she had followed the primal instinct and now she passively accepted the protection granted to her.

Jaroslov was secretly rejoiced that both women were behaving so well. He did not know that in the stillness of the night Mary would awake suddenly with the sense of bewilderment and fear that often comes when the mind has unconsciously carried the burden of the day into the sleeping hours. Then she would creep from their bed and sit by the frosty window and beat upon the tender flesh of her breasts till the force of a physical pain seemed to draw the ache from her heart and she could creep back to bed shivering and tearless.

In the morning of the tenth day of March the child was born. Jaroslov was sitting by the stove near the box cradle, hat and dinner-pail in hand, waiting past the hour that had always found him on his way to the stockyards. Mary brought the child wrapped in a little yellow blanket, knelt down by the cradle and tenderly laid it

between the tiny feather beds.

"It—it is a girl," she faltered, not daring to look at her husband.

Jaroslov looked at his wife kneeling over the new-born child and found no words. This was a possibility his slow mind had not dwelt upon in his thought of the coming child. He paused at the threshold of his door a moment, put on his hat and went down the stairway. Mary watched him from the window till he reached the end of the alley and turned into the street, and it seemed to her that his heavy shoulders were bent.

FOR seven days the hungry heart of Mary fed upon a deep and holy joy that even the bitter disappointment of her husband could not withhold from her. Then a great fear entered her heart. Julia, the placid and passive girl, obeying like a child, was growing self-assertive, even commanding. The two women strove in secret jealousy for the right to be first to minister to the wants of the child. Julia found fault with the clothes that Mary had made with so much care. The crocheted cap was too large and Julia audaciously demanded that Mary buy linen thread for another which she herself would make of the correct size. Then they quarreled over the christening, the name the child should bear, and which woman had the better right to carry her during this holy ceremony.

"Would you show your shame to all the world?" asked Mary indignantly. "Jaroslov and I will bear the child. Did he not say the child should be mine?"

"She is mine," retorted Julia, scornfully, "and Jaroslov Slovensko is her father. Does he deny it? He shall walk by me and give a name to my child. Do you think to deceive any to believe that your flat breasts are giving suck?"

Mary turned white before this thrust, but she dared not tell Jaroslov, who as yet knew nothing of the strife between the two women silent and obedient before him, nor of the place Julia expected him to take at the christening.

The next day when Mary returned from the shop where she had gone to buy meat for the supper, Julia and the baby were gone. She could see that the baby's clothes, the tiny feather beds, and the little that Julia possessed of

her own, had been taken in one of the bed quilts. Patient and helpless she sat in the wooden chair by the window to watch for her husband. A thousand fears were knocking for entrance to her brain. The baby had never been out of doors before. Julia had feared to be seen with her and Mary had been sure the child would catch a cold. A raw March wind was blowing. She was glad Julia had the feather beds. The girl had little sense. She would never be able to care for the child alone, and she had no money.

But Jaroslov was coming up the alley. For the first time in her married life Mary ran down the two flights of stairs to meet him and pulled him within the doorway.

"The baby"—she panted, "the baby has gone, and Julia has gone with her, and the clothes, and the feather-beds!"

Sobbing and clinging to him she told of their quarrels over the christening and the naming of the child. By the time they reached the kitchen door, the man comprehended. He looked at the empty box-cradle, the work of his hands.

"Let them go," he said harshly. "After all, it is but another girl. There are already too many women in the world. They make trouble."

He walked to the window and looked out uneasily upon the familiar alley. Mary stood by the cradle, but her eyes followed her husband and clung to him. He also suffered; and in that moment, from her yearning mother-heart there arose a great wave of compassion that enveloped her husband and Julia, and their baby. They were all children in their claim upon her unselfed love; even the strange and unknown purpose of the distant God who withheld her child must be forgiven.

"She will go to some neighbor for the night," Jaroslov continued, "and perhaps tell a story against us. Who knows what she will do? Yet it may be that we can speak to the police to look for her."

But he did not speak to the police, nor did either one know how to make any effort to find Julia and her child. With the patient endurance of his race, Jaroslov accepted this next step in the tragedy of his life while he faithfully carried his daily burden of hard labor; but Mary lived with a new peace in her heart—a peace that had been born of the Spirit.

A MORNING PRAYER

By Frances Beers

ROSY morn that floods the skies,
Flood thou too my languid eyes
Which reluctantly unclose,
That the heart of the world's rose
I may vision clear today,
Not its calyx, dim and gray.
Matin bells, so silver clear—

Tune my ear that I may hear
Not alone the birds that sing,
But the song in everything;
Catch the rhythm in the beat
Of the countless, ceaseless feet,
Hurrying swift or trailing slow,
As to labor forth they go;
Hear a music in the din
Of the trains that past me spin,

Underground and overhead,
Through the labyrinthine spread
Of the giant iron mesh
That the town encompasseth;
In machinery's clanging blow
Hear the gods who forge below,
With such clamorous, fiery stress,
Gifts, the sons of men to bless;
Hear that anvil chorus beat,
Of the earth-song, swift and sweet.

Touch my eyes that I may see,
Fair as dream, reality;
Let me in each waif's wan face
Still the heavenly Christ-child trace;
Let me as a sister greet
Every woman of the street,

Know her kin to me no less
Than the nun in stainless dress,
Who behind her convent bars
Holds communion with the stars.

O,—and hardest task of all!—
Let me keep no portion small
Of myself back, as too fine;
Hold too dear the heart's red wine,
Still to serve and still to pour
For the lowliest at my door;
Let me know my best was meant
But to share in sacrament
Still with all humanity
Seated at life's board with me.
These things bring, and day shall close,
As it dawned, in radiant rose.

COMMON WELFARE



THE MONTH

IN common parlance, New York should worry. Following the long garment strike with its relief problem for thousands of families, the city was plagued all summer with infantile paralysis. It faced at one time the possibility of a real food shortage, had the general railroad strike come off. The railroad brotherhoods placated by President Wilson's eight-hour law, the city found itself without trolley service. Once settled, that dispute broke forth anew. And there was grave question whether the subway and elevated men would not follow the surface car men and, in fact, all organized labor join a sympathetic movement which would have given us the first general strike in the Americas. At the time of going to press that calamity seems to have been avoided by the unwillingness of men and women in other trades to strike in sympathy with the Interborough men who are not themselves on strike in any numbers.

One of the statements of the street-car men's leaders—that in the event of a general strike, milk for babies and invalids would not be tied up—seems now to have been almost prophetic, for 300,000 cows are on strike through the action of their legal guardians, the dairymen. As the total number of cattle who supply New York is about 350,000, the situation is alarming and, by the time this issue of *THE SURVEY* is distributed, may be critical.

Milk-selling in New York city is, broadly speaking, pretty much in the hands of a few very large companies. Their organization is due in part to the increasing pressure, finally culminating in a rigid demand, of the health authorities for pure, clean milk. The companies, in turn, have passed on this pressure to the dairymen and farmers. Now they have organized into a league and demanded not only higher prices but that the city dealers shall buy only through the league. This the dealers have refused to do. The test was scheduled to come this week.

Distant parts of New York state, other states and even Canada have been scoured by the companies for other sources of supply. But their plans seem pretty uncertain in the face of the Department of Health's statement that there will be no relaxing of the milk standards now in force and the general understanding that it is the striking dairymen who have the equipment and experience necessary to meet those standards. And the dairymen, in turn, are probably prevented from suddenly going into retailing for the pasteurizing plants are owned by the companies.

Milk and trolleys, on top of garments and railroads, have led to talk in many quarters of the need of the city's taking steps to control its own destiny, to make it impossible for a dispute between manufacturers and workmen, farmers and merchants, to throw in the comfort, the transportation and even the food of five million people as one of the stakes of the conflict.

It was after the beginning of this month that President Wilson signed the federal workmen's compensation bill, which has been described by a contributor to *THE SURVEY* as "the most scientific and the most liberal compensation act in any country." Although there had been no opposition to it, Congress was indifferent and, as in the case of the federal child labor law finally accomplished in August, only strong pressure from the White House brought it to a vote. Apparently the year of a national election is a good time to press for social legislation.

Among the military appropriations was one of \$2,000,000 for relief of militiamen's families, which went through almost unnoticed, except, perhaps, by the War Department which is charged with administering it.

Maine gave a hearty majority to the fifty-four-hour law for women and minors which came before the voters at the state election of September 10.—Infantile paralysis has declined greatly in New York city and the schools have finally opened with only a small falling off in attendance.

PRIVATE SAVINGS AND PUBLIC THRIFT

THE American Bankers' Association laid emphasis upon rendering a public service as well as promoting the banking business in its commemoration of the first century of American savings banks. At the meeting in Kansas City, the historical review of the hundred years by Edward L. Robinson of Baltimore was broad enough not only to take account of the rise and progress of savings banking abroad and in America, but also to reckon with the economic and social conditions out of which the movement arose and upon which the thrift it promotes will ever have closer and more complicated bearings.

The new campaign for thrift, upon which the association enters to inaugurate the second century of savings banks in this country, starts with a social vision of the past. Mr. Robinson established a broad point of view for the banker and the publicist to take, by sympathetically portraying the humanitarian motives, social ideals and practical business methods which combined to produce the first arguments and agencies for savings.

Daniel Defoe was given the credit of being the forerunner of the movement in his visions of "a mutual marine insurance society," a government pension plan to provide for the old age of the working classes, the abolition of imprisonment for debt—all published in his two books entitled *Essays and Projects*, and *Giving Alms No Charity and Employing the Poor a Grievance to the Nation*. Two hundred years after this visionary pioneering, Germany established the first bank for savings in 1765, France another in 1790, and Switzerland followed in 1792.

But the first savings bank of the modern self-sustaining type that was actually put into operation is credited to the Rev. Henry Duncan, who, in 1810, established a "parish bank" to relieve and prevent the poverty of his parishioners at Ruthwell in Dumfriesshire, Scotland.

The Edinburgh Society for the Suppression of Mendicity was carried out on this local suggestion so successfully that in 1817, Parliament took under government regulation the rapidly multiplying savings banks in the United Kingdom.

It was not until 1816 that Philadelphia established its Savings Fund Society. The Bank of Savings in the City of New York was projected in that year, but did not open for business until three years later. The agitation and education which its promoters advanced meanwhile were worth the delay. For thus the new thrift by savings was shown to supplement or supercede such previously existing agencies as the Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen for supporting sick and injured members, the Society for the Relief of Poor Widows, the lottery of 1803 for "public improvement and charitable purposes," and last but not least, the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order in the City of New York, chartered in 1805 for charitable purposes.

The Address to the Public, issued by the trustees of New York's first savings bank, together with their report of its first year's operation, were cited as suggestive of the motives, standards and ideals with which the savings banks of today might well start upon their second century's campaign for thrift.

However savings banks may have reverted to the promotion of an individual thrift regardless of its effect upon the group or the community, yet the relation between "savings" and public welfare and control were steadily kept in view throughout the proceedings of the convention. An address by Graham Taylor, director of the Chicago Institute of Civics and Philanthropy, brought out the social aspects of thrift and will be published in an early issue of THE SURVEY. The bankers were warned from their own ranks that a nation-wide thrift campaign must seek more than deposits and must be broadly educational if it would be efficacious. Their attitude toward these broader views of their function was tested also by their discussion of the relation of the government to the banks.

The two critical points at which reaction might have been expected were with reference to postal savings and the federal reserve act. The discussion of Government and Private Institutions for Savings by Carter B. Keene, director of postal savings, evoked no dissent and was received with hearty applause. Unchallenged was his claim that "the verdict today is almost unanimous that postal savings have filled a neglected niche in our social and economic systems;" that "postal savings banks have brought \$90,000,000 from unprofitable and insecure hiding places;" and that "the well-defined policy of the postal system is not to interfere with the activities of sound private savings insti-



When Nature Turns Outlaw

*"Blow, winds, and crack your cheeks! rage! blow!—
You cataracts and hurricanoes, spout"*

Thus King Lear, in Shakespeare's tragedy, defies the elements. But man, even today, cannot challenge nature with impunity.

The unsinkable ship goes down like a rock from the impact of an iceberg. The fireproof building is burned. The monument, built for unborn generations, is riven by lightning or shaken down by an earthquake.

There are storms which make train service impossible, which delay the mails and which close the public highways to the usual traffic. Even in the cities there are times when the street cars do not run, and neither automobiles or horse-drawn vehicles can be driven through floods or high-piled snowdrifts.

Such conditions increase the dependence on telephone wires, which themselves are not exempt from the same natural hazards. Fortunately, however, the Bell System has faced these dangers and well-nigh overcome them. Masses of wires are buried underground and lonely pole lines, even the most stoutly built, are practically paralleled by other lines to which their business can be transferred.

Each year the lines are stronger and the guardians of the wires are prepared to make repairs more quickly. So each year increasing millions of subscribers find their telephones more dependable and, within the limits of human power, they count upon their use in storm as well as in fair weather.



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tutions."

He declared that "postal savings bear the same relations to the banks as the Salvation Army does to the church." He claimed the government had "kept in full view the important fact that the postal savings system is a government institution for the promotion of the general welfare and that it would be an unpardonable abuse of power were it to swell its figures at the expense of legitimate private savings institutions." The increase of postal deposits within three years from \$34,000,000 to \$100,000,000 and the growth in the number of depositors from 331,000 to 625,000 had been achieved with scrupulous care "not to press publicity at a time and place where it might aggravate disurbed local conditions." Yet "postal savings would continue to increase if not another word were spoken or printed about it."

The director gave expression to his own social vision in declaring that "the most striking and gratifying story of postal savings is disclosed in the fact that 375,000 or 60 per cent of the total number of depositors, were born outside of the United States, and that this provident army owns \$75,000,000, or three-quarters, of all the deposits."

"How much," he exclaimed, "these mute figures mean! What a tribute of confidence the foreign-born have paid to the nation of their choice and adoption. The story of postal savings when told in figures is a simple one. But if you want to see the real service that it is, go into the post offices in industrial and mining centers and witness the patient line of barefoot children, toiling women and begrimed laborers, as they entrust their humble savings to Uncle Sam. Then come with me to the post office department and delve into the confiding letters that report better and happier lives."

The federal reserve act aroused far more discussion and criticism. The country bankers, who constituted three-quarters of the 3,575 registered delegates, were agitated over their loss of the exchange on checks, from which they had derived a considerable share of their steady profits prior to the passage of the act. It was further criticized for not discriminating between the gold reserves of the central banks and the operating bank reserves in the medium acceptable to the people. The influx of gold had not automatically brought about a corresponding reduction in the volume of paper money, as other critics thought the act should have done. But there seemed to be no sentiment favoring the repeal of the federal reserve act, and indeed its critics spoke less of the need of amending it than of their desire to "develop" it. Paul M. Warburg, member of the Federal Reserve Board, compared it with European systems and declared himself an enthusiastic supporter of the federal reserve system.

"Its fundamental principles are sound; its benefits to the country have been immense and will become more apparent with each succeeding year," he said.

Perhaps the most striking expression of the bankers' responsibility to the public and the international obligation and opportunity of banking, was made by John Skelton Williams, comptroller of the currency.

"We have outgrown responsibility to our country and generation," he said. "We have become responsible to the whole world, because we have become the supreme world power, especially in that vital department reaching to the root and core of all things which we here represent—the financial. It is for you, controlling the powerful banking interests of this supreme country, to determine whether these dollars of ours shall prey on our country and the world with teeth and claws, or shall have souls put into them to upbuild, to help, to heal the scars of war." It "we hold a mortgage on the world's physical assets," then he concluded, "the world holds a mortgage on our soul, on our good will and broad nobility of purpose."

FOODS BLUSH UNSEEN BEHIND A VEIL

THE month of September saw the food supply of Philadelphia go under fly netting—the outward and visible sign of the inward conviction that something ought to be done to protect citizens from food dangers. Of course, Philadelphia had pondered on these matters before, but she had given but feeble expression to her thoughts.

In the Bureau of Health there had been for a number of years two divisions whose function was to guard the milk and the meat supply of the city. A working force of 13 milk inspectors and 7 meat inspectors tried to cover a city in excess of a million and a half, with 10,000 stores handling meat or milk, 69 abattoirs, 88 preparing plants (meat products), 160 dairy farms, 129 pasteurizing and bottling plants, 4 ferries, 11 railroad platforms, 7 trolley platforms, 23 market houses, 42 wholesale meat houses and 2 stockyards. Their efforts were somewhat more effective than might be assumed. The milk supply has been pasteurized since July, 1914, and Philadelphia's infant mortality has shown a commendable decline within the last few years. The results attained, have, however, but glimpsed the possibilities.

In order to make clear and generally known the food conditions which actually prevailed throughout the city, the Henry Phipps Institute for the Study, Treatment and Prevention of Tuberculosis and the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research undertook an investigation. The former looked into the sanitary and other conditions actually found where foods were stored and of-

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ferred for sale and the latter studied the problem of food inspection as a governmental activity.

Janice S. Reed Lit, under whose direction the examination of 1,000 stores and 200 pushcarts was carried on, reported that conditions were far from ideal or even safe; legislation was more in evidence than execution. Violations were not only common, they were blatant. Outrageous conditions were found under the city's own roof, so to speak. In the municipal market-houses, under the administration of the bureau of city property in the Department of Public Works, foods were offered for sale under the most revolting and disgusting conditions. With no protection against flies, with stray animals roaming at will, with spitting prevalent, with dirty vendors and dirty customers handling the meats, the bread, the cakes and other things offered for sale, disease held carnival as far as food is concerned.

Since 1911, the Bureau of Health has refused to license the 400 stalls in the markets, but business has gone on quite uninterrupted.

The report of the Bureau of Municipal Research showed that, as a city, Philadelphia has made but the merest beginning in safeguarding the food supply and could, without being at all rash or unusually paternal, do about five times more than it is now doing. The per capita municipal expenditure for food inspection is .015 cents in Philadelphia, .099 cents in Pittsburgh which, of course, has the same assistance from state and federal agencies, .05 in Baltimore, .05½ in Chicago, and .07 in Boston.

A further development of the consolidation of the milk and meat divisions, initiated by Alexander M. Wilson during his short term as acting director of the Department of Health and Charities, was recommended and the organization of a division of food inspection which should safeguard the entire food supply, was urged.

The report was made public August 27. Coming, as it did, when the infantile paralysis epidemic seemed most threatening, it received instant and effective publicity. The newspapers gave columns of news space, reproduced photographs and helped along the cause with editorials.

And then it was that all Philadelphia went completely under fly netting, rather exceeding the requirements of the law which cover only milk and its fluid derivatives, and poultry, fish and meat, and meat products. Everything from the aristocratic casaba melon in front of the high-priced shop opposite the Union League to the humblest herring in the ghetto, wears its veil in public. Even the municipal markets are getting into line. One has been screened against flies; the other has protected the meats against handling by the customers.

State and city authorities have carried on a feverish campaign of prosecutions which looks dangerously like a series of raids.

But the ambitious reformers are not yet satisfied. They refuse to pin their faith to fly netting. They, like the *Evening Bulletin*, strangely think that fly netting "is little protection against dust" and they are somewhat skeptical of the permanent results of spasmodic endeavors. They have set their hearts on having a real inspection service which will be on the job all the time; which will lead, not follow; which will study, educate, persuade, in addition to making routine investigations and prosecutions.

Whether or not these crusading folk will realize their dream now depends upon whether Mayor Smith and Director Krusen of the Bureau of Health and Charities, plan for such a development and ask City Councils for the wherewithal to run it, and whether councils will see the relative value of this kind of service in comparison with other activities of the municipality—official entertaining and junketing, for instance.

WHEN THE MOVIES GO IN FOR SOCIOLOGY

MIXED feelings were the portion of those social workers who saw private exhibits of two new motion picture films in New York city last week.

Three years ago THE SURVEY took a party of educators and other persons to the laboratories of Thomas A. Edison at West Orange, N. J., to see at first hand what was being vaguely talked about as a revolutionary experiment in the method of imparting facts to the young. These people wrote about what they had seen in THE SURVEY for September 6, 1913, and so for the first time the outside public had an opportunity to know what persons of authority in the pedagogical field thought about the educational moving picture film when applied to subjects of the school curriculum, such as chemistry, physics, nature study and half a dozen others.

At that time biology was among the subjects listed by Mr. Edison for future production. Meanwhile, a biological film, aiming to set forth the story of its title, How Life Begins, has been put together on the other side of the continent. It is intended primarily as a lesson in sex-education for boys and girls of high school age, and even for older people and mothers, and was privately exhibited last week by the American Social Hygiene Association in the Russell Sage Foundation building, New York city. Previously it had been shown to students of the University of California, the Pasadena High School, and the University of Kansas.

In showing how new plants and animals come into existence, the film begins with the simplest forms, protozoans

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An appendix by Prof. J. P. Chamberlain is devoted to the question of constitutionality, and one by Dr. Alexander Lambert to the "organization of medical aid."

The author is at present executive secretary of the "Social Insurance Committee" of the American Medical Association, has been connected as actuary for five years with one of the largest insurance companies, and has been a member of the Social Insurance Committee of the American Association for Labor Legislation since its organization.

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In October, 1916, Mrs. Gilman will start on a tour to the West Coast. Her route is tentatively planned as follows:

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and yeast, and concludes with mammals, such as rats and kittens. The development of the pea is shown from the earliest union of pollen with the ovule, and the fertilization of the egg of a sea-urchin is pictured. The hatching of the swallow-tail butterfly is described from the moment the female lays her eggs (already fertilized, as the caption informs you) on the leaves of the sweet anise. So, too, with the hen's egg. Copulation is nowhere shown.

After the pictures have made it clear that in each case of a flowering plant and a higher animal "life begins in a fertilized egg cell," the film declares that it is "by the same processes of growth and development that the human being comes into life," and the final scene is that of a smiling child creeping about on the floor.

The film has been produced by George E. Stone, of Berkeley, Calif., in collaboration with Prof. J. A. Long, assistant professor of embryology in the University of California. Mr. Stone has brought it east in an effort to introduce it into educational institutions.

While Governor Whitman is awaiting the report of his special commissioner, Charles H. Strong, on the administration of the New York charities law and conditions in private child-caring institutions, the Frank Powell Productions, Inc., are giving *their* report to the people of the United States. The governor's report will doubtless be a long and effective document in words not all of one syllable; the people's report is a graphic motion picture play or—take it from the prospectus—a "sociological photo-drama," entitled "Charity?" and depicting in lurid detail actual and imaginary evils in what is apparently conceived as the prevailing type of orphan asylum in this country.

Making due allowance for the artistic approach to reality and for the Dickensian method in scenario writing, "Charity?" seemed an egregious exaggeration to the audience of a thousand persons to whom it was "privately" exhibited in a New York theater last week. A semblance of reality is given to the conditions portrayed by generous quotations on the screen from the testimony before the Strong commission of William J. Doherty, second deputy in the New York city Department of Public Charities and minute-man in the whole institution controversy. The common tooth-brush and the weekly bath, the rising at five and the day of rough treatment and child-labor, the "stew" that stews the stomach, the "nit," the command to silence with the cryptic comment, "Tomorrow is a holiday, you can talk then," the lack of any trace of schooling, the inevitable reference to Oliver Twist, the grotesque ruling by fear instead of love—all these are vividly done.

There are features of another sort,

however. Such is the "graft" enjoyed by the superintendent, who lives in luxury and never goes near the orphanage. This benign individual sells the most attractive of his girl charges to houses of prostitution, and even selects occasional ones for his own enjoyment. His weekly profits average \$400 the year round. He buys the silence of any who threaten to complain, and when exposure finally overtakes him he finds escape in self-inflicted death. Matter of this sort, when linked up to so much that is true and presented as typical, seemed to the audience unspeakable.

An effort to give both sides is made toward the end, where scenes are presented of an "ideal" institution, which happened, by the way, to be taken at the New York Orphanage, Hastings-on-Hudson. Since this institution, however, is represented as having been built by characters in the play, as a result of their own bitter experience in childhood, the justice dealt to orphanages as a whole seemed doubtful.

In justice it should be said that considerable changes are promised before the film is shown commercially. The white slavery note is to be stricken out, and other deletions made. If made to conform substantially to facts, it was felt the play might help in securing necessary reforms in child care the country over.

SPLITTING THE EXPENSE OF COMMUNITY CENTERS

A HALF-WAY stand between the cities which make their school social centers free to the people and those who would make the people pay all the cost for use of the buildings outside of school hours, is taken by Cleveland. This fall sees the commencement of the first full season of operating sixteen community centers in the schools. Small membership fees are charged, with the purpose of reducing as far as possible the expense to the Board of Education.

The use of the schools for community centers on a definitely organized basis followed last winter's report on the community use of the schools by Clarence A. Perry of the Russell Sage Foundation. The report was one of the series published on various phases of the school work by the Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation. Recommendations of the report were followed in the main details.

John W. Barkley, a young lawyer with social experience, was appointed to the position of director of community centers after the Board of Education had voted \$15,000 to carry out the experiment. Light and heat are to be furnished extra. Thirteen of the sixteen community centers selected were opened on February 1, 1916; all are open this fall. In most of the schools, unorganized use of the buildings had been

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By CRYSTAL EASTMAN

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allowed groups of citizens pledging responsibility. The cost was \$6 a night.

Last winter's brief experience demonstrated distinctly the social utility of the community centers. Supervisors appointed in each school worked with local committees to such good effect that the average attendance per night was increased over 200 per cent. The use of the buildings was extended beyond the gymnasiums and swimming pools, which previously had been used, into auditoriums and class rooms where clubs, classes and community meetings of many kinds were held. Use of such facilities as the gymnasiums was made more equitable through allowing certain hours rather than whole evenings for group use, and organizing classes instead of featuring contests between picked teams, many of which were backed by business firms. It is considered by Mr. Barkley important to note that the supervisors have worked rather as secretaries of the local committees, making school facilities available, instead of definitely pushing the use of the schools. This system is thought to have made use of the facilities more spontaneous and lasting, in the long run. Expenses were much reduced through payment of membership fees.

This year will see the development of the centers along the same social lines, with a further attempt to make the centers more nearly self-supporting than was possible on last year's partial basis. A charge of 25 cents a month for members, and of \$1 a night for a match game in the gymnasium, will, it is thought, go a long way toward this end if enough users of the centers can be enrolled. Particular stress will be laid on the development of one night each week as community night.

During last summer, two of the centers were opened one night a week for dancing at a charge of five cents an evening. Attendance averaged close to 200, with about a quarter of the couples young married people.

CONVICTS OFFER REWARD

THE inmates of the Wyoming state penitentiary issue a monthly magazine called *Jabs*. It is owned, printed and edited by the inmates of that institution. Wyoming uses her convicts in constructing good roads through the State, particularly those used for automobiles. It is considered an honor for a prisoner to be detailed to this service. This fact is well illustrated by a page ad appearing in the May number of *Jabs* as follows:

You Must Make Good

The inmates will give \$25 for the apprehension of any man who runs away from the road camps this summer. If you can't make good stay here.

The Majority
of inmates W. S. P.

List of contributors
on file in Cell 60.



COMMON WELFARE

WARDEN OSBORNE RESIGNS FROM SING SING

NOT even the presence of German submarines ten miles off the Atlantic coast could keep from the front pages of the newspapers on Monday the announcement that Thomas Mott Osborne had resigned the wardenship of Sing Sing.

Mr. Osborne's letter of resignation attacking Supt. of State Prisons James M. Carter and Governor Whitman, made clear that the reasons that brought him to this step were the same that have caused almost constant friction between him and his superior officers from the beginning of his wardenship. He believed that he was being interfered with in his conduct of the prison and that unfriendliness to his great reform manifested itself in official orders.

One of the first acts of Superintendent Carter to receive an unfavorable interpretation by Mr. Osborne after the latter's return to the prison as warden last July was an official refusal to allow the transfer of certain prisoners from other state prisons to Sing Sing. These prisoners were to act or had acted as witnesses for Mr. Osborne in his effort to expose the conspiracy that he believed to be responsible for the recent indictments against him. He believed that trouble might be made for them by his enemies if they were allowed to remain in other prisons and asked for their transfer. This was refused on the ground that frequent transfers caused a disturbance in the department.

Another order displeasing to Mr. Osborne condemned the "practice of featuring convicts and indiscriminate prison advertising", and urged all wardens in the state to exercise greater care in the matter of publicity. Mr. Osborne characterized the order as emanating from a policy of secrecy.

A third order, which called attention to an increase of escapes from Auburn and Sing Sing, the two prisons where the Mutual Welfare League is in operation, declared: "I have now come to a definite conclusion that either the new ideas are not workable or that lax methods are employed in their development."

The order promised "decisive action" unless ample precautions were taken against escapes. Mr. Osborne believed that the Mutual Welfare League was in no wise responsible for the increase in escapes, but that they were due to unwise selections in prisoners to be trusted.

Finally, on October 3 came the order that brought to a head Mr. Osborne's decision to resign. This decreed that "lifers" and prisoners having long terms to serve be confined within the walls of the institutions. The walls of Sing Sing do not surround the warden's house and the administrative offices, though both are attached to the prison proper. As a consequence, a great number of prisoners used by Mr. Osborne as assistants, clerks, "spotters" for drugs and other contraband, and in other capacities, had to give up their jobs and go inside the walls. This, Mr. Osborne said, made it virtually impossible for him to run the prison with the free hand necessary to the success of his experiments.

Concerning Governor Whitman's part in the alleged opposition to him, Mr. Osborne said:

"The governor who appointed you [Superintendent Carter] is antagonistic to the system that is being carried on at Auburn and Sing Sing prisons; he has tried to use you and your office for political purposes; he is a believer in the old system of retaliation and brutality. . . . As for the dealings with me personally, I believed originally in Charles S. Whitman's friendship and sincerity; but he broke every promise he ever made to me, both before and after he took office; and I have been finally and reluctantly forced to a realization that without his acquiescence the shameful attacks made upon me in Westchester county would never have been initiated or gained headway."

What his future would be or what part he expected to continue to play in prison reform Mr. Osborne would not say following his resignation, which is to take effect October 16. He intimated that he might participate in the political campaign in behalf of Governor Whitman's Democratic opponent, Judge Samuel Seabury. No successor to Mr. Osborne has yet been announced.

MASSACHUSETTS NEW PRISON DIRECTOR

MASSACHUSETTS has abolished its Prison Commission and substituted a single director of prisons with an unpaid advisory board. The new director of prisons is Col. Cyrus B. Adams who has had wide administrative training and special experience in the management of penal institutions. Born in Ohio in 1864, he was educated in Ohio Wesleyan University. As a young man he was engaged in railroading and commercial occupations in the Northwest and in Ohio. He was treasurer of Delaware county from 1892 to 1897. At that time he was in the Ohio National Guard and attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

In the Spanish War he served as lieutenant-colonel of the Fourth Ohio Infantry and went through the Porto Rican campaign. After the war, as provost-marshal of Guyama, Colonel Adams had a difficult problem as military and civilian chief of police of this district in Porto Rico. In 1901 he was assistant adjutant-general of Ohio and professor of military science at Ohio Wesleyan University.

In 1902, his administrative work became entirely civilian. His interest in work for boys led him to undertake the superintendency of the Boys' Industrial School at Lancaster, Ohio, the largest institution in the country for delinquent boys between sixteen and twenty-one years of age and an institution which, with 1,200 boys, was conducted on the cottage plan. As superintendent of the St. Charles School for Boys in St. Charles, Ill., from 1909 to 1915, Colonel Adams developed a farm colony plan, placing on each farm twelve to fifteen boys under the charge of a man and wife. In 1915 he became superintendent of the Reformatory for Boys at Concord, Mass., and while in this position Governor McCall chose him to be director of prisons.

Colonel Adams is one of the board of directors of the American Prison Congress, a director also of the National Conference of Compulsory Education and

ex-president of the National Conference on Delinquent Boys.

Massachusetts prison affairs in past years have not, in the opinion of many, kept pace with the general march of progress. A movement has been gaining strength in favor of state control of all jails and houses of correction; great activity is now manifest toward placing the prisoner out on the land; the probation system is developing rapidly under a courageous commission. The appointment of Colonel Adams is held to be a fortunate combination of the man and the hour.

SEVEN-DAY LABOR BECAUSE OF PROSPERITY

SEVEN-day labor with its accompaniment of the weekly "long shift" of twenty-four hours continuous labor will again become the rule in the continuous industries of New York if the State Industrial Commission grants the application of the Lackawanna Steel Company for exemption from the operation of the law passed in 1913 requiring one day of rest in seven.

The application is based upon the contention that steel companies in other states, with which the Lackawanna Steel Company must compete, are requiring their employes to work seven days a week. This is a time of great prosperity in the steel industry. The Lackawanna company along with the others is making money as never before, and seven-day labor is being justified on the ground that every advantage should be taken of what may be short-lived prosperity.

At a hearing on the application before the Industrial Commission on October 6, the attorney for the steel company asked for an adjournment and invited the commission and those appearing in opposition to the application to visit the steel plant, which is near Buffalo. Accordingly the commission decided to spend October 27 inspecting the plant and to hold a public hearing in Buffalo on October 28. Chairman John Mitchell of the commission announced that a further hearing would be held in New York city if there were a demand for one.

The United States Steel Corporation is named in the application as one of the companies that is running on the seven-day basis, although announcement was made by this company several years ago that it had put into operation a plan requiring every man to have a day of rest even in the continuous processes.

The Lackawanna Steel Company was supposed to have adopted a similar plan at the time. Indeed, the plan itself was worked out in 1911 by the Welfare Committee of the American Iron and Steel Institute, of which Judge E. H. Gary, of the Steel Corporation, was chairman and E. A. S. Clarke, president of the Lackawanna Steel Company, was a member. Other members of the committee were: George Gordon Crawford, president of

the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company; W. B. Schiller, president of the National Tube Company; James A. Campbell, president of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company; and Frederick W. Wood, president of the Maryland Steel Company.

At one of the "Gary dinners" held May 4, 1911, members of this committee spoke on the relation of employer and employe. Judge Gary was quoted in the *Iron Age* for May 11, 1911, as saying: "We must put and keep ourselves on a platform so fair, so high, so reasonable, that we will attract the attention and invite and secure the approval of all who know what we are doing." President Clarke of the Lackawanna company, following Judge Gary, was reported in the *Iron Age* as saying:

"We believe that the first thing we all must do is, so to speak, to set our own house in order; to have our dealings with our employes and conditions under which they work in our mills and factories, such as are beyond reproach. . . . The committee feels that it has tackled a very large problem; but it has a great deal of hope and courage. . . . We believe, with his leadership and example [Judge Gary's], through this institute, we are going to be the means of accomplishing another great reform, another great benefit, for the industry."

CHASTENING THE CHARITY FILM

WHETHER the chastening that has been administered to the subject matter of the photo-play, *Charity?*, will cause a withdrawal of the opposition that has been directed against the film remains to be seen. THE SURVEY told last week of the exaggeration that characterized parts of this attempt to portray typical conditions in private child-caring institutions.

The disposal of girl orphans to houses of prostitution has been eliminated from the revised version of the play. So has the reference to profits enjoyed by the grafting superintendent. The element of graft itself has not been entirely removed, however. The conditions in the orphanage remain practically unchanged but there is a clearer indication at the end that not one but many orphanages of a better kind exist.

As stated last week, this film is to some extent predicated on conditions revealed in the Strong inquiry in New York last spring. No sooner had the first private exhibition of the film come to an end than persons prominent in that inquiry and the controversies that followed it, attacked the film. "The whole presentation is a noxious and slimy story which will outrage the decent instincts of the public," declared Mgr. J. J. Dunn, chancellor of the Catholic archdiocese of New York, adding that Catholics would be warned not to view the production. "Was ever a more damnable lie put before an intelligent public?"

asked the Rev. William B. Farrell, signer of the famous Farrell pamphlets.

"Monsignor Dunn came to us at the end of the first performance," said Kilbourn Gordon, of the Frank Powell Productions, Inc., which is producing the film, "and threatened to stop its exhibition. He said that he knew who was backing the film and would see that this individual withdrew his support."

Monsignor Dunn was as good as his word. Frank G. Doelger, vice-president and treasurer of the Powell concern, and chief backer of the film, has not only withdrawn his support, but has resigned from all connection with the company. Mr. Doelger is a Catholic.

Meanwhile the National Board of Censorship has passed the amended film and the commissioner of licenses has been induced to view it. The producing company promises its exhibition throughout the country shortly.

SAFEGUARDING BANKING FOR IMMIGRANTS

THE failure of private bankers among the immigrants in Chicago, through incompetence even more than dishonesty, has so emphasized the need of the public regulation of private banks that both political parties in Illinois have pledged the enactment of such a measure. Judge Julian W. Mack adds the important suggestion that the transmission of money abroad should also be under state supervision. In arguing the point he says:

"The remittances that travel from the United States to Europe represent much sacrifice and family devotion. One of the tragedies that has come with the war is the fact that it has often been impossible to reach those who for years have entirely depended on their relatives in America. The immigrant rarely comes to the United States quite free from all responsibilities and obligations toward those he has left behind.

"While much is said about the desirability of family immigration, it still remains true that the careful husband and father will usually precede his wife and family, find whether he can 'make a go of it,' and have some place to take them upon their arrival. Until the family reaches the United States some part of the weekly wage, however small, must be sent to it in Europe, and something must be saved for the purchase of the steamship tickets which will bring the family to America.

"The temptation to dishonesty is particularly great in transmitting money to foreign countries. Because only the name of the banker appears on the receipt given for money sent abroad through reputable banks, express companies and foreign exchanges, which agencies never assume any responsibility until the money is paid them by the immigrant banker, the temptation to dishonesty is particularly great. For their blanks are placed in the hands of bankers without requiring bonds, although some inquiry is usually made as to the honesty of the banker. If he absconds,

and it is discovered that he has failed to transmit money given him to send abroad, and has taken with him the small savings of the newly arrived immigrant, there is no practical legal redress when, as often happens, no resources beyond a little office furniture are found."

Judge Mack's remedy for this laxity is:

"The requirement of a license or certificate of authority before engagement in the business of transmitting money to foreign countries. The requirement of a deposit of money or securities and a bond by all applicants for such licenses, the bond to be conditional upon the faithful transmission of all moneys received by the licensee for that purpose. Requirement that money received for transmission be sent within a definite short period of time, such as five days from its receipt, the initial burden of proof of the transmission of the money to be upon the licensee. Requirement that proper books of record be kept by the licensee."

A state control of the steamship ticket offices is also suggested as possibly necessary to control conditions such as are discovered by the Immigrants' Protective League, of which Judge Mack is president.

UNIVERSITY HELP IN CIVIC AWAKENING

COLORADO gives tokens of an awakening civic spirit all the more noteworthy because shown by the smaller cities and larger towns of different type. Citizens of Sterling, Gunnison and Grand Junction prompted the state university to add to its extension division the Bureau of Common Welfare the establishment of which was reported in THE SURVEY for July 29. It was the university's response to the claims for help which these and other communities made to solve their local problems.

According to the report of its initial year's work by its secretary, A. E. Gilman, the bureau succeeded equally well in rallying and interesting cooperation and follow-up effort in the smaller rural, mining and commercial centers. At Fort Morgan the active participation of over 100 people in a rural population of 4,000 was secured in the welfare conference and the exhibits devoted to public health, child welfare and civic improvement. As a result the services of a community nurse were secured and the plan for improving the highways is being carried out by the cooperation of the county commissioners and the voluntary contributions of private citizens and corporations.

At Louisville, a typical coal mining town of about 1,800 population with a large foreign element, the problem was to get together the citizens who had been badly divided by labor difficulties. After patiently waiting and working, people of differing nationalities, faiths and labor interests were gotten to work harmoniously together. A street sprinkler, the

October in the Beet Fields

By Edward N. Clopper

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

Photos by Hine.



PULLING AND PILING BEETS BY HAND

THE sugar-beets have matured and the harvest is on. Throughout the country where this important crop is raised, the workers are in the fields "pulling." A sort of plow known as a "puller" is run between the rows to loosen the soil. The workers who follow the puller, draw out a beet with each hand, knock the two together to dislodge the clinging soil, throw them in piles, and stoop for the next pair.

Although this is generally called "piling," most of the work is in the pulling, for a child must often exert his full strength, especially when the ground is caked, or very moist and sticky. After having been pulled, the larger beets were found to weigh, with the tops and attached soil, about twelve pounds each, the average weight of the beet alone being five pounds. Instances were found of children working from 5 A.M. to 7 P.M. in the rush season, their average workday being from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M.

In the picture above the children are eight, ten, thirteen and fifteen years old, and are shown pulling and piling on a farm in Colorado. There are ten members of the family cultivating this land.

In addition to being hard work, this field labor keeps the children from school. Although the rural schools of Colorado open early in September, the compulsory attendance law is not enforced in the beet districts, and thousands of children are kept away so that they may help, and thereby make it unnecessary to hire "hands." One parent declared to a school principal that his boy was worth \$1,000 for work during the beet season, but if he went to school he was nothing but an expense. An eleven-year-old girl was found who, with her sister of seven, is kept out of school to work in the beet fields, although her family boasted that they made \$10,000 last year from their farm.

In a study made of school attendance in the beet regions of Colorado last autumn, it was found that each beet-working child missed on the average nearly two whole months of schooling in the harvest season, while the non-beet-working children each missed only about ten days of school. This prolonged absence keeps the children backward in their studies, and although the teachers say the beet workers could do just as well as the others in school if they attended regularly, we find that about 54 per cent of them are retarded as against only 20 per cent of the non-beet-workers.



EACH BEET, WITH THE SOIL CLINGING TO IT, WEIGHS ABOUT TWELVE POUNDS

solution of the water problem, boys' and girls' agricultural clubs, are among the results which followed.

La Junta, a railway center with 7,000 people, many of them Mexicans, presented a difficult task because of the indifference to community conditions and problems. The milk and foods exhibit prompted a chemistry class to inspect the dairies surrounding the town and report its findings in the local paper. The local trades and churches were also stirred to new activities by the conference.

At Holly, a farming community of only 900 population, strong factional feeling over politics was diverted toward the promotion of a better community spirit and efficiency. Special dairy posters were distributed in a thousand country homes, with invitations from the merchants to attend the conferences. A fly campaign and a babies' health conference were thus promoted.

FOR A CIVIC-RELIGIOUS BUREAU

THE SOCIAL SERVICE Commission of the Episcopal diocese of Chicago has initiated a movement which bids fair to bring most of the religious bodies of Chicago into active cooperation with the Central Council of Social Agencies in maintaining a clearing house of information for the use of the constituent organizations, and the public through them.

Last year the commission began to submit to the various religious bodies of the city, Jewish, Protestant and Roman Catholic, the proposal to establish this Civic-Religious Bureau, "devoted to the collection and dissemination among its constituent bodies, and throughout the community, of accurate information on moral questions of civic import, particularly those affected by public administration." The need of such an agency was urged "to guide in the redemption of the city from the many ills from which we now suffer because of the failure to get the civic situation before the people and thus to arouse them to united, intelligent action."

It is planned "to act as the connecting link between the skilled and active social service of the community, as represented by the Central Council of Social Agencies with its affiliated bodies, and the religious people of Chicago." Independent investigations are not contemplated, except in so far as it may be necessary to supplement those of other agencies in order to make them more serviceable to the churches. It is hoped to issue a bulletin as occasion may require, like that by which the Chamber of Commerce of the United States keeps its constituency of business men informed of facts, movements and tendencies. Out of such cooperation it is believed a comprehensive, coordinating social program and a far more united community action would evolve.

The Central Council of Social Agencies hospitably entertains the proposition and has appointed a committee consisting of James Mullenbach, chairman, W. T. Cross, Eugene T. Lies and Graham Taylor to represent it in cooperating with the religious bodies.

William C. Graves, formerly secretary of the State Board of Charities, has most actively promoted this movement, acting officially as the chairman of the Episcopal Social Service Commission. In a forcible address on *Cooperation vs. Competition in Social Service*, at the diocesan convention dinner, he urged that the moral and educational readjustment within the churches, of which the social service movement is a part, requires "united goodness, united virtue, united well-doing." Only by such united action as will be "state-wide and religion-wide," he thought, "the central essence of our Christianity can be maintained."

While conceding that "since professional work has entered into the social field the church has largely withdrawn and the sacred service of ministering to human hearts and souls in the social sense has become to a great extent secular and professional," Mr. Graves maintained that "there must be more than skill in all human ministry, there must be love, there must be religion, because social 'cases' are broken spirits, perplexed souls, despairing hearts." Although many kinds of treatment are necessary, "without one ingredient there can be no cure, and that is love and faith." "Religious people as such," he claimed, "must unite with the social experts and put more friendship and spirituality into social ministry. A new morality, a new social education, a new united action, a new infusing of religious faith and love into a society insufficient unto itself—that is the heart of the social service movement."

Such a spontaneous local initiative as this encourages and justifies the country-wide "federated movements" effort instituted by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, under the leadership of Fred B. Smith and Roy B. Guild, who is now with a colleague crossing the continent to rally religious bodies and social agencies in cooperative efforts for the advancement of their respective communities.

NOT SHRAPNEL—BUT A LITTLE SYMPATHY

WHEN the Vera Cruz incident was at its height, Congressman William Kent of California made a ringing speech in the House, in which as an American investor, with one or two millions tied up in Mexican properties, he stood out against war or intervention; claiming that he and his fellow investors took the risk for themselves, when they put their money into foreign properties, and that he did not want to send his own sons or anybody else's sons in after his.

Now comes another large California investor, Colonel "Dan" M. Burns, in an interview in the San Francisco *Bulletin*. Colonel Burns went to Mexico thirty-three years ago with a capital of \$100, and his rise to wealth is described by the *Bulletin* as one of the picturesque romances of enterprise with which the whole Pacific coast is familiar. He is identified with large mining interests in Durango and Sinaloa, and has extensive holdings of timber land, a hydro-electric plant, etc.

"I do not wish to see Mexico blotted out in blood by this nation because it is the stronger," says Col. Burns, "or to have tens of thousands of my own fellow countrymen slaughtered because I chance to have some dollars invested there." At the outbreak of the revolution, he points out, there were not less than 125,000 Americans in Mexico. A large proportion of them were scattered among lonely ranches, or engaged in prospecting. Out of this large number, less than 200, as far as he can learn, have lost their lives through lawlessness, and these mostly in the turbulent states of the northern border.

"That is just 200 too many," he adds, "but while judging distracted Mexico it is only fair to take a retrospect of our own history," and especially the period following the Civil War in such border states as Tennessee, Missouri and Kentucky. During the last six years in Mexico, every revolutionary faction that has rocked the country has taken possession of the San Dimas district, where he operates a number of active mines. Nobody has been killed or injured, nor have the wheels stopped running for an instant. He explains it this way:

"What has really played havoc with Mexican investments far more than internal disorder has been the difficulty in shipping in indispensable supplies. . . . In our case, long before the revolution, having some seven thousand men, women and children to feed and clothe, in a mountainous, non-producing region, we made it a rule to keep two years' supplies on hand. This has been our salvation. Owing several hundred pack animals, with a large balance against the future, we have been able to supply the necessities of our people and of our business without interruption."

Colonel Burns points to an increase in imports and exports between the United States and Mexico of from \$88,000,000 to \$119,000,000, as the best evidence not only of an extraordinary revival of international commerce, but an indication "beyond all question of a country rapidly returning to good order and industrial peace." This California mine-owner makes the same challenge that Dr. Washington Gladden made in his noteworthy sermon last June. He says:

"What Mexico needs from the United States is not invading armies or shrapnel, but a little sympathy—a little active help. We have given both without stint to the war-stricken people of Europe.

Why not to the people of our nearest neighbor? While things are mending there is still profound distress in many parts of Mexico with the poorer classes. Among the many fine traits of these people is a deep and abiding sense of gratitude. Just a little work of the practical kind would end at once the feeling of distrust against this country for which recent events have given only too good cause. From the bare standpoint of selfishness, no investment could bring better fruit."

A STATE HOUSE CLINIC ON HEALTH INSURANCE

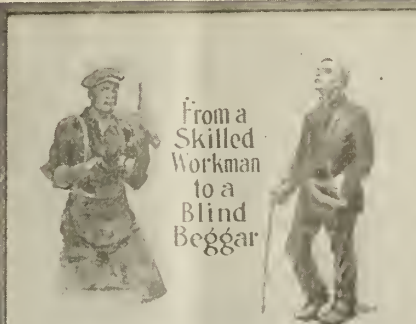
THE MASSACHUSETTS Commission on Social Insurance held its first public hearing on October 3, in the largest audience room in the State House, twice moving to accommodate the interested people who thronged in, several hundred, in all, and remained until after 11 o'clock at night when the discussion closed.

The commission gave its undivided attention to the subject of health insurance, postponing for future consideration the other two parts of its program indicated by Governor McCall, insurance for old-age and for unemployment. Said Carroll W. Doten, a member of the social insurance committee of the American Association of Labor Legislation, in concluding his discussion of the proposed measure:

"I was a member of the Massachusetts commission to prepare workman's compensation bills five years ago; and although there had been several years of spirited discussion of the accident problem, we never had so large a hearing indicative of keen public interest as is shown in this on health insurance. The opposition to health insurance is also milder than that to workman's compensation."

Prominent representatives of hospitals, dispensaries, visiting nurse organizations, labor organizations and practicing physicians as well as social workers were present and spoke at the hearing. A few employers talked about paternalism and pauperism; a few physicians seemed to fear that their practice would be interfered with if such a law as the compulsory insurance law were passed, and others thought that the efficiency of present hospitals and dispensaries would be lessened. But the majority of the audience realized that the present equipment for health protection of Massachusetts was entirely inadequate, and saw in the new movement possibilities of great value. At its recent convention the Massachusetts Federation of Labor, in common with several other prominent labor organizations, instructed its legislative committee to support the health insurance campaign.

The hearings were reported fully in the press all over the state, many papers commenting editorially upon the proposed insurance plan, and indicating cordial approval.



From a Skilled Workman to a Blind Beggar

HE TOOK A CHANCE!

Largely because both employers and workmen take chances there are nearly **200,000 ACCIDENTS TO EYES** in United States industries every year

In one county in Ohio one eye is lost every eleven days

Do you know the methods for reducing hazards in your industry or your trade? Are you using them?

National Committee for the Prevention of Blindness
130 East 22nd Street, New York

ONE of five panels in a new exhibit on industrial hazards to the eye, prepared by the National Committee for the Prevention of Blindness for use at gatherings of employers and employes. Miniature reproductions and half-tone plates for publication may be had of the committee at 130 East 22 street, New York city. North Carolina, and then Minnesota, are to have state-wide educational campaigns in charge of the committee's field secretary, Gordon L. Berry. The new secretary of both the national and New York state committees is Winifred Hathaway.

CHILDREN WHO ARE NEED-LESSLY BLIND

THE National Committee for the Prevention of Blindness has recently completed a census of the causes of blindness that are responsible for the enrollment of 3,858 children in 31 state schools for the blind and 4 classes for blind children in public school systems, during the year 1915-16.

Foremost among the causes discovered is ophthalmia neonatorum, or "babies sore eyes," an inflammation of the membrane covering eyelids and eyeballs, appearing a few days after birth, and frequently (though not always) indicating a syphilitic infection. It has been one of the most prolific and needless sources of blindness in the United States.

The first such census was taken in 1910 by the New York Committee for the Prevention of Blindness, and the number of pupils then blind from ophthalmia neonatorum out of the total of 2,018 in the 16

schools reporting, was 521, or 25.8 per cent. Since that year there has been a gradual decrease recorded until the figures for the year just ended show out of the total enrollment of 3,858, 843 (21.8 per cent) blind from this disease. As to the outlook, Gordon L. Berry writes:

"Of the 666 pupils newly enrolled for the year 1915-16, there were 127 (19 per cent) blind from ophthalmia neonatorum. This is the lowest percentage reported during the past nine years with the exception of that in the school year 1914-15, 15.1 per cent. This gratifying annual decrease is undoubtedly attributable to a more general understanding of the dangers from inflammation of the eyes of the new born, and the adoption of preventive measures."

The census reports the highest percentages of pupils blind from this disease to be in Vermont, 50 per cent; Colorado, 38.6 per cent, and New Mexico, 37.3 per cent. In Vermont and New Mexico there are almost no legislative provisions for prevention of blindness from this cause.

Among pupils newly admitted, the highest percentage for the past year is shown in the figures from Nebraska—50 per cent, with Maryland a close second—40 per cent.

Causes other than ophthalmia neonatorum found to account for pupils' blindness were: accident, 306; progressive near-sightedness, 77; trachoma, 56; interstitial keratitis, 146; decay of optic nerve, 340; congenital defects, 824; wood alcohol poisoning, 5.

That in addition to wide publicity, legal provisions are necessary, the committee urges strongly. Its "Leaflet No. 9" just issued, gives a tabulation of laws on this subject in the different states, summarizing the information as follows:

The reporting of babies' sore eyes to the local health officer, or to a physician is compulsory in 37 states

The reporting law is printed on the birth certificate in 7 " Local health officers are authorized and required to secure medical attention for uncared-for cases, or to warn parents of the dangers and advise immediate treatment in 21 " Births are reported early enough to be of assistance in prevention of blindness work in 11 " The question as to whether or not precautions were taken against ophthalmia neonatorum is included on the birth certificate in 14 " Free prophylactic outfits are distributed to physicians and midwives in 16 " The use of a prophylactic (specified by the State Board of Health) as a routine, is compulsory in 15 " and strongly recommended in an additional 5 " Popular educational leaflets, relating in whole or in part to

prevention of infantile blindness, are distributed by State Departments of Health in. . . . 29 states

FEDERAL HELP TO A STRICKEN CITY

THE advantages of having the federal Public Health Service mount guard over New York's maritime quarantine were pointed out by THE SURVEY last winter (see THE SURVEY for January 8, 1916). Recently the value of the service has been further demonstrated, this time in domestic interstate quarantine in connection with the epidemic of poliomyelitis.

Since the first of July nearly 50 officers of the service have been in the city, one group engaged in epidemiological work; the other, stationed at ferries and other points of departure from the city, issuing, under proper credentials, certificates that, as far as can be known, no infection has existed in the homes of those about to travel. In view of the decrease in the number of cases of poliomyelitis in New York, and therefore the lessening danger that people who leave the city may carry infection with them, this quarantine division, under the leadership of Dr. Charles E. Banks, will presently withdraw from the city.

Certain definite results of permanent value for public health work have followed this certification, and these results have been estimated for THE SURVEY by Dr. Banks himself.

First, the stabilization of public opinion through the influence of regular officers of the service, trained in the management of epidemics, who were assigned to duty in this city. It will be recalled that (see THE SURVEY for August 5) when the Service officers first appeared, many people were alarmed by their khaki uniform, and fearing that they were soldiers, thought that conditions were very serious and that this meant military control. This panic, however, soon gave way to confidence and satisfaction.

A second result was the standardization of methods adopted by local quarantine officers in other states, who had been inclined to adopt harsh restrictive measures in the absence of accurate knowledge of the extent of the epidemic. When heavy headlines first announced the spread of the epidemic, "shot-gun quarantines" were promptly established, ranging from an isolation period of two weeks to one of eight weeks, or even demanding total exclusion of travelers from New York. The uniformity of quarantine, which to some degree at least has been worked out, has meant a better understanding of exact conditions and an intelligent application of scientific principles.

Third, the certification has guaranteed travel as reasonably safe. Identification cards were accepted by outside communities, because they were issued after ex-

amination by trained officials who were not influenced by local sentiment. With the memory still in mind of other epidemics of various kinds, officials in other states naturally looked with suspicion on any certificate issued by local authorities of New York, as coming from those interested.

Finally, the work of the Public Health Service officers has been a demonstration of the value of a centralized authority with power to deal with interstate problems of disease transmitted by common carriers, and with the backing of congressional statute. Such backing is provided for the Service officers by the quarantine law of 1893.

COUNTY BOARDS OF PUBLIC WELFARE

A COMPLETE sketch of the recommendations of the Missouri Children's Code Commission is embodied in a preliminary report recently formulated. The report is being used as a basis of criticism and suggestion, and will be followed immediately by the drafting of the entire code. The report covers all classes of children. It develops new and radical standards, and discusses methods of carrying out the provisions of the code.

The chief recommendation for administrative purposes is the creation of a county board of public welfare in each county, composed of the three judges of the county court, the judge of the circuit court and the school superintendent. This board of five is to employ as superintendent a trained social worker who must hold a certificate of fitness from the State Board of Charities. The commission is also advocating placing the county health officer under the board of public welfare so as to bring all the health and social work of the county under one directing head.

Only two new state agencies are recommended, an industrial commission to take over the work of five or six separate departments dealing with industry, and a state board of medical examiners to license medical practitioners.

An active educational campaign will be conducted throughout the state before submitting the report to the legislature in January. The work is being done under the direction of Judge Rhodes E. Cave, chairman.

A MUNICIPAL PLAYGROUND CAMP

MORE than 1,300 people, among them day laborers and ministers, doctors and clerks, have enjoyed an inexpensive vacation this year at the Los Angeles Playgroup Camp.

Started in 1911 this municipal camp has steadily grown more popular. The first year it was located at a beach resort, the next two in the San Gabriel Canyon, but since 1914 it has been situ-

ated on leased government land in the San Bernardino Mountains at an altitude of 4,500 feet and approximately 76 miles from Los Angeles.

As a camping spot the place is ideal. There is opportunity for long hikes in the forests, for swimming and fishing in the mountain brooks, for tennis, baseball and organized play at the camp itself. This year some forty-six cabins have been constructed as well as a building combining kitchen, store room and cook's headquarters, an open-air dining-room capable of seating 300 people, two modern toilet buildings, a bath house with tubs and showers, a concrete plunge 30 by 65 feet and a graded athletic field. At present a lodge is being completed which will contain an office, reading rooms and a large entertainment hall.

Outings are conducted for boys and men in two groups and for women and girls who also go in two groups. The entire expense covering transportation, food and housing is \$7.50 for two weeks or \$5.50 for one week. Campers are required to furnish their own bedding, towels and other personal effects.

Not only does this simple wholesome vacation react upon Los Angeles in building up a strong and healthy population but in stirring community responsibility and consciousness. People are glad that they are citizens of Los Angeles when they feel that city officials take some interest in their welfare. As one of the city councilmen has put it: "More civic pride is developed around the camp fire in five minutes than in the city in one year."

POOLROOMS IN COLUMBUS, OHIO

A RECENT study of poolrooms in Columbus, Ohio, conducted by the committee on program and surveys of the Central Philanthropic Council, revealed that 112 rooms had no connection with saloons, 100 were inside bar-rooms, and 31 were connected with bar-rooms by doors. Only one out of every three had an unobstructed view from the street.

Of every three men found in poolrooms, one was playing and two were loafing. Of every four high school boys, three knew how to play pool. Many learn to play at the age of twelve, though the greater number learn between fourteen and sixteen. More learn to play in a poolroom than in any other one place—and poolrooms are widely recognized as having a direct relationship to juvenile delinquency—though home, club and Y. M. C. A. teach a considerable number.

Columbus at the present time has no ordinance governing poolrooms. The Central Philanthropic Council urges that the city superintendent of public welfare exercise control of the inspection and supervision of public poolrooms.



The Lighthouse for Blinded Soldiers

By *Winifred Holt*

FOUNDER OF THE NEW YORK ASSOCIATION FOR THE BLIND

FOR many years the good Abbé Moureau had directed a little group of industrial blind workers. His quarters were situated in part of an old church in Bordeaux. In fair weather the blind workers caned chairs in the cloister. In the midst of the cloister was a patch of wild garden where a white donkey had a foretaste of heaven.

Suddenly the war came, blasting this peaceful scene. Although there were more blind men than ever before to be cared for, the resources of the abbé dwindled and dwindled until he even sold his wonderful collection of butterflies to keep his blind patients busy.

I had just landed in Bordeaux and helped by letters from the French ambassador and the Red Cross started at once to see how the Committee for Men Blinded in Battle could supplement the government's efforts in behalf of blind soldiers. I discovered the abbé, heard about his struggle, and immediately realized that here was our first opportunity for helpfulness. With funds remitted from my committee in New York, it did not take long to persuade the abbé to take over the re-education of men blinded in battle who were sent to the Bordeaux hospitals. His "Comité" was

reorganized to help locally while we assisted by giving them games, writing tools, materials, and the like. Now it has bought a charming old chateau where there are forty beds for convalescent blind as well as classrooms, workshops, and living rooms. There are beautiful grounds with yew trees and old rose bushes about the chateau. In the midst of the flowers stands a statue of Jeanne d'Arc, holding her standard. The blind men say that she, their patron saint, will lead them through their battle in the dark to victory and light. The abbé even changed the name of his hostel from *Les Travailleurs du Sud-Ouest* (workers of the southwest) to *Le Phare de Bordeaux* (the Bordeaux lighthouse).

Our flame of hope for the blind soldiers of France thus kindled at Bordeaux

*I*N the first row of the picture above, a young French lieutenant, blinded in battle, holds the seal of the French lighthouse, patterned on its famous predecessor in New York city. Miss Holt stands in the second row, next to the soldier holding the flag.

has spread rapidly. Shortly, we established our home teaching and classes for re-education at the Hôtel de Crillon in Paris where we started a census bureau and had the privilege of giving over 30,000 francs to other organizations working for the blind, good proof that the keystone of our labors is always co-operation. We have also given away over 4,000 gifts, including a radiograph, machines, tools, games, delicacies, etc.

When the work increased, the government offered us a beautiful palace for headquarters, but when it came to signing the last papers we found that the property which has been requisitioned from an Austrian prince might be taken from us at short notice.

We therefore rented our present building 14 Rue Daru, Paris, from the pope. The only stipulation is that we accept English and Belgian as well as French soldiers. Since the former are provided for excellently at St. Dunstan's we probably will have none among our pensioners. But on the continent, we are as far as we know, the only college for the re-education of the blind. The work is under the High Patronage of the President of the Republic, the American Ambassador and the Ministers of War, Marine, Interior and Public Instruction.

We are dependent on the Department of the Interior and the Ministry of War who subsidize us.

Here at the *Phare de France* the demand for our hospitality is great. Among our guests we have a commandant, two captains, four lieutenants, several adjutants and regular soldiers. We accept, here, however, only soldiers of superior intelligence and of sufficient education to profit by the opportunities we offer. It is our plan to give a soldier, who has acquired "ten eyes on his finger tips" and enough knowledge to make him reasonably independent, the necessary tools and materials to follow his calling at home or to send him into other centers of work where he, in turn, can teach his unfortunate comrades.

Thus, we have one captain who, we might say, belongs to our correspondence school. We have given him a typewriter and while he is now studying by himself, we expect soon to have him with us for a short course at the French lighthouse. Another pupil, a lieutenant who stayed two months with us, was recently married. We gave him an Underwood typewriter for a wedding present. He is now on his wedding trip, but expects to return to the *phare* for a sort of "post-graduate course."

In addition to our residents we have day-pensioners who take their meals at the lighthouse and follow the entire day's program, and also men who merely attend special classes.

Among the subjects taught at the *phare*, of course, Braille, typewriting and stenography are the most popular as well as the most necessary since this is the knowledge that will unite the blind with the world of their fellows. Indeed, our special commercial course is such a success that the men would rather miss the theater than that hour.

The arts and crafts school is also popular. Many of the men feel that it is a great advantage for them to have industrial as well as intellectual equipment. We have reconstructed a former stable, making it into an excellent workshop where the men weave, operate knitting machines, or busy themselves with the printing-press which has just been installed. Modeling, too, is popular and a great help in educating the sense of touch.

Still another method of making touch more sensitive is through a small museum containing statues, practical machinery, tools and appliances which the men may study at their leisure. A recent exhibit of the work done by mutilated soldiers included our exhibit of very beautiful pottery, weaving, statues and other objects of art. It was the best possible demonstration of the intelligence, perseverance and enthusiasm of these new recruits of light through work.

Put all work and no play makes blind Jack a dull boy too. Every morning the men have gymnastics and sports of which

they are very fond and which they say puts them in good condition for "real work." Fencing is one of their chief sports and their professor, who is one of the most renowned fencing masters in Paris, brings to his work an enthusiasm which enables him to obtain astonishing results.

We have organized a blind man's club, of which Pierre Villey, the famous blind professor at Caen, is an honorary president. Various entertainments are given, the Théâtre Français puts good seats at our disposal every week and we have a box at the Opéra. In fact it is often through games and amusements that the man's confidence is won and his interest in life reawakened.

For example, I was recently taken by an American Ambulance doctor to a patient from Verdun. He had lost his sight, his right arm and was otherwise wounded. All I could do was to talk to him at the doctor's request and to give him an idea of light through work.

On my second visit I introduced him to an American checker-board adapted for the blind. He consented to play and finally beat me in a game of checkers. He was so pleased at his success that all his boyish sense of fun returned and he giggled with glee until the nurse was afraid he would reopen his wounds. He is now learning Braille and other simple things and is a regular pupil of our home teacher.

The lighthouse staff is admirable. It is headed by a French lady, with a writer of some distinction, as director. We have five professors who are themselves blind—two, refugees from Arras and organists of note. The remainder of our teaching staff is sighted. At present, we have no Americans, excepting among the volunteers. In its small clinic the lighthouse has the benefit of

the advice and constant aid of two well-known French physicians, and, as visiting physician, of Dr. Scarlett, director of the American Hospital at Neuilly and director of the ophthalmological department of the American Ambulance.

In addition we have home teachers who give instruction in the hospitals and in the homes of the *reformé* soldiers. The home teachers' duties are by no means restricted to teaching, however. To give in hospitals and home the first consolation and knowledge of a possible horizon of light for the blind is perhaps the most important task of these emissaries.

A doctor telephones that a new man has come from the front, blind, hopeless, and in need of light. The home teacher goes to him and shows him a new horizon in blindness.

Often the cases are so pathetic that words seem useless. A Zouave, strong and handsome before the war, came back, carried like a little child, with no eyes, no legs and only one arm. But when he discovered that he could read with his left arm he was eager to come to Paris and learn how to be blind. He actually laughed aloud with the idea of his being able to be a wage-earner again and to marry the little girl who was his fiancée and still remained faithful to him.

Another man with no eyes or arms we were able to help principally through his wife, a valiant soul, from whom we have offered to buy all the vegetables she raises. We are in hope, too, that we may discover some simple occupation for the man when articulated arms are fitted to him.

Several of our pupils are already self-supporting. One, in six months, returned to his retail business which he conducts with such entire success, writing all letters and keeping accounts, that he has been forced recently to remove to larger quarters.

Another man in two months, was educated to write excellent typewritten letters and keep his accounts. He became a machine knitter and turns out such excellent work that he has more orders than he can fill.

So it goes on, this work of moulding these heroic men into self-helpful citizens. To weigh its worth one only has to see the look of hope that comes back to their faces and to hear their words of gratitude.

"I would like to be a poet to sing to you of my rebirth," wrote one soldier to me, "but alas! I am neither poet nor writer, only a peasant. . . . Thanks to you, and to the good teachers about you, I can say without exaggeration that I feel glowing within me a light that throws its rays into the closed chamber of a spirit which I believed would forever live in darkness. At the Lighthouse of France I have found the Light."



A blind Swede learning to model at the French lighthouse. Although he has lost both eyes in a war which did not involve his country, he said with a bright smile: "I should have at least done that for France." He has been decorated with the Croix de Guerre and the Médaille Militaire.

Food, Shelter, and Clothing

By Emma A. Winslow

HOME ECONOMIST NEW YORK CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY

THE high cost of living to the contrary, it is a privilege to have to buy food and clothing and to pay the landlord. There is a great deal more involved in a visit to the market than merely the obtaining of something to eat. The round steak and hashed-brown potatoes which have just been placed upon the dinner table contain a psychological as well as a nutritive benefit. They include an educational factor as important as the public school system. They stand for the principle of barter, a principle that the housewife unconsciously affirms each time she asks her neighbor, "With what butcher do you trade?"

Similarly, living in an apartment has a greater significance than the mere fact of being sheltered from the rain. Each time a five dollar bill is taken from the weekly pay envelope and tucked in the second bureau drawer over against the monthly call of the rent collector, another great educational principle has been observed—the principle of foresight and thrift.

Nor is the value of clothing limited to protection against the weather. Clothing, indeed, is an art that is more universal than poetry or sculpture or music. It is the great vehicle for self-expression, great because it is a vehicle that everybody can use.

This is not to say that the homes we live in and the food we eat are not opportunities for self-expression any more than it is to say that clothing is not a means for developing foresight. Our thesis is simply that each one of these three necessities of life has its dominant psychological factor; that of food being barter, that of rent being foresight, and that of clothing being self-expression.

The poorer a family is the more important a place in its life do these psychological factors take. For the household that is circumscribed by poverty and correspondingly limited in its opportunities for culture and recreation, it is impossible to estimate the educational importance of the business of buying wisely and economically. The dealing with different people, the visiting of different stores, the search for the bargain, and the administering of a two-dollar-a-day income develop shrewdness, judgment and taste and, in addition, increase the acquaintance of the family and the variety of its contacts with the world.

Deprive a person of the function of spending and you make that person poor indeed.

Witness, for example, the experience of Mrs. Czech. For three years after

her husband's death she was not obliged to use money in any way. A charitable society paid her rent and insurance and supplied her and her six children with food and clothing. Mrs. Czech's only economic responsibility was the use of provisions and commodities after they had been delivered to her home.

Theoretically the family was receiving perfect care. And yet Mrs. Czech did not seem to be making the best of her opportunities. Apparently she had no interest in the appearance of her home or of her children. She exerted herself only to the point of fulfilling the requirements of the organization that was helping her. She seldom mended the children's clothing, obtaining instead other garments from the society. Even the health of the family began to deteriorate. The faces of the children became sallow and pasty. Evidently their food was not agreeing with them; nor was this surprising, for the mother was not at all particular about the way it was cooked.

Three Cents for Sauerkraut

RECOGNIZING its failure, the society decided to see how Mrs. Czech would react to a different plan of treatment. Accordingly, a weekly allowance was given to her and she was told to do her own buying. Her first expenditure was three cents for sauerkraut. She had been accustomed to this delicacy from childhood and for three years she had longed for it while packages of macaroni, in which she was not at all interested, lay unused upon her shelves.

Housekeeping soon became a delight, the visit to the corner grocer and then to his competitor across the way, an adventure. Now Mrs. Czech was able to buy what she wanted when she wanted it. She began to cultivate that epicurean attitude toward food that makes the way things are cooked one of the most important subjects of thought and of conversation.

Gradually the scope of her administration was extended until she had full charge of the family budget. Correspondingly, the appearance of her home improved. From an indifferent, dependent sort of person Mrs. Czech grew to be an enthusiastic, systematic housekeeper. It is not surprising that the children gained in health. By the time that they were able to earn enough to maintain the home their mother had become so remarkable a domestic economist and had made such a success of her family life that now the head of the charitable society says that whenever she feels dis-

couraged about her work she pays a call upon Mrs. Czech and straightway forgets all her troubles.

This happened several years ago, and probably it would not be easy to find an instance of such mistaken relief in kind in the current work of any well-conducted charity organization society. But although the present tendency is away from such a method of administration, there is always the temptation to overlook the bad effect which the unwise giving of relief in kind has upon those whom we are trying to help. To send groceries, to pay rent, to supply clothing is such a concrete way of giving assistance; it so certainly reaches the family for which it is intended that the real influence which it exerts upon the education of the family is frequently in danger of being forgotten.

There are many pet theories by which we deceive ourselves into believing in the importance of supplying food directly. We say it educates the family in nutritive values; yet learning by doing is the first principle of pedagogy. We say that it is cheaper for a society to make purchases than it is for the family; but a study of 500 food orders conducted recently by the Junior League and the New York Charity Organization Society shows that families can purchase just as cheaply as social workers. Only those few organizations that buy in such large quantities as to be able to take advantage of wholesale rates can purchase more economically than the ordinary housekeeper. But even so, the first interest of social work should be to save families rather than money.

In emergencies it will always, no doubt, be necessary to send an order of food directly to a family through the grocer, but where a household is receiving aid regularly, the best way to educate that family is to give it the responsibility of buying its own food. Feeling this responsibility, it will be quick to profit by any suggestions about nutritive values that the social worker may make.

Let the Family Buy

IF THE EFFORT of charity organization societies is to develop self-reliance and independence in families, then they should make the fullest possible use of the educational opportunities which the psychology of barter involves. Just as editorial criticism helps people to learn to write, so a kind of editorial judgment passed upon purchases can be made of great assistance in adding to a family's knowledge of domestic economy. Only let the family have the fun of buying;

suggest and advise, but do not send the provisions to the door. The sharpening of wits that comes from the search for the best values at the lowest prices and the exercise of choice and discrimination that the provisioning of a household involves are opportunities for development of which the family should be encouraged to make the most.

Even greater than the temptation to select and send food to a household is the temptation to pay rent. It is perhaps easier to raise money for this purpose than for almost any other. Save-at-home funds and similar enterprises are one proof of this. There is nothing that seems so sensible or so satisfying as to say, when the needs of a family come up for discussion, "Well, we will pay the rent; then the Joneses can be sure of having a roof over their heads." But to assume the responsibility for meeting the landlord's bills is to deprive the person one is helping of the chance of exercising foresight and thrift.

Character and the Rent

THE HOUSEKEEPER must have character or must develop it in order to apportion her budget so that from each week's pay envelope a little money may be set aside against the monthly visit of the rent collector. It involves giving up present needs for more pressing future necessities. Is it not true that frequently families which have been receiving allowances in the form of rent are reluctant and almost unable, when their earnings increase, to arrange their income so as to be able to provide for this part of the domestic expenses? If the family is earning enough money to be self-supporting with rent paid for it, why not pay that family the ten or fifteen dollars a month needed for this purpose? Some social workers may object that they cannot trust the judgment of many of their families. But if the family is not taught how to administer its finances by experience how else is it going to learn?

Clothing is the most usual of all gifts among all classes of society. From father to son, from sister to sister, from rich city cousin to less well-off country cousin, from the misfitted friend to the easily fitted friend, from housewife to housemaid, clothing has been passed since the day the first tailor decided to improve business by changing styles. For this reason, if clothing is given in one of the normal ways just referred to, it can be accepted with less loss of self-respect than any other form of relief.

Because of this custom of passing along clothes, a charitable agency can supply a family with clothing without so much fear of causing dependency as when giving money. But the danger of

dependence is not the only thing to be considered in the giving of clothing. The family's loss of opportunity for self-expression is also involved.

More than an Art

SELF-EXPRESSION is one of the fundamental desires of every human being. Just because people are poor does not mean that they have lost this longing. One of the greatest miseries of poverty is the inarticulateness it forces and the limit it places upon the ways in which the poor can express themselves. Seldom indeed have they opportunity or ability to use music, painting, or literature for this purpose. Nor is this handicap confined solely to the poor. For thousands of men and women clothing is the only art. Careful, therefore, should we indeed be not to deprive the poor of this opportunity for self-expression.

Our tastes are not the tastes of those whom we help. Just because we would express our sense of beauty in the purchase of a certain pair of shoes does not mean that this is a universal kind of beauty that everybody will admire. Thus one woman, having been given the opportunity to select a hat from an assortment sent from a Fifth avenue store, chose rather to spend fifteen cents for a frame on Second Avenue and trim it herself. The Fifth avenue bonnet was not being worn three blocks east and this woman wanted to be in style. A certain green coat given to a certain society which, if worn by a person of fashion would have added distinction to her appearance, was refused by woman after woman. Each one felt that it would make her too conspicuous and the coat was not used until it had been dyed and remodeled in order to blend with the styles in vogue among the families of two-dollar-a-day incomes.

Managers of children's institutions have learned what a depressing effect uniformity of dress has upon their charges. The loss of opportunity to express individuality in this way has a very definite effect upon the character of the children. The same thing is true of adults. It is not fair to a family to decide for it what it will wear.

If our object is to bring a household to a normal way of life, then we cannot well refuse to supply it with a cash allowance large enough to cover the item of clothing. There will always be opportunity for the use of old clothing in emergencies. There will always also be opportunity for offering a family casually, now and then, a piece of material or a garment that can be made over to suit the needs of some one of its members. This sort of giving, however, should only be supplementary. Just as

much as possible it should be left to the family to determine how it will express itself in clothes.

Self-expression is, of course, not the only psychological factor involved in the purchase of clothing. Just as there is a great deal of the aesthetic connected with the selection of food and of a home, so there is also opportunity for the display of thrift in the buying of clothing. Clothing expenditures involve from 10 to 15 per cent of the income of the normal family. There is need for foresight in the saving of money toward the obtaining of clothes, as there is in the payment of rent. Because the art of clothing is important does not mean that it has not also an educational value from an economic point of view.

The cash allowance ought to include all household expenditures, fuel and insurance as well as food, rent and clothing. It requires character to set aside money for the payment of insurance just as much as it requires character to provide for rent. To pay one's own fuel bills means to learn economy in the use of fuel. A woman who undertook to pay the gas bills of a certain family was amazed to find that that family used four times as much gas as any of the neighbors. Yet it was not hard to understand the family's point of view: the gas was free.

The Psychology of It

WHAT has been said thus far about the giving of relief has to do with families that are under care for a period of time; it does not apply to emergencies. Under any circumstances, however, it is well to remember that the normal attitude toward the necessities of life is not that of giving but of using. We should not forget that the fundamental purpose of food is not to be donated, but to be eaten. In other words, we must not consider clothing, rent, and food from the point of view of the giver and with regard to his convenience, but rather from the point of view of the recipient and with regard to his welfare.

Second only to the service which the necessities of life perform for the body is the service they render to the mind. If there is one thing that charity organization work teaches it is that people are human beings not human machines, and that you can do nothing for them in a mechanical way. Only by considering the man as a unit—both body and soul—can one offer him effective help. It is not enough to regard food as something to eat, rent as provision for shelter, and clothing as something to wear; one must also remember their psychological connotations of barter, foresight, and self-expression.

Drugs and the Drug User

By Charles B. Towns

TO understand adequately the general problem of drug addiction as it affects society, one must first get a good mental grip on the personal problem of the individual drug-taker. For unless his problem and his peculiar pathology are comprehended, no working knowledge of the broader aspects of the subject is possible, no remedy for the situation as a whole can be safely proposed or supported. So I shall preface my discussion of the national and international fight against drug abuse with a consideration of the formation of the drug habit, the psychology of addiction, and the methods of reclaiming the individual victim.

The drug habit is in every instance a manufactured article. A craving for drugs cannot be transmitted by heredity. Except in the underworld, where mimetic tendencies and constant search for new sensation are largely responsible for the habit, addiction is due in most cases to the doctor or the patent medicine vendor.

The doctor's manufacture of the drug habit is, unfortunately, too often a very simple and logical process, for which he cannot be entirely or even chiefly blamed. A man in pain, knowing the general character and location of his suffering, tells his doctor of it. The doctor makes his diagnosis and possibly recommends an operation. The patient, as fearful of the surgeon's knife as of the gallows, protests. Perhaps he intimates that if the doctor cannot treat him successfully without recourse to an operation, he will find another man who will.

In the meantime the pain increases. He insists that something be given him to relieve it. The doctor gives him something—something thrust beneath his skin through the hollow needle of a hypodermic syringe.

With that first thrust of the hypodermic the patient has discovered what will ease his pain. What more natural than that another injection should be demanded the following day, when the pain again becomes intolerable? More thrusts. Presently, a habit.

If the doctor, being conscientious, refuses to give morphin, the patient who has become intent on having it will search until he finds a doctor who will give it. The conscientious doctor gets no credit for his probity; instead he probably loses a patient. If the doctor on the other hand yields to the patient's insistence, which he often does against his judgment, he has yielded, we must recognize, to a set of circumstances for which he is not responsible. Both he and his patients have fallen victims to the lack of safeguards against the pressure of nor-

*PROBABLY no one person in this entire country has been more closely in touch with the problems of the drug habit or more energetic in the war against the illegitimate use and sale of drugs than has Mr. Towns. In the fourteen years of his experience he has treated successfully more than 6,000 cases of drug addiction. His relation to the medical profession is unique. He has placed freely at the disposal of doctors the formula of his treatment, has published it in medical journals and has been a welcome speaker at medical society meetings. Endorsements of his work bear many distinguished names. Dr. Richard C. Cabot wrote an introduction to his book, *Habits That Handicap*. Mr. Towns' major interest, however, is not with the cure but with the prevention of the drug habit. He has been closely concerned in promoting the Boylan law and other state, national and international legislation which, he says, "I sincerely trust will eventually put my hospital out of business." This and the succeeding articles which he has written for THE SURVEY are of particular interest at this time in view of the amendments to the Harrison drug law which will be proposed during the coming session of Congress.—*
EDITOR.

mal human impulse under abnormal strain. For the lack of proper safeguards in such emergency, society is responsible; which means that those who legislate and those who demand and support legislation are responsible.

There is another and still more appalling phase of the doctor and patient relation, which arises when the doctor himself is a drug-taker. And this situation, which I will take up more in detail later, crops out far oftener than the layman would imagine. The danger to the patient comes from the peculiar psychology of addiction, for one who takes a habit-forming drug is almost certain to become abnormally sympathetic to the suffering of fellow victims. The doctor so enslaved will administer the drug of his addiction to patients, with friendly intent; he will do what he can to help confirmed users get their drugs, even if he makes no profit from it. He will write prescriptions in evasion if not in violation of the law. It is a curious and tragic fact that the drug-taking doctor will

often spread the habit in his own family.

The second broad and easy road to drug addiction is through the use of patent medicines, headache and sleeping potions. The American public has acquired the vicious habit of appealing to the druggist when the physician's services are clearly indicated. A dozen times a day in the experience of any druggist, a customer enters and says: "I want something to make me sleep," or "I want something to cure my headache." Without hesitation the druggist reaches to his shelf and dispenses preparations in which lurks the utmost peril. For while under the present law, as it exists, I think, in every state, druggists cannot prescribe for sufferers, they can advise customers to purchase advertised preparations or those which they themselves compound.

Only a very powerful drug can stop a headache with the speed and completeness that has come to be demanded by the customer of the American drug store. It must be a preparation of a strength sufficient to deaden disordered nerves. It is practically certain to have no curative qualities whatever, for it is chosen because it will be generally effective, not selectively effective. The time cannot be far distant when government will take cognizance of the danger inherent in an unrestricted sale by druggists of sleeping-powders and hypnotics. In such substances lies a peril comparable to that inherent in morphin and cocaine.

It is a popular impression that only those of weak psychology or mental characteristics become enmeshed in the drug habit. There never was a more inaccurate impression. The mentally strong and the morally lofty are as sensitive to pain as their weaker fellows. Unwarned of the peril of the hypodermic, they are as quick to avail themselves of the relief the anodyne affords. And when the drug has been given until that point of tolerance has been reached when its administration cannot be neglected without the violent protest of the physical body, they are as helpless as the most hopeless defective in similar case. This fact has been established by thousands of letters and cases coming under my personal observation. It is responsible for some of the most pitiful instances of lost self-control in all the history of drug addiction.

Nor is the growth of the habit in the individual inevitably accompanied by mental or moral degeneracy, as is generally supposed. In this the drug-taker differs radically from the alcoholic. The latter will often defend his vice. A library might be filled with books, fic-

tional and otherwise, glorifying alcohol and the good fellowship and conviviality it is held to promote. One would search long to find a victim of the drug habit who would speak with affection of the material which has enthralled him. There is no drug addict living who would not hail with joy any opportunity through which he could be sure of gaining freedom.

Drugs vs. Alcohol

THE ALCOHOLIC feels little interest in methods advertised as remedial until his trouble has reached an acute stage. He will deny to his friends and even to himself that he is an alcoholic until he has reached a point akin to hopelessness. The drug-taker, on the other hand, knows that he is a victim as soon as he becomes one. He is immediately filled with an intense longing to be relieved of his addiction.

A drug victim investigates each hint of hope with eager interest, reading, intelligently questioning, experimenting. He shrinks from publicity with a horror backed by acute consciousness of his condition, while the victim of alcohol becomes so morally callous that he takes no thought of consequences, knows no proper shame.

This extreme sensitiveness and secretiveness of the drug-taker is one great obstacle to his reclamation, despite his anxious desire to overcome his slavery, for where his investigation of so-called cures does not impress him with their validity he will hide his addiction from the eyes of the world for years—in many cases, while life lasts.

Nothing but really enforced restrictive legislation, fashioned after the model of the present New York state law, will ever uncover the majority of drug-takers in a community. The New York law has revealed thousands, and in two weeks after it went into effect, forced Bellevue and other hospitals to devote many beds to sufferers from drug deprivation.

But to deprive the drug-taker of his drug without making provision for his proper and humane treatment, is a hellish form of torture. No suffering on earth is more intense than this. Imagination shrinks and falters before its unspeakable agony. Rather than undergo such suffering a victim will resort to the most desperate expedients. I do not doubt that the establishment of an efficient treatment for drug addiction in prisons would result in the commission of crimes by drug-takers unable to procure their drug elsewhere; for they would gladly endure the misery of jail life to procure relief.

I am not entirely sure that this last does not happen in some cases now. For my experience has convinced me that drugs are obtainable in one way or another in practically every prison, and where the law outside is highly restric-

tive and the drug addict is unable to get his drug he will—if he is familiar with prison conditions—leave no stone unturned to force an entry there.

Lest this statement seem an exaggeration of conditions I will refer readers to the experience of Katherine Bement Davis, upon assuming the duties of commissioner of corrections of New York city, as an illustration of the difficulty of suppressing altogether the purveyance of drugs to inmates. Upon investigation Miss Davis discovered that an organized system of drug smuggling existed in the metropolitan institutions, through the collusion of guards and other employes. And once this was done away with, she was confronted with the more difficult task of combatting the abnormally stimulated ingenuity of the drug addicts themselves.

When faced with the terrible prospect of deprivation, plans were invented worthy of a Poe or a Gaboriau. Drugs were brought into the Tombs hidden in the visitors' shoes, "starched" into clean linen, injected into oranges from which the juice had been previously extracted through a minute puncture in the skin.

I have stated that the great majority of drug-users wish nothing so much as to be freed from this slavery, while at the same time they fear nothing so greatly as sudden deprivation of their drug. In the interaction of these two major impulses lies the key to the drug addict's psychology. Failure to appreciate this two-fold and often conflicting state of mind, is responsible for much well intentioned but stupid infliction of useless suffering upon the victims of their own slavery to drugs and society's slavery to ignorance. An efficient remedy for the general condition implies understanding of the nature of drug addiction, both physical and psychological, on the part of doctors and legislators and influential citizens, the passage of proper restrictive legislation, and, supplementary to this, the creation of a system of scientific treatment for drug victims to ensure their reclamation with the minimum of suffering to themselves.

My personal conclusions in the matter of what constitutes "scientific treatment" are the result of fourteen years practical experience in dealing with the victims of drug addiction. And I state them with thousands of letters, case histories and drug histories to support my findings.

To proceed by elimination, I am unalterably opposed to the sanatorium idea, *in toto*. It amounts to a colonization of drug victims, even if it does not go beyond that. And drug victims should not be colonized. If I could devise a way to do so I should propose and fight for a law which would prevent the concentration of drug-users into groups for the piazza discussion of their ailments.

In the special case of the drug-user whose habit can be traced to an initial

alleviation of pain through its use, such patient should be at once examined with the purpose of discovering and diagnosing the underlying cause of that pain. When this is done, treatment should be given to remove the cause of the pain. If that is successful, treatment to eradicate the drug habit may be safely used. Neither of these steps indicates the necessity or desirability of the sanatorium.

There are many sanatoria which are in effect high-priced boarding-houses. As such, their heads are naturally desirous of keeping their boarders as long as possible. It is against human nature for such heads to seek to remove entirely the craving for habit-forming drugs. The man who charges by the week for the care of the sick is unlikely to include cure as a detail of that care. Investigation shows that he does not usually include it.

At a meeting of medical men which I attended some time since, a member of the profession frankly assured me that he could not in his sanatorium adopt my treatment because it would soon depopulate his place! His position and attitude was not at all unique; his candor was.

No physician in private practice should attempt to relieve drug addiction in a manner incidental to the conduct of his practice. It is true that the temptation for the doctor to do this is great. If a patient addicted to the drug habit becomes aware that his physician knows of a treatment which will bring relief, that patient is likely to bring every pressure to bear to induce the physician to administer it. Many sufferers feel a strong aversion to leaving home for treatment. But the home treatment is almost invariably ineffective.

Hospital Treatment

THE HOSPITAL is the place to treat the drug addict. And unless the doctor who has not had experience in this field is brought to a realization of this fact, much time and funds and hope will be wasted, with very probably an accompanying loss of confidence in the doctor on the part of his patient.

If the sanatorium and the inexperienced doctor often fail to benefit the well-to-do drug user, the state, in its treatment of drug addicts which come within the sweep of the law's wide arm, does worse than fail. Especially is the plight of the victim pitiful where restrictive legislation brings to light honest drug-users, *i. e.*, those who have acquired the habit through sickness. To these unfortunates no helping hand is anywhere held out save, at this writing, in New York state.

It is a situation hardest, of course, on the victims, but hard also on society. For illustration, in one of the largest hospitals in America I once came across an old woman crooning and rocking an imaginary baby. She had been formally and legally adjudged insane. As a mat-

ter of fact she was suffering from hallucinations due to sudden deprivation of her drug. I suggested definite medical treatment. In two days the woman had lost her hallucinations and on the third day was dismissed as cured.

It is my belief that insane commitments in the United States might be decreased one-half if in every case where insanity was suspected, but where a drug history or an alcoholic history was also

suspected, the patient should be subjected to the necessary definite medical treatment before final commitment.

In conclusion I want to make clear that the particular things which must be brought about before our drug problem can be considered in any large sense solved, are two: First, the angle of the confirmed drug-user must be understood and appreciated and definite treatment in every case succeed the present emo-

tionalistic helplessness of society towards him. This will mean reclamation. Second, the responsibility for creating and maintaining drug addiction must be put squarely up to the medical profession. This will mean prevention.

These desiderata presuppose education, both of the doctor and of the public; and requisite legislation. What is meant by requisite legislation I will discuss in a succeeding article.

Bridgeport on the Rebound

By Amy Hewes

ONE Sunday last spring Kid, the Soldier of Fortune, came from New York city to Bridgeport, Conn., to spend the day with "the boys." His friends had named him the Soldier of Fortune long before. He was a young fellow who had been working first at one job and then at another, lured on through the city streets by the spirit of youth and adventure; and "the boys" were three of his friends who had left New York to go up to the munition factories in Bridgeport and get the easy work and good pay of which the whole working world was talking.

The four boys walked through the Bridgeport streets looking at the great factories which had sprung up where only marsh land lay a few months before.

"Why don't you stay and try your luck with us, Kid? I'll stump you to walk up to the gate tomorrow and get a job," said one of the boys.

"I'll stay, and I'll take you," said the Kid.

By Monday night he was an oiler in the factory, earning twenty-five cents an hour. A week from the next Saturday night, and for many Saturdays after that, his envelope held \$24.

Kid sent down to New York for his father, who was a machinist by trade. Next day his father went into the factory as a high-paid machinist, and in three weeks he had earned so much money that he knocked off to spend it. When his pockets were empty, he started back to the factory to "roll up some more." Just outside the factory gate a steam-roller was working.

"Hello, boss," said Kid's father, "do you want a guy to run that steam-roller for you?"

"Yes," said the man, "I'll take you for \$25."

"Make it \$35 and I'll run her."

"You're my man," was the answer; and that afternoon Kid's father began to "roll up some more."

With a few modifications the story of Kid, the Soldier of Fortune, is the story of hundreds of the young fellows who

BRIDGEPORT, Conn., is a new city. A year ago it was in a fair way of being smothered by the tremendous prosperity which munition-making had poured in its receptive but unprepared lap. In THE SURVEY for December 4, 1915, Zenas L. Potter told of a lack of houses so great that men earning ordinary wages could not get a home; of its schools all but swamped by the children of its new thousands of workmen; of its congested streets and inadequate recreation. Now a new spirit is at work building a new city. Miss Hewes, former secretary of the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission, appraises it in the light of her experience as an investigator for the Russell Sage Foundation, for which she studied conditions affecting women in munitions factories during the past summer. A summary of her full report will be published in a later issue.—EDITOR.

crowd Bridgeport's brilliantly lighted streets on Saturday and Sunday nights, and an epitomized history of the city's industrial expansion. Awakening Bridgeport is just beginning to see the necessities and opportunities which the hordes of incoming working people have brought. The change brought by munition work has been too rapid, the onslaught too vigorous; the city has barely had time to catch its breath and pull itself together. In a little more than a year and a half it has passed through three sharply defined stages of development.

In the winter of 1914-15, it was groaning under a season of unemployment and hardship and poverty such as it had not seen since the bitter days following the panic of 1907. Except for the depression which such a period brings to any city, it was progressing in an orderly

and conventional manner. It had a population of something over 102,000, a transportation system which met its needs, a conservative city government, and was extending its suburbs and caring for its large foreign population in a restrained and gradual fashion by building new schoolhouses and taking steps toward revising its tenement house laws.

Within nine months great munition factories had been built and thousands of men were working night and day under their roofs to turn out the enormous war orders that were making Bridgeport known as "the new world arsenal." Job-hunters were pouring in on every train. At the same time wages kept rising and labor was at a premium. Advertisements for employes, in which the advantages of the proffered work were described almost pleadingly, filled the daily papers. The families of the incoming workers taxed the housing facilities of the city; rents soared; and stories of eviction of families who could not pay the increased rents for their old homes found their way into print. The transportation service proved inadequate and Bridgeport's narrow streets were filled with innumerable honking jitneys. The population rose by the tens of thousands.

Through it all, it seemed to outsiders that the municipality itself was hardly conscious of its responsibilities. The visitor to Bridgeport saw the thronged streets, the halting transportation service, the lack of recreational facilities, the flimsy three-decker tenements for which rents double those of a year before were asked; and marveled at the apparent failure of the city government to take cognizance of the fact that it was no longer a middle-aged, conservative manufacturing city, but a "boom town," young with the youth of its newest citizens, and full of great possibilities for good or harm, for ugliness or beauty, for loyalty or bitterness, in its new industrial army.

The year 1916 has seen the inception of a new spirit in Bridgeport. Even while the city seemed to be asleep, new ideas had been fermenting. Bridgeport had ceased to be a typical American city,

and had become a unique American city. Under the old order, in most American towns, merchants and manufacturers went their several ways intent on making and selling goods, leaving to the mayor and the Board of Aldermen and the party bosses behind them all concern for the city's housekeeping, a concern which too often took the form of a distribution of plums and lemons. When business men formed associations it was to promote some mutual benefit which did not extend beyond the trade in which they were organized.

Bridgeport has cast aside the old tradition. Nothing better illustrates the new spirit that has captured the city than the Minerva-like appearance of a life-size Chamber of Commerce, not yet a year old, which is advancing upon the city's problems with a program for providing houses for working people to live in, terminal and track facilities to accommodate the enormously increased freight traffic, and street extensions for the tangled thoroughfares.

"We've never had any real cooperation among the business men before," said one enthusiastic member. "Before, when we tried to put through any civic enterprise, it has always ended in mere talk. Nobody would go in for public improvements unless you could assure him that they would increase the value of his own back yard. Today a truce is on. Old opponents are working on the same committees, and we're all agreed that we're going to make this town a good town to live in after all."

More Houses Needed

THE CHAMBER'S most vigorous campaign has been a concentrated effort for more houses. Its members believed that the satisfaction of this need was an important key to the city's continued prosperity. As one of her most far-seeing business men expressed it, "We've got to make people comfortable in order to keep them in Bridgeport." The Remington Arms-Union Metallic Cartridge Company had started an extensive system of company houses, but the completion of a number of these was delayed and even the whole number would have been only a fraction of the number of houses required. Hundreds of desirable men, many of them men with families, had come to the city only to go away again because they could not find suitable homes, or because they could not find houses of any kind.

The Chamber of Commerce sent representatives to study housing projects in other cities, and charged them to distinguish paying investments from the "fancy" experiments of semi-philanthropic agencies, for the new Bridgeport means to conduct her municipal business with truly efficient and business-like methods. The services of John Nolen, city planner, were secured, and the Housing Committee of the Chamber of Commerce proceeded to act on the recom-

mendations given in the report on local housing conditions prepared by him, and submitted in August, 1916.

Mr. Nolen stated that the situation in Bridgeport was "desperate," and recommended the organization of a house building company as "the only good solution of the problem." The Bridgeport Housing Company was formed, capitalized at a million dollars, and backed by several of the city's most prominent and public-spirited citizens. This organization, which contemplates one of the most significant housing operations ever undertaken in this country, has its project already under way. The plans call for houses to accommodate 1,000 families, with rents ranging from \$15 to \$25 a month. F. C. Blanchard, formerly manager of one of the large local companies, has been made manager of the housing company and expert advice has been secured by engaging John Ihlder as housing consultant.

Bridgeport's housing awakening found its way into advertisements which appeared in the papers last spring, in the name of the Build for Bridgeport Movement. In one of these the advantages of "getting together" were urged in the following exhortation:

"GET TOGETHER WEEK.

"We are waking up in Bridgeport. Some of us are a little dazzled by seeing what was before our eyes all the time.

"A lot of us are asleep yet, a sort of restless, active, hypnotic sleep, caused by keeping our eyes fixed on the next dollar in front of us.

"Those who are awake are looking ahead to many more dollars than are in sight now, a steady secure stream of them made permanent by stable prosperity governed by intelligence, by fair play, by honest work.

"We are not going to have this gambler's prosperity handed to us on a silver platter indefinitely. And we can't club it out of each other, when there isn't enough to go round, even if we are silly enough to try it.

"Remember always that the value of a dollar isn't measured by the figure 1 with a sign before it. Its measure is what you can get for it, the work you can make it do for you.

"The biggest work a dollar can do for you just now is to build homes that will pay.

"It is going to take many dollars—all we can spare.

"Big men in Bridgeport are giving their brains and knowledge to the problem, and they will lend their money.

"They can't do it all. It isn't fair to Bridgeport nor to us to let them do it all. It's part of our job.

"All of us must join in and DO IT NOW.

"By this time we all know where we stand; if we have two good feet and a head of our own we can balance on top of them.

"Let's agree right now to go into partnership with our own town and work like honest, loyal partners.

"BE FOR BRIDGEPORT."

The incrowding population pressed upon the city's resources not only for houses but for all other public services necessary for community life. It is generally believed that there are about 150,000 people in Bridgeport today, an increase of nearly 50 per cent over the 102,054 reported by the federal census in 1910. With this influx Bridgeport suddenly outgrew her schools, her hospitals and parks, her bridges and sewers. The public purse needed replenishing and the voters, now awake to the need for immediate action, responded in April of this year by approving the largest bond issues in the city's history. These totaled \$2,275,000, and included provisions for streets, bridges, schools, sewers, clinics and parks, and additional equipment for the police and fire departments.

Looking beyond the enlargement of the beautiful park along the sound and smaller parks throughout the city, a municipal commission has undertaken the big problem of all-the-year-round recreation. The crowds of young men and women who loiter along the streets when the working day is done, the lines of people stretching a block in either direction waiting to get into the overtaxed movies, the throngs rushing for cars to the nearby beaches, these make up the audience which watches for better recreational opportunities for the working people.

Behind the appointment of the Recreation Commission lies the report of the Vice Commission, which laid bare some of the secrets of the underworld and strongly urged the appointment of a body to provide opportunities for healthful amusement and exercise. Like the Chamber of Commerce, the Recreation Commission has obtained expert advice and assistance, and secured a representative of the Playground and Recreation Association of America to survey the situation in Bridgeport in the past summer.

Expert Health Advice

THE VITAL ISSUE of public health forced itself upon the attention of the city in the early summer of 1916. Cases of streptococcal infection, attributed to the milk supply, spread alarm throughout the city, and brought forth determined efforts to locate the source of the trouble and to secure clean milk. Closely upon this followed the danger of an epidemic of infantile paralysis, which was rife in New York city. No time was lost in securing the services of an expert. Dr. Abraham Sophian of the Rockefeller Institute was put in charge of the work of the Board of Health in July. Protective measures were at once enforced, and it is believed that the prompt and thorough work of the department saved the lives of many children.

Another far-reaching benefit came from a general clean-up, and from the educational work done by the inspectors and visiting nurses. The daily press reflected the growing appreciation of the

need of adequate protection of the public health and already the sum which was voted last spring for public clinics is considered inadequate for the up-to-date out-service work which is planned to supplement the hospitals.

Bridgeport has good reason to be proud of the accomplishments of the last few months. Faced with emergencies which taxed her resources beyond their limits, she has set herself vigorously and persistently to her tasks. The newly self-conscious city is aware that her future

growth must be an ordered progress. The habit of securing expert advice has been formed. Higher standards for public health, for schools, for recreation, and for housing are being realized. A better coordination of these separate efforts to meet the new social demands is the next step. The masses of human beings from all occupations and all parts of the world who are pouring through the city's gates must not remain alien and unrelated. A new civic consciousness must be generated in the new Bridgeport.

was shown to have had a vital share.

Joseph Lee, of Boston, president of the congress and of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, sent out from Grand Rapids two special letters to friends of the movement. Preceding paragraphs of this review are taken largely from these official letters describing the congress. In conclusion Mr. Lee wrote: "Help us to develop such virile Americanism as shall also be fully in harmony with internationalism and with the spirit of universal brotherhood."

RED MEN IN COUNCIL

FOLKS who can boast a mere two or three centuries of American lineage would do well to consider the superior claims of those whose ancestors were leaving arrowheads as reminders of hunt and warfare in the forests of the western hemisphere while theirs were introducing the deadlier gunpowder and cannon "somewhere in France."

A representative group of these really native Americans, writes Flora Warren Seymour, met at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, September 26-30 for the annual conference of the Society of American Indians. With them convened a group of Anglo-Saxon associate members.

Most divergent views were set forth in vigorous fashion, yet there was no sign of any desire to hinder their free expression. Those who believe the Indian stolid and unemotional should have heard the impassioned and dramatic demand of Dr. Carlos Montezuma, of Chicago, for the immediate abolition of the Indian Bureau, which both by its repression and by its paternalism he believed to be stifling the proper development of the race.

Dr. Montezuma's plea for the elimination of reservation lines and the mingling of red man and white on equal terms was later championed by General Pratt, the venerable founder of the Government Indian School at Carlisle, Pa. He advocated the removal of the Indian from his racial and tribal environment as the only method to compel his adoption of the customs of the dominant race. The success of the "outing system" which General Pratt inaugurated at Carlisle by placing Indian boys and girls at work in the fields and homes of Pennsylvanians, illustrates the working out of this principle, as also do the accomplishments of individual Indians enlisted in the army among white soldiers, when contrasted with the failure of a plan, adopted for a short time by the War Department, to enlist Indians in companies, each made up of the members of a single tribe.

In marked contrast to these views was the appeal of a delegation of Wisconsin Indians for protection against encroachment by the state authorities on their treaty hunting grounds.

One of the most inspiring features of the conference was the account of Gertrude Bonnin, a Sioux Indian, of her first year of community center work among the Utes of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation in Utah. Sewing circles were organized and simple sewing learned in making garments for the aged and needy of the tribe. The spirit of help-

Conferences

PLAY MAKES MEN

“WHAT right have we to hold a recreation congress,” asked one speaker, “when Europe is aflame, when America is struggling through political, economic, social changes of grave moment? Is recreation statesmenlike? Is it one of the great socializing forces of the day? Can play be a nation-builder?”

One answer suggested at the International Recreation Congress at Grand Rapids, Mich., October 2-6, was that the recreation movement represents the greatest unworked mine of power in every community, writes Charles F. Weller, associate secretary of the Playground and Recreation Association of America. Four million hours of leisure every week in Grand Rapids; three billion leisure homes weekly in the United States. Any great advances in civilization must be developed out of this margin, this slack, this unworked mine. Recreation changes leisure hours from liabilities to assets.

For the invigoration of American life this International Recreation Congress united the advocates and the opponents of military training. Nine-tenths of military training nowadays is trench-digging, outdoor life, obedience, hardihood, courage. These essentials are best developed, not by gun drill, but by games, athletics, physical education.

Wellington said: “The battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton and Harrow.” “Future wars, we hope, will be fought, not from trenches, but on football fields,” said a speaker at the opening session of the recreation congress. He described the internationalizing, civilizing influences of American games in China, India, the Philippines, South America and among five million dispirited men in the prison war camps of Europe. The congress discussed athletics, games and play as the best means of building character and efficiency—whether for peace or for war.

Any one who thinks of “play” as merely childlike, soft, amusing, unimportant, would have been surprised at the hundreds of powerful, earnest men and women assembled at Grand Rapids, intent upon the invigoration of American

life through wholesome use of leisure hours of all the people.

Never before has there been a recreation congress with so large an attendance. To the 7,500 employed playleaders of America represented came the call to formulate programs which shall stimulate and guide all our colleges and schools, all park forces, libraries, city and town governments, uniting them in effective efforts for the strengthening of American life. These forces are strong enough, if vitalized, to bring about an American renaissance.

“What delays us?” asked one speaker.

“Provincialism,” was the answer. “America does not yet exist as a unified ideal. A tragic war would rouse us into genuine nationalism. Disasters like that at San Francisco show how great groups of people may be lifted out of narrowness into idealism and fraternal action. But ordinarily an American lives only for his own nearby community. He may contribute to playgrounds at home, but not to a national movement, not to the upbuilding of boys and girls outside his own narrow range of vision.”

“To re-create America, playleaders must have such vision, such broad, deep, religious fervor as will lead into united action, in every community, all the wets and dries; the Protestants, Catholics, Lutherans, Jews and Gentiles; all school, park and city forces; the politicians and idealists; and all the fifty-seven varieties of common humanity.”

From Uruguay came the report of \$50,000 appropriated annually for physical education and playgrounds under the leadership of a trained man from Kansas. From the arts related to recreation—from music, dancing, and dramatics—vital contributions were made. Enlistment and training for this “new profession” of playleadership were discussed. Rural problems engaged attention more than ever before. Recreation in industries was one of the newer outlooks emphasized by the presence of business men who are planning playgrounds and recreational activities for factories and stores. Governmental departments and prison reform contributed their quota. In Warden Osborne's work of transforming Sing Sing recreation

fulness thus engendered found further expression in the establishment of a rest room for the Indian women and children who came in great numbers to the agency for the transaction of business. The preparation of the room and the serving of lunch to the visitors gave opportunity for lessons in domestic science and sanitation.

At another meeting, an article in THE SURVEY for May 13 on the Indians' use of peyote, reprinted in the *American Indian Magazine*, the quarterly journal of the society, furnished the text for an animated discussion on the evils caused by the use of this drug. A resolution was finally adopted in support of the Gandy bill designed to prevent the traffic in peyote.

Other resolutions commend the new vocational courses in Indian schools and the health campaign among the reservations which has already resulted in a lowering of the death rate; urge Congress to close the Indian Bureau as soon as trust funds, treaty rights and other obligations are fulfilled; and demand a definition of the legal status of the Indian and the early adjudication of all tribal claims.

IN SHERWOOD FOREST

IN Sherwood Forest, Md., the annual conference of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, September 19-25, wrangled with the question that has been splitting the solidarity of European Socialists since the war began. In other words, according to the report of Harry W. Laidler, secretary, the general topic for discussion, National and International Social Preparedness, largely resolved itself into a debate on the Socialist attitude toward war.

While J. G. Phelps Stokes and William English Walling argued that wars of defense are justified "where the liberties of the people are deemed to be at stake" and that even aggressive wars are worthy of support "where deemed by the people as essential to the overthrow of tyranny," there were pacifists on hand to maintain both the improbability of foreign invasion of America and such substitutes for armed opposition as economic boycotts, a general strike, arbitration, a league of peace, etc.

George W. Nasmyth of the World Peace Foundation, for example, contended that if peace advocates let it be known that they are willing to join in defensive war, they would place a powerful weapon in the hands of militarists. At the outbreak of any war, he said, it is comparatively easy for a government to convince the mass of the people that the war is one of defense, not of aggression. He emphasized, however, the great difficulty of abolishing warfare until the governments had some international machinery, such as a league of peace, to which they could turn in times of crises.

Less divided was the conference in its view of dealing with immigration after the war, as a part of social preparedness. Although some members prophesied an influx of immigrants and others a decrease, practically all advocated the "open door" policy.

Prof. Jacob H. Hollander of Johns

Hopkins University opposed the restriction of immigration on the ground that "the free admission of competent immigrants wisely distributed would result in increased economic well being and wholesome culture and would contribute definite spiritual elements in the life of the nation." John Spargo made a special plea for the admission of Asiatic peoples, declaring that it had not been proved that they were non-assimilable. "The true Socialist remedy," he said, "is not the exclusion of that race, but the development of an enlightened policy by the political and economic organizations of the working class in this country to the end of securely establishing the standard of living and making it immune against all forms of competition, while preserving the open door which internationalism demands."

Military preparedness, the growth of the cooperative movement, the world wide sweep toward public ownership and trade unionism were other topics to which the conference devoted its attention.

The conference ended with illuminating talks on The Socialist Appeal to the Christian Mind by Prof. Walter Rauschenbusch and Richard W. Hogue. Professor Rauschenbusch declared that Socialism has a distinct appeal to Christians because of its demand for justice, for solidarity, for peace; because of its concern for the common man, and because it offers to the rich the salvation which can come only through participation in wholesome productive labor and a life of simplicity and fellowship.

AMERICAN HOSPITALS

HOW widely ramified is the work of a modern hospital was evident at the convention of the American Hospital Association, just closed in Philadelphia. The central plan and its administration from foundation-stone to cupola, from aesthetics to dietetics, was most thoroughly reviewed by hospital men all the way from Minnesota to Connecticut. Small hospitals and their particular needs; the best means of preventing infection for general institutions; advance in nurses' training, all had their place in the discussion, as a matter of course. But then, the hospital reached out into the community instead of waiting for the community to muster up courage to come to it. Dispensaries, clinics, social service—these familiar ideas were included on the program as part of a unified hospital process.

Among the special topics was that of clinics for treating venereal disease. Dr. W. F. Snow, secretary of the American Social Hygiene Association, urged the need for a larger number of such clinics, and suggested some ways and means of developing them. Speaking of what dispensary work should stand for, Dr. Richard C. Cabot, of Boston, emphasized the value of the "cooperative work of specialists, who together, with a united skill, can make a more accurate diagnosis than any individual. . . . A dispensary, properly organized, represents today this cooperative medicine."

The rapid growth of the dispensary movement, was illustrated by the report which Michael M. Davis, jr., director of

the Boston Dispensary, presented for the committee on dispensary work of the Hospital Association. "The number of dispensaries in this country," Mr. Davis said, "has grown from 200 in 1904 to at least 2,300 at the present time." "About 1,000 of these are dispensaries for the sick poor, treating general diseases, while the remaining 1,300 are public health dispensaries, established to relieve and particularly to prevent tuberculosis, infant mortality, defects of school children, etc."

CATHOLIC CHARITIES

CHILD care was the problem which received the greatest amount of attention at the fourth biennial meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Charities held at Washington, D. C., September 17-20. In particular, reports John O'Grady, this subject was discussed from the standpoint of the Catholic institution in retaining and placing children.

Robert Biggs of Baltimore summed up the results of a canvass of eighty Catholic institutions caring for 20,000 dependent children, on requirements for admission, educational standards, policy and practice in discharging children, and sources of revenue. While he found that the institutional standards were on the whole fairly high, he suggested that more care might be exercised in regard to physical examination, before receiving the children.

Mary Tinney of Brooklyn, who dealt with the placement of 3,000 children by the Catholic Home Bureau of New York, concluded that the best placement age is between one and eight. Between eight and twelve she considered a rather doubtful period. In regard to children over twelve, Miss Tinney thought that it was nothing short of cruelty to put them out into the world unequipped by education and training to compete with the child brought up in normal surroundings. "Let the institutions," she declared, "keep these children until they are at least sixteen and give them along with their ordinary school work the special vocational training for which they have a preference."

One session of the conference, devoted to juvenile delinquency, emphasized the fact that the most dangerous period in the lives of children is when they leave school and go out to work. In this connection, the various efforts of the church to develop social centers where young people may find healthy amusement and recreation were reviewed.

Turning from problems concerning the young to those concerning adults the conference considered such industrial issues as the work of free employment bureaus, the contribution of the church toward the solution of the unemployment problem and the securing of employment for the handicapped. F. E. Kenkel of St. Louis, who spoke on the role of social legislation in the field of relief, made a strong plea for sickness, old age and unemployment insurance as the best means of preventing dependency. A discussion of a paper adverse to minimum wage revealed the fact that the overwhelming sentiment of the conference

was in favor of the legal regulation of wages of women and minors.

The most important new line of endeavor undertaken by the conference is the publication of a monthly review, to appear in January, at the Catholic University, to take the place of the *St. Vin-*

cent De Paul Quarterly. The magazine will be edited by the Rev. John A. Ryan.

The officers for 1917 and 1918 are the Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, rector of the Catholic University, Washington, D. C., president; the Rev. William J. Kerby, Catholic University, secretary.

value of a clean yard and a clean pair of hands? The book strains out gnats and swallows camels.

Professor Rettger's philology is also occasionally insecure. Apropos of germ-diseases, contrasted with the visible attack of large foes, he says: "We give to the latter attack the name of sickness or disease because the invading enemy is too small to make himself at once known. . . .!"

The teacher who has to use this book should have an adequate reference library at home, and use it fearlessly. It would save time and strength to have a better textbook.

Book Reviews

ENGLISH PUBLIC HEALTH ADMINISTRATION

By B. G. Bannington. P. S. King and Son (London). 338 pp. Price \$1.75; by mail of THE SURVEY \$2.25 (50 cents duty).

ELEMENTS OF PHYSIOLOGY AND SANITATION

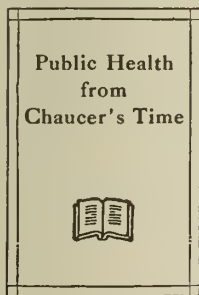
By Louis J. Rettger. A. S. Barnes and Company. 389 pp. Price \$.80; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.91.

CONTENT WITH FLIES

By Mary and Jane Findlater. E. P. Dutton Company. 111 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.07.

THE FIGHT FOR FOOD

By Leon A. Congdon. J. B. Lippincott Company. 207 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.33.



Dr. Bannington, for years a public health officer in the West Ham district, writes out of his own experience, observation and study with a twofold aim. He provides a "survey of its administrative technique" of the British public health department for those who are inter-

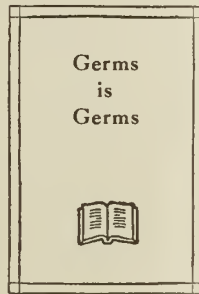
ested as students or as electors or elected; and a solid reference book for those officials now in the health service who seek to rise to higher positions.

The result is a masterly handling of a most intricate mass of detail. Dr. Bannington traces the development of the public health movement from the days of Chaucer when towns were commanded by law to clean up "all that would corrupt and infect the air and bring disease;" through the times when Shakespeare's father was twice fined for failing to keep his share of the street clean; on to the very modern developments of food inspection, and the prevention of infectious diseases. Adequate quotation of original laws, valuable tabulations and summaries, take the reader over a great deal of ground. The volume is invaluable for reference; impossible of description.

It is interesting to note that in concluding, Dr. Bannington writes on "the need for reform." Too intricate, too highly organized, the present system seems to him to be. A superabundance of laws of all kinds—the standard legal work on public health fills over 3,000 pages—leaves it inevitable that there should often be "a great difference be-

tween what Parliament meant, what ordinary people believe they meant, and what judges decide they meant." Result: a maximum of cost and effort and a minimum of result. Parts of the field are overworked; others are left untouched.

Significant as Dr. Bannington's study must be as a history and a call to higher efficiency in its definite territory, the volume will also prove illuminating to those in this country who are attentively studying public health administration and standards. It is published as one of the "studies" of the London School of Economics and Political Science.



This textbook is especially noticeable for its interesting illustrations. In his section on sanitation, Professor Rettger shows the various bacteria and their characteristic groupings; the path of a fly thirty-six hours after it walked across a sterile plate and the germs

from its feet have bubbled up into little colonies; so, too, the germs that blossomed along the tracings of a pencil moistened with saliva.

"Now, children, do you see? Those are germs!"

Excellent—clear, dramatic, simple. *Germ is germs*. But what about other germs? "Ware the disease-bringers, of course, and heartily. Why not give credit to those that are not naturally pathogenic, and tell the decidedly exciting story of how they may become so?"

This lack of discrimination, of exactness, is a fault of no small proportion. Says Professor Rettger: "[The fly] spends most of its time feeding upon all forms of garbage and filth. Laden with this infection. . . ." It is laden with infection only if there is infected material there.

Again, the fly is said to haunt out-buildings, "and because of this is particularly dangerous to health inasmuch as it carries germs of intestinal diseases. . . ." It will carry them if they are there.

We have no desire to relieve the fly of any responsibility. We regret the use in a textbook of statements so general as to be positively inaccurate, and we dread reaction against the whole subject when the pupil discovers the inaccuracy. Why not tell the whole interesting truth? Is there no place in class instruction for the aesthetic and moral

Apologies ladies! Immersed in all the orthodox traditions of clean-up campaigns and swatters, we laid prompt and violent hands upon your book with its so unorthodox a title. And lo, we found it a pleasing chronicle of quest for the simple life away from cooks, crowds, streets and "hostile currents of thought." We found some attractive pictures—fine trees by beautiful lake-sides, where only the mosquito was vile. The motive for this quest is found in the biological fact vouched for in the following couplet:

"As cats when they can catch no mice
Content themselves with catching flies"—

Again, apologies, ladies. We have been "interested" and also "cheered" even though we shall not try your experiment. Crowds are too interesting. And so are flies—real flies. But why did not your publisher save you from your title?

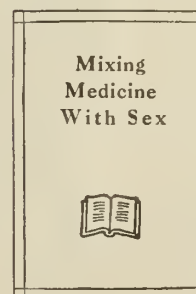
The "fight for food" is something on which Mr. Congdon certainly has a right to speak. He is chief of the division of food and drugs in the Kansas State Board of Health, a division which has in the past few years, made inspection of food and drugs a prominent part of its work.

The task is a large one—to pack into a small volume the story of the problems, legal, sanitary, economic and vital, involved in "pure food." Also, to tell this story simply is in itself not easy. Mr. Congdon may meet the charge of superficiality; but he makes no claim to exhaustiveness, seeking only that the "public at large" may know something about their food. His book should definitely contribute towards that end.

GERTRUDE SEYMOUR.

SEX PROBLEMS OF MAN IN HEALTH AND DISEASE

By Dr. Moses Scholts. Stewart and Kidd Company. 168 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.07.



It is most appropriate that the writer of a treatise on sex problems should in some measure resemble Job; even if only in the matter of multiple personality. In no other way can we explain the authorship of this volume. For the apt and forceful phrase jostles the inversion and the casual ineptitude. Repeated use

of "prostrate" for prostate, and of "embryo" as synonymous for "ovum," and an unequalled grammatical carelessness in the use of the article are matched by really telling phrases in the preface and summary.

The inspiration of this volume is quite as manifold as its syntax. We doubt the ability of the uninitiated to understand the anatomical details or to benefit by the gruesome and somewhat inaccurate descriptions of disease. We see no virtue in the many pages devoted to the treatment of disease other than that of exploiting the author's professional skill. On the other hand the pages dealing with the psychological aspects of the sex problem merit commendation for their tactful and practical, yet high-minded enthusiasm.

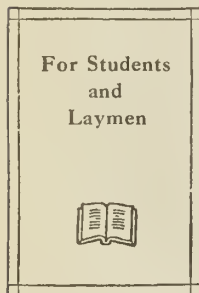
The author believes in sexual repression up to the age of "22-25," after which he appears to concede that the sex-impulse can no longer be restrained. We are moved by the strength of the plea for continence earlier in the volume to ask, Why "22-25"?

The effect of this book will doubtless be good rather than harmful. Its inspired psychology should counteract the morbid descriptions of disease.

EDWARD L. KEYES, JR.

THE SOURCE, CHEMISTRY AND USE OF FOOD PRODUCTS.

By E. H. S. Bailey. P. Blakiston's Son and Company. 539 pp. Price \$1.60; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.77.



Professor Bailey has rendered a definite service to all who are interested in the development of home economics literature. His book is a very happy combination of scientific fact and popular interpretation. It is planned as a textbook for high schools and colleges, but as a

reference book is a valuable addition to the library of any one interested in the subject.

The chapters cover the following subjects: sources of foods; composition and manufacture of cereals, bread, sugars, alcoholic beverages; cultivation and preservation of fruits and vegetables; composition and use of meat products, fish, milk and dairy products; sources of spices and other condiments; a chapter on the importance of water, and finally an appendix that is worth the price of the book to one who has pursued certain tables in elusive pamphlets. This appendix gives tabulations of the composition and food value of most of the common foods.

In these days of popular writing on scientific subjects it is worth while to have a book that is absolutely reliable. There is just enough chemistry to give a proper background to the student and not enough to discourage the layman. The discussions of relative value of certain package foods are very valuable, as are also those on diet fads and adulteration of foods. The book is not a treatise on nutrition, but there are certain para-

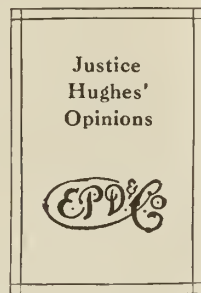
graphs of value to students of this subject, notably the one on the nutritive value of potatoes.

The book is one that will surely help to clear up popular confusion on any number of points.

WINIFRED STUART GIBBS.

CHARLES E. HUGHES

By William L. Ransom. E. P. Dutton Company. 353 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.60.



For readers who revere the seclusion of courts of last resort and the withdrawal of judges from the current affairs with which their decisions deal, this book will seem an omen of evil change. For in it a judge presents to the reading public for criticism and as a guide to ac-

tion, selected decisions, excerpts from decisions, and dissenting opinions of a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The period covered opens on April 25, 1910, with the appointment of Justice Hughes to the Supreme Court, and closes on June 12, 1916, with the adoption by the court of the last decision written by him, that of the case of *New York vs. Becker*. It covers, therefore, somewhat more than half of the current decade—1910 to 1920—and could not be more contemporaneous.

No effort has been spared to make easy for the reader an acquaintance with the mind of Justice Hughes as expressed in his work and recorded in print. Appendix A gives a table of opinions written by him for the court. Appendix B a table of dissents by him from the majority opinion, with the reference in every case, and the dates of argument and rendered decision.

An excellent index and a table of cases aid the reader, and among the seventeen chapter heads are found: National power over national interests; safeguards against adulteration and misbranding of foods and drugs; the eight-hour workday and compensation for occupational disabilities arising from trade risks; the paper-box factory girl and the constitution (referring to the Oregon minimum wage case still pending before the Supreme Court after being argued in December, 1914); compelling choice between withdrawal from trades union membership and discharge from employment; the rights and industrial status of women; franchise obligations and vested rights; prejudicial restraint of trade and the need for certainty in the anti-trust acts; the case of *Leo M. Frank* and a puzzling question of national responsibility (dissenting opinion by Justices Holmes and Hughes); the "separate coach" law and the sleeping car; America and the immigrant of today and yesterday; the courts as expert agents of democracy.

Chapters under less popular captions deal with peonage, with the powers of commissions and administrative departments, and with modern interpretations

and enlargements of the police powers.

It is unfortunate that there appears to be no reference to the Danbury hat-ter's case. For although Justice Hughes seems neither to have written any of the decisions relating to it, nor to have dissented from any of them, the case was, at one stage, before the court of which he was a member, and his position in regard to it is a subject of speculation among thousands of citizens.

The following three decisions as to working hours are of poignant interest at the moment, in relation to the recent federal eight-hour law for railway men:

"The length of hours of service has direct relation to the efficiency of the human agencies upon which protection to life and property necessarily depends. This has been repeatedly emphasized in official reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and is a matter so plain as to require no elaboration. In its power suitably to provide for the safety of employes and travelers, Congress was not limited to the enactment of laws relating to mechanical appliances, but it was also competent to consider, and to endeavor to reduce, the dangers incident to the strain of excessive hours of duty on the part of engineers, conductors, train despatchers, telegraphers, and other persons embraced within the class defined by the act. And in imposing restrictions having reasonable relation to this end there is no interference with liberty of contract as guaranteed by the Constitution. If then it be assumed, as it must be, that in the furtherance of its purposes Congress can limit the hours of labor of employes engaged in interstate transportation, it follows that this power cannot be defeated either by prolonging the period of service through other requirements of the carriers or by the commingling of duties relating to interstate and intrastate operations. . . ."

Thus spoke Justice Hughes in the case of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company against the Interstate Commerce Commission. In an Ohio case involving the validity of the Ohio statute which limited the working hours of women to 54 in any one week, he was one of a unanimous court. He wrote the opinion of the Supreme Court in *Miller vs. Wilson*, sustaining as reasonable and within the federal constitution the California statute which restricts to 8 hours in one day and 48 hours in one week the work of women in all industries except household service, agriculture, horticulture, viticulture, and the work of graduate nurses and pharmacists in hospitals.

Judge Ransom has performed a substantial service in painstakingly compiling these excerpts and references, and social workers can follow the campaign with more enlightened understanding after reading the volume.

FLORENCE KELLEY.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- AMERICA AND THE ORIENT. Sidney L. Gullick. Missionary Education Movement. 100 pp. Price \$.25; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.30.
- AMERICAN DEBATE. Part I. Colonial, State and National Rights, 1761-1861. By Marlon Mills Miller. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 417 pp. Price \$2; by mail of THE SURVEY \$2.18.

AMERICAN DEBATE, Part II. The Land and Slavery Questions, 1607-1860. By Marion Mills Miller. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 467 pp. Price \$2; by mail of THE SURVEY \$2.18.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF PANICS AND THEIR PERIODICAL OCCURRENCE IN THE UNITED STATES. By Clement Juglar. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 189 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.09.

CHARLES E. HUGHES. By William L. Ransom. E. P. Dutton & Co. 353 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.60.

THE CHORUS. By Sylvia Lynd. E. P. Dutton & Co. 311 pp. Price \$1.35; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.44.

CLOTHING FOR WOMEN. By Laura I. Baldt. J. B. Lippincott Co. 454 pp. Price \$2; by mail of THE SURVEY \$2.20.

THE COMMERCE OF LOUISIANA DURING THE FRENCH REGIME, 1699-1763. By N. M. Miller Survey. Longmans Green & Co., Agents. 476 pp. Price \$4; by mail of THE SURVEY \$4.18.

COMPARATIVE SALARY DATA. Compiled by the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia. 76 pp. Price \$.75; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.79.

DISEASES OF OCCUPATION AND VOCATIONAL HYGIENE. By Kober and Hanson. P. Blakiston Sons & Co. 918 pp. Price \$8; by mail of THE SURVEY \$8.30.

THE ESSENTIALS OF INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC LAW. By Amos S. Hershey. The Macmillan Co. 558 pp. Price \$3; by mail of THE SURVEY \$3.20.

A FRENCHWOMAN'S NOTES ON THE WAR. By Claire DePatz. E. P. Dutton & Co. 290 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.60.

HOME CARE OF CONSUMPTIVES. By Roy L. French. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 224 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.10.

HOW GIRLS CAN HELP THEIR COUNTRY. Adapted from Baden-Powell's Handbook. Published by the Girl Scouts. 151 pp. Price \$.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.54.

IN SLUMS AND SOCIETY. By James Adderley. E. P. Dutton & Co. 302 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.60.

JEWISH DISABILITIES IN THE BALKAN STATES. By Max Kohler and Simon Wolf. American Jewish Historical Society. 169 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.61.

JULIUS LEVALLON. By Algernon Blackwood. E. P. Dutton & Co. 354 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.61.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF BOOKER T. WASHINGTON. By B. F. Riley. Fleming H. Revell Co. 301 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.62.

A LITTLE HOUSE IN WAR-TIME. By Agnes and Egerton Castle. E. P. Dutton & Co. 276 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.62.

MALICE IN KULTURLAND. By Horace Wyatt. E. P. Dutton & Co. 80 pp. Price \$.60; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.65.

A MANUAL OF FIRE PREVENTION AND FIRE PROTECTION. By Otto R. Eichel. John Wiley & Sons. 69 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.06.

THE MEMOIRS OF A PHYSICIAN. Translated from the Russian by Simeon Linden. Alfred A. Knopf publisher. 374 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.60.

MOHAMMEDAN THEORIES OF FINANCE. By Nicolas P. Aghnides. Longmans, Green & Co., Agents. 540 pp. Price \$4; by mail of THE SURVEY \$4.20.

MORAL SANITATION. By Ernest R. Groves. Association Press. 128 pp. Price \$.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.56.

NURSING PROBLEMS AND OBLIGATIONS. By Sara E. Parsons. Whitcomb & Barrows. 149 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.08.

POTENTIAL RUSSIA. By Richard Washburn Child. E. P. Dutton & Co. 221 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.62.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE COMMONWEALTH. By Lionel Curtis. The Macmillan Co. 247 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.60.

THE SECOND FOLK DANCE BOOK. By C. Ward Crampton. A. S. Barnes Co. 79 pp. Price \$1.60; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.73.

THE SOCIAL SURVEY. By Carol Aronovici. Seybert Institution. 255 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.34.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE THEATER. Stewart & Kidd Co. 111 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.08.

THE WAR AND THE SOUL. By Rev. R. J. Campbell. Dodd, Mead & Co. 300 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.36.

WAR, SCIENCE AND CIVILIZATION. By William E. Ritter. Sherman French & Co. 125 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.10.

BELGIANS UNDER THE GERMAN EAGLE. By Jean Massart. E. P. Dutton & Co. 368 pp. Price \$3.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$3.64.

TALKS ON TALKING. By Grenville Kleiser. Funk & Wagnalls Co. 156 pp. Price \$.75; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.82.

Communications

TWO SUGGESTIONS

To THE EDITOR:—Edith Houghton Hooker's article in the September 2 issue interested me. There are just two things I want to suggest after reading it.

One is that the "single standard" of sexual morality is a matter of moral teaching and not of scientific "information."

The other is that whatever a *Catholic* boy may ultimately do or be, he at least is under no delusion on the point. He knows that the standard for boy and girl is one and the same and if he sins it is not in ignorance. He is taught not that it is "foolish," not that it is "dangerous" but simply that it is *wrong*.

And that is the first and last thing that needs to be taught a boy. Nothing else will be of any use. When woman shall "gain full voice in the teachings of the community's public school" can she teach him *that* so that he will know it to be true? THOMAS F. WOODLOCK.
Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

THE FEDERAL WORKING AGE

To THE EDITOR: In Politics and the New Child Labor Law in your issue for September 30, I regret that you commit an error which is likely to cause more confusion to your readers than the note itself will dispel. You quote me as saying that the law prohibits interstate commerce in goods produced in any establishment in which "within thirty days prior to the removal of such product therefrom children under the age of sixteen years have been employed or permitted to work." The word "sixteen" should read "fourteen," and I suggest that you kindly make the correction in an early issue. The sixteen-year age-limit applies only to mines and quarries.

OWEN R. LOVEJOY.

[Secretary National Child Labor Committee.]
New York.

WITH APOLOGIES

To THE EDITOR: In THE SURVEY for September 23, there is what purports to be a quotation by Justice Greenbaum from my testimony before the Strong commission which was investigating the New York state Board of Charities. It is a little mortifying that the fact that the closing sentence of this paragraph as it stands is absolute nonsense, without subject, predicate or any sort of meaning, did not suggest either to the justice or to the editor of THE SURVEY a doubt of its authenticity.

At any rate I would like to protest as earnestly as possible that neither the paragraph as a whole nor any single sentence in it is a correct record of my statement. Not having had an opportunity to revise the record of my brief testimony on this subject before the

Strong commission, I am unable to say whether the official reporter or some one else is responsible for the travesty of my views.

I am not "prepared to say that the day of private institutions" has "gone past forever," whether "in relation to the civic corporation" or in any other relation. I have never thought so. I could not possibly have said so. I have never in print or in speech referred to a "well organized Catholic interest," without at the same time and in the same connection referring to similarly organized Jewish and Protestant "interests."

I believe and have always believed in the usefulness of and the necessity for private institutions for children and private hospitals. I believe that these private hospitals and private institutions should be supported by voluntary contributions and endowments and not by taxation.

When the private institutions, whether independently or organized in a common body, oppose the normal development of public hospitals and institutions, when they put obstacles in the way of adequate appropriations for municipal departments, when they seek to discredit state and municipal agencies in the interests of maintaining and extending the system of subsidized institutions—or, if it is preferred—in the interest of the system of contract payments to private institutions, then their influence is pernicious and their policy is legitimately open to attack.

To oppose such policies and to advocate state institutions, supported by taxation and managed by public officials, is not in any sense an attack on institutions as such and is no indication even of unfriendliness to them. I have always deprecated attacks on individuals and on institutions. Policies and measures are fair subjects for discussion.

Private "reformatories" for adults are, I think, objectionable on grounds which do not apply to hospitals or children's institutions, and I would be very glad to be able to say that the day of such reformatories, whether subsidized or not, has gone by.

EDWARD T. DEVINE.

New York.

HOME ECONOMICS

To THE EDITOR: I was glad to read in Robert A. Woods' letter in THE SURVEY for September 9, the following expression of opinion which, coming from him, has peculiar significance and is most encouraging to me personally: "For more than a generation there has been a steadily increasing convergence upon the home as the vital focal point at which all sound beginnings of every sort of helpful service should be made."

May I call the attention of the readers of THE SURVEY to a course of twelve

lectures on the Art of Spending to be given under the auspices of the Committee on Home Economics of the National Special Aid Society at its offices, 259 Fifth Avenue New York city? Lectures will be given Mondays and Fridays at 3.30 P.M., beginning October 9.

The committee hopes soon to open a library of home economics free to all. The books are being given through the generosity of the publishers.

New York. ANNIE NATHAN MEYER.

JOTTINGS

The Ohio State Industrial Commission has appointed Charles Arndt, former business agent of the Pattern-Makers' Union, head of the State-City Free Labor Exchange. His city title is commissioner of labor and immigration.

The endowment for an international hospital in Tokio, Japan [See THE SURVEY for March 20, 1915], has been completed. The American Council of St. Luke's Hospital announce a fund of \$500,000 for the hospital and a department of research in Oriental diseases.

President Wilson announced last week his appointments to the board which is to investigate the operation of the eight-hour day on the railroads: Maj.-Gen. George W. Goethals, E. E. Clark of the Interstate Commerce Commission and George Rublee of the federal Trade Commission.

The City Club of Kansas City, Mo., has called upon the governor of the state to institute an investigation of the state prison at Jefferson City by the State Board of Charities and Correction. The conditions disclosed by private investigators and former inmates are alleged to reveal "a situation intolerable to a civilized people." The club's request of the governor calls not only for immediate action, but for the formulation of a permanent policy for prison administration which will bring the penal institutions of the state up to the highest modern standards.

A special edition of the Greenwich, Conn., Press, the Sanitary Supplement, was issued on September 28 by the Health Defense Guard, an organization of women to cooperate with the Health Department during the epidemic of infantile paralysis.

At least five of the supplement's six pages are filled with readable and pointed paragraphs. The weak points in Greenwich's sanitary conditions are specifically indicated; such as the need for a municipal bathing beach with toilet facilities, proper screening against flies,—and above all, the cooperation of citizens in voluntary obedience to the sanitary code.

In response to the proclamation of the President of the United States appointing Saturday and Sunday, October 21 and 22, as days for the relief of the suffering Armenian and Syrian peoples, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has issued an appeal to all of the Churches of the thirty constituent bodies of the Federal Council, urging that Sunday, October 22, be set apart for intercession in behalf of these races. The Council will send to all the pastors of its constituency material for use in presenting this cause to the people and recommends that contributions at all the services on that day, be secured for distribution through the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief.

New York's Municipal Employment Bureau will be abandoned if the Board of Estimate and Apportionment accepts the recommendation made by a sub-committee of the Committee on Budget. The sub-committee, which consists of representatives of responsible city officials, and upon which there is no member of the Budget Committee itself, recommended the abandonment of the bureau as a measure of economy. Representatives of the mayor and comptroller on the board were in favor of continuing the bureau. One argument in favor of abolishing it was that the state maintains an employment office in the city,—in spite of the fact that the state office is located in Brooklyn and that there is no possibility of the state increasing its facilities for handling employment for another year since its fiscal year begins October 1. The Mayor's Committee on Unemployment is marshalling the opposition to the report of the sub-committee.

PAMPHLETS

SCHEDULE RATING FOR WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION RISKS. A reason for its introduction, its advantages and the Method of Application. By Leon S. Senlor. The Insurance Society of New York, 84 William street, New York city.

NATIONAL GUIDANCE. By Frank A. Manny, special investigator, Bureau Welfare of School Children, New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, 105 East 22 street, New York city.

A STAR OF HOPE FOR MEXICO. By Charles William Dabney, president, University of Cincinnati. Reprinted from *The Outlook and Commerce and Finance*. Latin-American News Association, 1400 Broadway, New York city.

THE UNWED MOTHER AND HER CHILD. Reports and recommendations of the Cleveland Conference on Illegitimacy and Its Committees. July, 1916. Published by the Cleveland Federation for Charity and Philanthropy, Cleveland, Ohio.

SCHOOL NURSES, TEACHERS, AND PARENTS. Need of their cooperation in following up cases for treatment. By J. H. Berkowitz, special investigator, Bureau of Welfare of School Children, New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, 105 East 22 street, New York city. Reprinted from the *Modern Hospital*.

THE BETHLEHEM STEEL COMPANY. Appeals to the people against the proposal to expend \$11,000,000 of the people's money for a government armor plant. Republished by Bethlehem Steel Company, South Bethlehem, Pa.

THE FOURTH DIMENSION. By John G. Woolley. The American Issue Publishing Company, Westerville, Ohio.

WOODROW WILSON AND SOCIAL JUSTICE. By the Democratic National Committee, 30 East 42 street, New York city.

WILSON AND THE ISSUES. By George Creel. Published by the Century Company, 353 Fourth Avenue, New York city. September, 1916.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S POLICY OF NEUTRALITY. Address of Hon. Martin H. Glynn, temporary chairman of the National Democratic Convention. Reprinted from the *Congressional Record*. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

INDUSTRIAL PROFIT SHARING AND WELFARE WORK. A report of the Committee on Industrial Welfare, Chamber of Commerce, Cleveland.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES IN HONOR OF DR. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON. The trustees of the John F. Slater Fund. Occasional papers, No. 17. Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.

MASSACHUSETTS SOCIETY FOR MENTAL HYGIENE, ITS AIMS AND PURPOSES. Publication No. 1. Massachusetts Society for Mental Hygiene, Inc., Room 313 Ford bldg., 15 Ashburton place, Boston.

THE BURDEN OF FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS. By Walter E. Fernald, M.D. Publication No. 4. Massachusetts Society for Mental Hygiene, Inc., Room 313 Ford bldg., 15 Ashburton place, Boston.

LEGISLATION FOR THE INSANE IN MASSACHUSETTS WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE VOLUNTARY AND TEMPORARY CARE LAWS. By Frankwood E. Williams, M.D. Publication No. 5. Massachusetts Society for Mental Hygiene, Inc., Room 313 Ford bldg., 15 Ashburton place, Boston.

INSTRUCTION IN CITY SCHOOLS CONCERNING THE WAR. By Charles E. McCorkle, Clark University, Worcester, Mass. Reprinted from the *Pedagogical Seminary*.

MICROMOTION STUDIES APPLIED TO EDUCATION. By A. A. Douglass and W. L. Dealey, Clark University, Worcester, Mass. Reprinted from the *Pedagogical Seminary*.

THE TUBERCULOSIS PROBLEM IN RURAL COMMUNITIES. Its modern aspect and the duty of health officers. By S. Adolphus Knopf, M.D. Reprint No. 243 from the *Public Health Reports*. Price 5 cents. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENT COMMISSION OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA. Department of Safety, Mining Division. Safety Bear Letters, No. 1, No. 2 and No. 3. Edwin Higgins, chief mine inspector, Room 407 Underwood bldg., San Francisco.

RELATING TO SAFETY AND EFFICIENCY IN MINES. April, 1916. Bulletin No. 1. Industrial Accident Commission, 525 Market street, San Francisco.

Why burden your wife with the care of your estate?

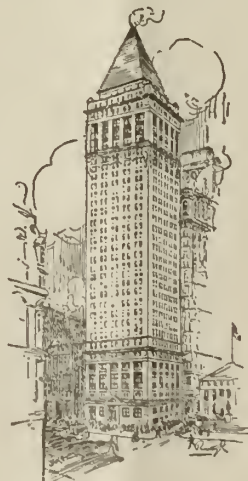
IF you wish to appoint your wife or other woman relative as executrix and trustee under your will, why not assist her to carry the heavy burden by appointing this company as co-executor and co-trustee?

Your estate will thus have the advantage of the personal direction which she can give, and she will be relieved of the burdensome details necessarily involved in the management of any large estate. Also she will receive invaluable assistance in regard to investments.

Our officers will be glad to confer with you regarding any trust or banking business you may have in mind.

BANKERS TRUST COMPANY
New York

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COMMON WELFARE



WHERE HEALTH AND RELIEF WORK STRIKE HANDS

SO successful has the experiment of treating tuberculosis as a family problem proved, after a four-year test, that the Home Hospital of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor has again been enlarged.

The experiment resulted from experience with many families in which patients could not be induced to go to hospitals or sanatoria, and with other families in which there were patients who had returned from hospitals or sanatoria against the advice of physicians. The Home Hospital was accordingly organized. There families with tuberculous patients were placed in model tenements and treated as a unit, with complete medical and nursing supervision. [See THE SURVEY for February 7, 1914.]

Four years ago, the hospital had about twenty families; two years ago, forty families and the present plans of the association will make it possible to care for about eighty families of four hundred individuals. About one-third of the number of individuals admitted are positive cases of tuberculosis and another third are in the suspect class.

The satisfactory experience of thus dealing with these families has led to a careful examination of the treatment of the many families under the association's care outside of the Home Hospital in which there are cases of tuberculosis. It was found there were 338 such families. Included in these families were 696 adults, and 1,077 children, or a total of 1,773 individuals; and among them were known to be 290 tuberculous adults and 248 tuberculous children. Doubtless a more rigid examination would disclose many other suspect cases.

These families have all come to the association for relief. But experience at the Home Hospital has emphasized more than ever the impossibility of considering the relief problem in such families as other than a subordinate part of the more important health problem involved. The association has therefore during the past summer entirely reorganized its method of dealing with these families. Instead

of relying on its regular lay relief visitors, it has placed them all under the care and supervision of nurses who have had training at the Home Hospital or are closely in touch with its methods of work. Upon these nurses, in cooperation with the tuberculosis clinics of the city, is placed the responsibility for dealing with both relief and health in these families.

Arrangements are made for a careful physical examination of every member of each family, and an individual medical record blank is kept in addition to the usual relief record of the family. The nurses are devoting their entire time to this work.

This reorganization has already resulted in more effective cooperation with clinics and in securing more definite results in dealing with the family problem as a whole. Incidentally, it has increased the amount of relief which the association is obliged to spend for families in which there is tuberculosis, but experience has proved that good public health work costs money.

SETTING A MARK IN PUBLIC COOPERATION

THE opening of the Chicago and Cook County School for Boys closes a long struggle to secure the better care and place of detention for delinquent boys.

Before the Juvenile Court was established, the county jail and the city House of Correction, as well as the police stations, constituted more of a schooling in crime than a chance for reformation, despite the good intentions of many of the officials. Although the Juvenile Court probation system has been adequate to deal with the largest proportion of the court's wards, yet there have always been enough of them to overcrowd the detention home, located in the original Juvenile Court building. Until a year or more ago, therefore, it was necessary to continue to send boys needing detention to that department of the House of Correction known as the John Worthy School.

The increasing public agitation over this necessity, four years ago, resulted in one of those successful cooperative efforts for which Chicago is noteworthy. In it participated a City Council committee, headed by the secretary of the Police Department, who proved to be the promoter of the enterprise, the superintendent of the House of Correction, the county judge and board of commissioners, the Board of Education, the Juvenile Court, the Special Park Commission and many private citizens and voluntary agencies.

The Park Commission transferred the "Gage Farm" of 240 acres, which had been conveyed to the city thirty-five years ago by a private citizen. The Board of Education erected the school building by an appropriation of \$75,000. The citizens voted a bond issue of \$60,000 to build a dormitory and superintendent's residence. Cook county assumes the expense of equipping and maintaining the school, which is conducted as a public school with one of the most experienced principals as superintendent.

The opening occasion elicited equally hearty congratulations from the repre-

A MISERABLE CHRISTMAS OR A MERRY CHRISTMAS?

In planning a merry Christmas for your friends, do not let it mean a miserable Christmas to those less fortunate than you.

THOUSANDS of workers in every city have been taught by bitter experience to look forward to Christmas with dread.

Every shop girl knows that the coming Christmas season will mean to her an immense amount of extra work, of nervous strain and exhaustion.

The great army of workers whom you do not see—the bundle wrappers, drivers and errand boys—look forward to Christmas as a hateful time of undeserved effort and hardship.

Is this your conception of the day? A very little unselfishness on your part will greatly lighten the burden of these working people. **Merely do your Christmas shopping early—early in the month, and early in the day.** By so doing, you will not only relieve the shop girls and errand boys of the necessity of serving you at the last moment, but you will escape the annoyance of finding that the very gifts you most desired have already been sold.

Carry this message on to your friends and let them see how much a little prompt action on their part will mean to a great many people less fortunate than they.

When you are making your Christmas plans do not forget the patient workers in the shops. It may help you to help them if you will remember these words:

"Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto Me."

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THE EARLY BIRD OF EARLY CHRISTMAS SHOPPING

sentative officials, school men and private citizens, both women and men who shared the joy of inaugurating this beginning of a new era in Chicago's dealings with delinquent boys and who had as much satisfaction in ending the bad old times and evil ways which have persisted so long.

FIRST STUDIES ON THE PARALYSIS EPIDEMIC

THAT the autumn grist of summer studies on poliomyelitis is coming to the mill was proved by the "lessons" discussed at the New York Academy of Medicine on October 12. Reports from students of every aspect of the problem—diagnosis, clinical and laboratory; hospital care; cause of the disease and modes of transmission; treatment and after-care—showed how intense had been the application to the problem, how baffling is the problem still. The topic might have been announced as, what we have set out to learn about poliomyelitis.

Without following strictly the speakers in order, here is, in brief, a summary of the points discussed: Perhaps the most difficult problem is to find a sure means of early diagnosis. When paralysis occurs, the thing is obvious. But when the child is drowsy, has a slight "cold," is irritable when disturbed, how be sure that here are "polio" symptoms, and not the symptoms of several other less serious diseases? One practical test emphasized was, that when a child's discomfort far exceeded any discoverable adequate causes, the case should be suspected.

Experience had taught Dr. DuBois and other workers at Willard Parker Hospital that laboratory analysis alone would not afford a reliable diagnosis. Thus far, through hundreds of tests, it has been impossible to distinguish the spinal fluid in certain conditions of poliomyelitis from that in certain other diseases. But Dr. Draper of Rockefeller Institute believed that if records were kept of the very hour of a lumbar puncture—not of the day only—that the fluids earlier drawn would be found to contain distinctive characteristics in comparison with those taken later.

But more and more the conviction has deepened that the time of spreading infection is the early days or hours of the attack, no matter which form it assumes. Hence the importance of providing for the general practitioner a means of diagnosis in the pre-paralytic stage. Commissioner Emerson emphasized this point also, from the angle of the Department of Health. "You can't compel a man to report a case that he doesn't believe is 'polio,'" he said. "Find these early cases, and diagnose them and report them."

An interesting confirmation of the value of hospital care is afforded by the comparative records of boroughs of New York city in which cases were sent

promptly to hospitals and those in which cases were kept at home. In Richmond, Staten Island and Queens the children were at home. The districts are largely residence sections, with separate houses and open spaces. Yet the incidence rate has been higher here in proportion to the population than in Brooklyn or Manhattan, where hospitals were very generally used. The value of hospitalization is undoubtedly in part the strict isolation of cases.

"There are three communities that have not been touched by the epidemic," said Commissioner Emerson. "One is Governor's Island. Here conditions are excellent. Sanitation is perfect; streets are clean. There have been no cases among the hundred or so children there. Another place is Barren Island. Here is neither water-supply nor sewers. Roads are very bad. Garbage is abundant. Dead animals are sent there. Flies are there in droves. Also smells. But among the 300 children on Barren Island have occurred no poliomyelitis cases. And the third group is the 3,000 and more children in the city's institutions. Among all these are only one or two suspects isolated for observation."

That the present epidemic was not greatly different from other outbreaks, abroad and in this country, except in numbers, is one of the conclusions which the doctors of the federal Public Health Service are reaching. Some of the difficulties and apparent contradictions met in the epidemiological work on "polio" were mentioned by Dr. C. H. Lavinder—why, for instance, does the endemic type of "polio" suddenly become epidemic? New York had about 50 cases last year; why has it 9,000 this year?

Most studies tend to confirm the carrier theory—that through the missed case, or the light case, or even the person who is apparently not ill at all, infection is spread. And yet if spread depends on human contact, why is the "seasonal prevalence" greater in summer time, rather than in winter? Again, in age incidence—is the apparent immunity of some children due to earlier light and unsuspected attacks? And what is the period of infectivity, or the time over which a case may continue to spread infection? The task of collecting all records of possible sources and means of the spread of infection in every case, had not yet been completed, he said. Their interpretation will be published later by the Public Health Service.

How varied are the forms under which paralysis appears, was also emphasized. One group of workers assigned to laboratory analysis duty on Long Island, exclaimed after a fortnight's experience, "But we came down here to study paralytic cases!" Their work focused upon the pre-paralytic stage. One vagary of "polio" was illustrated by Dr. Shaw of the State Board of Health, who told how exclusively among poorer people the outbreak had been in one city, and just as

exclusively among millionaire families in another.

Much of the discussion was technical. But nevertheless, a listener at such a meeting gains a new idea of the magnitude and variety of the doctor's task, and of the determination with which he is attacking it.

HOW THE SALVAGE OF POLIO CASES PROCEEDS

DURING the epidemic of infantile paralysis in New York last summer, more than 9,000 children were sick with that disease, and a large proportion were cared for in various hospitals of the city. When the first few convalescents were discharged, some were taken home; some were provided for in the convalescent home provided by the Henry Street Settlement and the Neustadter Foundation. [See THE SURVEY for July 29.]

But in September, the numbers of children being discharged passed the ability of any one existing society to provide for. More than 2,800 had lived through the attack and had come back to life only to face the possibility of lasting deformity. For, if there is one fact in this disease about which there is no difference of opinion, it is that only the most exact and unremitting after-care will restore the affected muscles to their normal use and save the child from becoming a cripple.

This after-care means abundant food of just the right kind; scientific manipulation of the loosened joints and dropping hands or feet; rest at just the right angle for the weakened back, on the softest of supports. And all this through a period of months surely, perhaps for several years.

The amount of work involved and the costliness of such care are problems at once obvious. But further, granted that gifts to dispensaries and nursing associations would meet the demands for medicines, food and apparatus, how insure that hundreds of mothers know where the nearest dispensary is, or knowing, faithfully use its aid; that each nursing association knows of every case returning to its district; that the parting instructions of the hospital are clearly understood by parents, often foreign, usually unlettered; and finally, how prevent a break in the records of all these cases? A large interruption would render futile the case histories begun, and lose material invaluable for scientific study of the epidemic of 1916.

The crisis has been met by a remarkable clearing-house organization, the New York Committee on After-Care for Cases of Infantile Paralysis, which grips hands with hospitals and with the Department of Health and visiting nurses. Its aim is twofold: to care adequately for every child that has been ill with poliomyelitis; to keep a perfect record of every case as material for

later study. Its method of realizing this aim is, first, through a free information bureau; second, through a complete registry in charge of a trained statistician, and containing every detail of every case from "onset" to cure; third, through active cooperation with the Department of Health and all nursing organizations, as well as with a specially organized group of club women who provide automobiles for transporting children to and from dispensaries for treatment.

At the head of this important and far-extending work are Thomas J. Riley, of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, chairman; Oliver H. Bartine, superintendent of the Hospital for Ruptured and Crippled Children; James A. Perkins, of the National City Bank, treasurer, and Dr. Donald E. Baxter, general director. From Dr. Baxter the facts in this account have been received. Here, for example is the daily routine.

As soon as a case is discharged from the hospital or quarantine is terminated, the Department of Health sends to the parents a notice urging the importance of after-care for the child and describing exactly the weakness which in this case must be guarded against. This notice includes a list of orthopedic hospitals and dispensaries in the city. At the same time a notice is sent also to Dr. Baxter, containing full details—date of onset, what treatment was followed in the hospital, the present condition of the child.

This report becomes part of the permanent record at headquarters of the committee for after-care. Word is telephoned to the nursing supervisor of the district in which the child lives, and a nurse goes to verify the address and report on the child's condition. All this within a few hours.

Arrangements are then made by the nurse for the child's further treatment, either at an orthopedic dispensary or in an institution for convalescent hospital care. It was estimated recently that fully 600 children will need this institutional treatment; fully 2,400 the dispensary aid. This is considered a most conservative estimate.

Meantime, until the plans are in actual operation and the after-treatment has been begun, the nurse continues her visits as frequently as possible. To avoid duplicating efforts and wasting energy, the city has been divided into four large districts, and one nursing organization in each is responsible for the work in that section. All cases in Brooklyn, where the scourge was heaviest, are referred to the Brooklyn Committee on Crippled Children; cases in lower Manhattan, to the Association for the Aid of Crippled Children; cases in upper east Manhattan and the Bronx, to the Bureau of Educational Nursing; cases elsewhere in Manhattan and in Richmond and Queens, to the Henry Street (Nurses') Settlement.

The nurse goes to the home again to make sure that instructions are being carried out. Duplicates of all cards of admission to hospital or dispensary and fortnightly reports from these institutions concerning attendance and progress of the case, all go back to the headquarters. So the after-care is begun, a follow-up system started, and data accumulated, which when organized and interpreted later, will doubtless give valuable clues to causes and cures.

Indeed, a distinct feature of the 1916 epidemics has been the strict record-keeping by reports, charts of dot and line, systems of maps that bristled with pins large and small and of all colors—or any other method that might ultimately answer the queries, whence? and how? In 1907, the disease was not even reportable. Cases were not removed to hospitals, there were few records of any kind and all figures of that time are but estimates.

Besides their final significance, these permanent records have, too, an immediate value. At the headquarters is an information bureau, and how it works may be shown concretely.

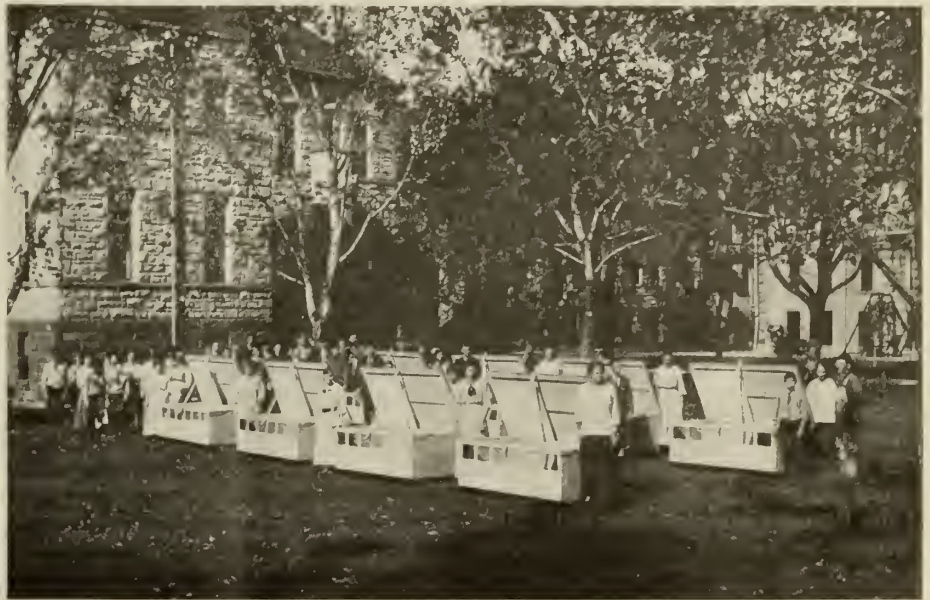
On one of the first days of the committee's work, a woman telephoned: "My friend's little boy had the 'polio' and it left him blind and deaf. Please see if

you know about the case and can you do something to help him?" The discharge notice of this boy was quickly found, and a nurse notified to take up the case. In about an hour the machinery of after-care was in running order.

Again, a woman called to tell of her little niece, both of whose legs were paralyzed. The clinic to which she had been referred, was about a mile from her home, the child was heavy to carry, and the mother found it impossible to go regularly. The aunt thought the child was being neglected. Could the committee help her to find a nearer place where she could get the proper treatment for the child? A nearer clinic was found and a transfer promptly followed.

A young Italian man, mystified by the instructions given him when his boy was discharged from the hospital, came for advice because he had read in the papers that the committee could help the children. His delighted astonishment to find his boy's name on the records was equalled only by his satisfaction at the assurance that a nurse had been told about him and would visit his boy within twenty-four hours.

Another pathetic case was that of a mother who called, carrying her little boy of five years, whose legs were both paralyzed. She wanted advice as to



DEAF AND BLIND POULTRYMEN

SO-CALLED practical poultry-raisers have little use for the Philo system, but here are eight Philo coops that are making good at the Colorado School for the Deaf and Blind at Colorado Springs, Colo. The plan is said to have distinct advantages for those who must raise poultry in a small back lot. Each coop is designed to accommodate six laying hens. Bessie Sawyer has won the distinction of making the largest profit in one month of all the members of the Poultry Association at the school. She cleared \$3.49 on her coop of six hens. Frank Pierce got a larger number of eggs than Bessie, but Bessie proved herself a better business manager. She obtained a contract with W. K. Argo, superintendent of the school, who was to take all her eggs at 60 cents a dozen until he notified her of a change in the price. Mr. Argo forgot to tell Bessie when the market price had dropped and consequently paid the 60 cents a dozen after the price had gone down to fifty cents

where she could put her child while she went out to work. Her husband was with the army in Mexico and she had been able to support herself and child until he became sick and needed her at home. She had lived in Brooklyn, but thought maybe the nurses could not find her in New York because at the hospital she was frightened and gave her maiden name. She was much pleased when the committee's records were able to identify her and bring a nurse again in touch with her.

Not all parents are so alert for the best good of their little convalescents. One mother whose child, stricken by paralysis, had been long detained in the hospital, uttered the frantic prayer: "O God, let me keep my child! Paralyze both his legs if you want to—do anything you choose—but only let me have my child!" Such passive acceptance of disability makes doubly important a careful following up of the patients, to arouse interest in the further treatment as well as to see that instructions are actually being obeyed.

A problem that soon arose in the committee's experience was this: Very many children who could be treated at dispensaries were so helpless from effects of the paralysis that it was almost impossible to move them to a dispensary and back. And if there were no nearer dispensary, there was danger that the child would be neglected. To provide transportation for these cases and so insure a regular attendance and treatment, a group of one hundred women from many clubs of the city and the state organized the Sick Children's Transfer Society. The society furnishes funds to pay for transportation whenever necessary and some members lend their automobiles. Many other sympathetic citizens also lend their cars for use under the committee's direction.

Still another branch of the committee's work has been the three weeks of special clinics for teaching muscle-training to physicians and nurses who are working with convalescent paralysis cases. The lessons are given by Miriam T. Sweeney, of the Boston Children's Hospital. Miss Sweeney has worked under the direction of Dr. R. W. Lovett.

POLITICS IN MARYLAND'S PENAL BOARD

A PROMISING opportunity to revamp Maryland's whole correctional system may be lost because of the character of appointments made by Governor Harrington. The opportunity was presented by a law which took effect October 1 and which created a new Penal Board to supplant the boards of directors of the House of Correction and the penitentiary.

One of the instructions to the board is to select, if possible, a practicable plan for employing prisoners as an alternative to the contract labor system now in

force, or, failing that, to report its findings to the governor and legislature. It is authorized also to use its discretion in transferring prisoners from the penitentiary to the House of Correction or *vice versa*.

The appointments to the board comprise two Democrats and one Republican. One of these has been connected with the penitentiary as member of its board of trustees, one has a brother interested in prison reform and one is chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee. It is announced that the chairman of the state central committee will resign his political office immediately after election to avoid the impropriety of holding that job and membership on the Penal Board simultaneously. He has also served on the Advisory Board of Parole of the state.

One of the first acts of the new board was to reappoint as superintendent of the House of Correction a man who had been previously discharged and who had no ostensible professional training. The appointment is regarded by social workers in Maryland as purely political. Fortunately Warden Leonard of the penitentiary, who is deemed a valuable officer, was politically acceptable and was retained.

Governor Harrington based his selection of the present incumbents partly on the ground that they "have high ideals in prison reform" and "are not faddists." "I am in full sympathy," he said, "with the movement toward the kind treatment of prisoners and their reform, if possible, and fully believe in the idea of giving convicts, whenever reasonable, a second chance to make good."

THE SPREADING MOVEMENT FOR BIRTH CONTROL

BIRTH control leagues have been organized or are reported in process of formation in Boston, Cleveland, Ann Arbor, Chicago, St. Louis, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, Ore., Seattle, Detroit, Racine, Wis., Milwaukee, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Spokane, Denver, Indianapolis, Washington, D. C., and Pittsburgh. Plans are being formulated for a convention of delegates from these cities for the purpose of forming a national federation, and a national organ, the *Birth Control Review*, with offices at 104 Fifth avenue, New York city, is about to make its appearance with Frederick A. Blossom as managing editor.

Cleveland was one of the first cities in this country to develop a thoroughly organized birth control movement. Two public addresses by Margaret Sanger on her tour across the country last summer, led to the formation of a league which drew into its membership doctors, nurses, social workers, clergymen and others interested in social problems. Mr. Blossom, the business manager of the Cleveland Associated Charities, resigned his

position in order to accept the presidency and give his whole time to it. Four ministers are on its executive committee and one is vice-president of the league.

A weekly public luncheon held during the summer increased in attendance until larger quarters had to be secured. The Cleveland Congress of Mothers, after a discussion of the question of family limitation, unanimously voted its approval of the movement. The mothers' club of one of the most active churches in the city, at a birth control meeting that filled the church, voted to assist the league in every possible way. A favorable hearing was also had before the Cuyahoga county Women's Christian Temperance Union, in the chapel of the Young Women's Christian Association. A score of men and women have volunteered their services and the Federation for Charity and Philanthropy has listed them in its booklet issued to organizations seeking speakers on social topics. Meetings in Cleveland and adjoining towns booked for the coming winter, include church societies, civic and fraternal organizations, the Council of Sociology and women's clubs. Ten thousand copies of a leaflet containing articles by local physicians, social workers and clergymen have been distributed and a second edition is just off the press.

In Portland, Ore., clashes with the authorities led to the arrest of Mrs. Sanger, a local physician and five others for distributing leaflets. Hundreds of letters and telegrams were received protesting against their arrest and when the cases came to trial the accused were let off with a suspended sentence or a nominal fine. Today birth control information is said to be disseminated in Portland more generally than in any other city in the country. A quiet house-to-house canvass is being carried on to reach mothers of the working class.

The center of agitation has now been transferred to Boston, chiefly, perhaps, because of legal prosecution. A young newspaper man, graduate of Columbia University, Van Kleeck Allison, reprinted in his monthly magazine, the *Flame*, an article on birth control by Dr. W. J. Robinson, which had appeared in the latter's *Critic and Guide*. The article argued the case for family limitation without giving any medical instruction whatever. Allison was called upon shortly thereafter by a detective who, posing as a workingman with an invalid wife and a family too large for his means, asked for and obtained a leaflet giving contraceptive advice. Allison was arrested and received a prison sentence of three years.

The case has been appealed and a vigorous agitation in Allison's behalf is being conducted by the Massachusetts Birth Control League. Charles Zeublin is president of the league which numbers among its members several clergymen, professors at Harvard and Massachusetts Institute of Technology and social

workers. A protest meeting addressed by Mrs. Sanger which crowded the Majestic Theater has been followed by a series of minor gatherings, culminating in a mass meeting at Faneuil Hall at which speeches were made by Laura Garrett, Ida Rauh, now under indictment for distributing birth control leaflets in New York city, and Dr. Ira S. Wile of the New York city Board of Education. An effort is now being made to raise a defense fund of five thousand dollars to fight the Allison case through to the Supreme Court, if necessary, and plans are being made to organize the movement throughout the state. An initial meeting for this purpose held in Springfield was attended by over fifty clergymen.

Interest among medical men is indicated by the recent resolution adopted at a meeting of physicians under the jurisdiction of the Iowa State Board of Control and by the fact that the American Public Health Association is to discuss the subject at its forty-fourth annual meeting in Cincinnati next week.

And last week birth control was, for

the first time, made the subject of a judicial opinion. In the Court of General Sessions, New York city, Judge William H. Wadhams suspended sentence upon a woman, mother of six children, who had pleaded guilty to a charge of burglary, her second offense. His investigation showed, the judge declared, that the mother had made a hard but unsuccessful attempt to support her children since the father had been driven from his work in garment making five years ago. Meantime, two of the children had been born. Said Judge Wadhams:

"Her husband is not permitted by the authorities to work because of his being ill with tuberculosis. It would be dangerous for him to work on children's garments. It might spread the consumption to the innocents. There is a law against that. As a result of this law the husband has had no work for four years.

"Nevertheless, he goes on producing children who have very little chance under the conditions to be anything but tubercular, and, themselves growing up, repeat the process with society. There is no law against that.

"But we have not only no birth regu-

lation in such cases, but if information is given with respect to birth regulation people are brought to the bar of justice for it. There is a law they violate. The question is whether we have the most intelligent law on this subject we might have. These matters are regulated better in some of the old countries, particularly in Holland, than they are in this country.

"I believe we are living in an age of ignorance, which at some future time will be looked upon aghast."

Commenting on the decision editorially, the *New York World* said:

"Whether or not one agrees with it, such an opinion from the bench in effect lifts up and dignifies a topic that has mostly come in for surreptitious discussion. It is at best a delicate topic and one needing to be treated with a certain reserve. Yet it is a topic to which society can no longer close its eyes. And in the circumstances it is preferable to have it discussed frankly and without the half-secrecy in which lay its worst element of danger."

The mother of six on whom sentence was suspended is in charge of a charitable society.

The Explosion at Bayonne

By John A. Fitch

THREE people dead, a dozen or so in the city hospital badly wounded, property destroyed, innocent people brutally assaulted—that is the situation in Bayonne, N. J., after two weeks of the strike of the employes of the Standard Oil Company refineries.

The strike had been in effect less than twenty-four hours before there were battles between strikers and the police. Bricks were thrown and shots were fired. The second day of the strike a young woman was killed as she leaned out of an upper window to watch an encounter in the street. The next day a young lawyer, on business in the strike district, was struck by a bullet and killed. Then a workman, whose identity seems rather uncertain, was killed as he walked out of a saloon.

What is it all about? What desperate situation lies back of it all? There are varying opinions, but here seems to be about the only documentary evidence; it is the list of "demands" served on Supt. George B. Hennessey of the Standard Oil Company just before the strike began:

"We your employes of the various departments hereafter named, present the following amicable request, feeling reasonably certain that if you consider the condition under which we are compelled to work, the prices which we now are compelled to pay for the commodities of life, or rather the means of sustenance, you are bound to realize that our demand is fair and reasonable.

"1st. We request an increase in all departments—except in the still cleaning department—in which wages have been raised and are adequate—in the following manner: 30 per cent increase to the men now making less than \$3 a day, and 20 per cent increase to the men making \$3 a day or more.

"2d. We request that an 8-hour day be adopted as a basis throughout.

"3d. That fairness be exercised in discharging men and that men shall not be discharged without just cause.

"4th. We request humane and decent treatment at the hands of foremen and superiors in place of the brutal kicking and punching we now receive without provocation.

"5th. We request twenty minutes time for lunch in the press department.

"We make the above requests in a peaceful and amicable manner, without threats or violence, preferring to obtain what we deem is justly due us in a friendly and peaceful manner. We must, however, state that unless our request is granted within 48 hours, we will be compelled to strike."

There is nothing in all of this suggestive of violence. On the contrary the emphasis is laid upon the peaceful and amicable spirit of the petitioners. It does not have the peremptory tone commonly found in the demands of men who are ready to strike. I learned that it was written in Polish—most of the strikers are Polish—and translated by M. F. Trakimas, a Lithuanian photographer. I strongly suspected that the friendly and

diplomatic language had been inserted by the gentlemanly translator. He insisted to me, however, that he had done nothing of the sort. It is, he asserts, a faithful translation of the original petition.

How then shall we account for the violence? It has been just fifteen months since these same men were on strike. In July, 1915, Bayonne, N. J., attracted to itself the attention of the country by reason of the violence and bloodshed that took place during a strike which was finally ended by the spectacular activity of Eugene F. Kinkead, sheriff of Hudson county. Six men instead of three were killed at that time.

These two strikes within fifteen months seem to suggest that the workers of Bayonne are a particularly turbulent and bloodthirsty lot. And then we find this respectful, courteous petition, the basis for the present outbreak. If we examine it more carefully, however, some explanation of the existing feeling begins to emerge.

The first paragraph calls attention to "the prices which we now are compelled to pay for the commodities of life or rather means of sustenance," and then the first demand is for an increase in wages—30 per cent for those getting less than \$3 a day. Here we begin to get some light upon the situation. There is always dynamite in a low wage with an increased cost of living.

When the men went on strike in 1915, and asked for a 15 per cent advance, un-

skilled labor, which constitutes a large proportion of the 5,000 odd employes of the Standard Oil Company in Bayonne, was receiving \$1.75 a day. A 15 per cent advance would have meant for them \$2.02 a day. They have received, it is said, two increases during the last year, and were getting when the present strike began \$2.20. That is \$688.60 for a year of 313 days, which is a full working year omitting nothing but the 52 Sundays. That is less than the lowest estimate that has been made in recent years as absolutely necessary to support a working-man's family. In the last month, furthermore, the prices of some of the most important necessities of life, such as, meat, eggs, butter, milk and bread have been materially advanced.

"How do you think we can live on \$26 in two weeks?" a wife of a striker wrote to a Bayonne newspaper.

Superintendent Hennessey gave out a statement declaring that the wages paid by the Standard Oil Company were higher than those of any other company in the vicinity of Bayonne, excepting one company which is handling war orders. I have not investigated the truth of this statement, but even if true, it is small comfort to know that there are others worse off than you are, if you have not enough to live on. It may be, also, that the strikers had not failed to note the story prominently featured in all the papers just a few weeks ago, that on account of the advance in the market value of Standard Oil stock, John D. Rockefeller is now a billionaire.

The second request is for an 8-hour day. Some of the men now have an 8-hour day, others work 9 and 10 hours, and some work 12, and there is a certain amount of seven-day labor in the big oil plant.

No comment is necessary on the moderation and restraint of the fourth demand: "We request humane and decent treatment at the hands of foremen and superiors in place of the brutal kicking and punching that we now receive without provocation." Nor can much be added to the fifth: "We request twenty minutes time for lunch in the press department." What is the time for lunch now do you ask—15 minutes, 10 minutes? The men on the street in Bayonne tell you that no time is allowed.

These factors must be taken into consideration in trying to find an answer to the question of why there is violence in Bayonne. But such a suggestion seems to assume that the strikers are the ones who are guilty of violence. With regard to the specific cases mentioned, I have no information. I do not know

who killed the young woman about to be a bride, or the lawyer, or the working-man. But I do know that violence has not been confined to the strikers.

As I looked the situation over in Bayonne, it seemed to me that the issue here is primarily one of Americanism. It is tremendously significant that in the common language of the street there are two classes of people in Bayonne—"white" men and foreigners.

"It's just these low-class foreigners," a newspaper man told me. "It isn't peculiar to Bayonne—it's the way they act everywhere. You know what a terrible time they had in Paterson during the silk strike a few years ago. It is the same class of people and they act the same everywhere." Now, as a matter of fact, although there are Poles in Paterson, and more than 20,000 workers were on strike for three or four months, there was less violence than there would be at a county fair, except as it was engaged in by policemen and detectives.

I asked a group of policemen standing on a Bayonne corner what they thought about the strike.

"You see it's this way," replied a big fellow with a protruding jaw, "it is just a case of these fellows making too much money. When they've got a little money in their pockets, they just have to get out and raise hell."

That was a little too strong for another one in the group, who remarked somewhat apologetically, "No we are not saying that. These people are not getting enough money. It's on account of a lot of agitators coming in here and stirring up trouble among the foreigners."

I asked a business man what he thought about it. "It's a case of the ignorant, low-class foreigner making trouble," he said. "This is an orderly, prosperous and comfortable town. Those fellows live over by themselves and refuse to become Americans. They live in dirt and filth and hoard their money."

"It has been suggested," I said to him, "that that is rather a neglected part of Bayonne where the foreigners live, that unsanitary conditions prevail there, and that the authorities do not trouble themselves about the matter."

"Nothing to it at all," replied the business man, "they live there because they like it—they prefer that sort of thing. Rents are high over there, but they prefer to stay nevertheless. This is the first time that I have said a good word for the Standard Oil Company, but I am with them on this deal."

The morning that I went to Bayonne, "order" was said to have been restored.

The town was alive with men in police uniform. Not nearly all of them were regular policemen. They had been hurriedly sworn in and given uniforms and badges. They had made raid after raid into the strike district. A leader of the foreign people, protesting against what he called the lawlessness of the police, took me into the district where they live to show how they had wrecked the saloons. All of the saloons had been ordered closed, and when some of them in the foreign section had continued to run, despite the order, the police raided them.

I had supposed from the accounts in the papers that they had emptied the stock into the streets. My guide took me into two wrecked saloons. Broken bottles were piled up a foot high in the corners; the walls were scarred with the impact of the bottles that had been thrown against them; floors were soggy with the liquor that had been poured out; there were even pools of it standing here and there; furniture was damaged and electric globes and fixtures had been smashed. It was a scene of wanton destruction of property far exceeding the drastic measures that doubtless were necessary.

Going away from the district, I encountered a moving picture operator. He had gone in at another point with a squad of police on one of the regular raids into strike territory for the purpose of putting respect for authority into the hearts of the strikers.

"That man Cady is a bird," he said. "He led that bunch of cops in there and put everybody off the street. Nobody dared to say a word, or he got smashed over the head. A fellow was standing in a doorway and just made a kind of a face and said, 'This is a fine bunch' or something like that, and Cady laid him out with the butt of his revolver. The man's wife came out to the door and threw her arms around Cady to protect her husband. He just grabbed her and threw her back bodily through the door. I have a peach of a film of the whole thing."

By all means let us have law and order! But I wondered as I looked at the funeral passing up the street of the girl who was shot almost on the eve of her wedding day, as I observed the destruction wrought by the police, and as I noted the sullen faces on the street,—I wondered how much had been contributed toward law and order and a peaceful settlement of Bayonne's next strike.

MARS EXULTANT

By Sarah Wambaugh

I am the Master Tyrant, foe of truth,
And freedom—watchwood of the mounting years.
With cunning hand I kindle old men's fears;
Ruthless I take my toll of generous youth.



STRICT NEUTRALITY AT THE RED CROSS PIER

From every corner of America to every corner of warring Europe supplies are sent by the Red Cross.

War Relief and the American Contributor

By Esther E. Baldwin

DIRECTOR BUREAU OF ADVICE AND INFORMATION OF THE NEW YORK CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY

THE contributor to war relief work is dazed. He is bewildered by the multiplicity of needs that come to his attention by way of letter and newspaper appeals. He reads the exposures of fraudulent organizations, and he grows a little uncertain about all the war relief committees. He does not want to stop giving, and yet he does not want to give blindly.

As one contributor writes: "We feel as if we ought to be sacrificing ourselves to the utmost in order to do what little we can for relief, for reconciliation and toward reconstruction, but in our bewilderment we do not do even all we might."

At the present time the American war relief situation offers for analysis more in the way of variety in human nature than in uniformly available cold facts. There are in it happenings and developments that are splendidly American. There is outstanding a generous spirit of personal service that is forming a new ideal for volunteer social service in this country. There are the fine instances of business organization on a large scale in the work of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, the Red Cross, and the War Relief Clearing House for France and Her Allies. On the other hand there are the personal rivalries, the conflicts in methods between different workers, and even the

vagaries of the contributors to be taken into account in order to understand somewhat the ins and outs of the war relief situation.

From New York city as the organizing center at least 102 central committees have been launched during the first twenty-four months of the war. Uncounted branches have been formed by the energy of these central committees. The War Relief Clearing House for France and Her Allies (which is commonly called the Clearing House) reports that "5,000 relief organizations, societies, schools, churches, clubs, and individuals at the head of small circles in various parts of the United States, Canada, Hawaiian Islands, Cuba, and Bermuda" are using its free facilities for transferring material to France.

If one undertakes to discuss war relief work from the point of view of five thousand small committees, there is no hope of reducing the contributor's bewilderment. If, however, one goes back to the four elements of the relief problem; namely, raising money, purchasing supplies, transferring and distributing material and monetary relief, it becomes easier to approach an understanding of what has been done and what remains to be done by America. It becomes clearer that there exists outside certain bounds, a Topsy-like confusion

that has "just grown." Within these bounds American genius for business organization has gone to work seriously. In fact the cooperation with distributing agencies abroad and the means of transferring relief are so well organized that one wonders why there should be such apparent lack of order connected with the effort to raise money.

No Precedent

UP TO AUGUST, 1914, there may be said to have been one national conception of war relief. This was the idea of medical relief on the field, in temporary hospitals, and in base hospitals. As America expected at the beginning of the war, the Red Cross immediately set in motion its adaptable machinery for military relief.

Then civil want was foreshadowed. Our experience had presented no problem of this type. We had had the cumulative experience of the Red Cross in dealing with single disasters: floods, fires, earthquakes, famine and shipwreck. But they had not resulted from war; and so, finding no existing organization specifically to meet the non-military needs in Europe in August, 1914, there was an outburst of efforts to do something, efforts taking shape in large and small war relief committees.

Need was centered in Belgium. To

SOME OF AMERICA'S MOST FAMOUS MEN ASK AID FOR VERDUN DEFENDERS OF FRANCE

Prominent Bankers, Diplomatist and Educator Appeal for Funds in the Name of the Suffering Soldiers of France...

The National Allied Relief Committee, co-operating with the War Relief Clearing House for France and her Allies, is sending out what perhaps will be the most broadcast appeal yet issued on behalf of the war sufferers of Europe. This appeal is for funds for the relief of the soldiers of France wounded in the fighting around Verdun. What lends additional interest to this appeal is the fact that it is signed by six of the most prominent men in America. Those who signed it are: August Belmont of the banking firm bearing his name; Hon. Jos. H. Choate, Ex-Ambassador to England; Dr. Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University; A. Barton Hepburn, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Chase National Bank; Edwin G. Merrill, President of the Union Trust Company, and Henry L. Higginson of the banking firm of Lee, Higginson & Company, Boston. It is anticipated that the contributions received from this wide-spread appeal will be devoted also to relief work among a large number of wounded resulting from the greatly increased activities of the contending armies. The appeal is reproduced herewith.

NATIONAL ALLIED RELIEF COMMITTEE cooperating with the WAR RELIEF CLEARING HOUSE

Honorary President: Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus Harvard University
President: Norman Hapgood, Editor, Harper's Weekly

Vice-Presidents:

Mrs. William Alexander
President Special Relief Society
Mrs. J. Borden Harriman

Frederick H. Allen
Permanent American Commission
Gilford Pinchot
Formerly United States Forester

August Belmont
Banker
Mrs. Schuyler van Rensselaer

Howard Elliott
President, N. Y. N. H. & H. R. R.
Mrs. Fiske Warwa

Mrs. Barrett Wendell

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OFFICERS

Edwin G. Merrill, Chairman
President Union Trust Co. of New York

John Moffat, Vice Chairman and Chairman of Publicity Committee

Secretary: Augustus W. Kelley

Treasurer: James A. Blair, Jr. of Blair & Co.

Deputies: Lee, Higginson & Company

Auditor: James Marwick, Chartered Accountant of Marwick, Mitchell, Peat & Co., New York, Boston, London and Paris

TELEPHONE: 8789 GRAMERCY

200 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

We are sending you the enclosed emergency bulletin at the request of the War Relief Clearing House. In this great crisis we beg you to help us to relieve the terrible sufferings of these brave French soldiers who have been wounded in the fighting around Verdun.

Won't you fill out the attached subscription blank and send us a donation today.

Yours faithfully,

August Belmont
Charles W. Eliot
Edwin G. Merrill

Joseph H. Choate
Henry L. Higginson
Edwin G. Merrill

To the National Allied Relief Committee
300 Fifth Avenue, New York.

1916

Dear Sirs: In response to your appeal I beg to enclose _____ dollars and hope to make a similar subscription monthly.

Yours very truly

*Write out if no monthly donation is intended.

Checks should be made payable to Lee, Higginson & Co.

AN APPEAL

A single S. O. S. that netted more than \$100,000, including one check for \$40,000, for wounded soldiers.

meet this need, which called the attention of all neutral countries, the Commission for Relief in Belgium was established. But the small committees in America which contributed through the commission remained free to take care of their own problems of raising money.

Money Raising Campaigns

THERE HAS BEGUN to be question about the possibility of organizing the money raising campaign upon a basis as efficient as that of the purchasing, transferring and distributing. The needs of civilians grew greater. Meanwhile the President had issued his proclamation of neutrality. It seemed logical that our nation would be able to express its sympathy for civilians through a single channel, as it had been doing in the matter of military relief and disasters since the establishment of the Red Cross. So the neutral Committee of Mercy was formed under the patronage of the President and under the guidance of active, responsible, well-known American citizens. Within a year the growth of partisan feeling gave rise to the National Allied Relief Committee, organized for the same

task, from the point of view of efficiency, as that of the Committee of Mercy; namely, undertaking to raise the most money with greatest economy.

The war relief committees learned that the average contributor depended upon special appeals for his news about needs abroad. If he received one appeal from each of three committees, he was quite likely to send three contributions. If he received three appeals from one committee, he was not so likely to feel that he should make three responses. It seems strange in these days, when contributors to local charitable work are tending more and more to demand a simplified technique for money raising, that these same people have responded more generously for war relief in measure with the variety of appeals coming to them. Their present feeling of confusion about the endless numbers of appeals they are receiving is to some degree a reaction from a policy they have unknowingly encouraged.

On an average four or five new central committees have been organized during each of the first twenty-four months of the war. The trend of the

war is shown by the successive appearance among these of Austrian, British, Polish, Jewish, Serbian, Persian, Syrian, Armenian and Russian relief. One finds appearing constantly, too, more and more German and French and Belgian committees. This dynamic initiative, which produces on the one hand such splendid volunteer service from committee members, tends to encourage the continuance of many committees rather than of any effort to reduce their number.

Need of Variety

NOT ONLY does one find financial response increasing in proportion to the variety of appeals, but one also finds a greater amount of personal service producible if the people giving it can make their contribution in some way that is peculiarly their own. Hence the continued existence of innumerable committees, each aiming at a specific task of relief and each under the leadership of some strong personality. In a word there is, in New York city, a decided advocacy of variety in methods of work as well as variety in sources of appeal:

"You can work it out by fractions or by simple Rule of Three, But the way of Tweedle-Dum is not the way of Tweedle-Dee. You can twist it, you can turn it, you can plait it till you drop— But the way of Pilly-Winky's not the way of Winkie-Pop."

So at one and the same time we find ourselves appealed to because we are neutral, or because we are partisan; because we like to help in very definite ways or because we really admire the sort of American ability that can systematize matters on a business basis: matters like clothing a nation, for instance. And all this is no reflection upon the relief committees. It is their burden, rather. It means hard work for them, for they know from experience that Americans have been giving in response to the types of appeals that touch them. The response has not been nearly large enough to meet the needs. Therefore, if more money is to be had all kinds of appeals must be used.

I have said that the executive problem of war relief work is fourfold. It will be interesting to see the tendencies toward increased efficiency in the work of the last three—purchasing, transferring and distributing supplies, and to compare with these the situation in regard to the first, money raising.

In the matter of the distribution of relief abroad, Americans can well afford to be guided by a sense of proportion. Distribution is a term that I use to include every form in which aid is being given to war sufferers in Europe. It means attending to the primary wants of food, clothing, and shelter; to hospital and ambulance service both for civilians and for wounded soldiers; to the sort

of personal ministrations to the spirit that one finds in opportunities to reach individuals aboard, orphaned children or soldiers behind the lines in France or in Russian prison camps, or those residents, at the beginning of the war in alien countries, who have been interned with others of their nationality in special camps.

I believe contributors cannot at present discriminate between temporary and permanent, or constructive work, once it is clear that, in carrying both kinds, all possible methods of avoiding wastefulness are observed. After all, when the need for food is greater than the amount supplied, and when a system preventing overlapping of distribution is known to be in force, the question of emergent needs thus naturally receives our hearty response.

We can easily understand that when the war is over these forms of relief will become supplanted by reconstructive efforts. Then, it is true, it may be difficult in some instances to separate the white sheep from the black; for reconstruction will become the slogan of both earnest workers and exploiters. But that has not arrived. We will hope when the countries of Europe are free to turn their attention to reconstruction that they will treat their problems on a national basis, with the effectiveness, with which the Commission for Relief in Belgium is doing its present work of feeding and clothing the Belgians.

Medical Relief

GRANTED THEN that one will do all he can to support the existing forms of relief work abroad. How is he to do it? Medical and surgical relief work can be reached effectively through the American Red Cross. Supplies for hospital use should be prepared after directions which can be obtained upon application to the Red Cross.

Besides the opportunities in connection with the Red Cross and the general relief agencies, there are others, interested in hospital supplies and the purchasing of ambulances, that commend themselves to the interest of Americans. It is difficult to obtain an absolutely complete list of these. The ones that are mentioned here are not selected, but include all of those known to the writer:

- Ambulance Chirurgical Mobile No. 2,
Directress, Mrs. Borden-Turner.
- Depository, Farmers' Loan and Trust
Co., 44 William street, New York
city.
- American Ambulance Hospital in Paris,
14 Wall street, New York city.
Chairman, Mrs. Robert Bacon.
Depository, J. P. Morgan and Com-
pany.
- American Fund for French Wounded,
134 West 42 street, New York city.
Treasurer, Anne Morgan.
- American Hospital and Ambulance in
Russia,
140 Broadway, New York city.
Secretary, Philip M. Lydig, 111
Broadway, New York city.
- American Red Cross,
Washington, D. C.
Treasurer, John Skelton Williams.
- American Physicians Expedition Com-
mittee, Inc.,
P. O. Box 1207, New York city.
Treasurer, Herman A. Metz.
- Armenian Medical Relief Association,
175 Fifth avenue, New York city.
Treasurer, A. H. Tiryakian.
- Australian War Relief Fund,
435 Fifth avenue, New York city.
Treasurer, A. J. Howard.
- Franco-Serbian Field Hospital of
America,
17 West 30 street, New York city.
Secretary-treasurer, Henry B. Britton.
- Friends Ambulance Unit,
121 South Third street, Philadelphia.
Treasurer in America, William T.
Elkinton.

Contributors of food and clothing should apply to the Red Cross and the clearing house and the commission for their bulletins. These bulletins give shipping directions as well as information about the current needs abroad. It is not possible to send food supplies to other countries, including Poland, Armenia, Serbia, and Germany, but money can be sent to each of these countries for the purchase of food by the Armenian Red Cross or by the Polish Victims' Relief Fund, the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, the Serbian Relief Committee, the American Jewish Relief Committee, or the Relief Committee for War Sufferers (German).

In regard to articles of clothing, there are two or three things to keep in mind at present. Used clothing is no longer accepted by the commission. If it is in

good condition and clean the American Girls' Aid will gladly take it for distribution in France. Such articles should be sent to Pier 57, North River, New York city, addressed to the American Girls' Aid. Free transportation abroad is obtained by this committee. The Committee for Relief of German Prisoners receives donations of clothing which are sent by way of Pacific liners to prisoners in Siberia. New clothing is acceptable to the Commission for Relief in Belgium, the War Relief Clearing House and for refugees and convalescents in England, Switzerland, and Russia.

Clothing

CLOTH READY to be made up into clothing can be sent to the Vacation War Relief Committee which maintains a workroom for this purpose, as well as for the preparation of surgical dressings. During 1915 this committee organized workrooms for the aid of the unemployed. Since that time there has been a call from abroad for unmade materials to supply similar workrooms there, so that cloth for making into clothing can also be sent through the commission and the clearing house. For information about the kinds of clothing that are best to send and the best time for sending them, write to these central agencies. Clothing for hospital use should be sent to the Red Cross, Bush Terminal, Brooklyn.

I have spoken of reconstructive work as being already under way. Almost from the beginning of the war there has been a lighthouse for blinded soldiers in Paris under the experienced leadership of Winifred Holt [see THE SURVEY for October 14]. Her committee is providing in this way an opportunity for blind Frenchmen to become readjusted industrially. There is also in France an American Committee for Training in Suitable Trades Maimed French Soldiers with the same object as the work for the blind. In England plans are under way for similar re-education. For this work contributions can be made through the British, French, Belgian Permanent Blind Fund which until September, at least, was just a collection agency. Later it will establish work for the re-education of ex-soldiers



TWO BENEFITS ROLLED IN ONE

The Vacation War Relief Committee gives work to unemployed women in New York city on bandages and on garments that are sent to sufferers in the war zone.

in the three countries included in its title.

Rebuilding the East

Two STRIKING illustrations of reconstructive work have come to my attention. The American Committee on Armenian and Syrian Relief is responsible for the welfare of Armenians, Syrians, and Persians in Asia Minor and in the refugee districts in Russia. This committee is not the only one working in that field, but is the representative of American effort in this direction. When the Kurds devastated the country of the Nestorians, when the Turks had driven the Armenians away from their homes, the problem of relief in the Near East became twofold: that of the refugee in his camp and that of the native who returned to his home in the districts just swept by the massacres. To meet the needs of this second group the field workers of this committee have organized the returned natives in certain districts for the purpose of taking care of the harvest and of the planting for the following season.

Those who return are given power to rent the lands so that all may be put under cultivation and so that all the orchards and vineyards may be cared for. The plan is so arranged that in case the owners of land appear later they will find their property in good condition and can reclaim it, paying as soon as possible the amount expended upon it in the meanwhile. If the owners do not return, the proceeds of the present season's crops are to be used for further relief work.

The plan for re-establishing the natives is novel. Those who have their own land to go back to may purchase oxen, cows, and buffalos. For each animal a ticket is made out and given to the recipient, a yoke of oxen going to every three families. Widows and families of orphan children are given the preference in the distribution of cows. Each recipient, upon receiving his animal, gives a note in exchange by which he promises to repay the committee in three annual payments beginning in 1917. The price set is the price in normal times, which is from three to six times less than what the committee must pay now. These families are given implements for harvesting and seeds to be sown. In the towns the tailors, carpenters, bakers, and other tradesmen are also being helped through the supply of tools of their trade.

The government is already active in cooperating with this and other committees in similar reconstruction work. It is remarkable that so little time has been lost. This is true, beyond doubt, because the field workers of the committee have been long familiar, through their missionary work, with conditions of the country and the nature of the people. Therefore, they are very well equipped to use their judgment and to



**LEFT BEHIND
IN SERBIA**
Send Money for the Women
and Children to the **SERBIAN RELIEF**
70 Fifth Avenue New York

take chances, for they have taken chances, in beginning these undertakings almost before the wave of the massacres has passed.

And yet work of similar value has been done in France by people who have had no previously organized contact with the country and no established basis for confidence. This is the work of English Friends. These pacifists, whose belief has been tested by conscription, have met the rebuke of the majority who saw patriotism only in fighting, by creating an organization entirely new and without precedent in their church, or in any other body, through which they could carry out their faith.

Pacifist Service

THE FOUR BRANCHES of the service are under the direction of separate committees, although the whole work receives the sanction and support of the Friends. There is underneath this method of organization a very human story. The four branches of Friends' service represent four varying points of view of the Friendly idea of practicing Christian principles. There are those who serve under one committee who could not conscientiously give their help under another.

These committees include propaganda work for peace, in England only; the Friends Ambulance Unit at work in France, Belgium, and perhaps by this time, in Russia; the Emergency Committee for Helping Aliens in Distress (convened to aid innocent aliens in Great Britain rendered destitute by the war) and the War Victims Relief Committee. It is to this last committee that I refer as an example of constructive war relief work. It has been so successful that the French government has taken over part of it.

At the opening of the war the War

Victims Relief Committee began its task of following the battle line along the western front, by restoring villages in French territory as soon as it became practical to do so. Small groups of men and women with temporary field headquarters near the battle line go to village after village rebuilding houses, procuring animals and implements and seeds for re-establishing agricultural activities. In carrying out their work they supplement the labor of the remaining villagers. Upon their own initiative the committee began this work in the department of the Marne and, by the invitation of French officials, they have extended it through the Meuse, the Aisne and the Meurthe-et-Moselle.

By April, 1915, the French authorities were providing materials for rebuilding and were giving assistance in obtaining the labor of territorial soldiers. The government was soon able to assume the responsibility of meeting the agricultural needs of the larger districts and thus supplanted the committee. The problems of the cottagers with small plots of land are still left however, to the committee.

Building Huts

A SYSTEMATIC hut-building campaign has also been undertaken by the War Victims Relief Committee in connection with its reconstructive work. By means of local labor and with lumber purchased in France, series of small houses have been built in village after village. These are comfortable simple homes following out uniform models which the committee created, and which the French government has since used. This successful house building is also being carried on for Belgian refugees in Holland where portable houses are being constructed near the Belgian border with the labor of refugees and Belgian soldiers. When the war is over these houses can be taken down and conveyed by the refugees to their former homes where they may serve as comfortable shelters of a fairly permanent nature. [See THE SURVEY for June 26, 1915.]

The transferring of material relief from America is admirably organized. Of all the items of the war relief problem it is in the simplest shape. It amounts to this. There are three chief shipping organizations: the Commission for Relief in Belgium, the Clearing House, and the Red Cross. Practically all the other committees arrange for the transfer of their supplies through these three. The commission has its own boats. The clearing house and the Red Cross are granted space for transferring their supplies, almost always free of charge, by private shipping companies. This contribution to the war relief work is especially generous in the case of French and Italian companies.

Admission of relief into the countries abroad, free of customs charges, is also

secured. The only responsibility that rests with the consignor is to see that his gifts are transferred to the receiving stations of the three shipping committees. Every possible consignor should secure from these committees their printed directions for this end of the transferring. In the case of the Red Cross and the commission, branch assembly depots are maintained in various states to which a consignor or a small committee may send contributions. From these branch stations the supplies are forwarded to the shipping headquarters. Supplies for the clearing house are sent direct to the New York shipping point.

Free Delivery

THE COMMISSION has arranged with the express companies to carry the contributions for its work free of charge. Contributions of supplies for the Red Cross and the clearing house must be sent prepaid by express, parcel post, or freight, in accordance with instructions obtainable from these committees. The principal express companies will accept shipments for both organizations at two-thirds of the regular tariff rates.

On their own account and on account of the thousands of cooperating committees these three shipping committees have done a big bit of work. The commission has sent 279 shiploads of relief for the aid of Belgium and the occupied section of France. The clearing house, which reports in terms of cases of supplies, had forwarded over 41,000 cases up to the end of August. Practically all this huge amount had been contributed by small committees, or was sent on behalf of these committees to designated recipients abroad. The Red Cross had shipped up to September 1, 45,305 packages of supplies. Their total value is put at \$1,428,761.19. Of this amount \$948,760.52 is the value of the supplies donated to and shipped by the Red Cross and \$480,000.67 the value of the supplies purchased and shipped by the Red Cross on its own account.

The thing that stands out in this work of shipping is that a great mass of supplies is being sent abroad by small committees which have learned to use the shipping facilities of the three large committees. These same agencies, and the committees for Germany, Serbia, Armenia, and Poland, and the Jewish people, also serve as central agencies from which money may be forwarded. In cases where this is done, the money is used, if possible, for purchasing supplies within the country to be benefited.

Many committees have also learned to use the purchasing facilities of the larger committees. This is done in two ways. Any committee may purchase at cost, from the clearing house materials which may be made up, by their own workers, into clothing or hospital supplies. Thus, it receives the benefit of

FOR FRANCE AND HER ALLIES



BY express and parcels post, socks and banjos, canned meat and surgical instruments—all sorts of gifts tied up in all sorts of packages—pour into the War Relief Clearing House.

the greatly reduced prices which the clearing house, purchasing in very large quantities, can obtain.

Buying in Bulk

OR THE SECOND way of purchasing may be followed. That is, a small committee may send a designated donation to any one of the three large committees: to the Red Cross for the purchase of hospital supplies, food and clothing; to the commission for food and clothing—this fall chiefly for a special diet for Belgian children; and to the clearing house for supplies of any kind.

But as a general rule the local committees, those that have the interest of small groups of people, and that purchase in variety and in quite small quantities will doubtless find it more economical of time and money to gather up their supplies from their own vicinities.

There are war relief contributors who, before giving to war relief, ask regarding the efficiency with which the money

is being raised. These are the people who have fresh in their minds the financial economy of the federation plan of raising money for philanthropic work. They want to know why such a plan has not yet been applied to raising money for war relief. If fifty-seven philanthropic organizations in Cleveland were able to reduce the cost of raising their money from 15 per cent to 33 per cent to 9.4 per cent in the first year of federated work by how much could one hundred odd war relief committees in New York city reduce through a federation plan the cost of raising their money in the third year of the war? One considers, too, the simplicity with which the hundred and more central committees and their branches do their shipping abroad through the three main gateways. Cannot money, as well as supplies, be drawn together in as intelligible a way?

I have already referred to the two expressions of this feeling, found in the Committee of Mercy and the National

Allied Relief Committee. The Red Cross also stands permanently ready for this service, with accountability to the government for financial operations. Yet it seems doubtful that any comprehensive federation for money raising will be successful, for reasons which I have also given. For persons who wish to contribute by way of the nearest approaches to a federation these three agencies are quite usable. There is no equivalent plan existing among the committees for the aid of the Central Powers alone. German newspapers, such as the New York *Staats-Zeitung* do serve, however, as a receiving agency for designated or undesignated contributions for such committees. This service is performed without deduction of any sort for expenses.

But whether one encourages, by his contributions, these efforts toward federated money raising, or whether he elects to contribute through the transferring agencies, there still remains the question as to the safest means for getting money to headquarters.

In the past year contributors have had to learn all over again the risk of giving money directly to solicitors. By this method abuses occur easily and are detected with difficulty. Most of the leading agencies advertise that contributions should not be given to solicitors but should be made payable to the national treasurer and sent by the contributor to national headquarters.

Fake Schemes

JUST ON the face of things it is impossible to judge whether a benefit is being conducted at a legitimate cost. Machinery to determine this point for the benefit of limited groups of contributors is to be found in the charity investigating committees of chambers of commerce in a goodly number of cities. Examples of abuse incident to the use of dangerous methods of raising money have been whispered about. One of these, a recent effort to launch a new undertaking, gave considerable trouble to a city near New York.

Two men appeared in X. a few months ago. They immediately told of plans to establish a large constructive war relief organization. They sublet a flat in a good residence district, decorating the living room with all manner of war posters and flags of European countries. With a picturesque headquarters installed, they started out to organize their committee. At first they made a big impression. One man displayed a badge said to have been won by him for heroic work in saving the life of a soldier. The man limped and told of losing his leg in a certain campaign. The other man insisted, with dignity, upon the proper use of the military title he said he had earned. His story was of four silver ribs which, he claimed, he carried since wounded in battle.

While the committee was in process

THE RELIEF COMMITTEES

This list of committees includes those mentioned in the accompanying article and those appearing in the representative list issued last summer by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. The combined list is not exhaustive and does not include all of the committees doing good work.

American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, Charles E. Crane, Treasurer, 70 Fifth avenue, New York city.

American Committee for Training in Suitable Trades the Maimed Soldiers of France, Mrs. Edmond Baylis, Chairman, 54 Wall street, New York city.

American Girls' Aid, A. Seton Post, Treasurer, Pier 57 North River.

American Huguenot Committee, Edmond E. Robert, Treasurer, 105 East 22 street, New York city.

American Jewish Relief Committee for Sufferers from the War, Felix M. Warburg, Treasurer, 174 Second avenue, New York city.

American National Red Cross, Hon. John Skelton Williams, Treasurer, 1624 H street, Washington, D. C. (The Red Cross has a Department of Non-Combatant Relief.)

American Relief Committee in Berlin for Widows and Orphans, John D. Crimmins, Treasurer, 30 East 42 street, New York city.

B. F. B. Permanent Blind Relief War Fund, Frank A. Vanderlip, Treasurer, 590 Fifth avenue, New York city.

British War Relief Association, Inc., Henry Clews, Treasurer, 542 Fifth avenue, New York city.

Commission for Relief in Belgium, Alexander J. Hemphill, Treasurer, 120 Broadway, New York city.

Committee for Men Blinded in Battle, William Forbes Morgan, Jr., Treasurer, 124 West 42 street, New York city.

Committee for Relief of German and Austro-Hungarian Prisoners, William

Knauth, Treasurer, 120 Broadway, New York city.

Committee of Mercy, August Belmont, Treasurer, 200 Fifth avenue, New York city.

East Prussian Relief Fund, Hubert Cillis, Treasurer, 17 Battery place, New York city.

Fund (The) for Starving Children, Frederick Lynch, Treasurer, 70 Fifth avenue, New York city.

National (The) Allied Relief Committee, James A. Blair, Jr., Treasurer, 200 Fifth avenue, New York city.

Polish Victims' Relief Fund, Frank A. Vanderlip, Treasurer, Aeolian building, New York city.

Refugees' Relief Fund, Otto T. Barnard, Treasurer, 30 Church street, New York city.

Relief Committee for War Sufferers (German), Charles Froeb, Treasurer, 531 Broadway, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Serbian Relief Committee, Murray H. Coggeshall, Treasurer, 70 Fifth avenue, New York city.

Secours National, Mrs. Whitney Warren, Treasurer, 16 East 47 street, New York city.

Union Nationale des Eglises Reformees Evangeliques de France, Emergency Relief Fund, Alfred R. Kimball, Treasurer, 105 East 22 street, New York city.

Vacation War Relief Committee, Miss Anne Morgan, Treasurer, 5 East 37 street, New York city.

War Relief Clearing House for France and Her Allies, Thomas W. Lamont, Treasurer, 40 Wall street, New York city.

War Victims' Relief Committee, William R. Elkinton, Treasurer in America, 121 So. Third street, Philadelphia.



THE HANNAH, SHIP OF MERCY

Commission for Relief in Belgium is the sign amidship that insures safe passage for this transatlantic vessel, loaded to the bowsprit with American foodstuffs and good will.

of forming, the Chamber of Commerce reported upon an investigation of the undertaking it had been making. As a result the prominent citizens who had been induced to form the committee withdrew their support and the committee dissolved. The flat was abandoned and rent and stenographer's bills left unpaid. The owner of the four silver ribs left America. The pleasant mannered man with a limp (but with no wooden leg and no *bona fide* badge of honor) left for parts unknown. The city was saved from two of the most plausible men that have undertaken to profit by war relief appeals.

After all, fraudulent war relief undertakings have not been so frequent in New York city as one would expect. Of the fifteen of which I have heard in two years, all but two have been eliminated without great financial loss and without appeal to the machinery of government.

One must frankly admit that there are people who consider every wave of public feeling, every opportunity for publicity as a legitimate means for making money for themselves. When such people add to their business ventures some charitable venture, experience shows that the proportion is likely to vary from 50 to 80 or 90 per cent for business as against 50 to 20 per cent for charity.

Business Before Peace

A LITTLE group of such undertakings sprang up in the first few months of the war for the selling of peace stamps. During the early months of the war, hope for an early peace was in the minds of many Americans. Enterprising individuals realized the extent of this feeling and recognized that it was ready for their harvesting. It is not in accordance with human nature to resist an appeal for a cause that is near to the heart. So peace stamps were sent broad-

cast to mailing lists accumulated in other businesses with the request that the recipient remit at so and so much to the national headquarters. Politically prominent men gave their names to one such cause. The unknown working members of another scheme figured on a letter from that on the surface gave no hint of other than a sincere effort for peace. A third plan was that of a business corporation chartered to market articles quite different from stamps. Returns were evidently satisfactory and the organizers began to extend their work by way of branch committees in other cities. One committee claimed to be sending part of its "net proceeds" to Belgium. Inquiry by cable revealed that a very small donation, enough to keep the promoters within the law, had been sent abroad. But, to the best of my knowl-

edge, in none of the cases was any report of accomplishment published voluntarily by these propagandists. I am inclined to believe that on the whole such efforts were not fruitful financially to their promoters, for it seems to be the experience of legitimate agencies that have used this plan of raising money that it is least successful as a sporadic or local means of raising money and most successful when it can be carried along with the regular work of an existing organization of considerable size.

It is refreshing to turn from the dangers of indirect giving to serious and direct efforts to secure steady contributions for relief work. Many churches and social organizations have urged their members to pledge a certain amount to be sent to national headquarters regularly. This method succeeds if the organizations have some live volunteers to keep reminding the contributors of their pledges. Local branches of various relief committees also encourage this, and sustain the interest of the contributors by sending them regular bulletins showing the progress of their work abroad. There is one instance also, that of the Refugees Relief Fund, of a single agency whose whole purpose is to secure regular contributions for persons wishing to aid the Allies. The regular income so procured is donated largely to the clearing house and the Red Cross.

Committees Permanent

THERE DOES not seem to be any marked tendency on the part of the war relief committees to decrease in number. I know of only ten in New York city aside from the fifteen whose standing has been questioned, that have gone out of existence. These ten, with two exceptions, dropped out as soon as they recognized they were not raising much for the war



A CORNER OF THE HOLD

Thousands of bags of flour made up the gift of Kansas and Iowa to the people of Belgium

relief work, or as soon as their purpose was accomplished.

It is rarely, in the history of the two years, that one finds conscious effort on the part of committees themselves to unite in such a way as to reduce their numbers. Two instances summed up in theoretical terms, present the phenomena of reduced appeals, elimination of separate headquarters, a single process for transferring money (no material relief can be sent in either case). But underneath these terms there is a story of diametrically opposite methods of approach. One of these culminations was successful because, apparently, the simplification was brought about by a non-cooperative type of person; the other was produced by the ideal kind of co-operation.

Joining Hands

IN THE ONE instance two or three small committees were early established for the aid of a certain group of civilians. Gradually one of these became better and better known, probably because of the prominence and activity of committee members. Its relations with the central money raising agencies were established satisfactorily on as good a co-operative basis as conditions permitted. Then one day came the announcement in the papers that another special committee for the aid of this same group of civilians was established. The existing committees, following the accepted ethics, offered to discuss cooperation. But the new committee would have none of it. And it has succeeded in this policy, financially at least, until at present the others have dropped out, leaving the one committee to reach the general contributor, and to send the money raised abroad.

In the other case three causes for appeal were combined. The Committee on Armenian Atrocities had organized its hundred sub-committees in the United States. The Persian War Relief Fund had also been established in order to raise the \$70,000 needed to reimburse the Presbyterian missionaries who aided the 25,000 Nestorian sufferers from the Kurd invasions early in 1915. Evidence of needs among the Syrians called for provision for them. Meanwhile Persian field workers returned to the United States and reported their critical stage passed. They advised doing away with the separate Persian committee. Therefore, in November, 1915, it was decided to re-establish the Committee on Armenian Atrocities as the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief.

By this step strong non-sectarian backing for the financial support of the Near East relief work was provided. At the same time, the plan meant making use of the excellent co-operative spirit among the church field workers in Armenia, Syria, and Persia. This spirit has become traditional since 1870, the

year of the agreement between Congregationalists and Presbyterians whereby the administration of the missionary work in Persia was assigned to Presbyterians and that of Armenia to Congregationalists.

Or one's faith in the ability of people to cooperate is advanced by such instances as that of the work of the Sanitary Commission in Serbia in the spring of 1915. In that undertaking private relief societies abroad and in America, the Red Cross societies of America and of Serbia, the Serbian government and the Rockefeller Foundation came together in an excellent division of labor plan for supplying money, for supervising and conducting the work of fighting the typhus plague, and for rendering material relief.

But the prospect for an earnest effort for the reduction to lowest terms of the machinery for money raising and administration is not bright, even though from the point of view of the confused contributor, it is much needed.

In this country the conspicuous examples of the systematizing of money raising are found in the work of federations of organizations for social work. These efforts have created standards requiring proper incorporation, activity of responsible and representative officers and managers, the preparation

of budgets and the auditing of accounts, the elimination of wasteful methods of raising money, and the production of direct financial support. The result is that in any community where such plans are in operation confidence has been established in the federation's financial efficiency. But such a federation comes as the expression of an effort for such efficiency on the part of a group of subscribers; for instance, a Chamber of Commerce. Or it comes as part of a program for increased efficiency in social work, including the problem of raising money, as in the case of the Alliance of Charitable and Social Agencies of Baltimore.

It stands to reason that the contributors to war relief cannot unite in establishing a central money raising agency for war relief, because those contributors are scattered throughout the country. That would seem to leave open the possibility that the central agencies for war relief may themselves form a plan for the raising of money that will be more simple than the different plans now in existence. Certainly some plan might be forthcoming which would encourage the establishment and maintenance of more and more local volunteer relief efforts rather than of more and more money raising committees in New York city.

Conferences

LEGAL AID

EVERY national gathering of the Legal Aid Societies demonstrates how surely and safely they are extending the reach of their work. The biennial session of their National Alliance at Cincinnati, October 11-12, registered not only many recent, but some long past, achievements in securing better legislation and procedure, as well as more effective enforcement of existing laws.

This extension of their sphere of action, however, involves no diversion from their work of actually dispensing justice. As much if not more than ever these legal aid societies were shown to fulfil the claim of Rudolph Matz, one of the most prominent lawyers guiding their work, that "the legal aid society is itself a self-constituted court, not only of original, but of appellate jurisdiction—in every sense a poor man's, a poor woman's and a poor child's court, whose judgments do settle cases, while not having the recognition or the machinery of law to enforce them."

Indeed in the very fulfillment of this function of counseling those seeking legal aid and informally adjudicating many of their difficulties, these societies

have all along seen the necessity of being more than a legal dispensary for dealing with individual cases. At one point of their experience after another, their executives have come to the conclusion which Reginald H. Smith of the Boston Society reached in dealing with wage assignments.

"It struck me one day," he said, "that I could go on making these petty adjustments day after day and that in the end the situation would be exactly the same, and that for one person to whom I could bring a little relief, a hundred went away without any relief."

Taking up the case for a better statute from the data in the files of this society and other agencies, the enactment of the Massachusetts law dealing with the non-payment of wages was obtained. This better law, as in many other instances, not only protected those who had been victimized for the lack of it, but exempted the society from many claims for its help.

The New York society thus did much to protect seamen and other industrial classes from forms of injustices from which it was difficult to deliver the individual. The Chicago Legal Aid So-

ciety and the agencies which united to constitute it, were the Illinois pioneers in securing the protection of women and children from criminal aggression and exploitation. Largely through their effort the age of consent was raised to sixteen years and over, the penalty for seduction was increased, imprisonment was inflicted for contributing to the delinquency of a child, pawnshops were legally enabled to compete with the loan sharks and help drive them out of business, like societies for loaning money on wage assignments were authorized and organized, and a new law allowing the garnished employe to intervene and set up his rights was enacted.

Among the topics dealing with the more technical points in the conduct of legal aid work were the problem in smaller cities, the participation of law school students, the relation to organized charity, the services to business, particularly to the employers of labor, lessons of the municipal legal aid, now established in Dallas, Dayton, Duluth, Kansas City and St. Louis, and the question "Should Legal Aid Societies Charge Fees for Services?" The opinions elicited by the speaker, Mr. Maude P. Boyes of the Chicago Society, were almost evenly divided for and against fees and commissions.

The registration included representatives of twenty legal aid societies, five municipal legal aid bureaus (Dallas, Dayton, Duluth, Kansas City, St. Louis), nineteen legal agencies of Associated Charities, two law schools, one bar association and one Young Women's Christian Association, located in forty-six cities, from Boston, New Orleans and Dallas to Winnipeg and San Francisco. Albert F. Bigelow of the Boston Society was elected president of the Alliance. The motion to hold the next meeting at the time and place of the National Conference of Charities and Correction failed to pass.

PRISON REFORM

MORE and more the sessions of the American Prison Association are emphasizing the need of the medical and psychological study of law-breakers if our methods of reformation are to succeed. Wardens, judges, chaplains, prison physicians and all who have to do with the prisoner from trial to release are finding agreement on what, a dozen years ago, was one of the novelties of prison study. Whatever the treatment contemplated—self-government, honor system, indeterminate sentence, parole, or what not—it is recognized that, preceding action, there must be detailed knowledge of mental traits and degree of responsibility.

Last week's meeting of the association in Buffalo, though discussing many aspects of prison administration and reform, laid further stress upon this prerequisite of action. The issue was put

graphically by Dr. Paul M. Bowers, medical superintendent of the Indiana State Hospital for Insane Criminals, who said: "Probably 50 per cent of all juridical proceedings are concerned with criminality, and yet our jurists placidly and contentedly continue to study their books instead of men, searching in ponderous and ancient volumes of citations, resurrecting decisions from the legal graveyard of the past; and, with crumbling, moth-eaten and time-worn precedents, they attempt to regulate the anti-social conduct that springs from a disordered mentality."

Over twenty institutions and societies maintaining psychological clinics were represented at the meeting. The extent to which some of those engaged in the work of such clinics are willing to go as a result of their observations was brought out by Dr. William H. Kraemer, who has made a special study of prisoners in the New Castle County Workhouse, Delaware. Dr. Kraemer said: "My observations have led me to believe that a person who is unable to live within the laws of human society, and who has been committed to a prison on two separate, distinct charges and at two different times, is suffering from some

injury or disease, physical or mental, congenital or acquired, which is responsible for his abnormal conduct and behavior."

Dr. Bowers, too, had the results of a personal study to offer. He had studied one hundred recidivists, each of whom had been convicted not fewer than four times, and of these twelve were insane, twenty-three feebleminded, and ten epileptic. In each case, he said, the mental defectiveness bore a direct casual relation to the crime committed. The folly of our usual criminal procedure in such cases was driven home as follows:

"No less than 108 trials have been held for these persons. It is reported by good authority that it costs no less than \$1,000 to convict a prisoner; so at that rate the lowest possible expense to the commonwealth was \$180,000. And, three times, each one of these defective individuals had been released to prey upon society, while no permanent good whatever has been accomplished."

The impossibility of reforming prisoners *en masse*, and the need of individual treatment not unlike that involved in psychoanalysis was strongly put by Dr. Guy G. Fernald, resident physician at the Massachusetts State Reformatory.

BOOKS

SCANDINAVIAN IMMIGRANTS IN NEW YORK (1630-1674)

By John Oluf Evjen. K. C. Holter Publishing Company. Price \$2.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$2.75.



The problems of New York state and city are essentially an exaggerated form of the great American problem of keeping unity among various racial stocks, without crushing the initiative of any ethnic group, Professor Evjen in this book shows that the Scandinavians were a more important element in New Amsterdam than heretofore realized, and gives biographical particulars of fifty-seven Norwegian, ninety-seven Danish and thirty-four Swedish immigrants. In an appendix he gives an account of some 180 Germanic immigrants.

The Dutch laid the foundation for Americanism by their racial tolerance. They absorbed these early Scandinavians and Germans so completely that many descendants of these settlers are ignorant of the true origin of their family names. This was partly because the sexes were not equally represented among these immigrants, so that marriage outside of

the Scandinavian or German groups was almost necessary. The Germans and Scandinavians were held together by their Lutheranism, but showed a power that is still with them, of being assimilated without losing their national characteristics.

Professor Evjen shows a justifiable pride in the achievements of his kinsmen, but he does not gloss over their failings. For this reason the student of eugenics must be interested in his account of individuals whose germ-plasm has affected our national life and become a part of its fabric for over two centuries and a half. There is something of sociological significance in the fact that Professor Evjen feels no need of apologetics. It shows that the Scandinavians in this country realize that they hold an assured place.

JOSEPH F. GOULD.

POVERTY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

By Maurice Parmelee. The Macmillan Co. 477 pp. Price \$1.75; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.87.

One can scarcely imagine a more difficult task than that of bringing into one volume the multitude of facts and theories that the last quarter of a century has contributed to the problem of poverty. Biology, psychology, politics and social work, as well as economics, have all to be

considered together with the many remedial and preventive measures that have been proposed.

This is what Professor Parmelee's book undertakes. Having been written as a textbook, its treatment of many of the problems it discusses is not so exhaustive as the person seeking a reference book upon this subject might desire. Professor Parmelee summarizes the arguments for and against the various social remedies and theories that those who are trying to solve or explain the problem of poverty have developed. It is, however, not always easy to draw for oneself a clear-cut conclusion after reading the discussion of these topics.

Professor Parmelee is a social evolutionist rather than a revolutionist. His ideal is the democratic society, but he does not define the political and social characteristics of the society in such detail as the reader might desire. He accepts as steps toward the realization of his ideal most of the reforms which social workers generally believe will improve working and living conditions. Among the controversial measures which he endorses are the regulation of population through birth control and the restriction of immigration, and the increase of the tax upon land.

The book bears the marks of large and wide reading which has not been sufficiently digested. It is loosely knit together and, as far as style and diction are concerned, could be improved by re-writing.

KARL DE SCHWEINITZ.

or in which a strike has failed as a result of labor's inability to keep its ranks intact. He declares that the use of the boycott has been effective in the past in organizing many trades that would otherwise have been deprived of the advantage of collective bargaining and that there are still a large number of industries in which the organizing function of the boycott might prove of distinct value to society.

The impression left by Dr. Wolman, however, that boycotts will have no further legitimate function to perform when the various trades are well organized is, it seems to the writer, unfortunate. For following thorough organization, the workers will undoubtedly need to continue their struggle for a still higher standard of living if the best interests of society are to be served, and in many industries they are likely to find that they can achieve their ends with the expenditure of far less effort through the employment of the boycott than through that of the strike.

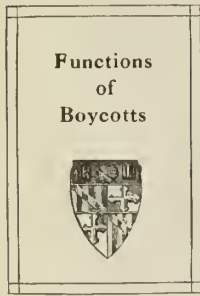
The statement of the author that trade unions, with their loose federations, and, be it said, their endless jurisdictional disputes, are as well adapted to an effective use of the boycott as are industrial unions, seems also of questionable validity.

On the whole, however, Dr. Wolman's dissertation is an admirable complementary study to the literature on this subject and is essential to a proper understanding of the place of the boycott in the American trade union movement.

HARRY W. LAIDLER.

THE BOYCOTT IN AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS

By Leo Wolman. The Johns Hopkins Press. 148 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.06.



This monograph, in the words of the author, "is designed to make an impartial study of the boycott in its relation to trade unionism; of the circumstances which attend the emergence of the boycott; of its value as an organizing device; of the effect upon trade unionism; of its abandonment as a resource of enforcement; and finally of its legal and ethical aspects."

While it cannot be said that Dr. Wolman has gone exhaustively into all the foregoing phases of the boycott, he has nevertheless contributed a book of marked value to organized labor.

To the social reformer who is seeking to decide whether he should advocate or oppose the legalization of the boycott, the discussion regarding the conditions under which boycotts emerge and the function they perform is particularly important. Dr. Wolman claims that boycotts have arisen in connection with those industries in which it has been found impossible or extremely difficult, without its use, to organize the workers

BOOKS RECEIVED

- PHYLLIS McPHILEMY. By May Baldwin. E. P. Dutton & Co. 314 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.64.
- IN KHAKI FOR THE KING. By Escott Lynn. E. P. Dutton & Co. 375 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.65.
- STANDARDS OF HEALTH INSURANCE. By I. M. Rubinow. Henry Holt & Co. 322 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.59.
- FRIENDS OF FRANCE. The Field Service of the American Ambulance described by its members. Houghton Mifflin Co. 295 pp. Price \$2; by mail of THE SURVEY \$2.15.
- A LITTLE BOOK OF IRISH VERSE. By Albert C. White. E. P. Dutton & Co. Agts. 79 pp. Price \$.60; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.63.
- THE YEAR OUT OF DOORS. By Dailas Lore Sharp. Houghton Mifflin Co. 106 pp. Price \$.35; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.40.
- THE BACKWASH OF WAR. By Ellen N. LaMotte. 186 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.08.
- THE INSTITUTIONAL CARE OF THE INSANE IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. Vol. II. Edited by Henry M. Hurd. The Johns Hopkins Press. 897 pp. Price \$2.50 cloth; by mail of THE SURVEY \$2.80.
- A LABORATORY MANUAL OF FOODS AND COOKERY. By Emma B. Matteson and Ethel M. Newlands. The Macmillan Co. 325 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.64.
- PROBLEMS OF RELIGION. By Durant Drake. Houghton Mifflin Co. 425 pp. Price \$2; by mail of THE SURVEY \$2.14.
- THE AMERICAN LABOR YEAR BOOK, 1916. Prepared and published by the Rand School of Social Science. 382 pp. Price \$.50 paper; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.58.
- THE PUBLIC AND ITS SCHOOL. By William McAndrew. World Book Co. 76 pp. Price \$.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.53.
- THE WOMAN MOVEMENT FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS. By Jessie Taft. University of Chicago Press. 62 pp. Price \$.54 paper; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.58.
- WOMAN ON HER OWN, FALSE GODS AND THE RED ROBE. By Eugene Brioux. Translated by Mrs. Bernard Shaw, J. F. Fagan and A. Bernard Miall. Brentano. 330 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.61.

- HOW TO LEARN EASILY. By George Van Ness Dearhorn. Little, Brown & Co. 227 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.10.
- THE QUESTION AS A FACTOR IN TEACHING. By John William and Alice Cynthia Hall. Houghton Mifflin Co. 189 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.35.
- THE HIGH SCHOOL PRIZE SPEAKER. By William Leonard Snow. Houghton Mifflin Co. 240 pp. Price \$.90; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.98.
- THE TIDE OF IMMIGRATION. By Frank Julian Warne. D. Appleton & Co. 388 pp. Price \$2.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$2.62.
- FIGHT FOR FOOD. By Leon A. Congdon. J. B. Lippincott Co. 207 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.33.
- CONTENT WITH FLIES. By Mary and Jane Findlater. E. P. Dutton & Co. 111 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.07.
- THE SLAVS OF THE WAR ZONE. By W. F. Bailey. E. P. Dutton & Co. 268 pp. Price \$3.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$3.64.
- ETHICS OF DEMOCRACY. By Louis F. Post. The Bobbs Merrill Co. 374 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.62.
- THE HISTORY OF THE FABIAN SOCIETY. By Edward R. Pease. E. P. Dutton & Co. 288 pp. Price \$1.75; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.84.
- THE PAINTERS OF FLORENCE. By Julia Cartwright. E. P. Dutton & Co. 373 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.59.
- POVERTY AND RICHES. By Scott Nearing. John C. Winston Co. 261 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.11.
- A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE. Vol. I, 1500-1815. By Carlton J. H. Hayes. The Macmillan Co. 597 pp. Price \$2; by mail of THE SURVEY \$2.22. Vol. II, 1815-1915. 767 pp. Price \$2.25; by mail of THE SURVEY \$2.49.
- THE WRACK OF THE STORM. By Maurice Maeterlinck. Dodd, Mead & Co. 330 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.61.
- OFFICIAL DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE EUROPEAN WAR. By Edmund Von Mach. The Macmillan Co. 1240 pp. Price \$6; by mail of THE SURVEY \$6.38.
- THE MOTHERCRAFT MANUAL. By May L. Read. Little, Brown & Co. 440 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.35.
- WORK-ACCIDENTS AND THE LAW. Second Edition. By Crystal Eastman. The Pittsburgh Survey. Published by The Survey Associates, Inc., for the Russell Sage Foundation. 335 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.72.

COMMUNICATIONS

THE DEVIL WITH FIRE

TO THE EDITOR: When the world's congress and the world's supreme court shall have become established facts and the nations of the earth have agreed to abide by the laws of such congress and supreme court, then may it be made a law that if any ruler or government body (be it a congress, parliament, reichstag or any other) declares or begins a war, every ruler or member of a governing body that votes for war shall be executed if the world's army and navy can capture the offenders. And further, may it be enacted that if any public speaker or publisher of any publication incites to war every such speaker, editor or publisher shall be likewise executed. Then we may believe that war ("the sport of kings") will be a matter of history only.

A. N. ROE.

Branchville, N. J.

SABOTAGE FOR GERMS

TO THE EDITOR: The knowledge of the hookworm and its ravages in reducing the efficiency of American citizens are popularly known. The reports of the

bacteriologists, the illustrated pamphlets telling us about the rural conditions, the work of the laboratories, and the cures effected, furnish interesting reading. Already the literature of the subject is large.

Yet, after all, are not the feet, especially the soft parts—notably the tender skin between the toes—the chief gateways of entrance of the deadly parasite into the system? Why not then case the feet in defensive armor? Leather will no more suffice for prevention than will heathen charms or Christian cloth to keep out bullets. Wherever crack or hole, stitch or peg allow water to penetrate, there the hookworm follows.

But there is one sort of foot-gear impervious to the *Necator Americanus*. Wherever the sabot, clomper-klomp, or wooden shoe is worn, this pest must reach man by some other route—from his fellow animals, or by infection through carelessness.

The wooden shoe—dry, comfortable, easy to wear, to put on and off, cheap and durable—is not perhaps fitted for use on pavements nor is it likely to suit American taste in the cities. But for life on farms, gardens, barn yards, ploughed soil, country roads, what better foot-gear?

An ounce of prevention in this line of service is worth a pound, even of scientific, cure. Why does not some enterprising American give a demonstration of the value and economy of the wooden shoe? The money saved annually through the substitution of wood for leather, to be used during working hours would build many schoolhouses and properly equip them. It would beautify and make more comfortable the average home in the devastated regions. Once fashionable or at least made popular, as it is already in Europe among some of the best of the world's citizens, such a change would add largely to human values and efficiency. I speak after seeing the parasite and its awful ravages.

Not on ice, not for a race, not for fashion—silly or sane—but for economy, comfort and the prevention of a scourge that is wasting and deadly, do I hope to see wooden shoes in rural America. Nor do I fear any just reproach of the writer or the courageous innovator if, in the words of the Dutch proverb, "He stands on his word like a farmer in his klomps."

WILLIAM ELLIOTT GRIFFIS.

Ithaca, N. Y.

APPEALS

TO THE EDITOR: I would like to express a word of sympathy with the writer of a short article in your number for August 26 headed Appeals.

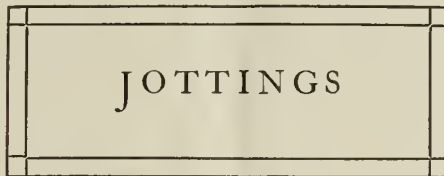
There must be many who like myself, are annoyed and at times exasperated by the number, the persistence, the tone, and the unreasonable duplication of appeals for charity of all sorts and kinds.

It is hard to say which are the most objectionable—the ones claiming to represent the only true and dependable society for the relief of this or that (while you have on your table half a dozen others claiming the same thing,) or the ones who will never take *no* for an answer but go on and on, using up your sub-

scription, as your correspondent puts it, over and over again in the effort to get more out of you. Worst of all are the societies or committees who do not methodically divide up their lists of possible donors but who each and all apply to the same people. I could send you a big bundle of their so called "literature" to prove this. The expenditure for stationery and postage, for office time and clerical help must eat up a large part of their receipts.

The whole thing is overdone, and tends to perplex and annoy those who really want to give but to do so judiciously and to the right agents.

E. W. H.



All Chicago extended a hearty welcome to Jane Addams, although she feels only "half at home" while able to spend only part of her time at Hull House during her encouraging convalescence.

Photographs of the bas-relief, the Woman Physician, reproduced on the cover of THE SURVEY for July 22, are for sale at the Woman's Medical College of Philadelphia. They are copyrighted by Clara Hill, the sculptor, 1527 Newton street, Washington, D. C.

A mistake occurred in the description of the Coney Island health exhibit, THE SURVEY for September 30. The advisory service connected with that exhibit was conducted not by the New York Department of Health, but by the genito-urinary department of the Brooklyn Hospital. Dr. Alec Nichol Thomson and his assistants gave time to this work practically every day.

There is no longer any doubt that Mary C. Dunphy cannot be superintendent of the New York city Children's Hospital and Schools for the feeble-minded on Randall's Island. The state Court of Appeals decided October 3 to sustain an earlier decision of the Appellate Division upholding her dismissal by John A. Kingsbury, city commissioner of public charities.

Eugene Cary Foster, for four years assistant superintendent of Lakeside Hospital, Cleveland, on October 1 became superintendent of the Charity Organization Society of Indianapolis, Ind. Mr. Foster, who is a graduate of Oberlin, became assistant to James F. Jackson, superintendent of the Cleveland Associated Charities in 1908. During 1910 and 1911, while Superintendent Jackson was director of charities and corrections for the city, Mr. Foster was acting superintendent of the Associated Charities.

The Rock River Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in session at Chicago declined to accept for its charitable institutions any aid from the city, county or state. In doing so it declared the appropriation of \$278,425 of public moneys by the city of Chicago to eleven sectarian institutions and \$15,782 to fifteen institutions in the county outside of the city to be an infringement of "the American doctrine of separation of church and state," to which the allegiance of the conference was pledged by the action taken.

In response to an inquiry, THE SURVEY is glad to make clear that the two-page announcement of the National Hughes Alliance in the issue for October 7 was a paid advertisement, as was an announcement of the Democratic National Committee in the issue for August 26. Both might well have been marked "advertisement," as is required by law in Massachusetts. But that readers were misled as to their character, as our inquirer suggests, seems unlikely in view of the location in the advertising pages and the style of composition, in particular the coupons to be torn off and mailed to the advertiser.

The Birmingham *Age-Herald* was recently in receipt of a letter from F. W. Haselwood of Willetts, California, enclosing a card circulated in that state (presumably by local liquor interests) which distorted an article appearing in THE SURVEY for September 11, 1915 in regard to the relation between prohibition and Birmingham's finances and municipal activities. This whole matter was gone into in THE SURVEY last spring (THE SURVEY for April 8, 1916) when we showed how thoroughly certain publicity agencies were twisting the original SURVEY article and brought out a statement from Commissioner Ward of Birmingham as to the facts.

The savings bank section of the American Bankers Association is following up its observance of the first century of American savings banks [see THE SURVEY for October 7] by preparing an exhaustive bibliography on thrift. It will include not only the banking and commercial aspects of the subject, but such wider aspects as are grouped under the following suggestive classifications: the bank as a means of socializing thrift; family or domestic thrift; economics of thrift, agricultural and industrial; government thrift, conservation, reclamation, reduction of waste from fire and in industrial and municipal administration; international thrift, war-waste and the reduction of friction through uniformity of negotiable instruments, standardization of commercial practice and international banks; sociology of thrift, waste, luxury and extravagance, charity and philanthropy, loan sharks, old age pensions. The suggestion of titles will be welcomed by the librarian of the American Bankers Association at 5 Nassau street, New York city.

The New York Committee on Feeble-mindedness has been organized with the expectation of securing citizens from every section of the state as members of its general committee. The central offices are in the United Charities Building, New York city, in charge of an executive committee composed of Prof. Stephen E. Duggan, Maude E. Miner, Eleanor H. Johnson, Dr. Thomas W. Salmon, R. Bayard Cutting, Homer Folks and Franklin B. Kirkbride. The executive secretary is James P. Heaton who for the past six years has been a member of THE SURVEY staff. The committee announces it will strive through legislation for the early care, training and supervision of all mental defectives in the state; for measures and methods that are free from reasonable objection for preventing a future increase in the number of the subnormal; for the establishment of special classes in the public schools; and for the establishment of a system of guardianship and supervision in the home to supplement institutional and farm colony care. Its immediate goal is to double the number of beds for the feeble-minded and epileptic in New York state institutions.

Classified Advertisements

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BOOKS

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Department H, 23 East 26th Street, New York

PAMPHLETS

RELATING TO SAFETY AND EFFICIENCY IN MINES. May, 1916. Bulletin No. 2. Industrial Accident Commission, 525 Market street, San Francisco.

MINES SAFETY RULES. Issued by the Industrial Accident Commission, 525 Market street, San Francisco.

LESSONS OF WAR AND CO-PARTNERSHIP. An Address by Mrs. Alexander Paul to the Co-Partnership in War Time Committee, Port Sunlight, England.

THE NEW PRISON SYSTEM. By Hon. William H. Wadhams, judge of the Court of General Sessions, New York. Prison Leaflet, No. 36. Price 10 cents. National Committee on Prisons, Broadway and 116 street, New York city.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR FORUM. Price 10 cents. Latin-American News Association, 1400 Broadway, New York.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. By Samuel C. Kohs, psychologist, Chicago House of Correction. Reprinted from the *Journal of Delinquency*.

PUBLIC SERVICE OPPORTUNITY AND PREPAREDNESS. By J. L. Jacobs, consulting engineer, Monadnock Block, Chicago. Reprinted for private circulation from the *Journal of the Western Society of Engineers*.

A STUDY IN COUNTY JAILS IN CALIFORNIA. 1916. Made by the State Board of Charities and Corrections, 411 Call building, San Francisco.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION. A reply to Prof. H. G. James. By John H. Humphreys, secretary, Proportional Representation Society, London. Am. P. R. League Pamphlet No. 8. July, 1916. Price, postpaid 4 cents; per dozen, to one address postpaid 30 cents. American Proportional Representation League, general secretary C. G. Hoag, Havertford, Pa. Reprinted from the *National Municipal Review*.

PROSTITUTION AND THE POLICE. By Raymond B. Fosdick. Price 5 cents. The American Social Hygiene Association, 105 West 40 street, New York city. Reprinted from the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*.

THE PREVENTION OF VENEREAL DISEASES IN THE ARMY. By Otto May, M.D., joint honorary secretary, British National Council for Combating Venereal Diseases. Price 5 cents. The American Social Hygiene Association, 105 West 40 street, New York city. Reprinted from *The Practitioner*. Reprinted from the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*.

TUBERCULOSIS. Bulletin of the Russell Sage Foundation Library, 130 East 22 street, New York city. No. 18, August, 1916.

THE RELATION OF SYPHILIS TO MENTAL DISEASE. By Samuel T. Orton, M.D., clinical director and pathologist, Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, Philadelphia. Publication No. 10. Massachusetts Society for Mental Hygiene, Room 313 Ford building, 15 Ashburton place, Boston. Reprinted from the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*.

WHAT IS PRACTICABLE IN THE WAY OF PREVENTION OF MENTAL DEFECT. By Walter E. Fernald, M.D. Publication No. 6. Massachusetts Society for Mental Hygiene, Room 313 Ford building, 15 Ashburton place, Boston. Reprinted from the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*.

WHAT SHALL BE THE ATTITUDE OF THE PUBLIC TOWARD THE RECOVERED INSANE PATIENT? By H. C. Solomon, M.D. Publication No. 9. Massachusetts Society for Mental Hygiene, Room 313 Ford building, 15 Ashburton place, Boston. Reprinted from the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*.

AFTER-CARE OF MENTAL PATIENTS. By Henry P. Frost, M.D., superintendent, Boston State Hospital, Dorchester Center, Mass. Publication No. 11. Massachusetts Society for Mental Hygiene, Room 313 Ford building, 15 Ashburton place, Boston. Reprinted from the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*.

PREVENTABLE FORMS OF MENTAL DISEASE AND HOW TO PREVENT THEM. By E. Stanley Abbot, M.D., pathologist, McLean Hospital, Waverly, Mass. Publication No. 12. Massachusetts Society for Mental Hygiene, Room 313 Ford building, 15 Ashburton place, Boston. Reprinted from the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*.

OCCUPATIONS AS A REMEDIAL FACTOR IN HOSPITALS FOR THE MENTALLY SICK. By Emily

L. Haines, supervisor of industries, State Board of Insanity, Boston. Publication No. 13. Massachusetts Society for Mental Hygiene, Room 313 Ford building, 15 Ashburton place, Boston. Reprinted from the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*.

A REPORT OF SIXTY-FOUR CASES OF EPILEPSY IN PATIENTS FROM FOURTEEN YEARS TO FORTY YEARS OF AGE. By L. R. Waters. Social Service Department, Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore, Md.

TRADE UNIONS AND EFFICIENCY. By Ordway Tead, industrial counselor, 75 State street, Boston. Reprinted from the *American Journal of Sociology*.

MEETING THE MENTALLY SICK HALF WAY. By George A. Hastings, executive secretary, Mental Hygiene Committee, New York State Charities Aid Association, 105 East 22 street, New York city.

THE LIQUOR QUESTION AND MUNICIPAL REFORM. By George C. Sikes, Chicago. Reprinted from *National Municipal Review*, North American building, Philadelphia.

FREE TUMOR DIAGNOSIS AS A FUNCTION OF STATE PUBLIC HEALTH LABORATORIES. By Leverett Dale Bristol, M.D. Bulletin 11, July, 1916. Publications of the American Society for the Control of Cancer, 25 West 45 street, New York city.

MORALS AND VENEREAL DISEASE. By Edward L. Keyes, Jr. Morrow Memorial Series. Publication No. 58. The American Social Hygiene Association, 105 West 40 street, New York city.

SEX IN LIFE. By Donald B. Armstrong, M.D., and Eunice B. Armstrong. Publication No. 52. American Social Hygiene Association, 105 West 40 street, New York city.

A STUDY OF MORTALITY STATISTICS OF SOUTHERN COMMUNITIES. By Lee K. Frankel, sixth vice-president, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, 1 Madison avenue, New York city.

LUNCHING. REMOVING ITS CAUSES. By W. D. Weatherford. Address J. E. McCulloch, Southern Sociological Congress, Nashville, Tenn.

MORE HOUSES FOR BRIDGEPORT. Report to the Chamber of Commerce, Bridgeport, Conn. By John Nolen, city planner, Cambridge, Mass.

THE SOIL OF BATTLE CREEK. By Wilfred Grenfell, M.D. Reprinted from the *Modern Hospital*. Battle Creek Sanitarium, Battle Creek, Mich.

THE SIMPLE LIFE IN A NUTSHELL. By J. H. Kellogg, M.D. Battle Creek Sanitarium, Battle Creek, Mich.

A SANITARIUM EXPERIENCE: WHAT THE BATTLE CREEK SANITARIUM REALLY IS. By Dr. Frank Crane, editorial writer, Associated Newspapers, New York. Battle Creek Sanitarium, Battle Creek, Mich.

SOME IMPENDING NATIONAL PROBLEMS. By Irving Fisher, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. Reprinted from the *Journal of Political Economy*.

SCHOOLS OF NURSING. REQUIREMENTS AND CURRICULUM. California State Board of Health, Bureau of Registration of Nurses. 1916. State Printing Office, Sacramento, Cal.

ANNOTATED LIST OF TEXT AND REFERENCE BOOKS FOR SCHOOLS OF NURSING. California State Board of Health, Bureau of Registration of Nurses. 1916. State Printing Office, Sacramento, Cal.

PEYOTE OR MESCAL. As a drug and cult. By Rev. Henry Vruwink. Women's Board of Domestic Missions, Reformed Church in America, 25 East 22 street, New York city.

RURAL SCHOOL SANITATION. By Tallafero Clark, and George L. Collins, and W. L. Treadway. Public Health Bulletin, No. 77, June, 1916. Price 15 cents. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

PREPAREDNESS PLUS: THE MEXICAN QUESTION, WORLD PEACE PROGRAMS. Data presented by George H. Shibley, director Research Institute of Washington. Price 5 cents a copy; 6 copies for 25 cents, or 7 copies if to one address. The League for World Peace, 280 Madison avenue, New York city.

LEGAL TRAINING FOR SOCIAL WORKERS. By Harry J. McClean. Price 15 cents a copy. Special rates for 5 or more copies. Southern California Sociological Society, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.

EXERCISES AND QUESTIONS FOR USE WITH "PRINCIPLES OF MONEY AND BANKING." By Harold J. Moulton. Price 54 cents postpaid. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

HEALTH INSURANCE, ITS RELATION TO THE PUBLIC HEALTH. Second Edition. By B. S. Warren and Edgar Sydenstricker. Public Health Bulletin, No. 76, March, 1916. Price 10 cents a copy. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 195, July, 1916. Price 15 cents a copy. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

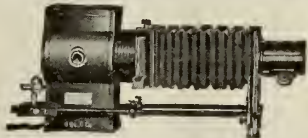
CALENDAR OF CONFERENCES

Items for the next calendar should reach THE SURVEY before November 8.

OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER

- BLINDNESS**, National Committee for the Prevention of. New York city, November 24. Sec'y, Mrs. Winifred Hathaway, 130 East 22 street, New York city.
- CHAMBER OF COMMERCE**, Western New England. Springfield, Mass., November 22. Sec'y, James P. Taylor, Burlington, Vt.
- CHARITIES AND CORRECTION**, Iowa State Conference of. Ottumwa, Ia., October 22-24. Sec'y, Miss Bessie A. McClenahan, Iowa City, Ia.
- CHARITIES AND CORRECTION**, New York State Conference of. Poughkeepsie, N. Y. November 14-16. Sec'y, Richard W. Wallace, Box 17, The Capitol, Albany, N. Y.
- CHARITIES AND CORRECTION**, Ohio State Conference of. Youngstown, Ohio. November 14-17. Sec'y, H. H. Shirer, 1010 Hartman building, Columbus, O.
- CHARITIES AND CORRECTION**, West Va. State Conference of. Clarksburg, W. Va., November 20-22. Sec'y, A. E. Sinks, 300 Board of Trade bldg., Wheeling, W. Va.
- CHARITIES**, Massachusetts State Conference of. Lowell, Mass., October 25-27. Sec'y, Richard K. Conant, 6 Beacon street, Boston.
- CHILD WELFARE CONFERENCE**, Iowa City, Ia., October 25-27. Further information may be secured from the State University, Iowa City, Ia.
- CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION**, Springfield, Mass., November 20-23. Sec'y, O. E. Carr, Niagara Falls, N. Y.
- CIVIC LEAGUE**, Massachusetts. Springfield, Mass., November 21. Sec'y, Edward T. Hartman, 3 Joy street, Boston, Mass.
- CIVIC SECRETARIES CONFERENCE**, Springfield, Mass., November 23-24. Sec'y, Hornell Hart, Milwaukee, Wis.
- CONGRESS OF MOTHERS AND PARENT-TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION**, Iowa. Biennial meeting. Iowa City, Ia., October 25-27. President Mrs. A. O. Ruste, Charles City, Ia.
- CONSUMERS' LEAGUE**, National. Springfield, Mass., November 15-16. Gen. Sec'y, Mrs. Florence Kelley, 289 Fourth avenue, New York.
- JEWISH FARMERS OF AMERICA**, The Federation of. New York city, November 28-December 2. Sec'y, J. W. Pincus, 174 Second avenue, New York city.
- MUNICIPALITIES**, League of Texas. Hillsboro, Texas, October 26-28. Sec'y, Prot. H. G. James, Austin, Texas.
- MUNICIPAL LEAGUE**, Intercollegiate Division of National. Springfield, November 22-23. Sec'y, Arthur Evans Wood, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- MUNICIPAL LEAGUE**, National. Springfield, Mass., November 23-25. Sec'y, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, North American bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.
- MUNICIPAL RESEARCH WORKERS**, Springfield, Mass., November 22-23. Sec'y, L. D. Upson, Detroit, Mich.
- PLANNING BOARDS**, Massachusetts Federation of. Springfield, Mass., November 23-24. Sec'y, Arthur C. Comey, Cambridge, Mass.
- PROBATION OFFICERS**, New York State Conference of. Poughkeepsie, N. Y., November 12-14. Sec'y, Charles L. Chute, State Probation Commission, Albany, N. Y.

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Magna Latrocinia—The State as it ought to be, and as it is L. S. Woolf

The Making of the Professions, Edward A. Ross

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INFORMATION DESK

The following national bodies will gladly and freely supply information and advise reading on the subjects named by each and on related subjects. Members are kept closely in touch with the work which each organization is doing, but membership is not required of those seeking information. Correspondence is invited. Nominal charges are sometimes made for publications and pamphlets. *Always enclose postage for reply.*

PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION, American. Cincinnati, O., October 24-27. Sec'y, Dr. Selskar M. Gunn, 755 Boylston street, Boston.

PUBLIC SERVICE, Training School for. Springfield, Mass., November 22-23. Supervisor Charles A. Beard, 261 Broadway, New York city.

SINGLE TAX LEAGUE, Massachusetts. Springfield, Mass., November 20-24. Pres., Alex MacKendrick, 120 Boylston street, Boston.

SOCIAL HYGIENE ASSOCIATION, American. St. Louis, Mo., November 20-21. Gen. Sec'y, Dr. W. F. Snow, 105 West 40 street, New York city.

SOCIAL WELFARE, Missouri Conference for. Columbia, Mo., November, 1916. Sec'y, J. L. Wagner, Columbia, Mo.

SOCIAL WELFARE, Pennsylvania Conference on. Lancaster, Pa., October 26-28. Sec'y, J. Bruce Byall, 419 So. 15 street, Philadelphia, Pa.

TUBERCULOSIS: Sectional Conference on. Southern States, Jackson, Fla., October 30-31. Held under the auspices of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, 105 East 22 street, New York city.

UNIVERSITIES AND PUBLIC SERVICE. Third National Conference. Philadelphia, November 15-16. Sec'y, Edward A. Fitzpatrick, Box 380, Madison, Wis.

WELFARE, EFFICIENCY AND ENGINEERING CONVENTION. Harrisburg, Pa., November 21-23. Further information may be secured by addressing the Engineers' Society of Pennsylvania, 31 So. Front street, Harrisburg, Pa.

WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE AND NATIONAL CONSUMERS' LEAGUE (a conference on the eight-hour day for women). Springfield, Mass., November 15. Secretaries, Agnes Nestor, 166 W. Washington street, Chicago. Florence Kelley, 289 Fourth avenue, New York city.

INTERNATIONAL

SEAMEN'S UNION OF AMERICA, International. New York city, December 4. Sec'y, T. A. Hansen, 570 W. Lake street, Chicago.

NATIONAL

CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, National Conference of. Pittsburgh, Pa., June 6-13, 1917. Sec'y, W. T. Cross, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago.

CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA, Federal Council of the. Third quadrennial council. St. Louis, Mo., December 6-13. Gen. Sec'y, Rev. Charles S. MacFarland, 105 East 22 street, New York city.

ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION, American. Columbus, O., December 27-30, 1916. Sec'y, W. G. Leland, 1140 Woodward bldg., Washington, D. C.

MARKETING AND FARM CREDITS, Fourth National Conference on. Chicago, Ill., December 4-9. Sec'y, Charles W. Holman, 230 So. LaSalle street, Chicago.

SCIENCE, American Association for the Advancement of. New York city, December 26-30. Sec'y, L. O. Howard, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, American. Columbus, O., December 27-30. Sec'y, Scott E. W. Bedford, University of Chicago, Chicago.

STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION, American. Columbus, O., December 27-30. Sec'y, Carroll W. Doten, 491 Boylston street, Boston.

STATE AND LOCAL

CHARITIES, Texas State Conference of. Austin, Texas. January 18. Sec'y, M. A. Turner, Room 215, City Hall, Houston, Texas.

Health

SEX EDUCATION—New York Social Hygiene Society, Formerly Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis, 105 West 40th Street, New York City. Maurice A. Bigelow, Secretary. Seven educational pamphlets, 10c each. Four reprints, 5c each. Dues—Active \$2.00; Contributing \$5.00; Sustaining \$10.00. Membership includes current and subsequent literature; selected bibliographies. Maintains lecture bureau and health exhibit.

CANCER—American Society for the Control of Cancer, 25 West 45th St., New York City. Curtis E. Lakeman, Exec. Secy. To disseminate knowledge concerning symptoms, diagnosis, treatment and prevention. Publications free on request. Annual membership dues \$5.

COMMITTEE ON PROVISION FOR THE FEEBLE-MINDED—Objects: To disseminate knowledge concerning the extent and menace of feeble-mindedness and to suggest and initiate methods for its control and ultimate eradication from the American people. General offices Empire Bldg., Phila., Pa. For information, literature, etc., address Joseph P. Byers, Exec. Sec'y.

MENTAL HYGIENE—National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 50 Union Square, New York City, Clifford W. Beers, Secy. Write for pamphlets on mental hygiene, prevention of insanity and mental deficiency, care of insane and feeble-minded, surveys, social service in mental hygiene, State Societies for Mental Hygiene.

NATIONAL HEALTH—Committee of One Hundred on National Health, E. F. Robbins, Exec. Sec., 203 E. 27th St., New York. To unite all government health agencies into a National Department of Health to inform the people how to prevent disease.

TUBERCULOSIS—National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, 105 East 22nd St. New York. Charles J. Hatfield, M.D., Exec. Sec'y. Reports, pamphlets, etc., sent upon request. Annual transactions and other publications free to members.

PUBLIC HEALTH—American Public Health Association. Pres., John F. Anderson, M.D., New Brunswick, N. J.; Sec'y, Prof. S. M. Gunn, Boston. Object "To protect and promote public and personal health." Six Sections: Laboratory, Sanitary Engineering, Vital Statistics, Sociological, Public Health Administration, Industrial Hygiene. Official monthly organ, *American Journal of Public Health*; \$3.00 per year. 3 mos. trial subscription (to Survey readers 4 mos.) 50c. Address 755 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING—Object: to stimulate the extension of public health nursing; to develop standards of technique; to maintain a central bureau of information. Publications: *Pub. Health Nursing Quarterly*, \$1.00 per year, and bulletins. Address Ella Phillips Crandall, R. N. Exec. Sec., 25 West 45th St., New York City.

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS—Through its Town and Country Nursing Service, maintains a staff of specially prepared visiting nurses for appointment to small towns and rural districts. Pamphlets supplied on organization and administration of visiting nurse associations; personal assistance and exhibits available for local use. Apply to Superintendent, Red Cross Town and Country Nursing Service, Washington, D. C.

SOCIAL HYGIENE—The American Social Hygiene Assoc. Inc., 105 West 40th St. N. Y.; Branch Offices: 122 South Michigan Ave., Chicago; Phelan Bldg., San Francisco. To promote sound sex education, the reduction of venereal diseases, and the suppression of commercialized vice. Quarterly magazine "Social Hygiene." Monthly *Bulletin*. Membership, \$5; sustaining, \$10. Information upon request. Pres., Abram W. Harris; Gen. Sec'y, William F. Snow, M.D.; Counsel, James B. Reynolds.

PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS—National Committee for. Objects: To furnish information for Associations, Commissions and persons working to conserve vision; to publish literature of movement; to furnish exhibits, lantern slides, lectures. Printed matter: samples free; quantities at cost. Invites membership. Field, United States. Includes N. Y. State Com. Edward M. Van Cleve, Managing Director; Gordon L. Berry, Field Secretary; Mrs. Winifred Hathaway, Secretary. Address, 130 E. 22d St., N. Y. C.

EUGENICIS REGISTRY—Board of Directors, Chancellor David Starr Jordan, President; Prof. Irving Fisher, Dr. C. B. Davenport, Luther Burbank, Dr. J. H. Kellogg, Secretary. A bureau for the encouragement of interest in eugenics as a means of Race Betterment, established and maintained for the Race Betterment Foundation in co-operation with the Eugenics Record Office. Address, Eugenics Registry Board, Battle Creek, Mich.

Racial Problems

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE 70 Fifth Avenue, New York. Publishes *The Crisis*, a monthly magazine, 63 branches and locals. Legal aid, literature, speakers, lantern slides, press material, etc. President, Moorfield Storey; Chairman of the Board of Directors, J. E. Spingarn; Vice President and Treasurer, Oswald Garrison Villard; Director of Publications and Research, W. E. B. DuBois, Acting Secretary, Roy Nash

Social and Economic Problems

AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION—Objects: "the encouragement of economic research," "the issue of publications on economic subjects," "the encouragement of perfect freedom of economic discussion." The membership includes the professional economists of the country together with many others interested in scientific study of economic problems. Publications: *American Economic Review*. Proceedings of Annual Meetings, and *Handbook* Dues \$5.00 a year. Secretary A. A. Young, Ithaca, N. Y.

Remedial Loans

REMEDIAL LOANS—National Federation of Remedial Loan Associations, 130 E. 22nd St., N. Y. Arthur H. Ham. Reports, pamphlets, and forms for societies free. Information regarding organization of remedial loan societies gladly given.

Work With Boys

BOYS' CLUB FEDERATION—National Headquarters, 1 Madison Ave., New York City. Federation includes Boys' Clubs, Boys' Depts. of Recreation Centers, Settlements and Community Houses. A clearing house for information on subjects relating to work with boys. Printed matter distributed; workers furnished; assistance given in organizing. Wm. E. Hall, President; C. J. Atkinson, Executive Secretary.

COMMON WELFARE



FOR AN AMERICAN PEACE PLATFORM

WITH one peace organization working for one thing, another working at cross purposes and some not working at all, it has proved difficult to define the peace movement in America and harder still to gauge its strength.

Certain societies have yielded, since the war began, to intense partisan feeling among their directors and now exist in name only; other societies have been born out of the war or have been revitalized by the chance to practice what they have preached for many years. Everywhere, however, there is confusion, duplication of energy in this direction, hesitancy and sluggishness in that.

The need of finding a substrata of common purpose beneath the efforts of different organizations has led to the calling of a private conference in New York city, October 26-27 by the American branch of the Central Organization for Durable Peace, the American Peace Society and the Church Peace Union. Although the one hundred or more delegates who are coming to the conference will not actually represent peace parties or be authorized to act for certain bodies, they will include the officers, directors and active workers who mould the policies and make the decisions for some twenty peace organizations.

The proceedings of the conference, which will take place at the Broadway Tabernacle Church, Broadway and Fifty-sixth street, New York city, are divided into two parts. On the first day the sessions will be devoted to a consideration of World Problems, laying emphasis on the part that America may play in the settlement of the war. For example, such mooted questions as a league of nations, non-official conferences at the time of the war settlement, the action of neutral nations in years of war, will be discussed by Frederick Lynch of the Church Peace Union, Hamilton Holt of the American Branch of the Central Organization for Durable Peace, and James Brown Scott, secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

On the second day the conference will deal with strictly American Problems, including the question of military training in schools, congressional measures to be promoted, Pan-American problems, and our oriental policy, Americanization of foreign citizens and methods of cooperation between various peace societies.

Whether a permanent council of these diverse agencies, a sort of clearing house for ideas and activities, will result from the conference cannot be foretold. But it is believed that a minimum program which all these societies can endorse and which will be a stepping stone toward concerted action for re-establishing international relations will be adopted.

An appeal for such united preparedness for peace was made by Senator Henry La Fontaine of Belgium in the *Advocate of Peace* and in *THE SURVEY* for August 5.

"Where are those," asked Senator La Fontaine, "who claim that an international mind would prevail in this western hemisphere? Are they ready to combine their forces and to understand that no better opportunity will ever be given to them for such a decisive, necessary and redemptory advance?"



MRS. O'LEARY'S BARN BURNED AGAIN

IN New York 20,000 signs reading "This is Fire Prevention Day. Clean up rubbish," were distributed on Fire Prevention Day, October 9. Fire Commissioner Adamson made a new thing out of the city's fire prevention parade. One float represented the annual fire waste in the form of a pile of gold. Another illustrated the hazard of benzine, gasoline, and naphtha, and a third emphasized the importance and value of fire drills. Pageantry was called in to serve the good cause in quite a number of cities.

Chicago burned Mrs. O'Leary's barn, on the waterfront, as a fearful reminder of the Chicago fire, 55 years ago to the day, starting from the careless hoof of the O'Leary cow. About fifty Chicago clubs and societies were asked to hang out banners and the hotels and restaurants were invited to print a line or two on their menu cards calling attention to the day and its object. A notice was issued to 600 theaters requesting them to display on their screen a slide setting forth a few important precautions that should be taken by good citizens.

In Philadelphia, 3,000 city vehicles were decorated with oblong yellow posters of printed commands and warnings and in Cleveland a striking folder setting out a dozen simple methods of reducing fire waste was issued by the Chamber of Commerce. Reference was made in many pulpits to the ethical and religious aspects of the question and much was done by sympathetic newspaper men to impress upon the public the importance of the movement.

The hopeful sign, however, according to W. T. Colyer of the National Fire Protective Association was the unanimity with which attention in the schools was directed to fire prevention. Mr. Colyer writes:

"A study of the records of fire and accident losses a few months hence may possibly yield evidences of the good work done, but the full effects—particularly as regards fire prevention—will probably not be felt until the children whose minds are now being formed,

come to have votes of their own enabling them to secure improved legislation, and homes of their own in which they can turn to account the lessons they have received upon the dangers incident to neglected furnaces, heaters and chimneys and untidy basements."

FEDERATION OF EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS

ONE of the permanent achievements of the Unemployment Committee appointed by Mayor Mitchel during the crisis of 1914-15 is the formation of a Federation of Non-commercial Employment Agencies of New York city. In a directory of public and other non-commercial employment bureaus in the city issued by the federation, there are listed eighty-five such bureaus, thirty-eight of which, including practically all those of importance, are members of the federation. Two at least of the members are themselves federations of wide scope,—the United Employment Bureau, a recent combination of two of the largest of these agencies; the Alliance and the Vacation War Relief Employment Bureaus; and the Federated Employment Bureau for Jewish Girls, with which are affiliated fifteen different Jewish organizations.

At a recent dinner of the federation, over one hundred superintendents and clerks of placement bureaus and others interested in their work were present and listened to addresses by some of the city's foremost experts on different aspects of this important social service.

The principal needs met by this city-wide organization are the prevention of overlapping, in so far as this seriously affects the efficiency of each bureau, the assistance of the members by distribution of information of common interest, but especially the gradual creation of greater uniformity in methods and the improvement of general standards.

Through the generosity of some of the members, a central bureau of information has been established which will investigate and report on employment conditions and opportunities, upon the request of any individual bureau, and maintain a fact center for the federation, concerning industrial standards observed by particular establishments. The bureau, in the beginning, will specialize on employment opportunities for women and minors, and will pay particular attention to the physical and moral surroundings and to opportunities for advancement and training.

A committee is at work on the elaboration of a standard system of records and report; and though it is not likely that complete uniformity in this matter can immediately be secured, the educational effect of recommendations made by a committee elected by themselves upon the members is bound to be considerable. Another committee is working out the best practice for the vocational guidance and placement of minors. One

of the colleges of the city, at the request of the federation, has placed upon its syllabus for the coming winter a special course of training for officers of employment bureaus. At the monthly meetings of the federation, addresses on various technical aspects of placement work are usually arranged for; and the inspiration from a thorough discussion of difficult or controversial points has been found to raise and maintain intelligent interest in a service which is always apt to become too much one of routine.

MORRIS PLAN DIFFICULTIES IN OHIO

AN interesting incident in connection with the promotion of Morris plan loan companies is an opinion recently rendered by Edward C. Turner, attorney-general of Ohio, holding that the plan has no place in Ohio under the present statutes and that certificates to operate the plan may not be granted legally by the superintendent of banks.

In substance the attorney-general holds that Morris companies, though chartered as banks, are not conducting the business of banking; that the cost to the borrower on loans made under the plan is in excess of the rate allowed by the small loan law of 1915, and that the sale of "instalment certificates" if considered—as contended by the Morris companies—as not involved in the making or paying of loans, is in violation of the law regulating bond investment companies. He concludes: "Without additional legislation here, companies operating under the Morris plan have no legal status in this state."

Up to the present time four Morris companies with an aggregate capital of \$750,000 have been formed in Cleveland, Canton, Springfield and Youngstown.

SENTENCED TO PRISON OR STERILIZATION

ONE of the most respected and experienced judges in the criminal court at Chicago set a precedent, which is said to be the first of its kind, in giving a prisoner the choice between going to prison for a crime of which he was convicted by a jury or of submitting to sterilization. In offering this alternative from the bench, Judge Marcus A. Kavanaugh said to the prisoner, sixty-five years of age and a married man with children:

"If I send you to the penitentiary it means death to you in your present health. At the same time I dare not turn you loose upon the public, for fear this mania with which you seem to be affected may cause you to attempt a similar crime, and then I would be at fault. If you will submit to an operation, with the choice of the best surgeons by next Saturday, I will set aside your sentence. I cannot compel you to submit and you will have a week to think the matter over. If you decide to do this, it will

mean that you do not have to begin your sentence of from one to twenty years in the penitentiary."

The prisoner subsequently decided to be sterilized.

In commenting on the case the judge said he presumed he would be criticized for his proposition to the prisoner, but he wished neither to commit him to what really would be a death sentence, nor to expose the public to a repetition of his heinous offenses against little girls.

"One of my reasons for rendering the decision," he added, "was to draw public attention to a situation which has been disregarded too long. I believe all morons, the criminal insane and habitual criminals, both men and women, should be so treated. To my mind it is a crime against society that this class should be permitted to propagate their kind. As for those who commit outrages against women and female children, I advocate even more drastic measures, which would make repetition of the acts impossible. It is my hope that public interest may be aroused."

ON THE ROAD FROM CAPE COD TO BROADWAY

THE Provincetown Players, newest of experimenters in drama, begin their first New York season early in November at 139 MacDougal street. There are about thirty of them—journalists, novelists, short-story writers, painters, sculptors, socialists, social students, labor agitators, rebels, revolutionists, suffragists and reformers, and some with all these qualities combined.

For several summers they have been collecting on Cape Cod. Since 1915 they have been turning to drama as a means of expressing their ideas. First someone wrote a one-act play, which was given on the balcony of a private house overlooking the sea. Then original plays, all in one act, followed in rapid succession. Then, still in Provincetown, a picturesque little theater, originally a fish-house on an old wharf, was fitted up simply and the enterprise was launched.

Now they have come to New York for one more experiment in cooperation. All the plays are written by members of the group; all the plays are judged by members of the group; all the plays are staged and acted by members of the group; and—which is carrying community drama one step further—all the plays are watched by members of the group. They guard this togetherness with special care. Hutchins Hapgood, who is one of them, says:

"It is up to the members of the Provincetown Players to prevent the gradual usurping of the selection of plays by any person or 'committee' within the group. If such a usurpation takes place, the players will have no special social or artistic meaning, though of course some good plays may be produced."

"This Provincetown impulse," he goes on, "is an expression of what is stir-

ring in many other fields today. . . . The community center movement, demanding the building of social forms from within, is an analogous phenomenon. One might call it an aristocratic democracy. Not so big that a boss must usurp the power in order to be at all effective; not so small as to become sterilized by the mental habits, prejudices, and interests of one or two or three active and executively gifted individuals. . . . All the problems of democracy and of art, at the points where they touch, are latent in this little spontaneous and hopeful group."

According to Mr. Hapgood, the players are holding as far aloof from professionalism as possible. They lay weight neither upon elaborate stage settings nor acting efficiency,—“not even upon the technique of a play except as a means to an end.” That end is not propaganda of any sort, they say, but seems to be “to express a certain modern spirit.” Their plays will be “in the moment of time, vital and spontaneous.” They will be given four times, running for a fortnight, Friday and Saturday evenings.

THREE YEARS OF CHARITY FEDERATION

IN making his report for the third full year of the Cleveland Federation for Charity and Philanthropy, Charles W. Williams announced his resignation as executive secretary to take up the promotion of group and community insurance for the Equitable Life Insurance Company of New York.

Two of the federation's achievements the past year were the increased contributions which it secured from those who were already contributors,—well-to-do men were willing to give more if they could sign one check and have done with it; and in the large number of new contributors secured. Thus 873 who had never previously contributed to any of the federated organizations, gave a total of more than \$5,000. Their awakened interest, more than their money, was reckoned high among the year's assets.

Total contributions for the year, Mr. Williams reported, are about \$410,000, an increase of \$100,000 over the year before, at a cost of 8 per cent. Adding to this the cost to organizations for collections from non-federated givers, made a total cost of about 9 per cent, against a collection cost of 12 to 14 per cent before federation in securing contributions some \$200,000 less.

Following his graduation from Oberlin and theological study at Chicago Theological Seminary and the University of Berlin, Mr. Williams became assistant to the president of Oberlin College, in charge of finance. There he worked out theories and plans for the financing of large educational enterprises which fell in well with the ideas of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce Committee on Benevolent Institutions.

The social agencies of Cleveland needed an adequate and steady income. The business men in the chamber wanted to be free of the importunities of countless solicitors. The result was the organization in March, 1913, of the Federation for Charity and Philanthropy with Mr. Williams as executive secretary and moving spirit.

The Cleveland federation followed closely the earlier Jewish federations in a number of cities. But it was non-sectarian, and it was city-wide, including 57 organizations, or practically all in the community. And, while it was preoccupied with the raising of funds, it was consciously attempting to promote cooperation among its member societies and education of the public through a highly organized publicity.

THE NEW SWEEP O' THE WORLD

THE *Call*, the Socialist daily in New York, has introduced a new Social Service department to run as a Sunday feature under the charge of A. H. Howland, a recruit from *The Christian Herald*. The purpose of this department is “to record the doings of the people who are trying to push society in the right direction,—the direction of brotherhood, of neighborliness, of helpfulness, who are trying to relieve the distress or right the wrongs of the world, particularly of America, and most particularly of the *Call's* own city, New York.” It was not labor in its fight with capital that achieved the “amazing victory of the railway men at Washington”, but the “present intense movement for social betterment that is gripping America.”

The first department gives a rapid survey of the advancement Socialism owes to the Church. “We hope good Bishop Greer will not begin to conduct or instigate an investigation to find out which half of his clergy are Socialists. But, after all, I remember that a clerical friend, not an Episcopalian, however, told me the other day that as a matter of fact the bishop himself was practically a philosophical anarchist. He did not, I am sure, mean anything more startling by that than that the dear bishop is such a gentle soul that he cannot bear to use force or sanction the use of it in any matters, ecclesiastical, social, or international,” writes Mr. Howland, and goes on: “We see the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the official body, representing all the Protestant evangelical denominations of the United States, issuing a report on the Colorado strike which was almost as good as Walsh's own, and putting the blame squarely where we Socialists think it belongs.”

The Young Men's Christian Association, Henry Ford, Thomas Mott Osborne, Misha Appelbaum, Jane Addams,

Ben Marsh, the work of the great foundations, the Russell Sage, the Carnegie, and the Rockefeller—for says *The Call*,—“this department will give credit to good work even if it is done by Rockefeller!”—all come in for high praise.

The Sweep O' the World is the name of the department and it wants to “find what is good wherever it may be.”

THE WHY AND THE WHEN OF TUBERCULOSIS

WHEN the 1915 Legislature appropriated \$100,000 to be expended by the State Board of Health in studying the extent of tuberculosis in Michigan, and to devise a remedy, it placed a two year time limit upon the expenditure. Yet through the activity of those in charge of this campaign 22 of the 83 counties of the state have already been surveyed, and nearly a year is left of the period fixed by the appropriation bill in which to complete the study.

Throughout the past year the campaign has included three weeks duration in each county. An organization known as the Health First Party was formed, consisting of Dr. William de Kleine as director; Robert Todd, housing expert; Arnold Mulder, publicity agent, and several physicians and visiting nurses. During the first week in a county, arrangements were made for full publicity, and for the series of free clinics that were to follow during the second week. Newspapers everywhere cooperated generously, printing sometimes two columns of publicity matter. The second week was given over to the free clinics; and during the final week public addresses were given on the disease itself, its causes, its prevention and cure. The nurses visited the homes of those found to be tuberculous, in order to tell them how best to make a fight for health and to protect other members of their family, and the records of that county's work were compiled.

Meantime, after the second week, the publicity section of the party moved on and opened the campaign in the next center.

“These investigations disclosed the fact,” writes Mr. Todd, of the housing section of the campaign, “that a surprisingly large number of dark, unventilated living-rooms are found in the business streets of Michigan cities. One city has 46 houses, which contain 159 interior rooms, 94 of which have no light at all, 66 are too dim to move through safely, and 78 too dim to read in on a cloudy day. This is the accumulation of bad living space through long years of neglect; but even new houses in these cities are still being constructed with dark rooms and unventilated bathrooms and water-closets.”

In view of such findings, the advisability of a state building code is being urged by the State Board of Health.

The Retirement of Thomas Mott Osborne

By Winthrop D. Lane

AT last the genius of Thomas Mott Osborne has caused his retirement from the wardenship of Sing Sing Prison. For two years those who have been close to his work have hoped that this tragedy would not occur. They have known the possibilities of danger, the play of character and temperament behind the curtain of events, the tragic collision between a mood that knew no guidance and the necessities of official submissiveness. They have hoped that in some way the catastrophe might be averted, that wise and friendly councils might keep down suspicion and quick temper, and that the channels of official correspondence might yet be able to carry their heavy load of querulousness, misunderstanding and distrust. They know now that their hope was vain.

Mr. Osborne is the commanding figure in prison reform in his time but official station is not the place for the exercise of his peculiar genius. What fortune the political wheel may bring to him is not yet known; the suggestion has been made that if Judge Samuel Seabury is elected governor, he may again be warden of Sing Sing. Many who are counted his warm friends hope that he will not. They believe that there are fields of greater usefulness for him. His own character is the cause of his present retirement and his character is not likely to change.

That character can be seen clearly displaying itself during the past months. On July 16, Mr. Osborne returned to Sing Sing after one of the bitterest experiences that can happen in this life. He had been lied about, slandered and made the object of a campaign of calumny that has had few parallels in this country. He had fought his detractors in court and out and had won in both places.

Legally cleared of the worst charges against him, he was even higher in the public confidence than he had ever been before. Naturally he wanted peace, peace to do his work in the way that had been denied him long enough. His great fight had served only to increase his fervor for prison reform and he thought that he had earned the right to carry on his task free from molestation, free, at least, from interference by men who ought to be striving for the same high ends as himself.

A new superintendent, James M. Carter, was directing the destinies of state prison administration when he returned. He had already seen one superintendent perish by the wayside because of inability to comprehend the new reforms, and he hoped that the new chief would be open-minded, sympathetic, helpful. Then came the first faint evidence of

disharmony. Mr. Osborne had determined to expose the conspiracy of his enemies and to that end he was presenting evidence to a grand jury. He wanted the testimony of prisoners to be taken in Salem county. These prisoners were confined in various prisons of the state and Mr. Osborne knew that if they were to tell the truth they would have to be protected from the harm that such an act might bring them. So he asked for their transfer to Sing Sing.

Why, he thought, should not such a request be granted? Was he not fighting a righteous fight? Who of the people's servants could be safe so long as lies could be told about a public man with impunity? He wanted no revenge, but he wanted an object lesson taught. He wanted slanderers and those who plot in the dark to learn that no secrecy could hide them, no position, however high, serve them as shield.

His request was refused. To transfer prisoners, he was told, is disturbing to administration; moreover, the department was well prepared to protect its prisoners itself. Mr. Osborne was even asked if he felt certain of the advisability of his court proceedings. Surely, he thought, this was a slap in the face. Moreover, what prospect of harmony could there be with a chief who wrote to the attorney asking for the transfer: "It is not good procedure for this department to keep whipping around the stump endless convicts at the beck and call of anyone who may wish to make this request."

THE second harbinger of ill was even more provoking. On September 14, Superintendent Carter issued "to all agents and wardens" an order condemning the frequent appearance of prison stories in the press. He referred slightly to "the struggle for publicity," and while admitting that some kinds of information might do much good, declared that "the practice of featuring convicts and indiscriminate prison advertising cannot be helpful."

It is easy to see how this order chafed Mr. Osborne's sensibilities. He believes intensely in the pitiless light of publicity. So he wrote an immediate reply. Agreeing to the main doctrine—that publicity can be both excessive and of the wrong kind—he called his chief's attention to the fact that newspapers are not to be controlled in what they print, and asked how the manufacture of sensational stories out of whole cloth is to be stopped. He defined his own policy as having been to tell the truth so that falsehood would not be published. He declared that the prisons belong to the

people and that "every reputable citizen of New York has the right to know what is going on" in them.

Nor could he stop with abstract argument. To his sensitive mind, fresh from warring with grafters, there was something sinister in an order that proposed silence. It savored of deliberate secrecy, and to a policy of that sort he could not lend himself. He must let his superior see that he, for one, could not be duped by such simple means as that. So he added: "Whatever may be the case in other prisons, at Sing Sing we have nothing to conceal. We are not afraid of the truth. We open our doors to the owners of the prisons and say, 'Look inside. See all there is. We want everyone to know the facts.'"

Then came an order that struck still nearer home. Escapes by prisoners had lately been increasing. On September 20, Superintendent Carter urged that greater care be taken in granting liberty to inmates and enumerated recent escapes from each prison: sixteen from Auburn in less than five months, one from Clinton, five from Great Meadow, ten from Sing Sing,—a bad showing for the two prisons where the Mutual Welfare League existed. Mr. Carter did not fail to suggest the inference. "It has been my desire," he said, "to see the experiments tested before submitting a decision, but I have now come to a definite conclusion that either the new ideas are not workable or that lax methods are employed in their development." Hereafter, he warned, unless it could be proved that ample precautions had been taken in the instance of escapes, he would be forced to "decisive action" for the management of the institutions under his control.

There was no escaping, to Mr. Osborne's mind, the meaning of this. It was a wanton and uninformed attack upon his cherished plan of reform. For one thing, the figures, he believed, were not true; there had been four escapes from Clinton instead of one. Doubtless some deliberate purpose lay behind this falsifying of the records; Clinton may not have wanted its full number of escapes to be reported. Moreover, *he* knew, whether others did or not, that the large number of escapes from Sing Sing and Auburn had nothing to do with the Mutual Welfare League. Many of them were made by men engaged in farm work or road-making outside the prisons and Mr. Osborne knew that there had been unwise selection of men to be so trusted.

Moreover, what did his superior mean by suggesting that the new ideas were not workable? Had he not seen them

work? Did he not know that discipline on the whole had been vastly improved and that men were going out of prison determined, as never before, to lead useful, law-abiding lives? What hope of sympathy or of cooperation could be expected from such blindness as this? *

FROM reasoning of this sort Mr. Osborne turned to regard a new and still more sinister order. Two escapes on October 1, both from the Sing Sing farm, were too much for the business-trained man at the head of the department. A new decree read that "all 'lifers' and those having long terms to serve must be confined inside the walls of the institution." To the superintendent this doubtless seemed the most promising way of preventing escapes. To Mr. Osborne it was a cruel and heartbreaking attack upon a vital part of his whole system; and it was unwarranted interference with a prison head.

Consider what the order meant. Mr. Osborne had made large use of inmate services about the prison grounds and building. He had employed prisoners in the stable, in the comptroller's and other offices, in the Bertillon gallery, in the kitchen and laundry of the warden's house, as runners and errand men, in the package and visiting rooms and as "spotters" to prevent the importation of drugs and other contraband. Many of these men worked in places that were not technically "inside the walls" of the prison.

At Sing Sing the walls do not enclose the warden's house and administrative offices, though they run up to them and apparently the whole structure is one. It is easy, therefore, to see what the new order meant. It meant that over fifty of the eighty-four men whom Mr. Osborne was using in these different ways would have to give up their work. They would have to go inside the prison and stay there.

Nor was this the only evil of the new decree. It was to become operative at once. A copy of it had been supplied to the press (strange conduct for a man who disbelieved in publicity!) and it had actually been printed before Mr. Osborne received it. Notice had thereby been served upon every long-term man outside the walls to make good his escape before he could be locked up. To be sure none had done so; but this was only one more tribute to the very system that Mr. Carter was trying to destroy.

Never had there been such blindness and folly. Mr. Osborne's whole administration was being undermined—without his opinion being asked and all because of a little increase in escapes! No man could put up with things like these and retain his self-respect. He would resign at once. He would let the people know what was afoot in their prison system. Not once had the Mutual Welfare League been given a fair trial and he for one was through working with men whose promises seemed to be made only that

they might be broken.

This picture is not presented as a caricature of Mr. Osborne's reasoning. I have been at some pains to study the man and what is here written seems to me a true account of the operations of his mind. His psychology is quite understandable. At the same time I do not believe that he has taken the large or reasonable view.

What matter if a state superintendent does hold opinions differing from those of his wardens on the subject of publicity? Mr. Carter did not say there should be no publicity, he did not forbid his subordinates the right of free utterance through the press; he merely asked that the frequent featuring of convicts and "prison advertising" be stopped. Prison reform does not depend upon newspaper headlines for success; not even so far-reaching and interesting an experiment as that of Mr. Osborne requires its daily or weekly story for advancement.

Mr. Osborne should have realized this. He should have said to himself: "My chief and I differ in regard to the merits and uses of the press. I believe him to be wrong. The matter has not yet gone far enough, however, for me to accuse him of insincere conduct. His judgment, not his motives, may be at fault. I can afford to wait. Meanwhile, there are other things on which agreement between us is essential. If no clash comes on these, the issue of publicity, provided there be no suppression of important facts, may be too small to be pressed farther."

SO, too, he might have reasoned when the order came sending "lifers" and long term men inside the walls. Doubtless this was a particularly vexing regulation under the circumstances. Putting aside the possibility that an adjustment might have been reached amicably, (and such an adjustment has in fact been reached by Calvin Derrick, acting warden since Mr. Osborne's retirement), one fails to see where the question of these fifty helpers went to the heart of Sing Sing's self-government scheme. Doubtless it was an interesting manifestation of that scheme; the selection of these aids was one of the ways in which the Mutual Welfare League expressed itself. But it was only one of the ways. It in no sense involved the fundamental method of prison control that Mr. Osborne was trying out.

That method was the most hopeful experiment in prison regeneration that the world has ever known. Mr. Osborne was taking men too ignorant or too weak to know any law but their own necessity or their own desire, and educating them to a new loyalty. He was making them members of a self-conscious group. To many of them he was giving a strange and thrilling sense of new powers and new modes of self-expression. He was teaching them to govern their own wills,

to exercise judgment, initiative, control in both their individual and their collective lives.

Moreover, he was about to carry forward a new phase of this reform. He was on the eve of regenerating the industries of the prison, so that men could not only learn habits of work and thriftiness but could also be given new means of self-support.

All this should have brought him pause; it should have suggested patience and a willingness to make light of temporary setback and inconvenience. If ever a man needed the enduring spirit it was Thomas Mott Osborne. He did not have it and because he did not his great reforms are left to the chance of finding new leaders and new friends. To see that they do find them is now the high duty of those who have befriended these reforms in the past.

I HAVE said that Mr. Osborne has no place in official life. This is uttered not in hostility but with friendliness both to Mr. Osborne and to Sing Sing. I am well aware that he himself does not share this view; he continues to believe that nothing in the exacting demands of official life need prevent him from being both happy and useful. Yet the past three months are not the only disproof of this.

Ever since Mr. Osborne became warden of Sing Sing in December, 1914, his friends have grown increasingly disheartened at the evidence of his unfitness. He has been tactless, moody, credulous. He has refused to answer, and in some instances even to read, letters from his former chief, Superintendent Riley, because he suspected that those letters would displease him. He has alienated many an earnest worker in prison reform by his frequent changes of mind and inability to remember his own words. He has frequently threatened to resign and thought better of it over night. He has believed one death-house denial of guilt after another, from that of Charles Becker to Thomas Bambrick. Indeed, one form his credulity has taken has been an extreme readiness to accept the statements of convicts, especially friendly convicts. He has, moreover, been easily influenced by praise and blame. Those who know Mr. Osborne best are best aware of all these faults, difficult as they are, of course, to prove in single instances.

He has shown himself to be a poor judge of men. Witness his dismissal of a former deputy, Charles H. Johnson, well nigh universally regarded as an able and upright administrator, who nevertheless was found by Mr. Osborne to be disloyal and self-seeking. Witness also his dismissal of L. C. White, former superintendent of industries, whom close observers at Sing Sing found to be a careful and honest department head.

Mr. Osborne takes most of his advice from persons who either believe wholly

in his genius or are willing to pretend they do. He cannot endure half-hearted loyalty. Allegiance to him knows no middle ground; if you do not believe that he is always right, you are bound, in his eyes, to be plotting for his undoing. Once he has cause to suspect a man, nothing that man can do will wear a friendly aspect. Governor Whitman's dismissal of Mr. Riley, following a promise to Mr. Osborne, was not, in Mr. Osborne's eyes, a keeping of that promise, but the avengement of a personal offense that Mr. Riley had committed against the governor.

This is a strong indictment. It is not

here made lightly. There are few sadder stories than that of Mr. Osborne's slow unveiling of himself. Yet too much importance need not be attached to the indictment. I would not minimize Mr. Osborne's strength, his wonderful appeal to the harassed soul, his genius for personal relationship. He has penetrated the American consciousness with a sense of the importance and hopefulness of prison reform that no man living or dead has ever done. More than that, he has demonstrated the practicability of reforms that may well be epoch-making in penological advance. What reason is there that his work should not go on?

His power of moving utterance is vast; he can make the blemishes of the old prison system—not yet old in many of our states, alas—stand out as needless and barbaric cruelties. It is not for others to mark out his future, but I for one am hopeful that as lecturer, as writer, as leader and inspirer of others,—in short, as that most condemned and most useful of men, an agitator, he will still perform a high and continuing service. His friends may well wish him Godspeed and their only regret need be that his sore disappointment may for a time cloud his mind to the clearness of the call before him.

THE DEAD LABORER

By J. Corson Miller

AS ONE who walks with reverend steps and slow
 Before a king laid low,
 And sees the light of greatness flood the room.
 So I approach thee now.
 Freed from life's bitter doom
 And pitiless array
 Of burdens thou didst shoulder night and day.
 Across thy patient brow
 That soon must greet the tomb,
 No more the snows
 Nor ruthless rains shall stray,
 Stabbing thy face like grim, relentless foes,
 Ah, would the world might come
 To thee here, heedless, dumb,
 And kiss thy faithful hands, sun-browned with toil.

Earth's flowering soil
 That sends its grateful fragrance up to God
 Through the spring-pulsing sod,
 Ne'er gladdened thee; the thrush's vesper song,
 And rapture keen,
 Where evening lingers long,
 Were to thine ears an alien mystery.
 Life crooned for thee
 But songs of sorrow, choked with ruth and wrong.

Ah! let from out my heart some fragrance steal,
 Pure as a lily's breath, to feel
 Of kindly hands commending thee now cold,
 And one with all thy vanished sires of old.
 Would I might lift a song
 To pierce the brooding walls of tragic night,
 Whose roof is gemmed with swinging star-worlds bright.
 That unborn centuries
 Might hear my hymn of praise to thee, a man,
 King of Creations plan!
 That Earth might take and nourish with her breast.
 Thy children, and their children's children best:
 That all the universe might hear my call,
 And in true brotherhood, 'mid work and rest,
 Men might be turned to love the toiler more,
 And on him justice pour,
 In creed of "One for one, and all for all."

The Social Aspect of Thrift

By Graham Taylor

THROUGH most of these hundred years, thrift has been proclaimed the American's private god and Benjamin Franklin his prophet! But during the last half of the century the human situation has so rapidly and radically shifted, that thrift can no longer be regarded only as an individual habit or a personal virtue, but must also be dealt with as a far more complex and public problem. The individual independence of the pioneering and colonial Americans has become more and more impossible, as craft has become dependent upon craft, class upon class, country upon city, nation upon nation, each one of us upon the many, in the inextricable interdependence of modern life.

While, therefore, thrift is still rightly to be considered and encouraged as an individual habit and a personal virtue, yet this hour demands the interpretation of those human situations which complicate and enlarge the single and simple meaning of the term and impose thrift as a public duty upon every group, community and nation.

Thriftless is the thrift that sacrifices the life to the livelihood, the person to possessions, the family to its heritage, the community to personal greed and the national loss of the many to the gain of the few. In encouraging economy and "savings," the individual's own interests should be safeguarded from a foresight which becomes oversight, overlooking the further future in providing for the immediately impending needs and opportunities. For have we not all seen far too much of the waste of life and the stagnation of wealth when thrift degenerates into the consuming habit of hoarding?

The failure of hoarding wealth luridly lighted its own warning beacon in the empty lives and the despairing cries of two rich, old hoarders. One of them despairingly deprecated the approaching end of life by the lament over his burdensome wealth—"It is so hard to let go." The other, lying on his death-bed which was littered with the certificates of his invested "savings," desolately complained of the loss of his children's love and companionship, while admitting that he had never taken time to pick them up in infancy or play with them in childhood.

An individual's thrift is thriftless when it is at the expense of the group. The family has human rights which the thrift of its individual members is morally and economically bound to respect. A father's "savings" often cost the loss of the mother's health, the children's physical and educational equipment, and the success, even the very function, of the home,

JUST one hundred years ago the first American savings bank was opened in Philadelphia. The centennial was observed last month at the annual meeting of the American Bankers' Association in special papers and discussion on thrift. Outstanding among these was the address by Professor Taylor on the newer social aspects of thrift, as contrasted with the conventional ideal of individual savings, which is here published for the first time.

—EDITOR.

are made impossible by the unfitness of the house.

Family thrift is a common feature of home life among the laboring poor. Many a mother receives the unopened pay envelope, not only from the children of working age but from the husband as well, all trusting her to be the spender and the saver for the family. The promotion of thrift by the encouragement of a family savings fund is worthy of our best thought and effort. The vacation and Christmas savings encouraged by savings banks, and still more by "penny savings" agencies, are beginning to help the family to capitalize itself. And yet the discouragement of a boy from withdrawing his penny savings died away from one's lips when the little fellow explained, "Mother needs a new set of false teeth." And the little hero's spendings proved thriftier than his savings.

Society's Stake

THE COMMUNITY is put in many situations in which it is found necessary to regulate and even restrict individual thrift, in order to protect and promote the thrift of the group from that of one of its members, the thrift of the many from the greed of the few, the safety and progress of the town, county, state and nation from the exploitation of thriftless thrifths. Thus laws restricting the hours and conditions of women's work are enacted and declared constitutional on the ground of public welfare, notwithstanding the objection of opponents against interfering with the thrift of the woman who wants to overwork, and that of the employer who profits by overworking her. The very birth-rate and birthright of the nation are thus defended.

Compulsory schooling is now a prevalent public policy, with penalties for parents who seek the earnings of their children at the cost of their growth and education. Child labor laws are firmly

based upon the proven thriftlessness of robbing the child of its schooling, play, strength and efficiency, for the sake of small temporary gains. But it required the recruiting sergeant's rejection of so large a proportion of men as unfit for military service, in order to bear home the wanton waste of child labor as the shame of modern industry and the folly of the nation. But now many of our states are even pensioning dependent mothers, rather than to deprive their children of the mother's care and of their right to free childhood, either by being put away to be cared for by institutions, or by the necessity of earning the livelihood of the home.

The sanitary inspection and condemnation of tenement houses and shops have been found necessary in order to curtail the thriftiness of their owners at the expense of their tenants and employes, as well as at the peril of the public health and safety. The "new law" tenements of New York city let sunlight and fresh air into the living and sleeping rooms of a million people, who otherwise would have lived and died in dark rooms whose only opening toward the light and air was through other apartments. The abuse of property rights in real estate by renting houses for disorderly resorts has become such a menace to the morals of the community and such a danger to its youth, that the extraordinary interference of the law in the injunction and abatement act has been found necessary and declared constitutional on the grounds of public safety and welfare.

The abuse of thrift by the few at the expense of the many and at public cost has led to many legal measures and governmental policies protecting and promoting national thrift. Thus parasitic trades are prevented by minimum wage laws from making their profits at the expense of other trades or of the body politic. Other people in other trades and the taxpayers as well, are thus refusing to bear the cost of eking out the living of those at work for less than a living wage and in seasonal occupations. Sweated industries are also being purged of their blood sweat, both by the revolt of their organized workers and by legal measures for their relief. The sweating of tenant farmers by absentee "retired" landlords as desperately needs to be dealt with. None knows better than the rural banker how the retirement of farmers thwarts the thrift and progress of many retired farmers' towns.

"Safety first" is not only the nation's indignant protest against the wanton waste of life, of which America has been more guilty than any other nation, but it

is the rallying cry of a new national economy, conservation and preparedness. The steadily decreasing railway dangers, the ever lessening casualties in factories and shops, the protection of life and property at sea by Plimssoll's water line on freighters and by our own seamen's act, all show what is being done and can be attempted through private and public measures alike to prove that dangerous economies are wasteful and death-dealing greed is thriftless.

Uniform safety legislation is still required to standardize thrifty conditions, to protect progressive states and industries, especially the mining interests, from the unfair competition of those disregarding life and limb, and to conserve the nation's greatest assets in the lives, the health and the efficiency of its people. Even this fails to protect life from the most dangerous of all occupations. For the death every year of at least 300,000 children under two years of age from preventable causes still rates being a baby as the most dangerous of all occupations. No national thrift is more fundamental than the conservation of child life by the federal Children's Bureau, the American Association for the Prevention of Infant Mortality and the National Child Labor Committee.

The public ownership of some public utilities, and the public control of all others, is now recognized to be the legitimate thrift of every community. The protection of immigrant labor from exploitation is a national safeguard, as well as justice to the immigrant. The tardy recognition of unemployment as a problem far beyond the capacity of the unemployed or of private charity to solve, is at last proving it to be public economy for the city, the state and the nation to assume as the problem of each and all of them—not only the relief, but the prevention of unemployment.

Thrift that Spends

THE PROGRESS of mankind is measured by the multiplication of wants and by increasing the ways and means of satisfying them. As surely as the charity of today is the justice of tomorrow, so surely are the luxuries of today the necessities of tomorrow. This creation of human wants, not their curtailment, is civilization. The thrift that spends as well as saves, is what makes the community a going concern.

Difficult and delicate therefore is the task to define thrift so as to make it apply equally to the personal and public values of the one human life each of us lives and the common life all of us live together. It is a good sign of better times that industrial and commercial, professional and civic, educational and religious groups realize this to be their problem. Associations of commerce are becoming schools of citizenship, training commercial men to trust their best service of the city in the long run to serve

their trade the most.

Lumbermen's associations discuss in their papers and in their conventions their opportunity to be "community builders," especially in country counties, where the lumber yards are the points of contact and distribution for the surrounding countryside. The retail merchants' association is linking up the country store with the country town for the protection and advancement of both. Country ministers recognize and utilize the country store as an exchange, not only for commodities, but for the interchange of intelligence and discussion and the creation of public opinion, so that some of them are using the store to meet the men for religious instruction and appeal. Manufacturers are finding it to be good business to care for the human elements at least as much as for the raw materials and the finished products of their plants. Commercial establishments are becoming like great households, holding employers and employes together best by promoting their community of interests.

Exchange in Human Values

BUT THE QUESTION arising out of these human situations which we have been considering and that is put up to the banks and the bankers to solve, is how to make private thrift and public welfare supplement and serve each other. No one in the community is so well situated to do this service. The bank itself is a clearing house of more common interests than those which we call commercial. It is the exchange where other than money values change hands and through which other values than commercial paper are cleared.

As a community center for the exchange of such values, the bank shares and exceeds the informational and inspirational function and influence of the country store, the village blacksmith shop, the lumber and building material yards, in rural communities; and in town, it supplements the newspaper, the stock and other exchanges, the executor or guardian, and it is often the substitute for one or all of them.

Few have a function to fulfil so vital alike to individuals and to the local community as the banker. He is the trustee of so much confidence. His confidants range all the way from the widow and the orphan to the treasurers of vast trust funds and of great public deposits. The bankers' responsibilities are as serious as his opportunities are inspiring to promote personal and public thrift and make each advance the progress of the other. None so well as he knows, or can know, how necessary the progress of the community is to the prosperity of every one of the people living in it, and how impossible it is for the community to prosper if its citizens are not progressive.

Therefore bankers individually and collectively are more and more inciting

and supporting the promotion of community interests through surveys, by agricultural, mercantile and manufacturing developments, in providing better schools, more time and equipment for recreation, good roads and transportation facilities, more participation in public affairs and greater efficiency in the administration of public institutions, business and local government.

Thrift is the point of contact between the multitude who know you not and you who should know them better. To interpret thrift not only, from your point of view, but to broaden your view of it by sensing the human situations of the greater multitude that are still strangers to banks and bankers, is the appeal and hope of this hour.

By virtue of your double function as the friendly, confidential counselors of so many individuals, and as officials of an institution that is or ought to be under public control, you bankers have a greater obligation and opportunity than any other citizens to protect both the individual and the community from thriftless thrift and to promote the thriftiness of both, by proving that neither can succeed if the other fails.

The State a Guardian

YOURS ALSO is the patriotic trust to conserve the confidence of the people in the government and to safeguard the financial honor of the state and the nation. For you are so much regarded as representing the state's guardian care of its people's interests that you have the right and duty to consider yourselves to be in the semi-official service of your country.

Either the state should have such oversight and control of banking as will safeguard the people's confidence in the banks, or they should at least be prohibited from using the name of the state in the title of the bank, or from posing as a public institution. When the Milwaukee Avenue State Bank in Chicago was looted, my poor foreign-born neighbors, who had entrusted to it the scant savings of their hard toil, could not believe that the state which loaned its name to the bank would not protect them from loss and justify their confidence in the state. Then I realized as never before what treason it is for a banker to play false to the people and what a bulwark of the state and an inspirer of patriotism a bank could and should be.

Out of the appalling thriftlessness of this most destructive of all wars, the banking interests of the nations will be called upon to restore the financial bonds of a new internationalism, and something of its spirit as well. No such world-wide exchanges of international credits have ever been negotiated as in America during the war. Perhaps this necessity to which we have thus ministered may be the mother of invention adequate to establish the thrift of international peace.



THE COUNTY HOTEL AND ITS BARN WERE BOUGHT BY THE PEOPLE AND TURNED INTO A COMMUNITY HOUSE AND A HALL FOR MEETINGS

Community Vision and a Country Hotel

By Edmund de S. Brunner

SECRETARY MORAVIAN COUNTRY CHURCH COMMISSION

BURIED in the heart of the Pocono mountains, thirteen miles from the nearest railroad station and connected with the outside world only by an uncertain stage route, is a rural community, Newfoundland, which has caught the vision of neighborhood efficiency and which in a fine way is realizing that vision day after day.

Newfoundland is in that section of the Poconos near where Wayne, Pike and Monroe counties (Pennsylvania) meet. Originally the land was settled by hardy and industrious Germans and the descendants of these people are still the predominant element in the population. Religiously it was a community ministered to by the Moravians, and in later years by the Methodists also. The soil is mediocre and no superficial observer would pick this locality for a rural demonstration field.

However, such it has become. Just about a year ago the community, acting as a social unit, bought out its country hotel and converted the hostelry into a community house and the barn into a community hall and gymnasium.

The beginnings of this work can be traced to the patient campaign of the W. C. T. U., which even in a locality such as described found that rural people are willing to lend their support to the temperance movement. But there have been other sources of inspiration and leadership. For some years Newfoundland has been blessed with strong pastors whose spiritual leadership concerned itself with the hallowing of all of life. There has also been of more recent years a strong school favored with exceptionally good teachers. In some instances the pastor has also been

the principal or at least one of the small faculty. This has tied together home, school and church in a most advantageous way.

Finally, for the last twenty years there has been a steady increase in the number of city people who have spent their summers in this region, and who have mingled with the residents both in their play and worship. This has been of mutual advantage.

About eighteen months ago the only resident pastor succeeded in bringing into the community Professor and Mrs. Varney, who staged a welfare week which proved a big factor in starting the movement to establish the welfare center, because of the way in which social service was linked up with fundamental spiritual motives.

Thus it was that in the minds of pastor and people there formed and gradually came to fruition the conception of a community house in which would focus all the activities of the region and which would prove a center furnishing recreation through the long winter, binding the people together and holding some of the younger folks to their home. It was decided to form a Community Welfare Association. Any person over fourteen years of age with an interest in the community and a dollar with which to pay the annual dues was allowed to join.

One of the first steps was to have the association incorporated and soon afterward the hotel was purchased for \$3,800 and fitted up as described at a further cash cost of about \$1,200. Over half the money was raised in a short time and it was a big sum for these people. Contributions were not large

measured by the standards of city organizations but measured by the resources of the people they were most generous and proved how deeply interested and thoroughly in earnest the community was. The remainder of the sum was raised by selling shares of stock and a small mortgage was also placed on the property.

The community house contains rooms for all the various church and community organizations, for reading, playing games, etc. There is also a free library. Adequate supervision is secured by having the high school principal and his wife live in the second story which has the added advantage of furnishing a comfortable home for them. Newfoundland is thus one of the very few Pennsylvania communities that has a "teach-erage."

The old barn, now rebuilt and turned into a community hall contains a large dining-room and kitchen on the top floor while the main floor is given over to a gymnasium-auditorium with a raised stage at one end, together with dressing rooms and all accessories necessary for its double purpose.

It is perhaps too soon to record definite results other than a cleaner, better, more progressive community life such as always comes when religion takes on new meanings, and opportunities for service are multiplied. But some idea of the widening scope and influence of the work may be gained by mentioning a union men's bible class which meets every Monday evening in the community house under the leadership of the resident pastor, the Rev. G. Max Shultz of the Moravian church. Even on some of the stormiest evenings of

last winter the attendance did not fall below twenty.

The work is beginning to attract attention and deservedly so. Ex-Mayor Blankenburg of Philadelphia, is an interested contributor who visits the community at times. Governor Brumbaugh made a special trip to the little hamlet and congratulated the people on their progressiveness. Others have also come to gain inspiration from the fine work

being done.

There has been opposition, there always is to such efforts, but it is weakening. The day's meetings in connection with the dedication fused the community into one. As the evening meeting drew to a close the Scoutmaster asked every boy and girl in the community to stand and with considerable emotion said to the adults, "These, your boys and girls, thank you from their

hearts for your splendid generosity." The audience could only rise and sing Praise God from Whom All Blessings Flow, and with bowed heads received a richly deserved benediction. From that time on the work has been gaining in its usefulness and in its grip on the people. It has been a great year. Another experience has been added to the sum total of those which shall some day bring abundant life to rural America.

Where Both Bullets and Ballots are Dangerous

By William E. Leonard

WHITMAN COLLEGE

THE most recent act in the political drama of the Rio Grande has been played in the federal courts at Corpus Christi, Tex. The star performers were old line politicians; the supporting company, ignorant, unnaturalized Mexicans. The former were charged with buying the votes of the latter in the election of 1914. At that time several members of Congress were elected, which fact gave the federal courts jurisdiction.

In July, 1915, forty-two citizens of Nueces county were indicted on the charge of conspiracy to corrupt the ballot box, and this group of men came to be known locally as the "Forty-Two Club." In the trial court about one-half of these men were released. Of the remainder, five have been found guilty as charged. In the case of one, the foremost personage of them all, the jury was unable to agree and he awaits a new trial.

In this case some twenty or thirty witnesses were called to the asserted fact that each of them had been "given a present," ranging from two to five dollars in amount. Before this present was delivered, however, each voter had to bring his poll tax receipt showing that he had voted, and at the same time to give assurances that he had voted "in the proper way."

These Mexican voters constitute a most interesting study. Only one, so far as the writer knows, was able to give his evidence in the English language. Several attempted to do so but failed, and they, like the rest, had to resort to an interpreter. This is significant because all of them had been in the state ten years or more. One man, sixty-six years old, and forty years in the state, spoke no English. Some did not know for a certainty where they were born, whether in Old Mexico or in Texas. None, apparently, had ever declared their intention to become citizens of the United States, while some appeared to think their poll tax receipts constituted such a declaration. No one had any conception of the Democratic or any other ticket.

The only ticket of which they had any notion was the so-called "Old Ticket."

It seems that "the committee" had appropriated \$3,000 to carry "the hill," which is the Mexican quarter of Corpus Christi, and to secure this fund a levy of \$150 was made upon each candidate for office.

The particular charges in this case may or may not be absolutely true. Nevertheless, in southwest Texas there exists the common belief that corruption at the polls is constantly being practised, not only in Neuces county, but more or less generally throughout the whole border country.

Two Race Problems

THIS SUGGESTS a fact not well known. The Southwest, particularly Texas, is the only region which has two distinct race problems, each of sufficient importance to invite attention. States immediately east have their Negro problem; states to the west an asserted oriental problem; the northern states have to deal with a European immigration which is sifted and regulated at the ports of entry.

In contrast, Texas, for instance, has both a Negro problem and a Mexican problem. The Negroes in Texas number 700,000, which is 17 per cent of the whole population. There is an unknown Mexican population conservatively estimated at 400,000, which is 10 per cent of the entire population. It is unknown, because Mexicans may enter the state without effective restraint at almost any point along the 800 miles of inadequately protected Rio Grande border. It is believed that fully 75 per cent of all Mexicans coming to the United States come to Texas.

Society in the Southwest cannot easily adapt itself to the handling of a second race problem. It does well in taking the one it already has and attempting to solve it in some humanly just way. The Negro is accepting the place which has been granted him, and to the credit of both white and black, the latter is slowly lifting his standard of living. But un-

fortunately for Mexican immigrants, there is no congenial social group to welcome them on this side of the frontier. They are not Negroes, and they resent being so classified. They are not accepted as white men, and between the two, the white and the black, there seems to be no midway position. They thus remain strangers in the land.

In admitting them to this country without limitation we are adding a second group of servile people. They are less capable of a vigorous self-defense than even the Negro. This has repeatedly been shown when the two races have come into economic competition. Against injustice, they are, as a class, singularly nonresistant. Their past history makes them such. In all Mexican history these people have never known the meaning of free opportunity, for they have never had any but oppressive governments and barbaric industrial systems. Is it any wonder that they seem to have no aspirations beyond peonage, nor is it strange that they readily drop into conditions equivalent to it upon crossing the Rio Grande into this land of free opportunity?

The Southwest seems to be unwilling to give these people the full chance of white men. They resent taking the place accorded the black man, and yet by force of economic necessity they are compelled to take less. This is due to their ignorance of the law, which might protect their persons and their property; it is due to their ignorance of the language; it is due to an utter lack of guidance and opportunity for education.

I shall not soon forget the tragic appeal made to me by a bright-eyed, wholesome Mexican girl of fifteen as she sought my help that she might be admitted to the white school scarcely a stone's throw beyond the miserable cabin in which she lived. But to her and to all Mexican children in that community the school offered no avenue of escape. They are generally denied admittance to white schools, and exclusively Mexican schools, outside the cities, are few indeed.

Out of the above conditions two clear-cut ill results have already appeared, one economic, the other political. Upon agriculture the coming of large numbers of Mexicans into any community has a most disastrous effect. First there goes the American tenant farmer, for he cannot meet the competition of the low standard Mexican worker. Then the small land-owning farmers, finding the country a less desirable place in which to live because of the small number of neighbors, sell to the larger owners, who most frequently are either nonresidents or live in some adjacent town or city, going out almost daily to oversee laborers working on their farms. The community life loses its natural leaders, and because of this, both churches and schools die a lingering death. In this way whole neighborhoods, once supporting a happy and prosperous life, are slowly passing into decay.

Not less dangerous is the Mexican as a political menace. And of this no better illustration can be found than the Corpus Christi case. These people do not desire or appreciate citizenship. They do, however, retain vestiges of the primitive man's willingness to attach themselves as followers to any one who may have shown them a kindness. In this way they easily become the prey of the politician. Time and again, it is asserted, the Mexican vote has been mobilized against certain questions, notably against prohibition. How often the craftier politicians have gone into office through the influence of the Mexican vote is impossible to say.

The question will assume even greater importance when the Southwest begins to reform its land system, of which there are so many premonitory evidences at the present time. The border country is still in the big ranch stage of agricul-

ture, the workers being largely Mexicans. If progressive land legislation should be proposed it is almost certain that the large land owners, who would undoubtedly suffer most, would not fail to use every possible weapon to defeat it. The most natural weapon to use would be the complete organization of the Mexican vote.

There is a third aspect of this question. As yet, between these two races, the Mexican and the Negro, we have seen only the preliminary skirmishes in economic competition. The Negroes are moving towards the Southwest, but very slowly; the Mexicans are coming northward from the Rio Grande rapidly. In due time they must meet in large numbers. When that time shall have arrived we may expect the real conflict to begin. Then will the Southwest realize the full scope of her complicated race problems.

Drugs: A World Problem

By Charles B. Towns

THERE is prevalent in this country an impression that the conferences on the international drug situation held at Shanghai in 1909 and at The Hague in 1911 and 1913 accomplished something. They accomplished nothing—except to furnish outings for the delegates and their families. The childish discussions and plans of the delegates upon those several occasions revealed a crass ignorance and proved absolutely barren of results, so far as any alleviation of the traffic in and the use of habit-forming drugs is concerned. The identical conditions exist now which existed before the international conferences were held.

There is a second impression, held in some quarters, that the outbreak of the great war halted a well-defined international movement toward a solution of the problem of drug addiction throughout the world; a movement of which the international conferences, even though negligible so far as practical results went, were symbolical, or even representative. Nothing could be more erroneous. The war did not hold up a movement which if unhindered would have succeeded in adequately solving the world's drug problem, because there was no such movement. What purported to be such a movement was rather a distinct and prolonged pause.

First and last, the only real solution of the world's drug problem must come through an understanding between all countries which produce habit-forming drugs that shall in effect regulate foreign import and export of such drugs. The one way in which this can be satisfactorily done is for each country to make the traffic in habit-forming drugs a gov-

THE second of three articles in which Mr. Towns argues for preventive legislation on the basis of his fourteen years' experience with drug-users. The first article was published in THE SURVEY for October 14.—EDITOR.

ernment monopoly and to become the sole purchaser and dispenser of such drugs.

The greatest stumbling-block in the way of executing such a plan is China. This is because Great Britain has always wanted to control the opium situation in the Far East and has heretofore been unwilling to consent to government monopoly in China. And as long as China is thus estopped, other countries will find it impossible to create the sort of strict accounting they should have.

In view of China's importance in the matter, it may not be amiss to outline the history and scope of her drug problem. In China, opium smoking dates back to the middle of the seventeenth century, when the Dutch from Java introduced into Formosa the smoking of tobacco mixed with opium and arsenic as a remedy for malarial fever. So rapid was the growth of the habit that in 1729, the Chinese ruler forbade by imperial edict the sale of opium and the keeping of opium divans.

After the Tai-ping rebellion, revenue was needed. The opium trade, which had proved impossible to suppress, was legalized. Poppy-growing then spread throughout the empire until, by 1906, at a moderate estimate, China numbered among its people fifteen million opium smokers, and was producing six-sevenths

of the drug consumed by them. Opium was the national narcotic, stimulant, and medicine; opium smoking was everywhere openly practised by both men and women—the indulgence of the rich, the luxury of the poor, the pastime of the idle, the solace of the wretched and the necessity of millions.

In 1906, the Empress Dowager, attributing to this vice the increasing weakness and poverty of the nation, issued an edict for the total suppression of the production and consumption of opium throughout the empire, within ten years. The crusade that followed this edict was unique of its kind. Anti-opium societies hunted out divans and destroyed many thousands of pipes. The press, the novel and the drama preached reform. Cartoons held up to ridicule the users of the drug, or portrayed the miserable end that awaited them. Every available means was used to rouse public opinion against opium-smoking as being both disreputable and unpatriotic.

But although progress was made,—a heroic thing in itself under the circumstances,—it was clearly demonstrated that no matter how greatly home production of opium might be curtailed, nor how strictly the prohibition on smoking might be enforced, China would never be able to stamp out the habit until importations were stopped and the sale of the drug made a government monopoly. This is an important thing to remember, because it is morally certain that if that country, with the nation-wide efforts and sacrifices it made, was unable to accomplish its purpose, no other country in similar circumstances could do so.

The first international opium confer-

ence at Shanghai, in 1909, was called by our government with a view to getting Great Britain to concur with China in trying to stamp out opium-using in that country. This Great Britain did but has never consented to a government monopoly in China.

But the Shanghai conference, although of no utility in furthering directly the cause of drug-control, was, it is true, valuable to some extent in making public certain facts concerning the situation which, while well known to those in touch with the subject, received a measure of general publicity through the conference's findings.

Perhaps the most important of these facts is, that while opium smoking in China was greatly diminished by the campaign against the drug, the habit remained in the form of opium eating, or in some use of medicinal opium, or in the use of a host of so-called "anti-opium remedies" all containing the drug. Morphin was coming into common use, for not only was it cheaper than the smoking opium, but it could be more readily obtained, easily concealed, and quickly administered. Cocain and Indian hemp (hashish) were widely used. Cigarettes and alcohol furnished other vicious substitutes.

A Chinese authority, in describing the prevalence of the morphin and cocain habits at this time, offers an interesting analogy to the experience of investigators in the United States by tracing such habits to the use of the hypodermic syringe upon rich patients by well-meaning medical men seeking to relieve their patients' craving for opium. From the master of a household the knowledge of the process quickly spread to the servants and then to the rickshamen and coolies, until morphin and cocain injections became the common resource of all classes. Among the advertisements in Chinese newspapers, at this time, could be read the alluring promise: "Opium smoking cured with a golden needle!"

These new forms of the habit proved far worse for the victims than the original opium smoking. Under the influence of morphin and cocain, or like substitutes, a marked and increasing physical deterioration was manifested. While the first effect of the change from smoking to swallowing the drug was the use of a smaller quantity, that quantity had to be steadily increased. Discontinuance of it, under any treatment then in current use, was practically impossible. For the dealer, the drug-taker was a customer for life.

It was in (1908-9) that I visited China and opened three hospitals for drug addicts at Shanghai, Tientsin and Peking, and I treated many drug victims. Among these patients was one, the governor of a province, who had actually been in the habit of buying his pills by the peck, or its Chinese equivalent.

During this period I was able to observe personally the utter impossibility

of any permanent solution of this drug problem for China, without the sincere cooperation of other countries. Added to the ease of smuggling across the country's immense boundary, there was a simple and sure way to procure such drugs. From the existence of so many foreign concessions and leased territories within her limits, it was useless for China to expect relief through her own laws. All one had to do was to step from Chinese territory into one of the concessions or lease lands, which was to all intents foreign territory and where foreign laws prevailed, and purchase all the drug of one's addiction that was desired. Any promises by the foreigners there not to sell drugs, amounted to nothing.

So Chinese money went to the foreign merchant; and opium, morphin, cocain were forthcoming. The earnest intention of the drastic Chinese edicts issued against the use of habit-forming drugs, has been greatly hindered.

With the case of China compare the case of Japan! In 1858, the very year in which China was forced to consent to the entry of Indian opium, Japan was able by treaty with Great Britain to prohibit its importation. Had China been able then to secure similar conditions with Great Britain, she would have no drug problem today. In subsequent years, repeated enactments laid heavy penalties on opium-smoking in Japan, and all traffic contributing to it. The medicinal use of opium was permitted. As early as 1870, druggists and physicians were ordered to report to the authorities the quantities of the drug sold for such purposes. In 1879, the purchase of all the opium for the country was assumed by the government, which still holds the monopoly.

Still, the local supply being inadequate, the production of opium was all the time being carried on in Japan, and was even encouraged by the government! The climate, however, has never been favorable for poppy-growing, and almost all the opium Japan now uses is imported. What amount of raw opium is produced in Japan, is delivered to the government, examined for quality, and all falling under a fixed standard is destroyed without compensation to the producer. By such measures Japan, in spite of her location in the opium-ridden Far East, has managed so to control the use of the drug in her home territory that its abuse there is practically unknown.

But Japan has had a different experience in Formosa, ceded to her by China in 1895. There the opium habit had been taking root for over two centuries. With the island in open rebellion, it was at first impossible to secure a complete register of the opium users, in order to apply the policy of gradual reduction that had been decreed. By 1900, more than 169,000 smokers had been licensed to purchase the drug in specified amounts from the government, which, as we have

seen, alone had the right of importation and sale. In 1907, about 113,000 remained on the list.

But on the other hand, it was found necessary to register 30,000 new cases in 1904-5, and in 1908, nearly 16,000 more. On the last occasion an inquiry was made into the cause of this increase. It was found that 93 per cent of the number had taken to the drug in sickness or pain, as the traditional remedy for all ailments, rather than go to a physician.

To this tendency of the Formosans, the Japanese attribute most of the difficulty they are having in carrying out their opium policy in the island. Others better apprised think that Japan has found opium so financially profitable, that she is in no hurry to terminate its use. With the strict control of the drug in Formosa, Japan could abolish its unnecessary consumption within three years at most.

The four chief opium-producing nations are Great Britain (principally India), China, Persia and Turkey. The amount produced by the latter two is inconsiderable compared with the former two. In its Bengal monopoly, Great Britain controls directly an opium production which in 1906, amounted to more than seven million pounds. She also has a restrictive power over exports from native states of India not under her governmental control, in which the yield of opium in 1906 amounted to half her own production. It is true that much of the East Indian product is consumed in India. Nevertheless, when Great Britain consents to limit or to withhold exports of the drug at the wish of a receiving country, a large part of the world's opium supply can be safeguarded from misuse.

Great Britain has not yet had this drug problem to deal with at home. France has never before considered the problem. Other European countries have brushed it aside. But the conditions growing out of the existing war will make the drug problem of as vital importance to these nations as we have found it here. And during the last ten years it is a fact that drug habits in this country have grown at such an alarming rate that we are now the worst drug-ridden nation on the face of the earth.

Great Britain realizes her position now. France faces the issue squarely. I have already been invited to try and help that country, as soon as the war is over, to work out a plan for eradicating the evil before it develops overwhelmingly. A similar condition exists in all the other countries at war.

We are not at war. We need to clean house more than any other country in existence. Pending a final international solution through standard laws and real cooperation between nations, there is much that we can set about to do today. In a closing article I am going to show what that is and just why it is of the very greatest importance to have it done.



WHERE GERMAN SAILORS WERE INTERNED IN CHARGE OF THE BRITISH SAILORS' UNION

A British Labor Union's Internment Camp

By F. Havelock Wilson

THE Sailors' and Firemen's Union of Great Britain is to a large extent international in character as a considerable number of alien seamen are employed on British ships, and these men become members of the union with a view to protecting their interests.

At the outbreak of the war there were employed on British ships some 4,000 or 5,000 German and Austrian seamen. These men were thrown out of employment, as it was felt that it was not safe to employ alien enemies on board British ships. This raised a serious problem, as the men who were members of the union could not obtain employment and they soon became destitute.

The Sailors' and Firemen's Union after consideration decided to establish a camp to provide for the German and Austrian seamen food and shelter. At this time aliens were not compulsorily

interned—as a matter of fact, there were no aliens interned. The union approached the government with a view to getting assistance in providing for the unemployed aliens, and ten shillings per man per week for every alien seaman who was interned under the union's care was granted.

The union purchased a small estate at Eastcote, Northamptonshire, which comprised an old-fashioned dwelling house with out-buildings, cottages and about 40 acres of ground. The writer, as president of the union, had full charge of the venture. I arrived at Eastcote on September 14, 1914, and within twelve hours was able to provide for fifty alien seamen.

If the thing was to be a success it was clear that there must be a plentiful supply of food, that every man should be given a job of some kind, and that he should perform a certain amount of

work per day. In addition to food, the men were supplied with tobacco four times a week and an allowance of beer on Sundays. It was wonderful to see what those sailors and firemen were able to do—all kinds of buildings were erected of a permanent and substantial nature, and the cook-house and bakery were models of ingenuity, capable of supplying 3,000 to 4,000 men. Hospitals and lavatories were built, and a large field was taken for growing garden produce. Life at the camp went pretty smooth although at one period there were 850 men to be provided for.

Eventually an order came for the compulsory internment of all aliens, and the government insisted on the erection of a fence around the camp at Eastcote. A police guard of thirteen policemen to keep watch of the 850 men was provided, but their duties were very light and they were not allowed inside the



MINIATURE PORTS AND HARBORS BUILT BY THE MEN ON THE BANKS OF A LITTLE STREAM THAT RAN THROUGH THEIR CAMP. AT THE RIGHT, A CORNER OF THE CAMP

camp. During fourteen months only 5 aliens escaped, and they were captured within a short time after leaving camp.

The men had full liberty to roam about the forty acres of ground. There was a stream running through the estate with sloping banks, and it was a delightful surprise to see how the seamen made miniature ports and harbors on its banks. There was Heligoland Bight, Fort Hindenberg, etc. Many of the Germans erected little wooden huts and kept rabbits and other pets. Generally the men were very happy, that is to say as happy as men can be who are deprived of their liberty.

However, there were in the camp a number of non-unionists and other sailors who, although members of the union, did not like trade union principles. They at once demanded payment for their

work—not only that, but they conspired to stop other men from working. For instance, when the camp was first started the men were under canvas, which was perfectly all right in the summer months, but as the damp and wet weather came it was impossible for the men to remain under canvas. The union purchased wood and erected wooden huts with three tiers of bunks. Very excellent huts they were, fitted with hot water heating pipes, and the whole of this was done by the interned men on the understanding that if the men would do the work the committee would purchase the materials. The non-unionists, however, started revolts and it became necessary to clear some of the trouble makers out of the camp. Some 150 men of this class were sent away. The great body of seamen, however, went at this

land task with spirit, some digging, others building and others painting.

Eventually, the law with regard to interned aliens became more strict, and the military insisted upon more stringent regulations with regard to the guarding of the prisoners. The union then felt that the maintenance of the camp was becoming more than it could reasonably shoulder, and the government decided to take it over and put it under military control. Generally speaking, both the police and military authorities testified to the splendid manner in which the camp had been conducted.

Altogether the men built themselves two excellent halls 100 feet long by 65 feet wide; these buildings were erected inside of twenty-five days. One building had some 40,000 bricks in the foundation.

“WANTED—A PLAYGROUND”

By Mildred Weston

DINGY hills
 No tree, no blade of grass—
 But a tippie rears a gaunt scaffolding
 To proclaim them not barren.
 The coke gas circles heavily and falls
 Wreathing the miners' homes.
 Houses—row on row
 Ugly red shacks
 Rust spots on a grimy earth.

Where the children play
 A sewer feels its unclean way
 And flashes to the sun its iridescent scales of filth.
 In this foul path a pig lies dead
 With its stark legs upstuck.
 A small girl spies it and with shrilling voice
 Calls to the rest—
 “See, see,” she points with outstretched hand,
 “Tony’s peeg what died on heem.”
 And they come running.
 The babies in their dust bath on the road
 Raise small white-lidded faces to the noise.
 Then with black dirt-trains flying in their wake
 They scuttle crab-wise to the sewer’s edge.
 A boy wades out to where the carcass lies
 And ties a string to each upstanding leg.
 Gathering up the reins he scrambles back
 And quick assumes command—
 “Hi, youse two cross to tother side
 Un’ take these reins wid youse.
 Ted un I’ll lead over here.
 Youse other kids kin be th’ band.”
 Ashoving, screeching line
 The band draws up behind the prancing four.
 With both hands to their mouths they play the horn
 And one must be the drum.
 So to the sound of tootle-tootle-toot
 And joyous shrieks and booming of the drum
 They draw the dead pig barge-like through the slime.

BOOKS

A WEEK with WAR BOOKS

By Emily Greene Balch

THE war has naturally—inevitably—brought with it a great output of books and pamphlets dealing with its complex roots, its varied aspects, its vast and uncertain issues. The review copies of war books which have reached THE SURVEY during recent months have not by any means exhausted the list, but they have been fairly representative; and at request of the editors, the writer took advantage of the week on shipboard en route to Stockholm to give them a fairly consecutive reading, and to share with SURVEY readers the impressions which such a bird's-eye view affords.

I

THE SPIRIT OF FRANCE
By Owen Johnson. Little Brown & Co. 256 pp. Price \$1.35; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.46.

THE LOG OF A NONCOMBATANT
By Horace Green. Houghton Mifflin Co. 243 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.35.

THE UNDYING STORY
By W. Douglas Newton. E. P. Dutton & Co. 383 pp. Price \$1.35; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.47.

BETWEEN THE LINES
By Boyd Cable. E. P. Dutton & Co. 258 pp. Price \$1.35; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.43.

FIRST we have the story of the eye-witness, setting forth with greater or less skill his impressions of the events he has seen, whether by chance from a "hilltop on the Marne" or with the feverish effort to be "on the spot" of the professional correspondent.

There is Owen Johnson, like other visitors to France, intoxicated with her tragic bravery; Horace Green who gives a sense of a genuine desire to be fair (borne out by his very reasonable appendix on atrocities); W. Douglas Newton's vivid story of part of the British campaign in France; Boyd Cable's set of newspaper sketches, among which A Hymn of Hate touches almost the depths of moral degradation in war, a degradation above which one must have hoped the English might rise.

II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EUROPEAN NATIONS 1870-1914. By J. Holland Rose. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 410 pp. Price \$2.75; by mail of THE SURVEY \$2.93.

HOW DIPLOMATS MAKE WAR
Anonymous. B. W. Huebsch. 376 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.60.

THE NEW MAP OF EUROPE
By Herbert Adams Gibbons. The Century Co. 412 pp. Price \$2; by mail of THE SURVEY \$2.10.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE WAR
By Edwin J. Clapp. Yale University Press. 360 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.62.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE: AN INTERPRETATION

By Albert Bushnell Hart. Little Brown & Co. 445 pp. Price \$1.75; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.93.

MODERNIZING THE MONROE DOCTRINE
By Charles H. Sherrill. Houghton Mifflin Co. 203 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.35.

THE DIPLOMACY OF THE GREAT WAR
By Arthur Bullard. Macmillan Co. 344 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.62.

THE EXPORT OF CAPITAL
By C. K. Hobson. Thesis, University of London, Constable, London. 261 pp. Price \$2; by mail of THE SURVEY \$2.20.

SOCIALISM AND WAR
By Louis B. Boudin. New Review Publishing Association. 267 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.08.

THE SOCIALISTS AND THE WAR
By William English Walling. Henry Holt & Co. 512 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.62.

BELGIUM, NEUTRAL AND LOYAL
By Emile Waxweiler. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 324 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.35.

ITALY'S FOREIGN AND COLONIAL POLICY
By Senator Tommaso Tittoni. Smith Elder & Co., London. 323 pp. Price \$1.82; by mail of THE SURVEY \$2.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE
By Fritz-Konrad Krüger. World Book Co. 340 pp. Price \$1.20; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.28.

IMPERIAL GERMANY AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION
By Thorstein Veblen. Macmillan & Co. 324 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.62.

AT THE other extreme there are the histories general and special. Rose's Development of the European Nations, reissued with chapters bringing it up to date, is a standard work.

How Diplomats Make War is a bitter attack on British foreign politics by an unnamed "British statesman" which does not carry full conviction.

Gibbons' New Map of Europe is readable and full of information, and obviously tries to be impartial.

Edwin J. Clapp's study, Economic Aspects of the War, dealing with international law and the acts of the belligerents as they affect American commerce, should be read by every easy thick-and-thin believer in the doctrine that all the wrongs, especially the wrongs against international law, lie at the door of Germany.

Professor Hart's study of the Monroe Doctrine has preparedness for its moral.

If Charles H. Sherrill in his Modernizing the Monroe Doctrine also advocates a strong navy, his interest, based on diplomatic experience in South America and commercial *exportise*, is primarily enlisted for Pan-Americanism as "the most practical agent for international peace yet devised."

Arthur Bullard, perhaps better known as "Albert Edwards" has given us in The

Diplomacy of the Great War an interesting and well-written book which also finds its moral in a consideration of the problem of constructive internationalism as it confronts America. It is full of good ideas, such as an international conference on the difficult questions involved in naturalization laws, and the last twenty pages on National Defense and The United States and Peace should be widely read and considered. The United States must take its own medicine.

In view of the stress laid by Brailsford and others on the export of capital (as contrasted with export of goods) as a cause of war, special importance attaches to the doctoral thesis by C. K. Hobson in The Export of Capital.

In regard to the intensely interesting question of the war and Socialism—Socialism which its severest critics now appear to have relied on to prevent the war—Mr. Boudin's very general lectures, delivered in 1914 and published under the title Socialism and War, cannot give much material for concrete study. It is just this that is supplied by Mr. Walling's collection of documents, issued without comment—a valuable service. The scope of this volume is indicated by the title, The Socialists and the War. It was published a year ago and it is to be hoped that it will be followed by a continuation on the same lines.

Waxweiler's book, Belgium, Neutral and Loyal, is the Belgian case by a Belgian—sad enough in any telling. Italy's case is represented by a collection of parliamentary addresses delivered by the minister of foreign affairs, Senator Tittoni, during his six years of office from 1903 to 1909.

Dr. Krüger has produced what should be a very useful handbook of facts as to the government and politics of the German Empire, written with no relation to the present war. Contrast with this Veblen's characteristically brilliant study of Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution.

III

UKRAINE'S CLAIM TO FREEDOM
By Bjorkman, Pollock, and others. Ukrainian National Association and Ruthenian National Union, New York. 125 pp. Price 75 cents; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.81.

THE WAR AND THE BALKANS
By Noel and Charles Roden Buxton. Allen & Unwin, London. 112 pp. Price \$.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.62.

BOHEMIA UNDER HAPSBURG MISRULE
By Thomas Capek. Fleming H. Revell Co. 187 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.10.

NATIONALITY AND THE WAR
By Arnold J. Toynbee. Dent & Co. 511 pp. Price \$2.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$2.75.

THE BLACKEST PAGE OF MODERN HISTORY
By Herbert Adams Gibbons. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 71 pp. Price \$.75; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.79.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE COMING PEACE
By Felix Mlynarski. Polish Book Importing Co., New York. 172 pp. Price \$.75; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.81.

ANOTHER group of studies relates to special questions of nationality. Of these some are pleas for individual

national groups—the Armenians, the Bohemians, the Poles, the Ukrainians—and as such deserve the most patient and candid hearing, the most active sympathy—and also a study of the other side (or sides) of the often very complex circumstances. Consider, for instance, eastern Galicia where the claims of the Polish gentry conflict with those of the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) peasantry, besides the special problems presented by the Jews, to say nothing of the Roumanian minority.

Of these books the widest in scope is Arnold J. Toynbee's extraordinarily useful *Nationality and the War*. Whether his particular solutions prove the most practicable, or even the wisest theoretically, is beside the point. The attempt to work out, on the basis of the actual data and with reference, not alone to nationality but also to natural economic affiliations, to customs-boundaries and other elements of the situation, the rearrangement that one would make, if one could, of the map of Europe from Schleswig to Koweit—this attempt is one that must be made systematically and carefully not by one but by many minds and from many points of view. Such books as this, modest but daring to come to grips with the actual, help to make history.

IV

ARISTOCRACY AND JUSTICE

By Paul Elmer More. Houghton Mifflin Co. 243 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.35.

WAR AND THE BREED

By David Starr Jordan. The Beacon Press, Boston. 265 pp. Price \$1.35; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.42.

IS WAR DIMINISHING?

By Frederick A. Woods & Alexander Baltzley. Houghton Mifflin Co. 105 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.08.

SOCIAL PROGRESS AND THE DARWINIAN THEORY

By George Nasmyth. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 417 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.60.

GERMANY VS. CIVILIZATION

By William Roscoe Thayer. Houghton Mifflin Co. 238 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.08.

IN TIMES LIKE THESE

By Nellie L. McClung. D. Appleton & Co. 218 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.09.

ANOTHER group of books, hard to define, might be called interpretations of war. Paul Elmer More treats it as a philosopher with little patience for those who are stunned or surprised. In the last two essays of his *Aristocracy and Justice* he criticizes the "new morality" of Jane Addams and advises a middle way of justice between Nietzscheism and "absolute humanitarianism."

Dr. Jordan writes as a biologist in *War and the Breed* of the fateful effects of racial selection through war, killing out the chosen.

Dr. Woods (*Is War Diminishing?*) doubts this thesis, and sets himself as an "historiometer" to a quantitative study of the prevalence of war, with an extraordinary blindness to the unscientific character of his procedure. It is interesting, however, to note that, little as the

fact serves in itself as a basis of judging the future, the fact appears to be that the prevalence of war has been diminishing, and chiefly among the smaller powers.

Dr. Nasmyth in a more substantial volume, *Social Progress and the Darwinian Theory*, considers the whole problem of the role of force in human relations, mutual aid as a factor in social progress, and justice as a prime social need. The superficial appeal to Darwin as though he had taught that evolutionary progress rested on brute amoral struggle needs to be again and again exposed.

The character of Professor Thayer's volume is perhaps sufficiently indicated by its title, *Germany versus Civilization, Notes on the Atrocious War*.

Nellie McClung's *In Times Like These* is a series of essays by a Canadian feminist, with the normal woman's reaction against war.

V

THE A. B. C. OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

By Julius W. Muller. E. P. Dutton & Co. 215 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.08.

THE INVASION OF AMERICA

By Julius W. Muller. E. P. Dutton & Co. 352 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.37.

WEST POINT IN OUR NEXT WAR

By Maxwell Van Zandt Woodhull. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 266 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.35.

SELECTED ARTICLES ON NATIONAL DEFENSE

Compiled by Corinne Bacon. *Debaters' Handbook Series*. H. W. Wilson Co. 243 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.08.

MILITARISM, on the other hand, is represented by four books, two by a Mr. Muller (one of which is the counterpart in print of the *Battle Cry of Peace* movie show), one by an army officer, giving his views on *West Point in Our Next War* and including a chapter on the diplomacy of national defense and playing with the ill-omened phrases, "creation of a balance of power in the Pacific" and "a sphere of influence of the United States" to "cover as with a shield [to quote the publisher's note on the cover] the nations facing the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea." The fourth is a *Debaters' Handbook on National Defense*, giving selected material on both sides of the preparedness question.

VI

OUTLINE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

By Arnold Bennett Hall. La Salle Extension University, Chicago. 255 pp. Price \$1.75; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.87.

Professor Hall's *Outline of International Law* is a boon. In little over a hundred readable pages the main outlines are given, and it is surprising how far the phrases and legal points that have puzzled the layman in his newspaper reading are here made intelligible. No one interested in public affairs and not already posted on international law can afford not to read through this most convenient handbook.

VII

WOMEN AT THE HAGUE

By Jane Addams, Emily G. Balch and Alice Hamilton. The Macmillan Co. 171 pp. Price \$.75; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.80.

THE WORLD CRISIS AND ITS MEANING

By Felix Adler. D. Appleton & Co. 233 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.60.

THE MAZE OF THE NATIONS AND THE WAY OUT

By Galus Glenn Atkins. Fleming H. Revell Co. 128 pp. Price \$.75; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.81.

THE FUTURE OF WORLD PEACE

By Roger W. Babson. Babson's Statistical Organization, Boston. 142 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.10.

NEUTRAL CONFERENCE PUBLICATIONS

Appeal to Neutral Governments and Parliaments (Proposals) to Governments, Parliaments and Peoples of the Belligerent Nations (March 9). (Easter, 1916) Stockholm. Louis P. Lochner, secretary.

SELECTED ARTICLES ON WORLD PEACE

Debaters' Handbook Series. By Mary Katharine Reely. The H. W. Wilson Co. 256 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.07.

LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE

American Branch. By William Howard Taft. League to Enforce Peace, New York, 64 pp. Price \$.25; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.30.

THE WAR AND WHAT AFTER?

By Raymond Unwin. Garden City Press. 63 pp. Price \$.36; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.41.

CHRIST AND WAR

By William E. Wilson. Clarke & Co., London. 207 pp. Price \$.50; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.60.

THE GREAT NEWS

By Charles Ferguson. Mitchell Kennerley. 278 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.34.

THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE IN THE WORLD OF TOMORROW

By Franklin Henry Giddings. Fleming H. Revell Co. 48 pp. Price \$.35; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.39.

CALLED TO THE COLORS AND OTHER STORIES

By Caroline Atwater Mason and others. Christian Women's Peace Movement, West Medford, Mass. 199 pp. Price \$.75; by mail of THE SURVEY \$.82.

TOWARD A LASTING SETTLEMENT

By Charles Roden Buxton. The Macmillan Co. 216 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.07.

PROBLEMS OF READJUSTMENT AFTER THE WAR

By Albert Bushnell Hart. D. Appleton & Co. 186 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.09.

WHEN THE LADS COME HOME

By Harry Jeffs. Joseph Johnson, London. 80 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.05.

WAYS TO LASTING PEACE

By David Starr Jordan. The Bobbs Merrill Co. 255 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.07.

THE OVERTHROW OF THE WAR SYSTEM

By Jane Addams, Fannie Fern Andrews, Lucia Ames Mead, Rose Dabney Forbes, Denys P. Myers, Ruby G. Smith, Anna Garlin Spencer. Edited by Lucia Ames Mead. 137 pp. Forum Publications, Boston.

TOWARD INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT

By John A. Hobson. The Macmillan Company. 216 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.09.

SOLLEN WIR ANNEKTIREN

By Bund "Neues Vaterland" (New Fatherland League). Svensks Andelsforlaget, Stockholm. (Reprint.) 64 pp.

WENN ICH WILSON WARE

By Maximilian Harden. *Die Zukunft*, April 22, 1916.

THE most interesting and important books called forth by the war are the forward-looking ones, those that deal with constructive problems. The world is thinking as it never thought before of the questions involved in the relations between nations. Those with the most highly developed social consciousness were, before the war, mainly occupied with problems of social and economic betterment within the country, problems ranging from systematic Socialism to

charity case-work. Politics—foreign policy seemed something rather remote, rather arid. We had been reading history for the sake of the condition-of-the-people question, and found political and diplomatic history a little unreal. Then the storm broke.

In the revulsion, one of our dangers has been that energy and interest would be available only for war relief and war policies, and that we of America, the one great civilized power (besides China) free from the confusion of war, would fail to measure up to our trust of keeping the lamp burning, of forwarding art, scholarship, reform during the European interruption of the works of culture.

It is a case of "this ought ye to have done and not to have left the other undone." The old familiar work should not be neglected for the new, but where choice must be made the emergency call has the right of way. The whole task of constructive internationalism is indeed prior to the social task as we have known it; prior, not only because we are in the throes of a planetary emergency, but because, as we now more fully see, the economic and social conditions of each country are indissolubly bound up with the questions that determine the nature of international relations.

Not only is the whole world thinking of the international problem; the striking thing is how markedly these thoughts converge. This very fact may make it less interesting to read a large number of books dealing with the subject, but the fact is profoundly encouraging. From Holland, from Switzerland, from America, from England, from Belgium, from Germany and from France, come individual voices and concerted programs which have the same hall-mark. For this, the designation "European" is too local, even to call it that of "western civilization" is to limit it too narrowly. It is the voice of the humanity of our age.

The neutral conference now gathered at Stockholm is in some degree the channel for expression of this voice but its work is only just beginning. Dr. Jordan's little book, *Ways to Lasting Peace*, is a convenient compilation of the important proposals hitherto put forth.

Of these the most definite and the one that has secured the greatest momentum is the plan of a league to secure peace initiated by Hamilton Holt and now represented by the powerful League to Enforce Peace, the American branch of which is headed by ex-President Taft. While many pacifists must regret what seems to them an overemphasis on the use (or at least, the threat) of force, the very fact that an international police force represents a middle way is a large part of the undoubted strength of the scheme.

Social, moral and economic pressure brought to bear on any nation which re-

sorts to arms, instead of referring its case to arbitration and conciliation, was the solution offered by the women at The Hague and detailed suggestions for such economic pressure worked out by E. A. Filene may be found in Mrs. Meade's little volume, *The Overthrow of the War System* (pp. 120-2) and brief criticisms of it quoted in Jordan's *Ways to Lasting Peace* (pp. 53-4). Lowes Dickinson's discussion is also there [see pp. 89-90].

Among the most careful and technical studies for international organization after the war are that made for the Fabian Society by Mr. Woolf (published as supplements to the *New Statesman* of July 10 and 17, 1915) and John A. Hobson's *Toward International Government*. They are neither of them easy reading and neither of them has yet received in America anything like the attention it is bound ultimately to command. It is not utopian, it is imperative common sense to think as definitely and painstakingly as possible on this problem, and while we cannot all be architects we all are going to have to live in the new house and we ought to see how we like the rival plans and vote for the specifications that we want.

And while it is true that men cannot be made good (sc. friendly or international-minded) by act of Parliament (or Hague conventions) the complementary fact is that neither does good will alone suffice. The ignorant mother may kill her baby in sheer mistaken love. Five million saints could not govern New York and provide water, sewerage, fire protection and regulate traffic if they had no governmental machinery—not even a town meeting nor a set of rules of order. They would have first to construct an intelligently ordered mechanism for common action. And with such a mechanism, through which good will and enlightened selfishness would both act, the men of ill will and the men of unenlightened selfishness would be neutralized.

All signs point to the hope that the nations are on the threshold of far more effective organization than has been yet achieved. We have had the bloodshed and the moral horror of the war, let us see to it that this travail is not in vain—And his name shall be called Prince of Peace; and the government shall be upon his shoulder.

But these are questions of reconstruction after peace has come. The earlier question, pressing on every feeling, thinking spirit, is When—above all, how—will peace be made? It is, as has been said above, very striking how convergent are the thoughts of men approaching the problem from different points of view. Not, of course, of imperialists, militarists and all their sort, but of those who are trying to think in universal terms. Most striking are the thoughts on peace of members of belligerent coun-

tries, like Vernon Lee, for instance; and, above all, to Americans, because less expected, of Germans like the authors of the pamphlets of the Bund Neues Vaterland and others.

Conspicuous among these others is Maximilian Harden whose magazine *Die Zukunft* for April 22, 1916, contains an essay, *If I Were Wilson*, which honors the German name and reinvigorates our belief in the German capacity for high and impartial thinking. Militarism, he says, must go. World armament is dead. Annexation is no longer compatible with our time. Revenge, punishment, indemnities are out of the question if the revolution that will flame through Europe after the war is not to be a bloody one, if it is to be kept on the spiritual plane.

A truce is possible today, for nothing remains to be fought for that can possibly repay the fighting. But the truce must bring in a peace in which the rights of the weakest are recognized. Hate must be buried quickly and thoroughly.

An international organization should fund the united war debts of Europe and make them the basis of an international credit currency with which the rehabilitation of Europe would be financed and which would also give effective powers of control to the international administration.

It is a document as difficult to reproduce as it is interesting. It is to be hoped that it will soon be available in full for English readers.

VIII

THE HEALING OF NATIONS AND THE HIDDEN SOURCES OF THEIR STRIFE

By Edward Carpenter. Chas. Scribner's Sons. 266 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.07.

ABOVE THE BATTLE

By Romain Rolland. Open Court Publishing Co. 194 pp. Price \$1; by mail of THE SURVEY \$1.08.

IN CLOSING let me refer to Romain Rolland's *Au Dessus de la Mêlée*, so fine and so tragic, and to Edward Carpenter's *The Healing of the Nations*, tonic, comforting and reassuring. The last part of the book is made up of quotations and anecdotes ranging from Liebknecht's protest in the Reichstag to the story of three officers, a Frenchman, a Scotchman and a German, dying side by side after mutual good offices. The German gave the others an injection of morphia, then, "feeling wonderfully at ease, spoke of the lives we had lived before the war. We all spoke English, and we talked of the women we had left at home." "I wondered, and I suppose the others did, why we had fought at all. I looked at the Highlander who was falling to sleep exhausted. . . . Then I watched the German who had ceased to speak. He had taken a prayer-book from his knapsack, and was trying to read a service for soldiers wounded in battle." The letter was found beside the dead officer.

Carpenter's point of view is that the war is a breaking forth, in overt international strife, of evils long festering within. That is, he stresses its social—economic—moral causes, and he looks forward to radical social regeneration. Besides fine human feeling unclouded and unchilled by war miasmas, he shows an undaunted philosophy recognizing the relativity of the evils and sufferings even of this time. Without idealization of war or callousness to its evils he is not dismayed by it. It is, of course, to his fellow countrymen in war racked England that he is speaking, but his words may be helpful to others as well. He says:

"While these present war-producing conditions last we have to face them candidly and with as much good sense as we can command (which is for the most part only little)! We have to face them and make the best of them, though

by no means to encourage them. Perhaps after all even a war like the present one, monstrous as it is, does not denote so great a deviation of the old earth from its orbit as we are at first inclined to think. Under normal conditions the deaths on our planet (and many of them exceedingly lingering and painful) continue at the rate of rather more than one every second—say 90,000 a day. The worst battles cannot touch such wholesale slaughter as this.

"Life at its normal best is full of agonizings and endless toil and sufferings; what matters, what *it is really there for* is that we should learn to conduct it with dignity, courage, good will—to transmute its dross into gold. If war *has* to continue yet for a time there is still plenty of evidence to show that we can wrest—even from its horrors and insanities—some things that are 'worth while,' and among others the priceless jewel of human love and helpfulness."

study from other angles than that of the lot owner's profit, though even from this angle it has as yet been studied only superficially—the significance of the multiple dwelling. There were other papers of great value, such as that of Lawson Purdy, seconded by Robert H. Whitten and Frank B. Williams, on the districting of cities, which should leave convinced everyone in the audience except the New Yorkers—who were already convinced—and that of James Ford of Harvard on housing and disease, an old subject and a connection in which all housing workers believe, however difficult they may find it to prove. Professor Ford gave them new evidence.

But valuable as these and other contributions were, the beginning of thoughtful discussion of the multiple dwelling, be it a wooden three-decker, an expensive fireproof apartment house or a brick walled tenement house, is of greater significance. For it shows that we are at last awakening to a knowledge that sanitation is only a part of housing, that the type of dwelling has economic and social effects quite aside from whether it has dark rooms or inadequate toilet facilities.

There were differences of opinion, as those who believe the multiple dwelling a menace hoped there would be, to stimulate public opinion to the point of digging out the truth. Bernard J. Newman of Philadelphia painstakingly marshalled all the arguments pro and con, seconded by Prescott F. Hall of Brookline, Mass., but his adverse conclusion failed to carry conviction to James H. Hurley, president of the Providence Real Estate Exchange, who, however, confined his defense to the high priced and well planned apartment house; or to Edwin H. Marble of Worcester, birthplace of the three-decker, who presented figures showing fewer fires originating inside three-deckers than inside two-family houses. But this is only a beginning, and the importance of the event lies in the fact that it is a beginning.

The program of the conference covered a wide field, from such perennial subjects as housing and health, to which Professor Ford and Dr. Frank A. Craige of Philadelphia made real contributions, to the latest methods of securing economy in house building. Grosvenor Atterbury described in detail, illustrating his description with lantern slides, the method of building with concrete slabs that he has employed at Forest Hills Gardens.

Between these extremes there were discussions of garden suburbs, industrial housing, the city and housing, the essentials of good management, focusing community interest and educating the tenant.

Local interest in the conference had been stimulated by a housing survey of Providence made during the preceding five months by John Ihlder, Madge Headley and Udetta D. Brown. The printed reports of this survey were distributed among the delegates and a verbal report was made at one of the sessions, where it was discussed by Dr. Charles V. Chapin, superintendent of health of Providence; Paul N. Colwell.

Conferences

INFANT MORTALITY

THAT economic, educational and medical resources must be yet further drawn upon before the problem of infant mortality can be solved, was the thesis demonstrated by the American Association for Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality at its convention in Milwaukee, October 19-21. A new significance in old facts, a growing alertness to needs that have long awaited remedy, was characteristic of the meeting, rather than any sensational plans for new lines of work. For example, the federal method of protecting against the spread of poliomyelitis was described, but a whole session was given up to measles and whooping cough.

That at least 15,000 women in this country die each year from causes connected with childbirth, was stated by Dr. Grace L. Meigs, of the federal Children's Bureau. The death-rate from these causes has not changed during the past thirteen years.

It is in country districts that conditions are worst, Dr. Meigs said. There the struggle for existence too often means a foregoing of even necessities, to say nothing of conveniences and luxuries. The Children's Bureau will issue shortly a study of some such rural conditions made in Wisconsin and in North Carolina. Dr. Meigs urged a "county unit plan," with a county hospital and proper nursing and medical attendance.

More children die from measles and whooping cough annually than from

scarlet fever; many more than from infantile paralysis, said Dr. Borden S. Veeder of St. Louis. Each of these common diseases kills from 9,000 to 10,000 children annually, and the younger the child the greater the fatality. Hence the widespread idea that it is well for children to have these diseases while they are young "and to be done with it," is most erroneous.

How it has been possible to keep measles from spreading among the hundreds of children housed during every year at Ellis Island, was told by Dr. J. G. Wilson, one of the federal Public Health Service officers at the immigration station. By daily inspection and the prompt isolation of every child having any degree of fever, outbreaks of measles are being successfully prevented, even though new cases are brought in nearly every day. The plan could, Dr. Wilson believed, be easily adapted to a civil community.

Abby L. Marlatt, head of the home economics department of the University of Wisconsin, and Amy L. Daniels, of the same department, discussed some educational aspects of infant mortality. To supply every college woman with intelligent information upon the world problems of eugenics is the ideal which Professor Marlatt holds out.

HOUSING REFORM

THE National Housing Conference at Providence, October 9-11, brought up for discussion on a national stage a question which has had little

secretary of the Insurance Association of Providence, and Prescott O. Clarke, chairman of a committee appointed to draft a housing code in line with its recommendations.

HOURS FOR WOMEN

THE movement for interstate cooperation in the campaign for shorter hours for women wage-earners, initiated in New England in the spring [see THE SURVEY for June 3], is spreading to other parts of the country. The Women's Trade Union Leagues of the Middle West, backed by the central labor bodies of many cities, by branches of the National Consumers' League, women's clubs, suffrage organizations and the Women's Church Federation, held a conference in Chicago on October 6-8 at which the states of Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Ohio, Kentucky, and Wisconsin were represented by ninety delegates from fifty-one organizations.

It was clear from the talks that it will not be long before Congress is asked to pass a bill for the limitation to eight hours labor a day of all women engaged in the manufacture of goods transported from state to state, exactly on the lines of the new federal child labor law.

At the business sessions the principal speakers were trade union women, who, knowing from experience the value of organization, urged its spread as the indispensable means of ensuring the strict administration of any protective legislation. As to the bill to be endorsed by the conference for presentation in the various states in as nearly as practicable the same form, was an eight-hour law and a forty-eight-hour week, this to be considered the minimum demand of the women, both organized and unorganized. A few pled for the inclusion of the Saturday afternoon as well, but it was decided not to press that point, the all important question being the attainment of the shorter workday.

A dinner at Hull House and a public meeting on Sunday afternoon were addressed by Victor Olander, of the Illinois Federation of Labor, Mrs. Raymond Robins, national president of the Women's Trade Union League; Mary E. McDowell, vice-president of the Chicago league; Agnes Nestor, glove-worker; Julia O'Connor, telephone operator; Sarah Spraggon, shoe-worker, and Sarah Green, waitress, presidents of the leagues at Chicago, Boston, St. Louis, and Kansas City, Mo. Mrs. Green was one of a number of women sent by their central labor bodies.

Mary Anderson, the league's fraternal delegate to the Canada Trades and Labor Council, spoke of the increasing industrial pressure upon women and even little children, as a result of the war conditions in the dominion. Dr. Bayard Holmes touched on the medical side; Myra Richardson of the Ford

Motor Company at Detroit, gave striking evidence on the invigorating effect on girls of reducing work within the limit of an eight-hour day and a forty-five-hour week. Mrs. John R. Commons, of Madison, Wis., represented the Madison Consumers' League, and Mrs. Florence Kelley, secretary of the National Consumers' League made a moving appeal for humane and consistent legislation.

THE third regional conference on the eight-hour day for women, met in Wilmington, Del., October 17, in all day session. The following resolution, unanimously adopted, is the basis of the nationwide campaign for simultaneous legislation in the states and in Congress. It is identical with the resolution adopted in Chicago on October 7, by the regional conference reported above:

"Whereas, the Supreme Court of the United States has upheld as constitutional the California eight-hours law for women; and

"Whereas, the Congress of the United States has established the eight-hours day for women wage-earners of the District of Columbia; and

"Whereas, four states have passed eight-hours laws for women; and

"Whereas, forty legislatures will be in session and can pass similar laws in 1917; therefore

"Resolved, that it is the sense of this meeting that we urge the men and women here present to promote in their own states the passage at the earliest possible date of laws based upon the California statute creating the eight-hours day and forty-eight-hours working week for women; and

"Resolved, that we approve the introduction in Congress of a federal eight-hours bill for women founded on the principles embodied in the federal child labor law."

"So long as mothers work in factories, so long will babes go to their graves," said Dr. Robin of Wilmington, speaking for the physicians, in favor of reducing working hours for all women, and most urgently for mothers of young children.

"If we do not get shorter hours soon for the young girls, there will not be much left to save!" exclaimed a young textile worker from the Kensington region of Philadelphia, describing the ravaged nerves of the mill girls under the present ten-hours law of Pennsylvania.

Mary Van Kleeck, of the Russell Sage Foundation, described the effect of war contracts upon state laws, showing how women in Connecticut have been deprived of all protection against night-work and overtime, and proving from a new angle the need of a federal law.

Prof. Thomas I. Parkinson, of Columbia University, closed the conference with a powerful argument for the constitutionality of an eight-hours law for women, modeled upon the federal child labor law.

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A STATE PLAN FOR THE CARE OF THE FEEBLE-MINDED. By Joseph P. Byers, executive secretary, Committee on Provision for the Feeble-minded, Philadelphia. No. 61. Price 7 cents and postage.

THE RELATION OF THE WORKINGMAN TO THE ALCOHOLIC PROBLEM. By Rev. Charles Stelzle, New York. No. 62. Price 7 cents and postage.

ALCOHOLIC INSANITY IN A PROHIBITION STATE. By Phillip B. Newcomb, M.D., State Hospital, Osawotomie, Kansas. No. 63. Price 7 cents and postage.

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VENEREAL DISEASES IN THEIR RELATION TO PRIVATE AND PUBLIC HEALTH. By C. S. Woods, M.D., superintendent, Methodist Hospital, Indianapolis, Ind. No. 75. Price 7 cents and postage.

DISEASE, ILL-HEALTH AND SICKNESS AND THEIR BEARING UPON INSANITY. By S. E. Smith, M.D., medical superintendent, Eastern Indiana Hospital for the Insane, Richmond, Ind. No. 76. Price 7 cents and postage.

LONGER AND MORE EFFECTIVE LIVING. By Eugene L. Flisk, M.D., director of hygiene, Life Extension Institute, New York. No. 77. Price 7 cents and postage.

All of above published by the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago.

WHAT THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IS DOING IN THE SOCIAL FIELD. Joint Commission on Social Service of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Church Mission House, New York city.

CHARITY INSPECTOR AND SOCIAL INVESTIGATOR. Examination Instruction. By Solomon Hecht, assistant editor, Civil Service Chronicle, and Julius Hochfelder, LL.M. Price \$3. Civil Service Chronicle, 23 Duane street, New York city.

HEALTH CONSERVATION AT STEEL MILLS. By J. A. Watkins, passed assistant surgeon, United States Public Health Service. Technical paper, Bureau of Mines, No. 102. Price 5 cents a copy. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

BULLETIN OF THE VERMONT STATE BOARD OF HEALTH. September 1, 1916. Brattleboro, Vermont.

REORGANIZING A COUNTY SYSTEM OF RURAL SCHOOLS. Report of a study of the schools of San Mateo County, Cal. By J. Harold Williams. Bulletin No. 16, 1916. Department of Interior, Bureau of Education. Price 10 cents. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

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WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

OURSELVES AND EUROPE is the first of a series of brief articles by EDWARD T. DEVINE, which crystallize the impressions and strong convictions he brings back from abroad. Mr. Devine went to Russia in March under a special commission from the State Department to assist the American Embassy at Petrograd in connection with matters arising out of the disturbed political conditions in Europe. His mission took him as far east as Vladivostok, and a group of twelve young men are now at work, in association with the American consuls, in the relief of civilian prisoners in the different provinces. His articles have nothing whatever to do with that work, but with the general social aspects of war and settlement, for which his stay in Russia and visits to France and England afford a background. They are a challenge to American thought and action to make themselves felt abroad as well as at home, now as well as at the close of the war.

V. EVERIT MACY is a member of the National Council of Survey Associates. That hasn't stood in the way of our attempt to treat objectively in a staff article (*A Rich Man in The Poorhouse*, by WINTHROP D. LANE) the work of a man who has come to grips with a rejected and haphazard sphere of public service. Westchester county is one of those great outlying flanges of an urban center which, while not lacking in the social and economic needs of the city itself, are proverbially lacking in self-conscious community spirit. This week Mr. Macy is candidate for reelection on the Democratic, Republican and Progressive tickets. During the month, also, he was named to fill the presidency of the National Civic Federation, left vacant by the death of Seth Low; for he is one of the few men of large affairs whose interest in charitable work and the labor problem is equally keen.

"**R**OD AND SERPENT" stories are the author's designation of a group of whimsical papers, some of which have been appearing in the *Medical Pickwick*. The author is WALTER M. BRICKNER, M.D., F.A.C.S., editor-in-chief of the *American Journal of Surgery*, and associate surgeon of Mt. Sinai Hospital; who, in spite of this impressive array of professional distinctions, shows a very human approach to the problems of hospital administration, by helping us see them through the eyes of Ignatius Phelan, patient. This sketch is a mixture of the satire of reform (witness the interminable "laying on of hands" in the wards) and the ripe humor of a medical man (mark his description of anesthesia delirium). It was originally given before the alumni of Mt. Sinai; and we are hopeful that Dr. Brickner will have more like it to give to them—and to us.

ENGLISH army men and Porto Rican public officials, French school teachers and Chinese missionaries, are reading C. M. GOETHE's series on *Exporting the American Playground*. In *Nirman Singh* is described a full-fledged recreation center, just outside Calcutta, matching those of Chicago or Boston. It was set up and maintained by Mr. and Mrs. D. H. Lee of Calcutta and Mr. and Mrs. Goethe—a new type of "infant industry," if you will—in the literature of importing and exporting.

OCTOBER 21 and 22 were the days set aside by proclamation of the President for collections for relief to Armenians and Syrians. The time has been extended for a ten days' campaign. It is both the misery and ministrations in the lands to the east of the Mediterranean that are the subject of this installment (*Red Cross and Red Crescent*) of Mr. BICKNELL's series on the great phases of war relief.

EDWARD A. STEINER, like Jacob A. Riis, has made *The Trail of the Immigrant* stand out in the imagination of Americans with something of the distinction and human appeal of the old wagon roads to the west. Amid the confused outgivings, provoked by the war and its racial antagonisms, his new book—"Nationalizing America"—should strike a clarifying note. It is published this month, and *The Face of the Nation* is an advance chapter.

HEALTHY it is that engineers and psychologists, doctors and manufacturers and bricklayers are all taking a fresh interest in boys and the education of boys. And healthy it is that they disagree. In *The Mind of a Boy*, Dr. WOOLLEY takes issue with a fellow townsman, Dean Schneider, of the College of Engineering of the University of Cincinnati, and describes for the first time the results of the first psychological laboratory in a vocational bureau of a city department of education. Of this bureau, Dr. Woolley is director.

IMPORTANT BOOKS FOR SURVEY READERS

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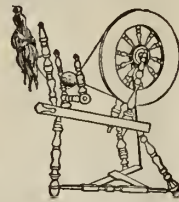
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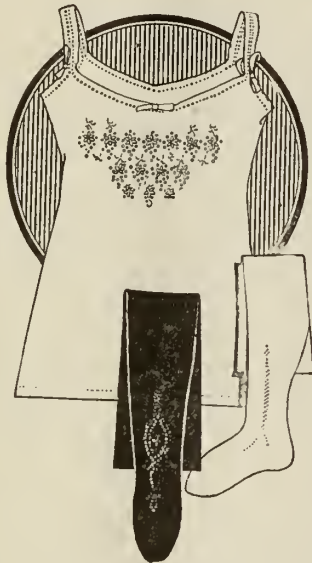
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THE SURVEY

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JUST as we go to press word comes of municipal grants for the fourth and the fifth playgrounds in Calcutta, made possible by the Young India Club, organized at the Ballighata playground, described in this issue. The club conducted a whirlwind campaign in true American style. This first appropriation from tax revenues marks the opening of the second phase in the development of playgrounds in India, and comes directly as a contribution of effort by young Hindu manhood. Page 111.

"PROPOSITION No. 1" and so on down to No. 19, in some states, plague the voter who is impatient to vote for Wilson or Hughes and have done with it. But many of the referendums are of prime social significance. Page 128.

COMMISSIONER STRONG'S report finds that the New York State Board of Charities "lacks vision; it lacks drive. It does not know its real job. It is not doing its real job." He proposes a thorough reorganization, but he would not change to the board-of-control system of some other states. And he rebukes sharply the side issues injected into the controversy by the Farrell and Moree pamphlets. Page 130.

LACKAWANNA STEEL wants to work its men seven days a week because other steel companies are doing it. A hearing on its application brought out sturdy testimony against seven-day work for war-time profits or for any other reason. Page 131.

WAR has not destroyed life alone in Europe, but much of injustice, class hatred and self-love along with the good. Edward T. Devine finds an exaltation of spirit in the trenches that is lacking among those safe at home, who hate their neighbors and pass by suffering. Page 99.

A VERY rich man resigned three years ago from thirty corporations all over the United States to take care of the very poor people in a single county. In his office as superintendent of the poor, V. Everit Macy's "extravagance" has not only saved the taxpayers thousands of dollars, but has changed the almshouse from a "charitable catch-all" to the center of social service in the county. Page 101.

FAMINE, plague and massacre, rather than enemy invasion, cause the problem of war relief in Turkey. Yet while Moslem Turk is persecuting Christian Armenian, Red Crescent and Red Cross are cooperating to send American aid to the Syrians in the empire. Bulgaria, too, must care for war sufferers. Page 118.

CERTAIN kinds of brains succeed in certain kinds of business. While mental tests don't pretend to single out the efficient baker and successful railroad president, they give a boy a clue to type of ability and a reason for his continuing some studies and discarding others. Page 122.

THE melting pot of America blends together the traditions and the standards of life and conduct of myriads of people. Out of it may come a civilization finer and richer than any of its elements, if we cherish the best and throw out the dross. Page 126.

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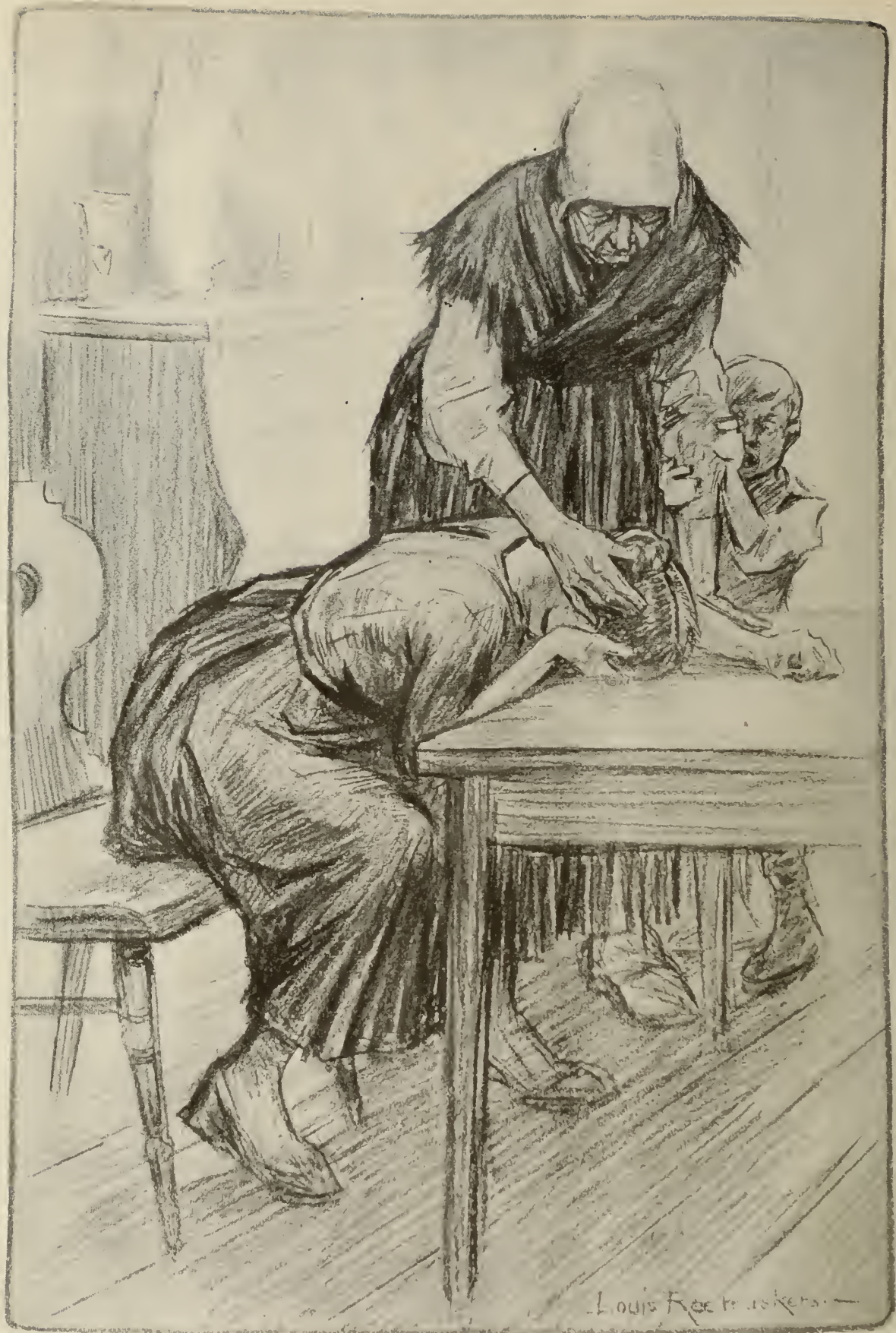
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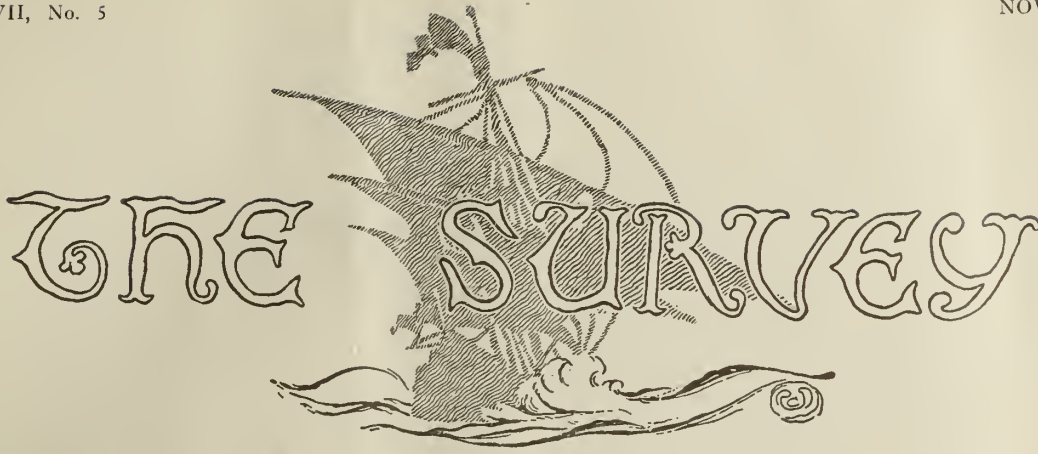
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ONE WHO CAN'T CONCEIVE THE BEAUTY OF WAR

By Louis Racmaekers

Reproduced from the Fourth
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Ourselves and Europe

I

By Edward T. Devine

IN Europe and its dependencies there is still but one subject of thought and speech. If from this one subject, the war, men turn their thoughts at moments to the time after the war, they are brought sternly back. Look after the war, a fighting statesman tells a public meeting in England, and after the war will look after itself. He is wrong, of course, but it is the popular mood. If, on the other hand, with a perceptible effort, men turn their minds to the time before the war, to the abiding interests of our common humanity, it is, whether they will or no, only to rewrite their history, reshape their politics, revise their judgments of men, recast their educational ideals and even re-examine their religious creeds and revalue what they have held dear and what they have rejected as trash, if by any such re-examining, recasting, revising and transvaluation, they can escape defeat and secure victory.

However it may be at the end, or may have been at the beginning, this war at its present stage is not like other wars. The nations are not "conducting a war." They are literally in a death struggle into which they must throw all their national resources. They are fighting for homes and children, for liberty and life. Never have great ideals enlisted such all consuming and unquestioning devotion, transformed so completely ordinary human beings into self-forgetful, willing instruments of the common will, the will to power, the will to remain alive and free—not in the individual life but in the organic life of the nation, of civilized society.

By an unhappy inspiration, a gifted and patriotic French author residing in Switzerland named his new book *Above the Mêlée*. No Frenchman writing while his countrymen are bleeding to death can easily be forgiven for feeling himself to be elsewhere than at the heart of the *mêlée*. Lord Cromer in a weekly review quotes a story of the failure of an English officer to settle a tribal feud in Arabia. In the midst of his appeal, one of the chieftains whispered in his ear that it was quite impossible that he could do otherwise than hate his enemy. "A dog is always a dog, though he wear a collar of gold," said an Arab at another time, and the reply was, "A slave remains a slave, though his turban's fringe be daily lengthened." What Lord Cromer does not point out is that,

as his Arabs reason and feel in their tribal feuds, so after two years of war Europeans, except perhaps Russians, reason and feel about their enemies. Three elderly respectable people in a first class railway carriage in England were discussing their neighbors. One of them told of a workingman in an exempt industry who refused to take advantage any longer of his exemption. "I have made up my mind," he said to his employer, "to go to the front and to kill seventeen Germans before the war ends." Asked why he did not say fifteen or twenty, he only repeated that he had thought it all over and had decided in his mind that seventeen would be just about right. The elderly respectable passengers in the first-class compartment relished and approved his decision, though his employer, who needed his services, did not. Nor have we any reason to condemn him above others. The favorite French explanation—*c'est la guerre*—covers his case as it does the reciprocal case of the similar resolution on the part of each of his seventeen Germans to kill seventeen or more Englishmen. There is much meaning in the French phrase. It is not war in the abstract, but this war, the war beyond all experience and imagination, the war to which we Americans must not become so accustomed that our feelings are dulled to its vast sufferings, its vast heroisms, and its vast consequences to every belligerent nation and to every neutral nation on earth.

THE war is a ghastly fact, Its shell-fire deaths and wounds, its prisoners and homeless refugees, its ambulances and hospitals, its submarines and submarine traps, its zeppelins and anti-air-craft guns, its broken treaties and food blockades, its depreciated currencies and dislocated industries, its harvests of shameful disease and horrible crippings and debts and taxes and widowhood and childless old age and orphanage, are already present actual experiences, not remote possibilities. They cannot be whistled down the wind. They cannot be concealed by war profits of bankers, shippers and munition makers, by high wages or war charities. They are the stubborn reality of more than two years of the twentieth century of our era. Christianity is abashed before the incredible, indisputable facts and will keep another advent season in the

spirit of Lent. Socialism and democracy are downcast, for there has been no salve in their medicine chests for the healing of the wounds of the nations, or if so socialists and democrats have ceased to care about them. Science is dumb while her secrets are rifled to make more devilish the arts of slaughter, scarcely having the heart to point to the healing and protective devices, magnificent in themselves, but insignificant in comparison with the destruction. Physical injuries are not the worst of the war, inconceivably terrible as they are. What Europe is losing of political and civil liberty, of the capacity for seeing things in due proportion, of the power of forming rational judgments of men and measures, no one has yet even tried to tell. Whipped-up hatred of enemies and hot-house affection for allies are deliberately encouraged as military assets. Reasonableness and good-will are for the time being postponed and in the long period of their disuse, children are growing into manhood and men are passing their prime. In this respect compensations, it is true, are not entirely absent. The war is something more than destruction and even in its destruction there is compensation. For a part of what has been destroyed was pernicious. Injustice and domestic class hatred and local tyranny have been partly destroyed along with the good. A fellowship has been created in every army, to safeguard which has been called Europe's first task of peace. A freedom from old prejudices and limitations has been secured, a new liberty of thought, an opportunity for which there was no room in the old days before the war—so long ago—more than two whole years; the crusts of tradition have been broken; the horizons widened; the souls of men shaken to their depths. The most frequent testimony of soldiers visiting at home is that, as never before in their lives, they have felt at the front a serious purpose in life. That the compulsion of war means freedom of the spirit may seem a paradox, but to those of Christian teaching it should not be strange. Acceptance of sacrifice is the escape into liberty. At the moment of offering their lives soldiers may feel themselves to have become the rulers of their destiny. Even those who do not serve in the armies may share this spiritual emancipation. Those who give a son to the common cause are full partakers in its communion. The bad old traditions broken for some are broken for all. The personal and class hatreds and prejudices and misunderstandings blown to pieces by the big guns no longer choke the fellowship whether in the trenches or at home.

THE supreme question remains—and it is a question of after the war—What will citizens and soldiers do with their new freedom? During the war they are believing in something. They may express it as a decision to kill seventeen of the enemy or more characteristically as a mere willingness to do one's bit. They may sing it as they march with the swinging Russian stride, after reverently receiving a blessing from the priest, of whom perhaps in his private character they may not at all approve. They believe this something in common with a conviction so sure that it is positively futile, perhaps even dangerous, to question it. Their views are so pronounced and so unanimous that lynch law and martial law are but alternative aspects of civil law, of the common will. Among them for the time being all the conventional distinctions of despotism, aristocracy and democracy are obliterated. In all lands the best available, who are not necessarily by any means supermen, govern despotically in a democratic spirit by common consent. It is a thrilling experience even as a guest to witness such national unity, such exalted patriotism, such a fellowship of spirit. It would succeed permanently only in hell or in heaven; and Europe in these days is strangely

compounded of the two empires. Of absolute virtue, purged of all selfish elements, there is abundant evidence. The fellowship of the armies, of the hospitals, of the prison camps, prophesies a new and better social order. Will it really come? Will such faith as the soldier now feels in his country and his cause one day inspire the peoples who toil at the tasks of peace and enjoy the fruits of their labor? Will the national unity and the mutual confidence which are now to be seen among allies survive the occasion of their origin and become genuine international respect, understanding and good-will?

It is not a question of one more Utopia. No dreamer or lonely prophet has seen this vision. What has happened is that out of the blackest, most infernal experience through which, as far as we know, the race has ever passed there has seemed to come literally to millions of men a redeeming conviction, a healing and transfiguring assurance, that brotherhood is not a delusion; that life has a meaning; that resolution and courage and discipline and simple faith in fellowmen and loyalty to ideals are now, as they have always been, within that meaning; that these things are, as they will be forever, within man's heritage, to be displayed in war until the better way is found.

It is not betrayal of a peace ideal to hope that this intensity of feeling and thought and action will come again when other motives, comparable with those of war, call forth the best that is in us. Men will be free hereafter to live larger and more beautiful lives than we knew before the war. How will they use that freedom?

Why may not Americans give immediate answer? The freedom which will come in Europe when the war clouds lift is ours now. We are near enough to understand if we have imagination and sympathy. The experience of the war, its human meaning, can be understood and absorbed. It is neither outside our interests nor beyond our comprehension. These men in the trenches are our brothers. They are of our generation, of our race, of our religion, of our fellowship. They cannot if they would deny us a share in their trials, their griefs, their triumphs. The war is not sheer anarchy. It is not all madness. It is tragedy and its end is not yet. The spirit of those whom the war dominates, of those who kill in the trenches, who fly in the air with bombs, who swim in the depths with torpedoes, is better than the spirit of those who, safe at home, hate their neighbors, or pass by suffering, or thank God that they are not like the Germans—or the Cossacks. From these evils of our generation, Europe is for the time being relatively free, though they are paying dearly for that freedom. We who hate war and who labor and hope, and it may be pray, for peace have to discover whether it is true, as we believe, that there are moral substitutes for war, whether by gentler means the good Lord will deliver us from the evils of selfishness, sordidness, slothfulness, pettiness of soul, sectarianism, sectionalism, provincialism, and above all from the conceit of ignorance.

WE ourselves, citizens of the great republic of the West, will have a nation's part to play in this ending of the war, in the reconstruction of shattered homes and industries, in the establishment of an honorable and just peace and the creation of a real if not at first a nominal world federation. We are greatly in danger of underestimating our part. It is not to be played exclusively by the government and the war-relief agencies. In the informed and crystallized public opinion of the neutral countries, finding sober and emphatic expression through responsible channels, lies the best hope of the world's restoration. That obligation is one of the present, not exclusively of the indefinite future.

A Rich Man in the Poorhouse

Behind That Another and Bigger Story—
What Any American County Can Do

By *Winthrop D. Lane*

OF THE SURVEY STAFF

THERE is a fashion in this country to belittle the work of rich men in public office. If the rich man has paid for part of his work out of his own pocket, the disparagement grows stronger. If he has taken on new duties, served new ends, done things for people that other men in like positions have not done, and if any of this has been at his own expense, his work is not regarded as significant. It may be curious and interesting, but it is not instructive. Such a man, it is said, has had advantages; he has had means and opportunities that are unique. No one need study his work; it is too exceptional. There is no object-lesson in it, nothing that other communities can follow, unless they, too, get rich men in public offices.

This criticism has been directed against the work of V. Everit Macy in Westchester county, New York. Three years ago Mr. Macy became Superintendent of the Poor. He overthrew the old conception of the function of that office. He created a new point of view toward problems of dependency and relief. He stretched his position to cover new activities; he strengthened and systematized the work that it had done before. He obtained appropriations undreamed of by his predecessors and has just succeeded in securing not only a new site and new buildings to cost \$2,000,000, but also the passage of an act that will go far to reduce misery and its consequences in that county.

For some of this work he raised money from private funds; for parts of it he paid himself. When families were being needlessly disintegrated and held apart because there were not enough children's visitors to go round, Mr. Macy employed more. When children were being brought up in institutions and paid for by the county, while scores of private homes stood ready to receive them, Mr. Macy employed agents to see that the transfer should be made. When a wealth of material that might throw light on the causes of pauperism was being neglected because there were no investigators and clerks to bring it together, Mr. Macy hired them. All of this he did, not because the county could not, but because it had not yet seen the necessity. The quickest way to show the necessity was to show effective results.

This does not mean that Mr. Macy has not made a valuable demonstration of the way to run an office of Superintendent of the Poor. Many of the experiments that he began have already been taken over by the county; more, unquestionably, will be. He has done the work, or parts of it, faster because of his private means. But he has educated the county as he went along. He has done nothing that the county cannot afford to do and few things, probably, that it will not eventually do. Therein lies his demonstration, not only for his own successors, but for other counties in other states that are willing to bring their own offices up to the same high level of efficiency and service. Not all counties can make such large appropriations as Westchester, but all counties can build in proportion to their needs. They need not employ rich men

to make their demonstrations, for the travail of experimenting has now been done for them.

Mr. Macy will again come before the voters for election



V. EVERIT MACY, SUPERINTENDENT OF THE POOR

on November 7; not this time as Superintendent of the Poor, for that office he has himself abolished, but as County Commissioner of Charities and Corrections, a new post that has grown out of his own work as superintendent. Unless the skies fall, he will be elected, for the Republican, Democratic and Progressive parties have united upon him as their candidate. This is the first time in twenty years, and is said to be the second time in the history of the county, that the two major parties have found themselves in such agreement.

Mr. Macy was already known for his philanthropic activities when he took office January 1, 1914. He had helped to found the New York Provident Loan Society and the National Employment Bureau. He had served as director or trustee of the University Settlement, Teachers' College, the American Association for Labor Legislation, the National Child Labor Committee, the George Junior Republic and other agencies. At the age of seventeen he was teaching wood carving to boys in New York city; from that time on his interest in social enterprises was fixed.

As a business man he has helped to direct the policies of banks, public service corporations and railroads. The basis of the family fortune was laid when Mr. Macy's ancestors discovered a market for whale oil in New England, and from that branched out into a general shipping and commission business. Three years ago Mr. Macy resigned from some thirty corporations, boards and committees, both philanthropic and business, to devote himself to the administration of the poor law in Westchester county.

Mr. Macy's First Campaign

IN THE CAMPAIGN of that year, 1913, he was the candidate of the Democrats and Progressives. Opposed to him was the machine that has always held Westchester county in its grip. The candidate of the machine was a man well identified with his party but possessing no special fitness for the position he was seeking. The fight between them was decent but intense. Mr. Macy was called a theorist; it was said that if elected he would be merely an absentee office-holder. His wealth was, of course, a drawback. What sympathy, it was asked, could a rich man have with the misery and problems of the poor? Moreover, he did not need the salary—always a handicap to a local political aspirant. His opponent, it was argued, had always befriended the party and deserved the job.

For his part, Mr. Macy promised to take the office out of politics and to give it a business-like administration. He said little about his real reason for accepting the nomination, which was the opportunity he hoped he would have to study the causes of dependency and to secure data for social legislation. He soon felt the nature and force of the elements he was fighting. Seventy-five per cent of the press of Westchester county is Republican; Mr. Macy could not buy space for an advertisement in a single Republican newspaper!

His arguments, however, apparently convinced the voters. When the returns were in, the normal Republican majority of 4,000 or 5,000 (the total vote cast was 55,000) had been converted into a victory for Mr. Macy of over 5,000. Two other candidates on the combined Democratic and Progressive ticket had won with him.

The election was the first step. Mr. Macy found himself holding office not only in the most backward unit of American government, the county, but in a county which in spite of recent awakenings had long been fond of being boss-ruled. Westchester is the northern gateway to New York city; thousands of commuters living in it pay no attention to local affairs. It has, on the other hand, a local population ranging all the

way from four teeming cities to nineteen towns and twenty-four villages. Though no part of it is more than fifty miles from New York city, nearly half its area is in farm land and 300 and 400 acre farms abound. The population is 325,000, over a fourth of which is of the first generation of immigrants. The county thus presents in large numbers all gradations of wealth, intelligence and civic interest. Local political power is left for the most part in the hands of machine-made bosses and, though better days are dawning, local offices are still too much run for profit and influence. It is the county in which Sing Sing reached its undisturbed height of graft.

When Mr. Macy became Superintendent of the Poor he found the office not one that the people had held in high esteem. His opponent in the late campaign had been a plumber by trade; his predecessor, who had held the job two terms, was a successful small-town butcher. No sooner had Mr. Macy been elected than upwards of a hundred applications for positions flowed in, each mentioning the names of sponsors who, the applicant seemed to think, would make further recommendation unnecessary. Mr. Macy answered these by asking about the applicants' qualifications. In most instances this closed the correspondence.

The plant that Mr. Macy found was archaic, disjointed, inadequate. The Westchester county almshouse is a descendant from the days when almshouses were the "charitable catch-alls" of the community. The present site has been used for one hundred years. The central building, in which all the inmates eat and where some of them still sleep, was erected eighty-five years ago; it belongs to the period when lunatics, epileptics, feeble-minded, sick people and even children were dumped into a common institution with paupers and sometimes with delinquents. The buildings are unsafe and insanitary. Several rooms still contained, when Mr. Macy arrived, the iron window bars formerly used for restraining the insane and other persons who proved unmanageable.

The prevailing conception of the superintendent's duties was very primitive. By law this officer is charged with the management of the almshouse, the county hospital and the poor farm; he had also been given two agents whose function it was to find family homes for children living at public expense in institutions. In practice these duties had devolved into the merest routine. If the superintendent kept the inmates well fed, made a show at cultivating the farm, and left the hospital to take care of itself, he was sure of approval. He bought supplies where and how he liked; if he changed dealers frequently enough he could keep them all satisfied. He had no budget and paid for his purchases by signing drafts on the county treasurer. Once a year the almshouse committee of the Board of Supervisors visited the institution and compared the amounts of these drafts with the bills themselves; this was the only check on the superintendent's honesty. If the superintendent was persuasive enough, he could induce the supervisors to pay many bills direct, so that the amounts of bills so paid never appeared on the books of his office. This he had habitually done. Mr. Macy found that his predecessor, for example, had estimated the per capita cost of caring for inmates during his last year of office at \$2.41 a week, whereas if he had included all the amounts paid by the supervisors themselves the per capita cost would have been \$3.47.

Graft and Inefficiency in the Almshouse

PETTY GRAFT was considerable. In the almshouse an inmate cobbler, who was given hide and nails with which to repair the inmates' shoes, used a fellow inmate to solicit trade from neighboring workmen and farm hands, and charged them for

his work. The man who hauled ice from the institution's ice house kept a local ice-cream parlor supplied the year round. Sugar and other articles from the almshouse kitchen found willing buyers on the outside.

Graft was less an evil than neglect and inefficiency, however.

The superintendent's staff consisted of the almshouse keeper and one clerk. Inmates were admitted without medical examination of any sort, though the hospital was less than two hundred feet from the administration office. The only evidence that an inmate had left was the little red card, given him on admission, which he was supposed to relinquish when he went away; no count or census was apparently ever taken.

Mr. Macy was not surprised, therefore, to find that thirty inmates were on the records of the institution, charged to their respective towns, who were not in the almshouse at all. Some

built above the furnace in a dust-filled basement. The place was a fire-trap for 180 inmates.

It will be seen that if Mr. Macy intended to make material changes in these things, he had to begin at the beginning. One of his first moves, of course, was to improve his staff. This he has slowly built up until now he has around him a group of competent, trained men and women, many of them college bred, who are as unlike the staff commonly found with a county poor-law officer as the faculty of a university is unlike that of a one-room country school. He systematized the keeping of records, so that accounts with towns are now accurate and complete. He required physical and medical examination of all incoming inmates and segregated those needing treatment. He startled the county as well as the inmates by requiring that all able-bodied men should work.

He weeded out mental defectives and either sent them to



BITS OF THE HUMAN DRIFTWOOD MR. MACY TURNED TO ACCOUNT

of these had died; one had been dead two years and was still being paid for by the town he had lived in. Thirty others, however, were in the institution and not upon the books. Bad methods seemed to carry their own corrective, but unfortunately not all of these mischarges were against the same towns, so that some communities were paying more than their share.

These are only a few of the archaicisms Mr. Macy found. The hospital furnished others. Its X-ray machine was too broken to be of use. It had only one room for confinement cases, so that occasionally mothers and their new-born infants had to be moved about. No record was kept of the effect of food upon inmates; scientific dietaries were, of course, unknown. Inmates cooked for the patients, and retarded rather than advanced their health. Gauze and sponges used in operations were sterilized by being boiled on the kitchen stove and then laid out to dry on the fire escape or on wooden racks

state custodial institutions or put them on the waiting lists. He started competitive bidding and modern business methods in the purchase and accounting of supplies, and though this entailed an annual expenditure of nearly \$1,000 more than before, in one year he had saved \$18,000 to show for it. He reduced the weekly per capita cost of keeping inmates from \$3.47 to \$3.13 the first year, to \$2.78 the next. He accompanied this reduced cost with an improved diet, scientifically arranged, which not only raised the health level of the inmates generally, but decreased the cases of acute Bright's disease by 50 per cent. He put a check, for the first time in the history of the institution, on all foods and supplies given out from the store-room, thereby ending petty thievery and graft. He improved the cultivation of the farm, not only raising \$10,000 worth of produce where \$3,000 worth had been raised before, but also stocking it, out of proceeds, with pigs, cattle and other live-stock.

He gave new purpose to the hospital. Heretofore this institution, inadequately staffed and poorly supervised, had taken care of obvious illness as best it could. Under Mr. Macy it has become not only as efficient as plant and funds allow, but it has drawn to itself functions that affect the whole life of the inmates. Periodic measurements and examinations of individuals afford a basis for adjusting the amounts and variety of food. Work is assigned only in accordance with the doctor's recommendation. For the first time qualified physicians and surgeons visit the institution regularly, charging no fees, and a dentist, oculist, orthopedist and other specialists call when needed. A paid bacteriologist is employed full time. So able has the hospital become to do its work effectively that indigent sick who are not inmates of the almshouse proper are now admitted, and it even cares for a few patients who pay small sums for the treatment they receive.

These reforms laid the groundwork; others have been more far-reaching in effect. When Mr. Macy entered office he found nearly two hundred authorities in the county committing or with power to commit children as public charges to

broke up too many families needlessly. At this point the local justice came in. If an appeal by a family to have its child committed failed before the poor-law authority, the family could usually go round the corner and find a justice who would sign a court commitment on the ground of "incorrigibility." Records found by Mr. Macy's assistants show children of six to have been committed as "ungovernable."

The overseer method of commitment was productive of still another evil. Usually this official is paid by the day, or on a commission basis. In either case, the signing of a commitment order was money in his pocket. If paid by the day, to sign such an order was easily made to constitute a day's work; if five orders were ready to be signed at once, they were quite likely to take their turns on five successive days. If paid on the commission basis, the overseer received so much for every order signed. Nor did his profits end there. Mileage was granted to him for accompanying the child to the institution; the amount nearly always exceeded his actual expenditure. Five children were therefore sure to mean five different trips, though they might all be going to the same place. This



THE ALMSHOUSE—

says Warner, "is the guarantee against starvation which the state offers to all." This one was a fire-trap, as well as the scene of some astounding reforms

private charitable institutions. The commissioners of charity in three cities had that power; all local (township) overseers of the poor had it; four justices of the peace in each of nineteen towns had it; and, finally, police justices and city judges had it.

Many abuses grew out of this scattering of authority. In the first place, it was to the interest of the local commissioner or overseer to commit children whenever he could find excuse. He is the person charged by law with the relief of poor people in their homes. Such relief is paid for from the funds of his department, whereas the county itself pays for children in institutions and the expense is then passed on to the towns in the form of taxes. By putting children into institutions, thereby relieving their families of the burden of supporting them and himself of supporting the families, he could keep down his own expenditures considerably. Hence, he welcomed the opportunity to make commitments.

This, of course, meant nothing more than the break-up of families for the sake of an official's vanity. Nor did the evil stop there. These officials were sometimes watched; private charitable agencies were likely to call them to account if they

beautiful scheme of things is not peculiar to Westchester. It exists throughout the state, and is still followed.

In these commitments of children the superintendent of the poor had no hand; they were made direct to the institutions by the local authorities. Since the county paid the bills, however, it was to its interest to see that the number of children in institutions was kept down. Mr. Macy found when he entered office that two agents were employed to do this. These agents visited the institutions, saw the children who were public charges, and tried to place them in private homes. They were under the authority of the superintendent himself. Their work, of course, though better than leaving the children in the institutions indefinitely, began at the wrong end of the process. Instead of trying to find homes for children before commitment or keeping them in their own homes, the county waited until they had been put into institutions and then virtuously tried to get them out again.

One of the agents visited Catholic institutions exclusively and had about 650 children to look out for. The other visited only Protestant homes and usually had about fifty children on her list. Each had the whole county for her area, so that

one of them, visiting an institution in one end of the county one day, was likely to be followed the next day by the other, visiting a different institution in the same locality. In this way they ate up both money and time in needless travel. Five agents are today traveling for what these two spent.

The first thing that Mr. Macy did was to employ three more agents. The separation of Catholic from Protestant institutions was discarded and the county was divided into four geographical districts. No agent had work outside a given area. A director, Ruth Taylor, formerly assistant superintendent of children's agencies of the State Charities Aid Association, was put in charge, and a stenographer employed to keep records. A next step was to secure cooperation of committing authorities to notify the superintendent before actually committing children to institutions. This was fairly successful. The superintendent's agents then investigated each case and were able in many instances to keep the child in its home, to place it with relatives, or to find another home for it. Two years ago a law was passed, at Mr. Macy's suggestion, providing that no justice of the peace in Westchester county could

were placed in free homes. One hundred and seven were recommended for acceptance as public charges, and the cases of sixteen were pending when the year closed.

Not only were unnecessary commitments prevented. During the year, 311 children ceased to be public charges and left the institutions in which they had been cared for. A few of these were transferred to state institutions, some were placed in foster homes, several of them died, three became self-supporting, and two ran away. By far the greater number, 239, were returned to their own relatives. In all of this the work of the agents played a considerable part. One boy, for example, would probably have stayed in an institution as long as he legally could if an agent had not found an aunt living in Connecticut who was willing to care for him. Two others, whose father had died and whose mother had married again were returned to her and her new husband, who were glad to receive them. The mother had simply not known how to secure their release.

Westchester county was unused to such conservation of child life. At first it could not see the purpose of so many



THE NEW ALMSHOUSE

Note the many corridors looking out on courts. This arrangement is said to secure most of the advantages of the cottage type of institution

commit a child without first notifying the office of the superintendent. The latter is then given five days to investigate the circumstances and report his findings, with recommendations, back to the justice. The use of the law has not been pressed, because the authorities, now that they are being watched, are either making fewer unnecessary commitments, or are notifying the superintendent of their own accord.

Last year, for example, the second of Mr. Macy's term, committing authorities referred no fewer than 435 children to the superintendent's agents for investigation before commitment. In ordinary course, under the old régime, most of these unfortunates would have been whisked off to an institution in short order; both they and the county would have been the losers thereby. But under the new procedure the agents were able to rescue three-fourths of the number from such a fate. In 130 cases the family need was met by an appeal to relatives or by other means that made commitment unnecessary. Eighty families were found to be in no real need. In seventy cases advice or direction was given that induced withdrawal of the application. Twelve children were sent directly to state institutions for defectives and twenty

individuals busying themselves in other people's affairs. Slowly the work began to tell. Imagine the county's surprise when Mr. Macy showed how much money his apparent "extravagance" had saved. For two years prior to his coming the number of dependent children had increased at the rate of 7.7 per cent. During the first year of his superintendency the increase was cut to 2.9 per cent and during the second year to 1.2. If the old rate had continued, seventy-two more dependent children would have been cared for in institutions at public expense than actually were cared for. The average cost per child of the care of committed children is \$237.60; the reduction, therefore, saved the county over \$17,000.

These figures interested the Board of Supervisors. Last year it took over the three agents whom Mr. Macy had hired with private funds. To-day it is paying the salaries of six agents and a stenographer for this work, instead of the two agents it was employing three years ago. Private funds are still doing a large share; one stenographer, one clerk, three agents, a director and assistant director are being supplied outside the budget. Fourteen persons in all are doing the work and a separate department has been organized, with Miss



MORE OF THE OLD

Ramshackle additions to the Westchester County Almshouse

Taylor at the head. Child Welfare, not the mere routine withdrawal of children from this institution and from that, has become the object of the work.

As a direct outgrowth of this work for children, Mr. Macy has taken a step that is revolutionary in public poor relief in New York. In that state, as in nearly a third of the other states, the county superintendent of the poor has no power to grant aid to families in their homes; all authority to do this, so far as public officials are concerned, is centered in the commissioners and overseers of the poor. When Mr. Macy entered office he found these officials, as already explained, breaking up families and sending children to institutions needlessly. He appeared before the Board of Supervisors and said:

"This arrangement is absurd. I can call upon you to pay for maintaining children everywhere but in their own homes. I can be a party to breaking up families but I can not keep them together. Will you grant me an appropriation to maintain poor families in their homes, if I am able to do so at no greater cost than it requires to support the children of those families in institutions?"

Revolutionizing Outdoor Relief

THE board listened, and appropriated \$6,000 for the purpose. A check, at Mr. Macy's suggestion, was placed upon this power by the provision that the local supervisor may, if he desires, object to the granting of this relief to a family in his town. As the matter has worked out in practice, if no objection is made within five days, an agent of the children's department takes the money to the family's home.

Mr. Macy has justified this action, on the legal side, by reference to a provision in the state poor law. Section thirteen of Article Two of that law gives to the board of supervisors of any county the power to "make such rules and regulations as it may deem proper in regard to the manner of furnishing temporary or outdoor relief to the poor in the several towns in said county." If this provision justifies the action taken, Mr. Macy may well claim the credit for discovering that fact. Certain it is that no county superintendent hitherto has made similar use of it, but has left outdoor relief wholly in the hands of the overseers.

The use of the new power did not end at this point. Two years ago New York passed a widow's pension law. Under the provisions of this act boards of child welfare were to be constituted in every county of the state to grant relief to widows with children. The children were to be kept in their own homes and only those widows were eligible who

had resided two years in the county, and whose husbands were residents of the state and citizens of the United States at the time of their death. The act was restricted, therefore, to a definite and relatively small group of persons.

Mr. Macy saw no reason for this duplication of his machinery. He was already granting pensions to families in their homes. Why should a special class of such cases be handled by a separate board, composed of seven members, which would have to establish its own machinery and do its own investigating?



THE NEW PENITENTIARY

Westchester county is putting this, a new almshouse and a general hospital under a single management

The board, however, had actually been appointed. Porter R. Lee, an expert in relief and member of the faculty of the New York School of Philanthropy, had been made chairman; Mr. Macy was *ex-officio* member. Mr. Lee, it turned out, shared Mr. Macy's views. From the first he had hoped to make use of the superintendent's office in carrying out the work of the board.

The amount asked by the board as necessary to provide relief for the widows who would probably require it in 1916 was \$25,000. When the board appeared before the finance committee of the Board of Supervisors to urge this appropriation, it was at once met with the question: "How does the work you are authorized to do differ, in principle, from the work Mr. Macy is doing with the \$6,000 already given to his office?"

Mr. Lee was obliged to answer that, in his opinion, the difference was slight. He pointed out that there was a theoretical advantage in having a board of unpaid, public-spirited citizens performing the function of relief agents in the community, but that this advantage was small when compared with the existing equipment of the superintendent of the poor's office for doing exactly the same work.

The members of the finance committee agreed with him and the money was not granted. Mr. Macy is, therefore, now performing the work intended by act of legislature to be performed by the Board of Child Welfare. No one has questioned his authority and no one seems likely to do so. The Board of Child Welfare has postponed its meetings from month to month, though it still exists as a legal and potentially active body. Its hands are tied, for under the law creating it the Board of Supervisors is not required to give it any money. In many other counties of the state boards of child welfare have received appropriations and are at work.

What the Pensions Have Meant

THIRTY-SIX WIDOWS who would have qualified for relief under the Board of Child Welfare act have been helped by Mr. Macy's office. These, with the mothers being aided from the earlier appropriation of \$6,000, make fifty-four families who were receiving pensions on September 30. The number of children under sixteen in these families is 209. It has cost \$1.46 per child per week to keep these families together. To maintain a child in a boarding home the county now pays, under a regulation of the Board of Supervisors, \$2.50 a week, though this amount is regarded as inadequate, while for institution care the cost is usually \$3. Here again, therefore, humanity and economy have gone hand in hand.

These are some of the ways in which Mr. Macy has used his present opportunities to serve the poor of Westchester county. He has not been content to rest here. Buildings archaic and inadequate, a farm too small, and a state poor law suited possibly to rural districts but unworkable for a county of thriving towns and many people, have not seemed to him efficient instruments of public service.

How Mr. Macy secured appropriations for a new site and new buildings for the almshouse, a general county hospital and a county penitentiary, in a county that three years ago regarded its poor-law administration as a matter of small concern, is one of the promising signs of a new day in local government. He did it largely, of course, by the demonstration of service that has already been described. Formerly when grand juries and investigating bodies visited the almshouse they were shown the institution's best side. Mr. Macy has shown them all sides and has preached valuable lessons on the responsibility of a county to provide suitable surroundings for its helpless and dependent wards. So effective have his lessons been that the only opposition to the purchase of the new site, which cost \$175,000, came from the supervisor in whose township the property lay, and who regretted to see it stricken from his tax list. When the Board of Supervisors agreed to continue the payment of the taxes, however, even this opposition ceased.

A million and three-quarter dollars has already been voted for the new buildings. The farm, comprising four hundred acres, lies close to the old site and actually adjoins it along a strip of two hundred feet. For the almshouse proper \$700,000 has been appropriated, \$300,000 for the hospital, \$500,000 for the penitentiary and workhouse, and \$250,000 for the central heating, lighting and other service plants. A half million more will be needed, Mr. Macy thinks, if the hospital is to perform its maximum service.

The penitentiary is a new institution in Westchester county. It was made necessary by the inability of New York city longer to board county prisoners in its own institutions. It will supplant the county jails as a place for confining convicted prisoners and so will end for Westchester one of the long-continued evils of county jails in this country. Prisoners will be paid wages, the amounts thereof not to exceed their actual earnings.

Criticism might reasonably be directed against congregating such diverse institutions as an almshouse, a general hospital and a penitentiary on one site. This is to be met by a novel device. Two railway lines run close to the new property. For each of the three institutions a different station will be used: for the almshouse, East View; for the hospital, Kensico; for the penitentiary, White Plains. Different entrances will also approach each building. In this way not only will persons coming to one institution be unlikely to encounter those coming to another, but the general public will not associate

the institutions with the same site. Meanwhile the advantages of congregation will be gained by the use of central heating, lighting and sewerage plants. The children's work, comprising a separate department, will be handled from offices in White Plains.

The New Law

WITH A NEW SITE and new buildings provided for, Mr. Macy turned his attention to the organization of new machinery to run them. The law embodying his ideas will take effect January 1; it is limited to Westchester county. Under it the office of Superintendent of the Poor passes out of existence; in place is created a county commissionership of charities and corrections. This officer, who for the next three years will be Mr. Macy, will have, in addition to all the powers now possessed by the Superintendent of the Poor, power to appoint the heads of six separate departments. The need for some of these has already been foreshadowed. They are a superintendent of the almshouse, a superintendent of the general county hospital, a superintendent of the county farm, a director of child welfare, a steward of county institutions, and a warden of the county penitentiary and workhouse.

The new law makes several changes in procedure. It centers the commitment of children in the hands of the commissioner; overseers of the poor and city commissioners may no longer commit except into his custody. The commissioner himself may commit as he sees fit, subject only to the general law of the state. This eliminates at a single stroke the whole range of evils growing out of the scattered power to commit already described. The law furthermore removes all question of illegality from the payment of pensions to families by giving the commissioner power "to make such arrangements for the care of needy children as may be authorized by the Board of Supervisors."

Under the operation of this law the hospital, which heretofore has been only an adjunct of the almshouse and limited for the most part to almshouse patients, will become a general county institution. It will have a capacity of 600 beds and will perform for Westchester county a function similar to that performed for New York city by Bellevue. Patients will be received as sick persons, not as paupers.

Mr. Macy's Study of Causes

WHEN MR. MACY accepted the nomination for Superintendent of the Poor one of the services he hoped to render was to study the causes of dependency. He lost no time in getting started. With the aid of his assistant superintendent, Herbert A. Brown, he has begun inquiries in several directions. One of these deals with all inmates admitted to the almshouse in 1914; when completed this study will include nearly six hundred persons. Two investigators, employed with private funds, have spent two years gathering all available information concerning the habits, work, associations and family connections of these subjects, together with all other matters that might throw light on their ability to be self-supporting. The heredity of one hundred and sixty families has been charted. While the inquiry has not yet reached a final or publishable stage, it is interesting even now as indicating what the office of county superintendent of the poor can be made to do in the way of contributing to an intensive study of social and individual distress.

One conclusion already drawn by Mr. Brown concerns the importance of drink as a cause of pauperism. "It is a conservative estimate," says Edward T. Devine in his *Principles of Relief*, "that one-fourth of all the cases of destitution with

which private relief agencies have to deal are fairly attributable to intemperance." Mr. Brown interprets his own study to mean that among the more sodden and hopeless classes found in a county almshouse this percentage is at least above sixty. As a result of his inquiry a bill has been drafted that will, if enacted, provide in Westchester county a method for the treatment of inebriety similar to the one already in operation in New York city. Courts will be given power to commit inebriates to the custody of the county commissioner and a board of inebriety will advise in the care of these inebriates.

In addition to this study of almshouse inmates Mr. Macy has begun studies of the families of dependent children and those receiving pensions. Prof. Edward L. Thorndike, professor of educational psychology at Teachers' College, New York City, has applied mental tests to great numbers of these children and has already published some of his results in the *Archives of Psychology*.¹

The Heart of Mr. Macy's Conception

I HAVE THUS tried to suggest the more important ways in which Mr. Macy has altered poor law administration in one county. What he has done others may do. By paying an adequate salary any county with large problems and moderate means can attract a trained man to its chief poor law office. Such a man need not be personally rich to accomplish wonders. The heart of Mr. Macy's conception of his office is that it should be the center of social service development in the county at large. Occupying a pivotal relationship to other offices, exercising or coming into con-

tact with nearly every function of public and private charity, and possessing innumerable sources of information, an office of this sort can, he believes, take the lead in social welfare.

Who, for example, is so privileged as the superintendent of the poor to look into hundreds of homes where children are poorly supported, ill-treated and given every encouragement to lives of crime? Who, then, should be in a better position than he to arouse a demand for juvenile courts, where special attention can be paid to the causes of youthful waywardness? A superintendent also comes into daily touch, as head of the almshouse, with men and women whose chief misery is that they have lost the capacity to work. Why should not he take the lead, then, in establishing public employment bureaus, both for such of his own charges as are able-bodied and willing, and also for the county as a whole? Through his acquaintance with the sick and those disabled by disease the superintendent knows, too, the shortcomings of individual and social hygiene. Why should he not lay this experience, also, before the county and so contribute to the establishment of public health bureaus and the development of improved sanitary measures?

These are, indeed, some of the steps that Mr. Macy hopes yet to take. He has already brought about a new era in the administration of poor relief. Why, he asks, should he not be permitted to accomplish a similar service in the raising of social service standards and the development and unification of social service agencies?

By returning him to office November 7, that is what the people of Westchester county will give him an opportunity to do.



HOSPITAL STAFF AND NURSES UNDER MR. MACY'S RÉGIME

¹ See *Archives of Psychology*, No. 33, Sept. 1915.

WELL, here Oi am at the horshpittle, Finnegan, wid an iccavation in me shtomach sproutin' iodoform gauze loike a yellow chrysanthe-mum, and a chist protictor, that they call an abdominal boinder, decorated wid diaper pins and floatin' around in me arrmpits. Wan av the young docs has just tucked a frish loinin' into me an Oi've nathin' to do till tomorrow. "Pretty saft an' aisy," I can hear ye sayin'. Whisht till ye hear the whoul shtory.

Whin Oi got to the horshpittle, Finnegan, they took me into a rayciption ward, where Oi hild a rayciption wid a big bruiser who put me into bed and rran aff wid all me clothes an' thin come back an' nearly tuk the hoide aff o' me wid a shcrub brush an' sapolio. Afther he shcrubbed me roight leg he says, "Now put out yer ither leg;" but Oi fooled him be givin' him the roight leg agin, thus praysarvin' the lift wan in a natural condition.

In a few minutes in comes a young feller in a whoite suit—

IGNATIUS PHELAN AT THE HOSPITAL

A "ROD AND SERPENT" STORY

By Walter M. Brickner, M. D.

the chef come to take me orrder for dinner, thinks Oi, "Phwat do yez complain of?" says he. "Oi complain," Oi says, "mostly av that big spalpeen that shtole me clothes and terbacker an' thin shcraped me carcass wid the rough soide of a currycomb," Oi says. "No," says the young whitewing,

"Oi mane, phwy did ye come to the horshpittle?" "Me boss sent me here," Oi says, "Oi'm his butler," Oi says, "Oi used to be his coachman till he—" "Nivver moind about all that," says flippy whitewing, "tell me, phwat's the matter wid ye?" "Oi came here to foind out," Oi says. "Whin do ye think Oi'll see a docthor?" Oi could see that riled him, Finnegan. Thin he came back at me wid "Have ye anny pain?" Think av it, Finnegan, me up foive morrtal noights wid the shcramps an' this young ballyhoo askin' me did Oi have anny pain! "No, young man," Oi says, "Oi haven't anny pain, at all, at all, an' Oi never fild better in me loife. Oi just dhrapped in to look the place over and wroite it up in the *Ladies' Home Jarnal*."

An thin blisht if he didn't sit down an' ask me a thousand quistions about me anchisters an' me family. "Did me faather doie in infancy or in Oireland? How many childer had me mither, an' how many would she have had—undher other carcumstances?" Oi thought he wouldn't bother much about me whin he got so intrhisted in me family. But no such luck! "How arre ye bowels?" he says, quite suddint-loike. "Pretty well, Oi thank ye, an' send ye their koind raygaards." "Do ye dhrink?" he says. "Thank ye virry koindly, Oi'll have a little Shcotch." Afther some more irrilivant quistions he pulls a tillyphone out av his pocket an' begins to thry me on arithmetic. "Count wan, two, three," he says. Thin he begins foive-finger ixercoises and punchin'-bag practice on me shtomach. "Hould on there," Oi yells, "hould on. If Oi can't jine yer sacyety widout bein' inishiated that way, Oi'll widdraw me application fer mimbbership." An' thin he walks aff widout a wurrd av axplanation lavin' me sore an' dishgusted an' considerable in doubt whither Oi'd been blackballed or axcepted be the rayception committee.

The next minute Oi was dumped onto a whoite wheelbarrow-loike an' caarted upsstairs to a big ward wid twenty-foive ither min, mosht av thim furriners. Oi was just settlin' down in bed to injye a good cramp whin in walks a chisty young feller, also in a whoite suit. Oi'm sure Oi've seen him dhrivin' a Tip-Top bread wagon. They call him the "house," but be the airrs av him ye'd think he was a house an' lot. He walked roight up to me. "Phwat's ailin' ye?" he says, an' thin, before Oi had a chance to answer him, he began pummelin' me in the shtomach. Prisintly a flock av young fellers dayscinded upon me. The "house" musht have whispered to thim, "Come on in, the wather's foine," fer aich wan av thim took aim at me shtomach. Wan av thim punched me so long Oi thought he'd nivver get through. "Which soide hurrts whin Oi shquaze?" he says. "The insoide," Oi says, "an' furthermore, young man, Oi have a prissin' engagement wid J. Pierpont Rockefeller fer foive o'clock; an' if ye'll quit fer a whoile Oi'll be willin' to cartify to the prisident av the club that yer inishiasun has been ontoirely satisfacthry—or Oi'll give ye a rain-chick an' ye can come back agin to-morrow."

There was ounly wan more cirrimony that day, Finnegan; wan av the young fellers shtuck me in the finger till the blood rran. Oi guiss they didn't think he'd done it roight, for he comes back in an hour an' tuk some more blood from me ilbow-jint.

THE nixt marnin' the "house" comes waltzin' in wid a doctor an' throts him up to me bed. "Here's a new mumber," he says, or worrds to that effect; an' he rades him me pedigree. Wid that doc makes shtraight fer me shtomach wid both fists. Lookin' up from me wid a plased shmoile, "Do yez ramimber the lasht case loike this?" he says. "Sure," says the "house," "'twas a virry interesthin' ortopsy." An' wid that cheerin' raymark they wint on to the nixt bed, widout givin' me a wurrd av axplanation.

From that minute, Finnegan, Oi losht me name an' me individjality. Oi became a mere daysease betune bed-sheets, wid whoite an' blue paapers, loike Seidlitz powders, at the fut av me bed, on which the nurses an' docthors made raymarks about me—some av thim thru.

In half an hour the "house" comes back agin wid the head docthor an' rades him me conthtract an' spifications all over agin. Doc had an absent-moinded ixpression an' Oi could see he didn't think Oi was iligible. He didn't even same intrhisted in me complaints. He jist wint through the rigular

cirrimony wid me shtomach an' thin he says, "Sind wurrd to the midical man." "Sind wurrd to the midical man," says the "house" to the head chambermaid, who shcribbled it down in her marketin' book. An' aff they walks.

Well, in about foive days the midical man rayceived the litter an' comes up to wilcome me, bringin' his ounw sicrity, who also tuk a fale av me poor "abdomen," as they calls it. An' thin he wroites down the imprissions av the doc. "Afther a careful inishiasun we baylieve that the case is one av neoplasm av the protoplasm; on the ither hand, it may be ounly a spasm av the digistion, or a neurosis av the metabolic injuced be daygination av the corpuscles." That was a foine docthor, Finnegan; he didn't nade to rade about me grandmother an' the rist av the family, an' he had two koinds av tillyphone.

BUT don't think that the foive days Oi was waitin' fer him Oi was bein' supported in oidleness an' aise. Ivry day they gave me some new thrick to tist me thorough acciptibility. They didn't bother wid me complaints; indade, Oi'd almost forgotten thim meself in the new an' amusin' stunts they put me through. The siccond avenin' they gave me a dose av castor oil. 'Twas a loively toime Oi had thot noight, Finnegan; but the noight nurse wanted to give me a good character, Finnegan, for she wrote on me application "shlept well." Maybe she did; Oi didn't see much av her.

In the marnin' they took me to be photographed in a room fixed up fer wireless telegraphy. I hadn't had anny brikfist, but they poured a quart of milk into me interior in a way that Oi nivver would have thought av. Six pictures they took, Finnegan, wid a large green loight, an' me in various poses. Oi thought they'd give me proofs to saylict the wan Oi loiked bist, but all Oi saw were six panes av glass showin' a suspicion av me backbone supportin' a quart av milk in sival stages of currdlin'.

The same day they looked in me oies wid electric loights, pumped the blood prissure out av me arrms, hammered me knees, and wrote down the impartent observation that me roight foot was much paler than me lift. That was the noight an' the marnin' av the third day, as it says in the Bible.

The nixt marnin' Oi was given an elabrate brikfist av tea an' toast. It tashted good, but there was somethin' wrong wid it, Finnegan, fer in half an hour wan av the young docs rushes in an' pumps it all out av me shtomach wid a piece av gaarden hose. Thank the saints he saved me from death be poisonin'. But wuddent ye think, Finnegan, they'd be more careful-loike about the food? I was jist gittin' over that excitement an' quietin' down a little, whin along comes the whoite wheelbarrow agin, an' they caarts me away to be sisterschooped. Finnegan, me lad, *there's* somethin' in shtore fer ye!

Whin Oi got back to me bed a doc was writin' in me biography. "Phwat is it now?" Oi asked him. "'Tis yer blood rayport. 'Tis four plus," he says. "Will, thank the saints fer those pluses!" says Oi, fer up till thin ivrything on me shcoreboard seemed to be goin' agin me. Things were comin' thick an' fast thin, Finnegan, fer thot very afternoon, d'ye moind, Oi was sint to anither room, where two docs were shtrugglin' haard wid a yellow-colored dhrink which they were shakin' up an' down loike a cocktail. 'Twas a cross, Finnegan, betune a crame de mint an' an orangeade, an' to me ounw way av thinkin' 'twas haardly worth all they were sayin'. Oi cuddent fer the loife av me see phwat Oi had to do wid it at all till Oi was tould to roll up me shleeve an' loie down on the table forninst the bar. An' thin, Finnegan, wad ye belave it, they poured that shtuff into a decanter hangin'

on a pole and dhripped the whoul business into the shkin av me arm. 'Twas a sayvare tist they thought up fer me thot toime, Finnegan, runnin' orange-juice into a man from Killarney; but Oi shtood me ground bravely, fer Oi didn't want to be blackballed afther Oi'd gone through all the other shtunts.

ON the sixth day another throop av docthors marched into the ward in open formation. They were the nerrve docthors, Finnegan, an' they had it wid them all roight. Does it hurrt to shtick a pin in yer shkin, Finnegan? Sure it does. You know it does, an' Oi know it does an' Oi thought ivrybody knew it does. But these here ignoranamuses seemed to be in doubt about it an' daycoided to thry it on someone; but phwy did they pick on me Oi don't know? Afther they had shcratched me wid the pin, an' tickled the soles av me feet, aich wan av them made the custhomary salute on me shtomach. Thot was noineteen toimes thot cirimony had been performed, Finnegan; but Oi didn't moind it anny more. In fact, Finnegan, ivry toime a docthor intered the ward me shtomach just rose up to rayceive him!

The nixt day me wake was up, an' Oi knew the house committee was gittin' ready to rayport on me. The prosecution had finished, there was no dayfinse, an' the jury had raytoired to considher the daygree av me guilt. Sure enough I overheard the orrder "Praypare Bed 6 fer operation." There was no "Wouldn't ye loike to thry a little operation, Mr. Phelan?" or "Have ye seen the cuttin' room yet?" Nathin'! But then, Finnegan, in these days av warr 'tis not fer anny man to saylict the toime or the manner in which he is to doie. Annyhow, thot noight Oi had me second sound shlape wid castor oil. In the marnin' they put me in a whoite flannel shirt, which is worn be ivry patient on the day av his ixecution. Thin the man nurse wint at me shtomach wid phwat Oi praysume was the narrow soide av a razor. Whin enough blood had been dhrawn, Oi was toid up in cheese-cloth. Thin the man nurse brought in a rubber bag wid a hose poipe, me brikfist av soapsuds.

THIN Oi waited an' Oi waited. All marnin' Oi waited. All afthernoone Oi waited fer the orrder to get into action. Oi saw thim bring the wounded to the rear, wan by wan, an' shtill Oi was kipt back wid the raysarves. Finally, wurrd came from the front: "Bed 6, advance in single column." So up we wint, me an' me biography, in charge av an orderly, me shpirits risin' wid the illivator which was managed be a gallant young lieutenant in blue uniform. On the top flure me command was changed an' Oi rayported in a sicind loine trinch where they kape the cans of poisonous gases. Here again Oi waited an' Oi waited. "The inimy must be in force," Oi thought, fer blood-shtained skirmishers were runnin' back an' forth in gra-ate confusion. "Oi hope Oi'm the nixt," says Oi to meself; an' thin, as I see somewan ilse wheeled out, "No, thank Hivvin, Oi'm not the nixt." Finally wan av the docs in field uniform, wid a gas mask ouver his face, busts into me trinch. "Shtaart this dope," he yells. 'Twas a foine thing to call me! They pinned me arrms up in me shirt an' tied up me head. An' thin Oi saw agin me

young frind av the raycaption ward committee. He hild a big black futball loike over me head. "Count wan, two, three," he says. "No, you don't," says Oi. "Oi passed yer arithmetic examination a wake ago." "Well, take a dape brith," he says, an' he jams the futball down over me mouth. I tuk a dape brith. "'Tis no good at all," says Oi, "Oi can fale ivrything." "Take anither brith." "'Tis no good, Oi'm tellin' yez." Thin Oi hearrd a loud "pf-s-s-s-s." "The domned thing's exshploded, take it aff o' me, take it aff, take it a-f-f." Oi thried to axshplain to him, but me lips were gettin' thick an' somehow or other me mouth was full av cotton. Me ears got shtuffy an' I heard the docthors talkin' further an' further off. Samwan three moiles away comes into the room an' says: "Is he undher yet?" Oi thried to answer him only the futball was fair chokin' me. "Oi'm undher nothin', ixcipt the shtrong imprission that ye're turrnin' me head round an' round an' round, an' me neck is thwistin' up so Oi can't brathe at all. Shtop it," Oi cried, "shtop me head turnin' an' turnin' an' shwellin', hould it, Oi tell yez or 'twill twist aff me neck ontoirely." An' thin, sure enough, aff wint me head, rollin' out av the room an' down the hall. Wid a tirrible iffort up Oi jumps afther it an' down the corridor Oi rran in me little shirt, chasin' me ouwn head moile afther moile, till Oi comes to the ilivator shaft, an' down we go, me an' me head, fallin', fallin', fallin', firrst fasht, an' thin shlow, an' thin fasht agin, till Oi landed at the bottom wid a tirrible thump. "Shtop it, shtop it, me head, me head!" an' the nurse said: "Loie down in bed; ye're makin' too much nise." An' wid that she ups an' gives me a sharp jab in the arm. Thin Oi fell ashlape. Oi dramed that Mayor Mitchel an' the Boarrd av Aldermin were in me shtomach, raymovin' the firrst shovelful fer a new subway. 'Twas a tirrible noightmare!

Phwat happened the nixt few days Oi don't know at all, Finnegan. Oi losht all thrack av toime ontoirely. About the fourth day Oi was falin' pretty good again till in comes the head docthor an' suddinly shows a gra-ate intherest in the bundle av cloth around me belly. Oi had thought a grate dale av that docthor, Finnegan, ontill he separated me from the shtickin' plaster that held me toghether. But that was nathin' to phwat was comin'. The horshpittle, Finnegan, has a large supply av linen, undhershtand, an' Oi guess there was some complaint that mosht av this had been shtuck insoide av me. Three sheets, a dozen towels, foive yaards av unbleached muslin an' six feet av gaarden hose he pulled out, Finnegan. Oi'll shware to it! An' me all the toime schramin' an' yellin' loike the banshee was afther me. Oi'm fond av praties, Finnegan, an' corned bafe an' cabbage; but niver did Oi think me shtomach would git so attached to a bunch of rags.

WILL, Oi'm out av bed now, Finnegan, an' goin' home soon, glory be. An' whin Oi git home, Finnegan, me frind, there's a favor Oi want to ask av ye. Oi want ye to fale all over me shtomach, Finnegan, an' tell me is it a golden egg or the grate ruby Oi've got in there. An' moind ye, Finnegan, Oi want to be put on the intertainment committee av the butlers' union. Oi have some grate oideas in me moind fer some new forrms av initiashun.



NIRMAN SINGH



The Story of a Little Lizard Eater, Who
Stands for the Childhood Needs of the
Un-numbered Children of British India

By C. M. Goethe



A "TODDY" GATHERER

Exporting the American Playground

WHERE QUEEN AND POPE
FAILED

The playground experiment in the Philippines which holds out hope for Spanish America generally.

THE SURVEY, June 3.

NEW WINE: OLD BOTTLES
Can the old rest-houses of Burmah be transformed into recreation centers for the Jungle?

THE SURVEY, July 1.

CHILDREN OF LONELINESS
How life among the "saeters" of Norway might be revolutionized by the American recreation system.

THE SURVEY, Sept. 2.

DOLORES, VENDOR OF
SNAILS

If Trafalgar and Waterloo were really won on the fields of Eton and Rugby, we can as reasonably assert that Buenos Ayres and Lima, Manila and Santiago were lost at the bull-ring, at the cock-pit, and at the dulce-wheels.

THE SURVEY, October 7.

NIRMAN SINGH'S caste lived on such pickings as lizards. Lizards are not particularly inviting food, but Nirman Singh's was a low caste. His touch was defilement, his shadow—pollution. Nirman Singh was a Sudra, and therefore unclean—not the uncleanliness of the leper, but worse. It was the paralyzing uncleanliness of low birth.

Nirman Singh had never heard about its being self-evident that all men were created equal. He knew nothing about enjoying life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Nirman Singh did know that his father tanned the hides of dead monkeys for temple drumheads. He did know that, even as a baby, he was avoided by other children. He sometimes wondered, as he grew a little older, why he might not drink from the village well, why they said he was pollution. The sacred bull, painted pink and purple, with a garland of yellow roses of India around its neck, might drink there, might even munch lettuce at the bazaara woman's stand. More than that, she would give him rice from her coconut-shell, so happy was she at a visit from the holy one, she who had black looks if Nirman Singh's shadow but fell across her greens. This day Nirman Singh was hungry, very hungry. A raw lizard would have been a feast. Five days, ten days, his father and mother had camped under that neem tree. It was hot, terribly hot—hot, as only India knows the heat. The rain had not come for a long time; the roads were very dry, very dusty, and the sandstorm, racing down upon them, increased their misery.

A punkah coolie had stopped across the road to rest in the shade of another neem tree. He had pulled the punkah rope all night long that the white man might sleep. To another pausing wayfarer, the punkah coolies complained from beneath his turban that even long after midnight it was hot and dry. Yet all the misery of heat, sandstorm, famine made no fellowship between the punkah coolie and Nirman Singh's father. His father was unclean; one to be avoided. He tanned monkey hides for drums to call those who worshipped Hanuman, the monkey god.

Nirman Singh, lying limp beneath the neem tree, yearned for food, even a single lizard. But they had camped under the neem tree more than a week, and one by one the lizards had been caught. Nirman Singh was sick; his mother was sick; his father was sick. That is why they had tarried so long. Today the father stirred. He measured his waning strength and spoke:

"We will all die if we stay here. The lad cannot walk. Let us put him in the spreading forks of the tree. Let us pray the great Shiv, the creator, that he preserve."

But the mother cried: "Not Shiv the pitying. Think of one-eyed, hating Kali. We have done nothing to appease her. We have had nothing we could offer as a sacrifice. Perhaps she has brought all the misery."

To stay, meant that they all must die. So the parents

reluctantly placed starving Nirman Singh in the broad forks of the tree. Almost staggering, they went down the burning road, hoping somehow to find aid.

After a while Nirman Singh grew faint. His tree, and the tree across the road, seemed to swim together in the blue of the sky above him. Then the blue sky grew gray, then black. Then he forgot everything.

He awoke in a house. Outside, he could see the yard of the compound. A kite had swooped upon a morsel of food. It was better food than Nirman Singh dared eat, for he was unclean. Across the yard of the compound a water-carrier was passing, his pig-skin distended with water. In the room was a Sahib, a really pale-faced Sahib. His wife, the Mem-sahib, was there too. Nirman Singh knew he had brought pollution to this home, for he was of unclean birth; yet he could not remember how he came. He tried to raise himself to salaam and leave the room. He shuddered to think what his parents would say when they knew he had been actually inside a Sahib's bungalow. But he was too weak to rise.

Just then the Memsahib seemed to notice him. She exclaimed, "Why, at last he is awake!" and brought him milk in a queer glassy white cup. It was not at all like the rough red pottery of his village where one of the castes broke their cups after each meal. This cup was smooth and felt good to the lips. Nirman Singh did not know that a French inventor in the long ago had burned even the furniture of his

home, learning to make the first porcelain cup. Nirman Singh knew only that the Sahib and the Memsahib were in the room. Still nobody complained. Nobody made black looks at him. They were giving him real food, so much better than half-raw lizards. Then they brought him something that did not taste quite so good. They called it "medicine." Then he fell asleep again.

No dreams had Nirman Singh of a land where men were free and equal. He knew nothing of famine funds, of the money collected for stricken boys. He did not know that American workers were hunting for just such as he, and had found him fainting in the neem tree. Even that he should be nursed back to health in the home of a Sahib, was something he could not understand. He heard them say that the way his ribs showed through his skin made him look like the Famine Buddha at Lahore—Lahore, where the many-colored turbans are like a field of wild flowers waving in the breeze. He knew something about the Buddha. He was a god. Folks never bothered much about the Buddha; it was the revengeful gods and goddesses they feared, like one-eyed Kali. But perhaps it was the gentle Buddha that had sent him this good fortune.

Before many weeks he was playing like other children. He heard no more of his parents. Perhaps they went down in the famine that killed, as it always killed, in the old way of the unchanging East. That one must accept the famine, even



REPEATING IN CALCUTTA THE MANILA EXPERIENCE

This is the second Calcutta playground at Lee Memorial, Wellington Square. A third has been commenced. The Orient has learned a lesson that America might heed—that apparatus is, after all, not absolutely necessary; that supervision is the great essential. A broomstick with a good imagination has always made a prancing steed



SWIMMING POOL AT BALLIGHATA PLAYGROUND

The opportunity for a dip is nowhere more welcome than in the steaming tropics

he had learned; for this was before the pith-helmeted Saxon engineer had built canals and railroads in his part of teeming Hindustan.

Singh's new friends were Americans. They were both teachers at a school where all the teachers were Americans. He heard them say that the money to conduct the school came from a land across the seas. Out in the school compound were continual surprises. One

teacher was a play leader who knew no caste, and under whose leadership the boys in their play were learning to forget caste. Only he was "low caste" who cheated in play. This might be a Brahmin as well as a Sudra. Singh was learning the democracy which is modeling the New India.

Thus he grew much like boys on an American playground. He won high honors at this American school. He went to Lucknow College and won athletic honors there, and a fellowship. Then came an examination in which he competed with sons of the priests, the intellectual aristocrats. He, a low caste, a Sudra, whose very shadow was pollution, won the medal and a fellowship in a European University! Here again came more honors.

Thus it came about that one day Nirman Singh, Ph.D., was sailing homeward toward Bombay, a serious, thoughtful man. He returned to the school, to the home that had received him as a famine outcast. Today he is the head master over a large group of boys in the same school to which he first came, and from which there goes out each year a graduating class upon whose impressionable minds are stamped

high purposes—a class of the lads who are making a New India.

He says the old days, the days when he ate snakes and lizards, when he dared not drink from the village well, belong to one life; another life began for him when he awoke in the bungalow of the blue-eyed Sahib—a life that he could not but give to his own people and to the ideal of a New India.

To this great future, the playground movement is contributing its share, and the story of how it all came about must now be told.

The Ballighata playground story begins at a California orphanage. Here was story-telling after office-hours on Wednesdays; playing games on Saturday afternoons and nature-study field excursions on Sundays. Conducting these classes

was like taking a course in laboratory work — they tested out the possibilities of education through play, but also play as one natural way of imparting knowledge, particularly useful in inculcating moral ideas.

Meantime, the work grew. It became too heavy for one person already busy with office duties, so a university graduate who had studied in similar specialized courses was employed. Supervision and study of her efforts only deepened the conviction as to the value of such work. Among the children on the playground were juvenile court cases, including abnormal and sub-normal children. Thus there was a wide variety of material for observation.

When the orphanage work seemed running by its own momentum, there arose the question of interesting the municipality to undertake playgrounds, as others elsewhere had



A PLAY BARN-YARD



"SACRED" SWING

Its support is of the Bo-tree, made sacred by the great Buddha's teachings beneath its shade



YOUNG FARMERS UNDER THE "TODDY" PALMS AT BALLIGHATA

HARD BY A TEMPLE OF HATE

THE AMERICAN PLAYGROUND AND RECREATION CENTER MAINTAINED BY MR. AND MRS. GOETHE IN A SUBURB OF CALCUTTA

THE war has extended to the Ballighata playground. In the picture below the two groups of boys represent the Allies and the Teutons in a skirmish under two native play leaders. Certain castes in India follow war as a profession, and the war game is very popular. Through Calcutta have come the little Gurkas, or knife men from the Himalayas, whose peculiar warfare has been turned to account in the trenches in France. The basketball game at the right shows war-play carried a further remove from embroilment,—in the direction of clean competition.



The American women can be distinguished by their pith helmets—the fixed millinery of the workers. Hence the necessity of m



PLAY-WAR ON THE BALLIGHATA PLAYGROUND



“THE-ROSIE”
 oppics. The steaming climate and the Bengali language are two handicaps of our American
 lying them by training native workers



THE “MOTHER” OF THE BALLIGHATA
 PLAYGROUND



BASKET-BALL UNDER AN AMERICAN PLAY LEADER

done in trying to solve similar problems. Soon it became evident that by a persistent educational campaign, a whole municipality might be induced to make recreation a city function.

In doing this various methods were employed. Usually there was a preliminary campaign of publicity, seizing every opportunity to obtain short newspaper stories upon playground work. There were also talks before all kinds of civic bodies, lantern slide lectures. Matters widened into banding together these investigators in various California cities into a state playground association. Then came the time when this California Playground Association was invited to merge itself into the national organization.

Now it happened very fortunately that one of the visitors to these playgrounds had been the niece of a Mr. Lee, a friend of ours living in Calcutta. So when on our trip we

mother feared. For a long while it was the headquarters of the thugs. These thugs, selected in childhood by the priests from the most promising of the young folk, were trained at the temple as robbers. Arrived at manhood, they were sent forth to rob and slay, a percentage of their booty going to the priesthood. It is said that formerly children were sacrificed at the Kalighat of these thugs; now the sacrifices are limited to young goats.

Such is the background of our word "thug."

Approaching this temple, we noticed that most of the visitors were women with children, many of them sick. The entrances were through long lines of stalls devoted to the sale of various votive offerings which had been blessed by the Brahmin priests. In front of the shrine itself was a mob of women, each struggling with the others for an opportunity



A GLIMPSE OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN INDIA

Learning at the Ballighata playground to use corrugated iron where palm thatch and mud walls have been the building materials since history dawned. Most playground efforts in the Orient include manual training and vocational education. Children of artisans who still use the methods of the third century before Christ are being taught to adapt themselves to the new industrialism that is upon them. Efforts are made to intelligently preserve the beauty of the old handicraft—not to ruthlessly destroy it

reached Calcutta and visited the Lees, we had a strong supporter for our plea that Wellington Square in front of the memorial will be an excellent location for a public playground. Mr. Lee became still more interested as we recalled the achievements in America and discussed possibilities of similar plans for India.

Finally he said, "Will you go to the Kalighat? Many years' experience among the Bengalese has convinced me there is no place where the stranger can more quickly obtain an insight into real conditions among the children of India. When pictures of the worship of Kali are stamped on your brain, we can then discuss the future." So we went to the Kalighat.

The Kalighat is a temple devoted to the worship of the one-eyed goddess of hate, Kali, whom Nirman Singh's

to raise her child to the view of the dread goddess, for they believed the sickness of children was incurred through Kali's displeasure at lack of attention and sacrifice. At the entrance to the courtyard across from the shrine, lounged a group of loafers. One of these cried to his fellows, "Come! Quick! Sahib and Memsahib want to see Kali, one-eyed goddess!" These men formed what might be termed a flying wedge to open a way for the white man, they mercilessly "bucked" the struggling mob of women in front of the image.

After each woman of this squirming mass gained a place where she might for an instant hold up her child to the gaze of the hideous one-eyed idol, she turned to pass down a double line of almost naked priests who sold holy ashes, flowers or trinkets. At the end of this double line was the place of sacrifice. The stone floor was slippery with blood.



"SEE-SAW, MARJORY DAW"

The old English refrain in girlish trebles sounds just as sweet in this alien environment as with us. And these English words mean just as much to our young Bengalis as do "Ency mency mincy mo" to our bairns

Young goats, each with all four feet tied, were stacked in a pile like cord-wood. One priest selected a goat and held it to the block, a second collected the cost of the goat, a third was ax-man. The sick child was held close to the descending ax, so that the blood spurting from the decapitated trunk might cover its face before reaching the ground. The virtue of the sacrifice was lost if the blood should strike the pavement before the child was baptized in it. In the event of such pollution, it was necessary then to purchase another goat. Where a farm coolie's wage for a day's labor is not as much as a carfare,—the eagerness of these poverty-stricken mothers to save a second fee may be imagined.

The gloomy surroundings, the screams of children at the sight of blood, the moanings of the very sick, the distress of the mothers, contrasted with the gloating of those almost naked priests over their steadily increasing gains,—it was almost too horrible to endure.

We knew now what Mr. Lee meant when he said, "Go to the Kalighat." Lest our conclusions might be hasty, we verified them by other investigations. We visited zenanas, made studies of child marriages, and—most pathetic of all—of child-widows. And our impressions deepened.

Then came Mr. Lee's offer. He said, "I believe the time is ripe for an actual demonstration playground in Calcutta. A square in Ballighata will be ready. We will reach the children. Perhaps in another generation there will be no Kalighat. We will make Ballighata a social center as well as a playground, and through recreation reach grown-ups as well as children. We will raise part of the salaries for two trained American supervisors, one man and one woman, providing you furnish the balance."

And so, eventually, two workers, Massachusetts folk, sailed through the Golden Gate for India. In a suburb of Calcutta, with a population about one-half of San Francisco, the playground was planted.

There is the hope of inducing the government to enter this work ultimately. The authorities have showed a deep interest in the experiment, though, of course, thus far war has prevented any new expenditures. Still, a second playground has been opened in Calcutta itself; then a third. There have been beginnings elsewhere in India and letters of inquiry are

coming from native leaders in social service asking for literature and guidance.

What then are the opportunities for playground extension? Take Bombay as an example. It is a great center of Parsees, sun-worshippers, we call them. They are brainy folk; keen in their grasp of our methods, wise in the use of their own. They control many lines of Hindustani commerce. Certain Bombay suburbs, under their keen management, might be taken for English factory towns. They have applied Saxon industrialism where many coolies earn but four cents, gold, daily.

Where life is cheap and a downtrodden crushed people dare not complain, exploiters are not always careful of their fellowmen. Yet the Parsee is quick to grasp Western ideas. This is proved by his assimilation of one kind of constructive recreation,—the children's nature field excursion. He has by far the lowest per cent of illiteracy of any class in India. He is benevolent at heart, even though perhaps not always in ways that we should consider most wise. Some of his generosity could be undoubtedly guided into recreation channels by a demonstration American playground and social center. With Bombay influence, under shrewd Parsee guidance, spreading to meet Calcutta influence, radiating from Ballighata, much time would be gained—an important consideration, for no one knows how long India will continue to offer her present welcome.

Broad Hindustan contains many races, as widely different as the Finlander is from the half-Moorish Spaniard of southern Andalusia. In the hill-country are blue-eyed men, and women as fair as any from the Caucasus, whom wealthy Turks claim for their harems. In the south are sooty Tamil folk. In all Hind, live four hundred million people, speaking as many tongues as Europe does. About eighty million speak Bengali, the language of Nirman Singh.

As any Indian playground must, Ballighata draws children who are outwardly very different from American wee folk, and the situation presents many delicate problems. The fathers of some children look like the man in the picture, who is harvesting palm juice to be fermented for "toddy"—another word we have inherited from the Hindustani. Some of the girls, "black-eyed pansies," they have been called, are

widows at six or seven, bearing all the disgrace of the Indian idea of the widowed state.

The mingling of the castes has brought yet other difficulties. Food, for example, or native sweetmeats, cooked by another caste, is always refused. Curiously enough, American candy is permissible, for no one has yet found, in the numberless caste rules, any saying of ancient wisdom concerning the sticks of barber-pole colored sweets from beyond the seas.

Such problems, together with the need of the supervisors to learn Bengali, have been some of the first year's obstacles. Much could

be written of similar incidents,—amusing, were they not so serious; but not, after all, insurmountable.

Although social conditions are so different from those in America; although in place of democracy there has ruled for centuries a system of caste, iron-clad, crushing,—yet even caste has recently begun to bend before better things. The missionary movement, the introduction of English and American schools, Red Cross work in famine times in the Orient, the return of native students from foreign universities and medical schools, and latest of all, the playground movement, all these are influences tending to dissolve that because of which Nirman Singh perforce became an eater of lizards.



THE ELEPHANT, MOLE AND GOAT
A Bengali game. No apparatus, but "lots of fun" nevertheless

Red Cross and Red Crescent

By Ernest P. Bicknell

DIRECTOR OF CIVILIAN RELIEF, AMERICAN RED CROSS

WHERE East meets West fundamental differences in religion, philosophy, and appraisal of spiritual, human, and material values come into the sharpest contrast. It is the firing-line of differing systems of civilization engaged in endless contest for supremacy. At such a point of contact, lack of mutual understanding always threatens the peace and prosperity of the people.

At the Dardanelles, the East thrusts forward her westernmost frontier. When Turkey entered the war a myriad of racial, religious, and political doubts and suspicions flamed into convictions and stimulated hostile action. The lives and property of foreign residents in the empire were endangered, and as many as possible fled. Some were arrested and imprisoned; and for a time there existed a degree of panic. The Turks did not always clearly distinguish between the English and American residents. There was fear that Americans might be attacked and that American property might be destroyed. Robert College and The Woman's College, with their splendid buildings and equipment, were believed to be in hourly danger of injury or destruction. Many American residents of Constantinople, some of whom were connected with the schools, lived within the precincts of these institutions, and it was feared that their lives would also be endangered?

How could this danger be averted? An official proclamation calling upon the people to respect the rights of Americans would be ineffective, because the danger lay not in enmity to

Americans, but in the inability of the people to distinguish between the status of Americans and English. The problem was solved by a bit of typical oriental diplomacy. The American Ambassador, Henry Morgenthau, left the Embassy and went to live for a time on the premises of one of the colleges mentioned. While there he was called upon in a friendly way by Enver Bey, the most powerful personality in the Turkish government. This call, the news of which was widely circulated among the people, was all that was necessary to settle the status of the American colony and educational institutions. It proved that the Turkish government had those institutions and their inhabitants under its protection and held them in friendly regard.

To the Westerner the Turkish character is a mystery. The average Turk is said to be kindly, hospitable, peaceful, tolerant, and industrious. From the days of the Crusades stories have been prevalent of Turkish chivalry and courage. Religious freedom has long characterized the Turkish government. Turkey has been a haven for Jews fleeing from persecution at the hands of the Christian nations of Europe.

If this picture of the Turk be accepted, how explain the frightful persecutions of the Armenians, the Nestorians, and others. A wholly satisfactory answer has never been found. Just as the problem is complex, the answer must include many elements. For one thing, the population of the Turkish Empire is composed of a great many nationalities and tribes, ranging from high civilization, in the cities, to lawless and savage nomads in the mountains and deserts of the remote

provinces. The hold of the government upon the nomadic tribes has never been sufficient to prevent outbreaks of violence.

Another element of the answer is to be found in the natural business capacity of the Armenians, which, guided by an aggressive intelligence, has tended in many communities to concentrate wealth and commercial control in Armenian hands. For analogy, turn to Russia and other countries in which the Jewish population is hated because of its commercial superiority. The ignorant and simple-minded peasantry, observing the steadily increasing wealth of the thrifty Armenians as compared with their own penury, long ago became possessed of a vague but deep-seated sense of injury and injustice, and are ready, on slight provocation or under cunning leadership, to burst into a fury of destruction.

The Armenians

THE HISTORIC MASSACRES and persecutions of the Armenians have been more than paralleled since the great war began. Yet they are scarcely less comprehensible than the amazing persistence with which that race has clung to the country which it occupies. The West can scarcely understand the strength of the bond which holds ancient peoples to the lands of their forefathers. It does not seem even to occur to the Armenians that they might migrate to other countries where opportunities would be greater and where life and property would be safe.

Ever now reports are coming through reliable channels from the remote desert wilderness to which many thousand Armenians have been deported, after indescribable sufferings en route, showing that the exiles are looking forward with eager impatience to the time when they can start back to the homes and communities from which they were driven forth. This, notwithstanding the fact that it must be plain to them that they were exiled for the purpose of permanently disrupting and partially annihilating their race, and that in returning they will place themselves again in the power of the old forces which are bent upon their destruction.

Readers of war news will recall the story of five thousand Armenians, threatened with massacre and deportation, who fled into a mountain and there, suffering terrible hardship, defended themselves successfully against the attacks of the enemy until a French warship, cruising off the shore, saw the Red Cross flag which the starving refugees had hoisted upon the mountain top, and sent a force of sailors to the rescue. It will be remembered that the French ship carried these five thousand Armenian refugees in safety to Egypt. In a large camp of huts and tents on the plain near Alexandria they are living in comfort, supported chiefly by the British government, while an American Red Cross committee provides special diet for the children and the sick. Already this group is becoming restive, and has sent word to the Red Cross that before long it will wish to have help from America to enable it to meet the cost of returning to its own land and to the community which a few months ago was barely prevented from massacring its entire number.

It is no wonder that with so many strange and contradictory elements, the situation is hopelessly perplexing to the American people who are trying to help the war sufferers in Turkey. To attempt to analyze this situation and to shape our policy and conduct in exact accordance with the rights and wrongs involved, would result only in inaction and defeat. It has, therefore, seemed to those organizations and individuals most actively and closely interested that their wisest course of action lies in the direction of doing what is possible for the relief of the victims, without waiting to ascertain motives, to determine where the fault lies, or to fix the logical responsibility for providing the help required.

In pursuance of this policy, no opportunity has been omitted by American agencies to extend relief to the sufferers in Turkey, although the obstacles have been very great, and at times insurmountable. The Turkish government has not permitted foreigners to travel in Asia Minor for the investigation of conditions or the distribution of relief supplies. Turkish railways are few, in poor condition, and their facilities are constantly overtaxed by the transportation of troops and military supplies. The blockade maintained by the Entente Allies has prevented the importation of relief supplies. Scarcity of food in Turkey, together with the inadequate means of transportation, have greatly diminished the value of cash relief sent into the country. Money cannot bring succor unless supplies of food and clothing are available for purchase.

Relief work has gone steadily forward, nevertheless, with as much efficiency as the conditions have permitted. It is estimated that over 150,000 Armenians fled from Turkey into northern Persia, and are now living in territory under Russian control. It is possible to purchase certain kinds of food supplies and clothing in Russia and Persia for the help of these Armenian refugees, and several hundred thousand dollars have been expended for this purpose within the past year. The purchase and distribution of relief in this section is in the hands of a group of American missionaries and physicians, who have been organized into a committee of the American Red Cross. Money has been sent to this group chiefly through the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, which has concentrated the energies of a wide circle of generous people upon the single purpose of providing help for Armenians and Syrians. The committee in Persia has recently estimated that its work of relief will require approximately three hundred thousand dollars during the coming winter months.

Money has also been sent through missionaries and American diplomatic and consular agents into the interior of Asia Minor, and by them has been distributed among the destitute civilian population. The total expenditures for relief in Turkey to date have been approximately one and one-half million dollars, of which, roughly, three-fourths have been contributed through the Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief and one-fourth through the American Red Cross. Yet these enormous expenditures can never meet the need, while hundreds of thousands of Armenians are starving or dying from disease in the remote desert places to which they have been driven.

While the people of certain parts of Syria have not been subjected to the persecutions from which the Armenians have suffered, they are in a condition of starvation, in part because of the removal of food supplies from that country by the Turkish military authorities, in part because of inability to import food supplies, and in part because of a plague of locusts which last summer swept the country, destroying every green thing within its path. The stories of the clouds of locusts which darkened the sky for days at a time, of the great area of territory covered, and of the absolute completeness of the work of destruction, are reminders of the ancient stories of plagues of locusts in the same region, known then, as now, as the country of Mt. Lebanon.

Destitution Among the Turks

TURKEY is an agricultural country; at least 80 per cent of its population cultivates the soil. Constantinople, Smyrna, Damascus, Bagdad, Beirut, and Aleppo are the only cities of any considerable size in the empire. Of the total population of about twenty-eight million, approximately seven million are non-Moslems. The business in the cities is largely in the hands of Armenians, Greeks, and Jews, while the Turks constitute most of the agricultural element.

As a rule the farms are small, are not efficiently cultivated, and produce scarcely more than is necessary to support the families which occupy them. The agricultural class lives very simply, its diet consisting chiefly of bread, with dried vegetables, olives, beans, and rice. The cost of living is low; so low, in fact, that it is said that a family of five may be supported at an expense of from three to four piasters (twelve to sixteen cents) a day. The people have little opportunity to accumulate property, and a bad season or any other interruption of their usual routine plunges them at once into destitution. Taxes exacted from the farmers are extremely high, and are said to have a direct relation to the lack of ambition on the part of the people to accumulate wealth. The tax-gatherer has the reputation of always being on the alert for evidences of prosperity.

The present war has had a serious effect upon the civil population in the country. It has been estimated that about one million men have been called into military service, these being taken chiefly from among the farmers. Furthermore, a large number of farm animals has been taken for the army, as well as much of the harvests. Because of the narrow margin between the normal production of foodstuffs and a condition of want, the war has made the economic condition of great numbers of people precarious.

Agriculture has this last year been largely carried on by old men, women, and children. The continued demands of the military forces for both men and supplies press the burden ever more heavily upon the common people. Adding to the difficulties of the situation is the Allies' blockade, which precludes the importation of supplies of food, and by stopping imports and exports has caused stagnation in business and brought about considerable unemployment. Small shopkeepers are in distress, as well as the poorer classes in the cities.

In the past, many women in cities and villages have made rugs, carpets, lace and embroidery, and a cheap sort of cotton cloth. The missionaries have encouraged this work in the homes, and have utilized their funds in purchasing looms and material, getting the work started, assisting in the sale of products, and in other ways putting the industry upon a permanent and self-supporting basis. All of this work has been stopped by the war, partly because the women are obliged to work in the fields and partly because the blockade again, has prevented the export of manufactured goods.

A New Stage in War Relief

IT WILL BE SEEN, therefore, that while the suffering is greatest on the part of the Armenians, who have been driven from their homes and left in remote places without resources or opportunity for self-support, and among the Syrians, who have suffered from famine brought on by a combination of causes, of which the culmination was a plague of locusts, a general condition of want exists in all parts of the Turkish Empire. The government and certain private philanthropic agencies have attempted to make some provision for the families of soldiers, but this work has been confined chiefly to the cities, and is, at best, inadequate.

In the latter part of the summer (1916) President Wilson communicated to the Turkish government the desire of the American people to be of assistance to the Armenian and Syrian populations of Turkey. In reply to this request the Turkish government granted the President's request in part, agreeing to allow the distribution of relief supplies among the starving population of Syria, but did not concede the privilege of sending relief supplies to the Armenians. It is, in fact, a question whether it would have been possible to carry relief supplies to the scattered Armenian groups in their dis-

tant and almost inaccessible locations, even had the government given its consent.

In yielding to the President's request in so far as Syria is concerned, the Turkish government made it a condition that the administration of relief should be in charge jointly of the American Red Cross and the Turkish Red Crescent. Fortunately, the American Red Cross has two active chapters in Turkey, one situated at Constantinople, the other at Beirut. These chapters, consisting entirely of Americans, will represent the Red Cross in the joint arrangement.

The cross, as an emblem of Christianity, is obnoxious to those of the Moslem faith. This fact for many years prevented the Turkish Empire from becoming an adherent of the Treaty of Geneva and establishing a society of the Red Cross. When the International Conference of the Red Cross was held in London in 1907, a petition was presented from the Turkish government requesting that a special concession be made to that government which would enable it to substitute the emblem of the crescent for that of the cross, while otherwise accepting the principles and meeting the requirements necessary to compliance with the Treaty of Geneva and the establishment of a society of the Red Cross. This petition was granted, and the Turkish government thereupon created the Red Crescent Society, which, with the exception of its name, is identical with the societies of the Red Cross.

Immediately upon receipt of Turkey's consent for America to send relief into Syria, President Wilson proclaimed October 21 and 22 as Armenian and Syrian days, and called upon the people of the United States to take advantage of the opportunity now given, to show American sympathy for the Armenians and Syrians in a substantial manner. Assurance was obtained that the Allies will permit the shipment of relief supplies through the blockade, and thus every obstacle in the way of the plan was removed.

The American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief at once set about arousing interest and creating an organization of national scope for the purpose of taking the largest possible advantage of the Armenian and Syrian days. The American Red Cross, which will have charge, for America, of the distribution of the supplies, also participated actively through its two hundred and thirty chapters throughout the country, in the collection of the relief fund.

Because of the extremely heavy charges for ocean transportation and the high cost of insurance, it was feared for a time that the enterprise would be seriously handicapped by the almost prohibitive cost of sending the supplies to their destination. This question was taken up with the President and the Secretary of the Navy, with the very gratifying result that the latter placed at the disposal of the Armenian and Syrian Relief Committee and the Red Cross the use of a large part of the cargo capacity of a naval collier which is soon to sail for the Mediterranean carrying a supply of fuel to the battleship *Des Moines*, which is in eastern Mediterranean waters.

This generous act of cooperation on the part of our government immediately assured the success of the undertaking. It is hoped to send into the harbor at Beirut a cargo of approximately four thousand tons of flour, rice, sugar, and other articles of food, as well as a large quantity of clothing. From Beirut as a center, the Red Cross and Red Crescent societies will make the distribution according to the greatest needs of the people. It is stated in reliable reports that the most widespread and acute suffering is in the Mt. Lebanon district, where three hundred thousand persons or more are reported to be suffering actual starvation. Many thousands are said already to have died from lack of food.

Here, it seems, as in the case of Belgium,¹ is to be formed

¹ See A Nation on Strike, by Mr. Bicknell, THE SURVEY for September 2.

a cooperative triangle, in which enemy countries will step aside and open the way through their hostile lines for the purpose of permitting a neutral nation to perform an important work of humanity.

It remains to describe the situation in still another area, historically within the sphere of Turkish dominion.

Bulgaria, Turkey's Enemy and Ally

OF ALL the puzzling twists and turns and involutions of Balkan politics, no manifestation within recent historical times has been more surprising than the spectacle of Turkey and Bulgaria fighting side by side as allies. For four hundred years Bulgaria, as a down-trodden and oppressed vassal of Turkey, strove for liberty. Repeatedly crushed in her struggles, her aspirations were never abandoned. In 1878 freedom came as a result of the war between Russia and Turkey, in which the Bulgarian army fought with the Russians. Even then the Turks did not yield entirely, but retained an ostensible suzerainty over the Bulgarians; a weak bond, which later was thrown off without serious opposition from Turkey.

During all the four centuries of subjection the Bulgarians looked upon Turkey as their arch-enemy. Their aspirations for an expansion of commerce, for education, for just and reasonable taxation, for political freedom during this period were ruthlessly suppressed. After freedom was obtained Bulgaria was not satisfied, but sought additional territory, still held by Turkey, but largely peopled by a Bulgar population. Finally, in 1911, came the Balkan War, in which, by the combination of the forces of Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece, the greater part of Turkey's remaining dominions in Europe was wrested from the Empire and divided among her Balkan enemies.

Now, within five years of that last great conflict, Bulgaria is found fighting sturdily shoulder to shoulder with Turkey and providing a broad highway of communication by which Turkey may keep in free communication with her Teutonic allies.

It is easy to condemn the Balkan States for their internal troubles and their shifting policies. It is common to speak of these small countries as moved by sordid ambitions. While selfish leaders doubtless have exerted a malign influence in many instances, I believe that, on the whole, the Balkan conflicts and realignments have been the result of the aspirations of primitive but brave peoples struggling upward toward better things. The machinations and subterranean influences of great neighbors, opposed to growing strength and unity in the Balkans, have served to obscure and, at times, to divert the real purposes and hopes of these small nations.

An open-minded observer cannot visit Bulgaria, for example, without being favorably impressed by her people and her institutions. When Bulgaria obtained her freedom from Turkey, less than forty years ago, her people were poor, ignorant, and unfamiliar with self-government. Her progress since that time has been amazing. She is a true constitutional monarchy. All her male inhabitants who have reached the age of twenty-one have the right of suffrage, without property, educational, or religious limitations. The country is governed by an elective *Sobranie*, or Congress.

Soon after her acquirement of freedom, Bulgaria established a system of peasant-land proprietorship which has given a basic equality to the entire population, such as few European nations possess. She has few large land-owners, most of her lands being divided into small peasant holdings. The government has established a Rural Credit Bank, which will lend to a peasant, without delay or irksome conditions, as much as one thousand dollars, which may be repaid on easy terms extending through a long series of years. If the borrower is not able to repay his debt to the bank, the government will take

possession of the land and cultivate it properly until the profits from the operation have repaid the debt. The property is then returned to the peasant. The chief requirement for the safeguarding of these loans is that the money must be used by the borrower for stocking or improving his land.

Possession of full political rights, the protection afforded every citizen by the laws of the country, and the almost universal ownership of land, have given the average Bulgarian a sense of security and independence which is manifested in a spirit of democracy almost, or quite, equal to that observed in the United States.

In Bulgaria I heard numerous anecdotes illustrative of this democratic spirit. For example, the story is told that the Bulgarian king, Ferdinand, whose tastes are said to be undemocratic, was urged by his advisers to cultivate closer and less formal relations with his people. As a means of exhibiting his sympathy with his subjects, so the story goes, it was suggested that he visit the great public market in Sofia on the day when the place was thronged with people from the country. This he consented to do, and at the appointed time appeared with a small retinue in the market place. Instead of standing back respectfully and deferentially, the sturdy farmers, in their sheepskin jackets, crowded forward cordially to shake the King's hand. His Majesty is said to have endured this ordeal with the best grace possible, but never to have repeated the experiment. Can anyone imagine the common people of any other European country participating in such a reception to their monarch?

In a small mountain town near the Serbian border, where we were compelled to wait for some time for our train, we fell in with a regiment of Bulgarian reservists who had just completed their annual encampment of fifteen days and were ready to entrain for home. The men were gay and happy, and spent their waiting-time in singing and dancing. The movements of some of their national dances were of particular interest. I specially remember one in which about a hundred soldiers participated. They formed a circle, grasped hands, and to the time of a song which they roared forth with great gusto the circle slowly revolved. The men would move several steps to the right and one step back; several steps to the right and one back, and so on. At certain points in the dance the circle would break and the line of men, still grasping hands, would perform various complex evolutions. Other dances were lively and marked by vigorous and varied movements and genuflections. It was noticeable that the officers participated with the men on terms of equality and entire good fellowship.

Educational Progress in Forty Years

IT IS highly noteworthy that no sooner had Bulgaria achieved her independence than she turned her attention vigorously toward education. The result is seen in the fact that Bulgaria has today, as the foundation of her democracy, a free public school system and a compulsory education law. In 1912, her population was four and a half millions. At that time the country possessed 5,400 educational establishments, including national schools, intermediate schools, high schools and private schools. In these schools were 13,500 teachers and 520,000 pupils. Of the pupils, over two-fifths were girls, a remarkable fact when one considers the usual attitude toward the education of women in southeastern Europe. The fact is the more astonishing when it is recalled that Bulgaria has had less than forty years of freedom, after four hundred years of Turkish rule. The schools are supported by the government, which in 1911 expended more than five million dollars for their maintenance.

The results of this education policy are shown by the statis-

tics relating to the literacy of recruits. Universal compulsory military service is required. In 1898, 48.7 per cent. of all recruits were illiterate; in 1909, only 20.6 per cent. In 1915, when I spent a short time in Bulgaria, I was assured that illiteracy had been reduced to less than 10 per cent.

It was my privilege to be accorded two audiences with Queen Eleanore, whose active and sympathetic efforts toward improving conditions of life in the kingdom have endeared her to the people. Herself a nurse, she participated in the care of sick and wounded Russian soldiers in the Manchurian campaign during the Russian-Japanese War. She feels keenly the lack of skilled nurses in Bulgaria. For several years she has cherished a project for establishing a training school for nurses in Sofia, patterned after similar schools in the United States.

Perhaps three years ago she wrote to the American Red Cross of this plan, with the result that an arrangement was made by which the Red Cross agreed to send two American nurses to Sofia to take charge of a training school which the Queen proposed to establish in the great Alexandria Hospital in Sofia. At the same time it was arranged that the Queen should send a number of young Bulgarian women to the United States to take a course in nursing in one of the great schools of this country. Unfortunately, the outbreak of the war prevented the execution of this project. Helen Scott Hay, a well-known American nurse, who had been selected to go to Bulgaria to take charge of the Queen's school, was sent instead by the Red Cross to Russia, where she took charge of the nurses in the American Red Cross hospital at Kiev.

In my interviews, the Queen spoke of her great disappointment at the temporary failure of her plan, but expressed the hope that it might be successfully revived at the close of the war. I suggested that if Miss Hay were on the ground she

might be of material help in hastening the opening of the school. The upshot was that Miss Hay was released by the Red Cross from her hospital work in Russia, and proceeded to Sofia, where she still remains. However, since Bulgaria, which had not entered the war at the time of my visit, came in a few months afterward, this compelled a still further postponement of the establishment of the school.

Why Bulgarians Admire America

WITH GREAT ENTHUSIASM the Queen spoke of the admiration everywhere felt in Bulgaria for America and our American institutions. She assured me that in the development of the Bulgarian political and educational systems the effort had been always to follow as closely as possible the American model. Explaining this universal feeling toward the United States, the Queen said that it grew chiefly out of the fact that a great many young Bulgarian men and women had attended the American schools in Turkey and Bulgaria. The chief credit, she gave to the influence of Robert College in Constantinople. She made the astonishing statement that there are today in Bulgaria no fewer than one thousand graduates and former students of these great American schools. All the students learn the English language and study American history and American institutions in American textbooks. On returning to Bulgaria they have become leaders in the professions and in business, many of them attaining high places in the government service.

So it is that the war has come to choke and stamp down the slow processes of self-realization which were making headway among the peoples of the Near East. But beneath the travail and misery, we get glimpses in our work of relief in Serbia and Bulgaria, in Armenia and Syria and Turkey of reserves of strength and purpose which will count in the period of reconstruction.

The Mind of a Boy

The Future of Experimental Psychology in Vocational Guidance

By Helen Thompson Woolley

EXPERIMENTAL psychology, if you believe its critics, pretends to be able by means of laboratory tests alone to decide minutely just what occupation each child should follow—to select with a high degree of infallibility “the butcher, the baker and the candlestick maker.”

It is no great tax on the intellectual powers to demolish this “man of straw” set up by the critics. But meanwhile the process of presenting him to the public and destroying him for its delectation throws a stumbling-block in the way of psychologists who are performing a much more modest and plodding, but very real, service to society.

Since the Psychological Laboratory of the Vocational Bureau in Cincinnati is the only one at present which is an integral part of a vocation bureau in a public-school system, the task of justifying the existence of such an institution seems to fall very heavily upon it. Even here, however, it is distinctly recognized that the application of experimental psychology to vocational guidance is in a research phase.

When the Cincinnati bureau was organized, over five years ago, the problem uppermost in planning the work was that of child labor, rather than that of vocational guidance, but

it soon became evident that the two were in many phases one.

The humanitarian wishes to know what scientific proof can be brought forward to show that child labor is injurious, mentally or physically. The educator is interested to know in scientific terms just how the children who drop out of school as early as they are allowed differ from those who remain in school. Some of the most radical critics of modern public-school education are inclined to believe that many of those who drop out early are superior children who are intelligent enough to be thoroughly dissatisfied with the sort of education the school offers, and independent enough to refuse to submit to it. Others of the school men believe that those who leave early are almost exclusively the inferior children, while many think that elimination is based not on ability, but on the economic status of the family. Business men, particularly the self-made ones, are inclined to think that boys who leave early are just as able as those who remain in school, and that experience at work has as much educational value of a vital kind as experience in school—a point of view which may be merely a generalization of their own very exceptional careers.

During the last few years careful statistics of the school

grade of children who drop out early have been kept in many cities. They all demonstrate that the children who leave as soon as they are allowed constitute a very retarded group. In Cincinnati, when the age for leaving school was fourteen years, only from 15 to 22 per cent of those who left school under sixteen years during the years 1910-1913 had completed the eighth grade. The percentage of retardation was 66 among those who left school under sixteen years, but only 30 per cent for those who remained in school. Under the law of 1913, whereby boys are required to be fifteen years and girls sixteen before they leave school, the proportion of those who have completed the eighth grade is still only 40 per cent, and the percentage of retardation has risen to over 80 per cent. However, not everyone is ready to accept the evidence of retardation in school as a proof of inferior mental ability. Retardation in school, it is argued, may be due to poor health, to bad home conditions, or to a kind of teaching which is not suited to certain types of mind. Those who drop out early may be not the inferior ones, but the unfortunates, or the misfits.

Laboratory tests, everyone agrees, measure native ability to a greater extent than they do school training. The specific problem before the Cincinnati bureau was to determine whether the difference in mental calibre between children who left school and those who remained persisted year after year. Accordingly, two groups of about 800 children each were tested in the psychological laboratory in the years 1911-1912. Both groups were native-born white children fourteen years of age. One was composed of children who were just taking out employment certificates, and the other of children who were intending to remain in school. To make the two groups as comparable as possible, the school children were taken from the schools in industrial districts which were furnishing the greatest number of working children. Each of these groups is being retested from year to year up to nineteen years of age.

Although the laboratory is now finishing the fifth annual test of the working group and the third and fourth of the school group, only the tests for the first two years (at fourteen and at fifteen years) are all evaluated and summed up so that a comparison of the groups can be made. The differences are very striking, and very uniform. The school group is superior to the working group in every mental and physical capacity measured. This is true at fourteen years, when both groups are really school children. The difference holds for both sexes, though it is more striking for the boys than for the girls. The superiority of the school group is greater at fifteen years than it was at fourteen.

In addition to the marked differences in grade of mental ability between working children and school children, we are demonstrating that there are measurable differences within the group of working children between those entering different types of occupations. Between department-store workers and factory workers, for example, there is a measurable difference in mental ability even among these beginners, and under the present haphazard methods of choosing employment. The former group is superior, and the difference becomes more marked with the successive years out of school.

We have used one other method of measuring the intelligence of our working children—the form of the Binet test known as the Yerkes-Bridges point scale. When our own series of tests was begun, we thought there would be no point in giving Binet tests, since they were supposed to be useful above the age of twelve years only in measuring degrees of mental deficiency. Since our fourteen-year-old children had completed at least the fifth grade in school, it seemed safe to assume that they were not feeble-minded. However, in con-

tinuing the tests, we became convinced that some, at least, of the children with whom we were dealing were limited enough in intelligence to rank as feeble-minded on the Binet system. We collected, therefore, 237 records of our group of eighteen-year-old industrial workers who had left school at fourteen years, distributed in such a way as to be representative of the original group of 800 working children.

We adopted the Yerkes-Bridges point scale because it is so much better standardized than any of the previous forms of the Binet test. The point scale record is stated first in terms of the number of points of credit received out of a possible 100. The score can then be interpreted in terms of years by reference to a table of the average scores made by children of each age. One who ranks twelve years in the older form of Binet scale ranks about thirteen and one-half on the point scale. Accordingly, to find the percentage of our series who would rank as feeble-minded in the older standard, the one which is still most widely used, one must find how many of our group fell below thirteen and one-half years (or 80 points) on the Yerkes-Bridges point scale. That percentage is 40.5 for boys and 42.5 per cent for girls. None of these cases rank as imbeciles (below eight years), but about 10 per cent are low-grade morons (eight to ten years Binet) and the remaining 30 per cent high-grade morons.

If one adopts the tentative limit for feeble-mindedness among adults suggested by Professor Yerkes (those who fall below 75 points, which is about twelve years in the Yerkes-Bridges point scale), the percentage of the feeble-minded in our group is more conservative, but still startlingly high. It is 25.5 per cent.

This body of facts which has cost so much labor has a decided bearing from the educational standpoint, from the vocational standpoint, and from the point of view of legal procedure and legislation.

Types of Ability

WE DOUBTLESS all agree that if a child is to be helped to make the most of himself, he should be helped to discover for what type of occupation he ought to prepare himself while there is yet time to prepare. Since so large a proportion of children leave school as early as they are allowed, fourteen to sixteen years in various states, such advice should be given not later than twelve years and, whenever it proves possible, earlier. The facts which we have presented show that inferior mental ability is one cause, and probably the most important cause, for early elimination from school. A difference so marked at fourteen years could certainly be demonstrated earlier. The experimental method promises to furnish us with a more accurate and a more objective method than we have ever had before for selecting two or more years ahead of time the children who are quite certain to drop out of school early because of inferior mental ability.

It is evident that these children who lack the ability for the very skilled trades, for office work, or for salesmanship are destined to perform some sort of simple, mechanical work. For them the school could certainly do something better than to let them struggle unsuccessfully year after year with academic subjects beyond their capacity. Their presence in the same classes with children who are bright tends to lower the standards and lessen the amount of training that brilliant children receive. Some school systems in despair have made a rule that a child who has failed twice in a grade shall be promoted to the next one. The result is the presence in the fifth to the seventh grades of well-behaved and docile feeble-minded or backward individuals who tend to vitiate the teacher's judgment as to what can fairly be required of the children

in the grade. The procedure is no more fair to the deficient child than it is to the brilliant one.

While the tests at present are better able to select those of inferior ability than those of exceptionally good ability, we are rapidly developing a technique for the latter purpose also. Indeed, Professor Whipple, of the University of Illinois, has for the coming year a special grant for developing tests for very superior children. It is even more important for society to educate the promising children to the limit of their capacity than it is to keep from wasting time in making the deficiencies still more worthless. When it can be demonstrated that we have an objective means of selecting early those individuals who have a good chance of success in the higher professions and business careers, then it will be possible to secure the necessary funds for providing scholarships for brilliant children who would otherwise be forced to leave school early.

The task of sorting children into large groups with reference to general ability, finding out approximately what degrees of ability are required for success in various grades of occupation—unskilled labor, skilled labor, salesmanship, office work, business management, and the various professions—and basing advice upon such findings, may seem a very modest one. It certainly falls far short of the requirement that vocational advice shall state just what phase of any occupation a given individual shall enter.

The psychologist is as ready as the proverbial man of common sense to admit that mental ability is only one element to be considered in giving vocational advice, but he insists that it is a very important one; that within certain limits it is decisive, and that it is the only one at present open to scientific measurement. There is no use in advising a child of inferior mental ability to take the academic training leading to one of the higher professions. He will not be able to succeed, no matter how good his disposition, how great his ambition, nor how much money and influence his father may possess.

It may seem that sorting children with regard to general levels of ability is a task for which the school is already equipped, and in a general way it is. But it is not so well equipped that it needs no assistance. Oftentimes failure due to lack of ability is confused with failure due to physical, social and economic factors.

Among a group of failures in first-year high school we found by laboratory examination variations in mental ability from the upper to the lower end of the scale. At the upper end was a brilliant boy whose family atmosphere and influence was all opposed to high school. His family actively contributed to his failure in school as much as possible, in order to persuade him to leave and go to work. At the lower end was a girl not far above the border-line of feeble-mindedness, whose family were determined to keep her in school and were spending hours every day helping her with her lessons.

By the school these children were all grouped together as failures, but the correct diagnosis of the cause of failure would evidently be a decisive factor in the vocational advice offered by the school. Such advice would help to avoid many of the misfits in business and industry. Cases like the following, for instance, could be duplicated in many an establishment. An unusually intelligent and kindly employer sent us a boy of eighteen who had been for two years a regular apprentice in a high-grade machine-shop. The boy was good-natured and willing. He had been tried in every department of the shop, and had succeeded in none, though the foremen all liked him and had done their best to help him. He had spoiled several hundred dollars' worth of material in the course of his various failures. The boy proved to be very close to the

border-line of feeble-mindedness. He could never have made a skilled mechanic if he had been trained for the rest of his days, and the employer might just as well have known it several years earlier. When his apprenticeship was prematurely ended and he was given employment as a day laborer in the same establishment, he gave good satisfaction and seemed much happier.

Levels of Ability

THE APPLICATIONS of experimental psychology thus far discussed all have reference to the problems of childhood and early adolescence. How useful the method will be when applied to older individuals, who have already gone through the sifting process of school and society up to the age of seventeen or more, remains to be seen. Dean Schneider [see the SURVEY for June 24] has decided that experimental psychology can be of no assistance to vocational guidance because our present supply of tests, when applied to students in engineering in the university, prove to be of little or no help in deciding just what kind of an engineer each student should become and which of the group will be the most successful engineers.

The conclusion is scarcely justified. Students in engineering are already a highly selected class in the community. They have been selected first by the elementary school as capable of finishing the eighth grade; second, by the high school as capable of finishing the high school. This process locates them roughly as belonging to the best 5 to 10 per cent of the population. In the third place the class in question has been selected by Dean Schneider himself from a far larger number of applicants. If Dean Schneider were displaying his customary scientific caution in drawing conclusions his verdict would read not that experimental psychology can make no contribution to vocational guidance, but that the present technique of experimental psychology can be of little or no assistance in sorting into finer subdivisions a group of students already carefully selected for engineering.

That even our present technique might have been of a little assistance, however, in selecting the original group of engineers, we have some proof. One of the staff of the laboratory of the Vocation Bureau happened to be acquainted with a number of the students of engineering. He told me of one of them who was, he felt sure, failing, and said he thought it very probable that our series of tests for adolescents would show him to be a person of inferior ability, even as compared with boys who usually leave school early to go to work. He succeeded in persuading the student to come to the laboratory to be tested, and found his suspicion correct. The laboratory could have prophesied with a high degree of certainty before he entered the College of Engineering that he would not succeed. The boy was dropped at the end of the first semester. Doubtless the case is exceptional, but experimental psychology could have demonstrated in less than five hours what it took the faculty of the College of Engineering four months to decide.

Experimental psychology has as yet been of much less service in distinguishing types of ability than it has in distinguishing levels of ability. In fact, it is still an open question to what extent ability is general and to what extent it is specific.

What experimental evidence there is at present tends to show that it is general rather than specific.¹ One of the supposed differences in types of mind which has recently been much emphasized is that between the so-called mental and

¹ See Webb—Character and Intelligence, British Journal of Psychology, Monograph Supplement, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1915.

manual types, between the type of mind whose thinking is carried out chiefly in terms of abstract symbols and the kind whose thinking is carried out in terms of manipulations.

The present investigation of the psychological laboratory throws some light on this distinction. The tests of manual ability and the tests of mental ability have been estimated separately and the relations between the two worked out. There is a small positive correlation. That is to say, as a class those who stand high in the mental tests are also those who stand high in the manual tests, but there are many exceptions—individuals who rank high in mental tests and low in manual tests, and vice versa. It seems probable, therefore, that experimental psychology can furnish a method of picking out those individuals who have a decided bent in one or the other of these directions, and also those who fail or excel in both of them. In studying the extreme cases of one series, highest and lowest, we find a number of individuals who excel in both manual and mental tests, and a number who fail in both. We find a few who rank very low mentally, but excel in manual tests, but none who rank very high mentally but are among the worst failures manually. Apparently the possession of exceptionally good mental ability implies a manual ability which is at least not of the poorest grade.

Evidently these distinctions are of importance in vocational guidance. There are certain professions, such as the very skilled trades, engineering, and medicine, which demand a high degree of manual ability as well as a given level of mental ability while others, such as salesmanship, the purely academic subjects, and many branches of business and finance, make almost no demand upon manual ability, but require given levels of mental ability.

As an illustration of the use of this distinction, let me cite the case of a high-school boy who came to the laboratory to be tested last year. He ranked exceptionally high in the mental tests, but rather poorly in the manual tests. He was particularly defective in the steadiness of his hand. The boy was taking the cooperative course in machine-shop work. When questioned about it, he said that he did not like the work and had no intention whatever of becoming a skilled mechanic, though he was keeping up with his classes. Literary and academic subjects appealed to him far more. A note to the high school procured a change of course for the boy.

In addition to these contributions, experimental psychology can furnish special sets of tests for types of artistic ability, such as singing, painting or modeling. Professor Seashore, of the University of Iowa, has already developed a set of tests for musical ability which are of great service in deciding the degree of talent a child possesses.

The Limits of Feeble-mindedness

LET ME TURN now to the question of the limits of feeble-mindedness and its bearing on court procedure and legislation. I have stated that the application of the Yerkes-Bridges point scale to an unselected group of native-born industrial workers, eighteen years of age, shows that by the most widely used standard 40 per cent of them rank as feeble-minded, and by a newer and more conservative standard, 25 per cent. These results are not alone in showing that the standards now in use to detect feeble-mindedness among delinquents would gather in a large number of supposedly normal individuals if generally applied.²

It may be argued from one point of view that it is immaterial just what percentage of the most poorly endowed mem-

bers of the community shall be included under the term "feeble-minded." There are all gradations, from the wise man to the fool. But when one considers that the usual connotation of the term "feeble-minded" is a person who is of so low a grade mentally that he is a menace to society and needs institutional care, and that the term is often made the basis of legal decisions, the fixing of the percentage of the population to be included under it ceases to be a mere matter of convention.

The average judge does not know enough psychology to interpret findings stated merely in terms of psychological tests. A very public-spirited and conscientious judge of a juvenile court once showed me a report of a psychological examination which read as follows: "Age 16 years, Binet age 10 years, diagnosis, low-grade imbecile." When I told him that no psychologist would regard the final diagnosis of low-grade imbecile as possible in the case of an individual who could pass a ten-year Binet test, he said that was a fine point for the psychologists to decide. Meanwhile his procedure was being determined by the idea that he was dealing with a low-grade imbecile. A diagnosis of "feeble-minded" in the case of an adult who had passed a twelve-year Binet test was also allowed to pass unchallenged. If the judge could be told not that a person is feeble-minded or not feeble-minded, but that he is as low-grade mentally as the poorest 3 or 5 or 25 per cent of persons of his age in the community, he would have a safer though less dramatic basis of action.

The extent to which legal procedure should be modified according to the mental status of the criminal is by no means a simple question. Suppose, for instance, a youth of eighteen, whose Binet age is eleven, commits a murder. On the ground that he is "feeble-minded" the judge might decide that he should not pay the usual penalty for his crime. But if the judge knew that a large percentage of the rank and file of the laboring population showed the same degree of feeble-mindedness, he might feel far less certain that the case should receive treatment different from that given to other criminals.

Perhaps what most needs to be modified is not so much the disposition of a limited number of criminals who are feeble-minded as the whole theory and method of dealing with criminals. When we know more accurately the proportion of criminals who are as low grade mentally as the poorest 3, 5, 10 and 25 per cents of the population at large, we shall have a far more rational basis for readjusting legal procedure with reference to mental status than we now have. The laboratory of the Vocation Bureau is making a very real and definite contribution toward a percentile scale of experimental results which will make such a formulation possible.

There is one other point of view from which it becomes important to fix more closely and accurately the limits of the term "feeble-minded." That is with reference to securing legislation. There is no question but that one of the most urgently needed reforms in social legislation is provision for the permanent and compulsory segregation of all the feeble-minded who are either dependent or delinquent. It has been abundantly demonstrated both that the percentage of feeble-mindedness is higher among criminals than among the population at large, and that feeble-mindedness is a very serious menace from the point of view of heredity. But if we go before a legislature to secure such laws with a definition of feeble-mindedness which would, if generally applied, include 25 or even 10 per cent of our industrial population, there would be slight hope of success. We must begin with a percentage low enough so that the individuals so selected might conceivably be provided for in institutions.

² See Rudolf Pintner and Donald G. Paterson—*Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, May, 1916.

The Face of the Nation

By *Edward A. Steiner*

AUTHOR OF "ON THE TRAIL OF THE IMMIGRANT," "NATIONALIZING AMERICA," ETC.

MANY of us who have looked into the face of America are wondering how the future will shape it. We are listening to the confusing sounds that strike our ears, anxious as to which shall predominate. Still more are we perplexed when we look beneath the surface, and see and hear that which escapes the superficial observer. Then we are anxious because those who come to us bring not only racial inheritance and the language their mothers taught them, but tradition-laden memories, standards of living and conduct, hopes and ideals. Upon our ability to blend their historic inheritance with ours depends our success or failure in the task of unifying, solidifying and enriching our national life.

American history is, after all, a chapter in the history of the whole human race and you can not dig into America's immediate past without striking roots branching in all directions. Neither can you think of her future, without finding her profoundly affecting the people of the world.

We are sovereign over this land of ours, we are being moulded into something which will have physical kinship or likeness; but have we a common history, that powerful element in the welding of a nation, and indispensable to it? Our splendid isolation, which, in the past, has done so much to keep us from entangling alliances and has kept us from becoming the inheritor of Europe's political ills, has also made it possible for us to develop our own history and to teach it as if it were another Genesis.

Of our British past we are now being reminded more and more emphatically: what we owe to Spain, France, Holland and Sweden we are beginning to learn; the contribution of the German people we shall not be permitted to forget, and what the latter day immigrant has thus far given and what he may give must, of course, be appraised in the future.

It was, after all, a good thing that American history so soon became the history of one people, that the colonies so quickly forgot their historic background, and that the states, carved out of these vast territories, came in one by one, or two by two, as the animals went into the ark. The historic deluge followed, all but blotting out the past. On the extreme edges of what was once the domain of France the French speech still lingers; of Spain and Spanish, less is left. From ocean to ocean and from the lakes to the gulf it is all America, with its history written upon a new page.

It is really not difficult for the immigrant to accept this new history as his own; it is easy because it is so new, and because its beginning is marked by a great discovery rather than by a great conquest. The story of the discovery of America is known to every European child who goes to school. It belongs to its earliest impressions and frequently antedates the fairy tale.

The winning of the land from the British and the establishment of a republic were events which made their impression everywhere and found an echo in the hearts of all those who, feeling themselves oppressed, yearned for freedom. While we may say that freedom was established here as a political principle, it is an idle conceit in which we indulge ourselves if we believe that there was no striving for it and no understanding of it elsewhere.

German, French and Polish generals played not an incon-

siderable part in the Revolutionary War, whereas common soldiers who were not of native or of English blood were so numerous as to make it impossible to maintain the idea that none but Anglo-Saxons can love freedom. That passion is, after all, a very common, human quality among people everywhere, and there is a response to those who struggle for it which is limited only by the endeavor of rulers to suppress it.

We are fortunate in having written upon that first page of our history the name of George Washington, who is no stranger to freedom-loving people anywhere. His monument is found in many foreign capitals, and he may be, so far as I know, the only foreign ruler thus honored. The Hungarian child before it is old enough to have read the historic page has seen his monument in Budapest, close to those of Kossuth, of Deak and Petoefy, his own national heroes. Even if he comes into the consciousness of the immigrant long after he has left the school of his native country, or even if he has never gone to school, the character of Washington makes its immediate appeal unlike any whom he knows. Of royal nature, though not of royal blood, this hero accepted no recompense for serving his country, making service itself the only reward he asked, so that republican principles might be firmly established in this land.

THE period between the War of the Revolution and the Civil War is the history of the migration of a people; it marks the winning of the West and the making of great commonwealths upon those far-stretching prairies, a task, too, in which the immigrant had an honorable part. The border struggle was never under the leadership of one man or one people, and while the Scotch-Irish predominated, the Germans, Scandinavians, Poles and Bohemians made up a fair share of that ever-moving frontier line.

The racial strains which went into the making of the frontiersman are hard to trace, for it is an elemental personality which emerged out of that early melting pot—coarse, but strong, keen and inquisitive, powerful and materialistic, restless and individualistic, buoyant and exuberant, shrewd as Jacob and hardy as Esau.

The immigrant readily enters into the highly accentuated record of conflict with the Indians, even though his particular race had no share in the winning of the West. Long before I read Cooper's Indian tales I played Indian in a village among the Carpathians and scalped the luckless palefaces whom I had captured. The names of Sitting Bull and Buffalo Bill have been carried through the capitals of Europe, and from towns and villages many a lad's eyes were turned westward, yearning to have a share in fighting the Indians.

The year 1848 marks an epoch in the history of the European peoples, and the immigrants who at that time came to the United States, driven by their despots, repaid this country richly for the asylum they found. They made valuable contributions to our culture and our politics, refining our social life and purifying our ideals of liberty and democracy. Eighteen hundred and forty-eight is a date which serves to accentuate the common passion for liberty and the common traits which mark all noble men, of whatever race they be.

The Civil War, in spite of the fact that it was an internecine conflict, found a universal echo. It seemed of little

concern to the people of Europe whether the Union was preserved or not, and England's commercial policy dictated her sympathy with the South; but upon the question of slavery there was no division.

Just as the escape of the children of Israel out of Egypt has become sacred history, the story of the black man's gain of freedom has entered the universal consciousness. It marks the death of slavery, and in that, all human beings have cause to rejoice. It is not difficult to arouse enthusiasm for the soldier heroes who died in that conflict. Many were men of all the racial strains which had drifted into the United States. The outstanding figures of U. S. Grant, of Sherman and Sheridan make their heart-stirring and picturesque appeal, while Stonewall Jackson and Robert E. Lee are gradually becoming sympathetic figures to all American people, native and foreign born.

There is, however, no person in American history, if in any history, who like Abraham Lincoln instantly captures the imagination of every normal human being.

I doubt that the saints and martyrs upon the church's calendar or many sacred names in Holy Writ are so vitally compelling as the name of this man, born in a log cabin, reared amidst poverty and ignorance, who made his way from the backwoods to the White House and into the immortality of history.

The sadly solemn face portrayed upon our commonest coin, the penny, received its smile from the skilled fingers of an immigrant sculptor, who modeled it "so that he may smile upon every immigrant's child, his first welcome." That was the stroke of a genius who understood Lincoln and knew the common people's appreciation of the great martyr President. I wish there might be erected in every industrial center a statue of Abraham Lincoln for masters and men to see and reverence, thus being reminded of their duty toward each other and toward their common country. What a people we could become if the immortal words he spoke were graven upon the pedestal of such a statue, to greet our eyes and challenge our conduct daily: "With malice toward none, with charity toward all."

THE history of the United States since the war has not yet been written, for it is the story of an epoch just closing. It marks the sudden leaping of a people into wealth, if not into power, the fabulous growth of cities, the end of the pioneer stage, the beginning of an industrial period, and the pressure of social and economic problems toward their solution.

At least twenty million people have come full grown into our national life from the steerage, the womb out of which so many of us were born into this new world. Most of us came to build and not to destroy; we came as helpers and not as exploiters; we brought virtues and vices, much good and ill, not because we belonged to this or the other national or racial group, but because we were human. It is as easy to prove that our coming meant the ill of the nation as that it meant its well-being. To make full appraisal it is much too early; it is a task which must be left to our children's children, who will be as far removed from today's scant sympathies as from its overwhelming prejudices.

The great war has swung us into the current of world events, and it ought to bring us a larger vision of the forces and processes which shape the destinies of nations and their peoples. But as yet we are thinking hysterically rather than historically. The indications are that we may not learn anything, nor yet unlearn, of which we have perchance the greater need. Thus far we have become narrower rather than broader, for the feeling toward our alien population is

growing daily less generous and our treatment of it less wise.

Nor am I sure in what wisdom consists, the situation is so complex. For we are the Balkans, with its national, religious and racial contentions; we are Russia, with its Polish and Finnish problem; we are Austria and Hungary, with their linguistic and dynastic difficulties; we are Africa and Asia; we are Jew and Gentile; we are Protestant and Greek and Roman Catholic—we are everything out of which to shape the one thing, the one nation, the one people.

Yet I am sure that we cannot teach these strangers the history of their adopted country unless we teach them that our history is theirs as well; that, on the other hand, their traditions are ours, at least so far as they touch humanity generally and convey to all men the blessings which come from the struggle against oppression and superstition. It is in their inherited national prejudices, in their racial hates, in their tribal quarrels that we wish to have no share, except as we want to help them forget the old-world hates in the new world's love.

None of us who have caught a vision of what America may mean to the world wish to perpetuate here any one phase of Europe's civilization or any one national ideal.

Although our institutions are rooted in English history, though we speak England's language and share her rich heritage of spiritual and cultural wealth, we do not desire to be again a part of England or nourish here her ideals of an aristocratic society.

In spite of the fact that for nearly three hundred years a large part of our population has been German and that our richest cultural values have come from Germany, in spite of her marvelous resources in science, commerce and government, we do not care to become German, and I am sure that Americans of German blood or birth would be the first to repudiate it, should Germany's civilization threaten to fasten itself upon us.

We do not wish to be Russian, in spite of certain values inherent in the Slavic character, nor do we desire to be French.

We do crave to be an American people, to cultivate here an American civilization, and if we are true to the manifold genius of our varied peoples we may develop here a civilization richer and freer than any one of these, because it will be based upon all of them, truly international.

HISTORIANS tell us that the history of the United States illumines and illustrates the historic processes of all ages and all peoples. To this they add the disconcerting prophecy that we are drifting toward the common goal of destruction, and that our doleful future can be readily foretold. We have had our hopeful morning, our swift and brilliant noon, and now the dark and gruesome end threatens us.

I will not believe this till I must.

I will not, dare not, lose the hope that we can make this country to endure firmly, to weather the storm, or at least put off the senility of old age to the last inevitable moment.

When, however, the end comes, as perchance it must, I pray that we may project our hopes and ideals upon the last page of our history, so that it may read thus:

"This was a state, the first to grow by the conquest of nature and not of nations. Here was developed a commerce based upon service and not upon selfishness, a religion centering in humanity and not in a church.

"Here was maintained sovereignty without a sovereign and here the people of all nations grew into one nation, held together by mutual regard, not by the force of law. Here the state was not maintained by battleships and armaments, but by the justice, confidence and loyalty of its people."

COMMON WELFARE



THE MONTH

NEXT Tuesday, being the famous Tuesday following the first Monday in November, will be widely marked by the legal "X," which is the outward and visible sign of having made a citizen's choice. But in few states will the voter get off so easily as to mark only one ballot. In nearly all he will be faced with the demand for "yes" or "no" on a number of constitutional amendments, many of them of prime social significance.

In Massachusetts, New Hampshire and New York he must decide whether or not the fundamental law itself shall be overhauled through proposals for constitutional conventions. In South Dakota and West Virginia he will have the opportunity of giving votes to women. This is in striking contrast to a district in Washington, where Anna Louise Strong, secretary of the Seattle Central Council of Social Agencies and known in the East through her work for the federal Children's Bureau and in child-welfare exhibits, is running for the legislature. A contrast, also, to Denver, where Judge Ben B. Lindsey is appealing to the women voters to re-elect him judge of the Juvenile Court. This is Judge Lindsey's twelfth campaign in sixteen years, due to conflicting judicial decisions as to whether his is a state, county or city office. Some years he has run both spring and fall.

By all odds the greatest number of measures have to do with one form or another of prohibition. The liquor question is never settled. Defeat of a prohibition measure is sure to be followed by its resubmission; and enactment, particularly in a state possessed of the initiative, sprouts a hardy perennial of proposed repeal.

There are six states in which the prohibition issue has been raised this fall by the dry forces. One of these, Idaho, is already dry by statute and the present vote is on the question of putting prohibition into the state constitution. The five states which are now wet and in which prohibition is an issue are Cali-

fornia, Montana, South Dakota, Nebraska and Michigan.

In California the voters are facing two prohibitory propositions, one for the closing of saloons and prohibiting the sale of liquor in clubs, cafés and restaurants to take effect in 1918; the other prohibiting, also, the manufacture of alcoholic liquors. The latter would go into effect in 1920, giving time for the grape-growing interests of the state to adjust themselves to a change. The friends of the latter measure hold that the fears of the grape-growers—a large class in California—are unfounded, as it is in table grapes and raisins, rather than in wine grapes, that the state's profits lie. The other amendment, the chief effect of which would be to close the saloons, is said to have a much wider following than the more drastic measure.

Montana is voting on a referendum which, if adopted, is to become effective December 31, 1918. South Dakota, which has 400 dry towns to 92 wet ones, is voting on statewide prohibition.

And Nebraska, also under local option, is voting on a statewide measure.

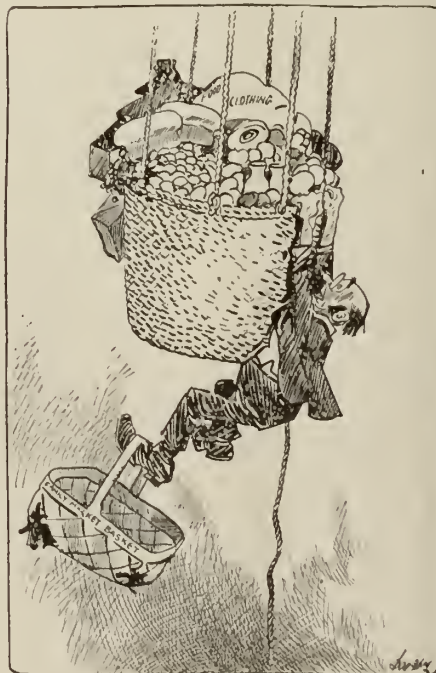
Michigan, which is being watched with much interest because of its automobile and other large manufacturing interests, is facing two constitutional amendments. One, designed to prohibit the manufacture and sale of liquor, makes no reference to importations from other states and is being attacked by the wets as a measure not intended to prevent the well-to-do from importing liquor, while it would deprive the poor man of his glass of beer. The second, initiated by the wets as a backfire, would change the basis of the present local-option law, under which 44 out of the 83 counties of the state are dry, from county to township.

Perhaps the liveliest campaign of all is on in the dry state of Washington, where two initiative measures, one known as the hotel-men's bill, the other as the brewers' bill, are up. The first provides that any hotel with more than fifty rooms may get liquor in any quantities and supply it to its guests, and to their guests, with meals or in their rooms. The second bill allows the manufacture of beer and the conduct of a mail-order business and house-to-house delivery. Under it Washington would be a state without a saloon, yet without a legally dry spot from end to end.

In Alabama widespread efforts are being made to secure the adoption of a constitutional amendment permitting counties to levy upon themselves an additional tax for school purposes. The city of Birmingham, in particular, is in grievous need of larger school funds, not only to supplement present inadequate amounts but to make possible the real enforcement of the state compulsory education law. Another amendment has for its purpose the establishment of biennial sessions of the legislature in place of the present quadrennial sessions.

Arizona voters, besides an amendment drafted to restore the state prohibition law to the intent of its drafters, now partially defeated by judicial decisions, will act on an elaborate workmen's compensation measure. It is modeled on the

Donahy in Cleveland Plain Dealer



GOING UP!

Montana law, establishing an industrial accident board and a state insurance fund, but the payments proposed are about 10 per cent higher. Initiative measures propose to abolish capital punishment, substituting life imprisonment; to add to the grounds on which divorces may be granted, and to establish a state department of labor in charge of a commissioner at \$3,000 a year, to be elected for a two-year term.

Arkansas must vote on an amendment which proposes to substitute county option for the present statewide prohibition. Should it pass, it is expected to lead to the legal reopening of saloons in the cities. Another local-option amendment would permit counties to increase their present tax rate of five mills to any amount up to twelve mills, the increase to be used only for schools. The success of the measure would, it is said, greatly improve the schools, especially in country districts where the school year is short, in some cases being only two or three months out of the twelve. A third amendment is designed to stiffen a weak spot in the initiative and referendum—the emergency clause—through which the state child-labor law was all but lost last year.

In California, whose liquor proposals have been mentioned above, a drastic single-tax amendment will come up by initiative. The measure provides for a complete revolution in taxation in less than two months, as, if adopted, it will become operative January 1. Its intention is said to be the breaking up of the big land holdings, but among those opposing it are representatives of some small land-holders who believe that the sudden shifting of the burden of taxation would lead to confiscation of property, especially of those small parcels of land which many Californians have made practically their savings banks.

ALL Illinois will vote on a constitutional amendment authorizing the legislature to equalize taxes, now said to be scandalously unjust under a law nearly a century old. In Chicago a referendum consolidating the many city park boards is being opposed by friends of the measure on the ground that the city administration is pushing for a decision at the national instead of the city election in order that it may add thousands of appointments to Mayor Thompson's patronage.

The City Council is submitting a bond issue of \$2,450,000 for the purchase and development of bathing beaches and pools, playgrounds, indoor gymnasiums, assembly halls, reading-rooms and small parks. The passage of the issue, which is widely hoped for, recognizes the needs of the great groups which surged to the shores of Lake Michigan all through the hot summer just past, and even fought for a place

in the line of bathers. And it makes definite the long struggle of Chicago civic agencies and the Chicago Plan Commission to reclaim the lake front for the healthful and recreative use of the people.

Louisiana voters must pass on nineteen proposed amendments to the state constitution, the most important, perhaps, being the one permitting women to serve on educational and charitable boards, submitted for the third time. Now a woman may be appointed only to the office of state factory inspector, an exception secured through a special vote at the time, several years ago, when Jean M. Gordon offered her services to the city of New Orleans as factory inspector. The entire state had to vote on the matter, at a cost of \$3,000, before Miss Gordon's offer could be accepted. In the vote of New Orleans property owners on the measure authorizing a refunding of the municipal debt depends a bond issue of \$9,000,000, and on that, in turn, hangs the continuing of the city school system on its present basis.

IN Maryland there is a lively educational campaign on to secure the adoption of an amendment, approved by both political parties, for the creation of a state budget system. Increased assessments and high tax rates have failed to check the state's mounting deficit, due to appropriations made with little regard to sources of income. Finally, two years ago, the whole thing "blew up," as a writer in the *Baltimore Sun* puts it, and \$2,000,000 worth of bonds had to be issued to pay current expenses, a part of them being the generous subsidies to state-aided institutions for which Maryland is widely known.

The proposed budget system was drawn by the so-called Goodnow Commission, appointed for the purpose, and has been widely approved by budget experts.

In Massachusetts fourteen cities and towns will have to decide local questions, such as charter revision, preferential voting in municipal elections and pensioning certain classes of officials. In three of these cities simplified charters are proposed. In Lynn there is the question of establishing a public industrial shoemaking school to supply a need which several private schools are now attempting to meet in an unsatisfactory way.

The initiative and referendum will be placed in issue in thirty-seven of the 224 districts of the state. This question, whether the representative shall be instructed to support the initiative and referendum, is placed on the ballot under the provisions of the limited initiative law of 1913, which provides for the initiation of questions which the secretary of the commonwealth shall determine to be questions of public policy.

Under this limited initiative, also, the question of non-contributory old-age pensions will be submitted to the voters of four districts: "Shall the representative from this district be instructed to advocate legislation for non-contributory old-age pensions?"

Four general referendums will be submitted to the voters of all cities and towns. One is the acceptance of an act to make January 1 a legal holiday. Another is the question of holding a constitutional convention. Another is the acceptance of an act in regard to party enrollment at primary elections.

The fourth general referendum is upon an act to authorize cities to maintain schools of agriculture and horticulture. Each city in the state may choose whether or not it will adopt the proposal put forward by the Massachusetts Homestead Commission as a back-to-the-land measure. This provides for the teaching of families in horticulture and agriculture and the temporary housing of those attending the school who have not access to the land. In its campaign for the measure, the Homestead Commission has put forward the plan to relieve unemployment and congestion of population in the cities, to check the flow of people from country to city against which there is no counterbalancing stream of people returning to the land. It is cheap and easy to move to the city and get work; it is difficult and expensive for a family to establish itself outside of the city.

Missouri voters will be called to vote upon prohibition, state pensions for the blind and the establishment of the so-called "farmers' land bank," a form of rural credits. All three are constitutional amendments. Prohibition and the land-bank bill were submitted by initiative petition; the amendment for pensions for the blind by the legislature.

This is the first time since the initiative and referendum was adopted, in 1908, that it has been so little used. This is due, perhaps, largely to the fact that there is a strong movement on in Missouri at the present time for complete constitutional revision, and advocates of changes are putting all their energy into getting the legislature to submit the question of calling a constitutional convention. The farmers' land bank is a political issue, being the chief plank in the platform of the Democratic candidate for governor. Both political parties have pledged themselves to the amendment for the blind, as well as to the calling of the constitutional convention.

IN St. Louis the voters will be called upon to vote on a sweeping amendment to the city charter, providing for an entirely new system of nominating and electing city officers. With the usual ballot reform, cutting party labels off

the ballots and nominating only by petition, go proposals to elect the legislative body by proportional representation, so that every big group in the city, instead of one political party, will be represented in the board of aldermen; and also to elect the three administrative officers of the city by a majority instead of a minority choice, through preferential voting.

New Yorkers are asked to authorize a bond issue of \$10,000,000 for Bear Mountain Park, a notable playground near city-dwellers, which combines the unusual features of primeval forest and the Palisades of the Hudson River. Private gifts of \$2,500,000 depend upon the appropriation, which, moreover, will obligate the state of New Jersey to cooperate in the project. Three counties, Rensselaer, Warren and Livingston, are asked to vote the money for county tuberculosis sanatoria.

In North Dakota, while no specific social measures are before the people, intense interest attaches to the election as marking what is described as nothing less than an industrial revolution. The farmers of the state have organized politically, have captured the organization of the Republican party, and it is said they will undoubtedly elect their entire state ticket.

In Oregon the secretary of state's list of proposed amendments and measures is largely taken up with the text and arguments over a single-tax bill. This has been defeated several times in different forms, and comes up this year by initiative under the name of "full rental value land tax and homemakers' loan fund amendment." There is considerable interest in the proposal to repeal a provision of the constitution which provides that "no Negro, Chinaman or mulatto shall have the right of suffrage." The article applies now only to the native-born, and is said to be a dead letter. Another initiative petition would prohibit compulsory vaccination. Still another repeals an unenforced Sunday closing law for stores and other business places.

An interesting initiative is that proposing a state rural-credits act, to be based on a state bond issue of not more than 2 per cent of the total assessed valuation of all property in the state. It resembles the recent federal act. The farmers' organizations, which support the measure, point out the interest rate on farm mortgages in Oregon is 8.25 per cent, which, with renewal costs and commissions, brings the rural interest rate up to a little less than 9.25 per cent. The rate proposed under the bill is 5 per cent.

In Washington, state issues have a social significance which to some minds quite dwarfs the national election. As one social worker puts it, the initiative, referendum and recall, the prohibition

laws, the municipal utilities, the port commission and even the right of the average citizen to vote are all at stake in two initiatives, seven referendums and one constitutional amendment. The prohibition measures have been mentioned above.

The franchise measure proposes to limit all voting on matters pertaining to finance and allied subjects to persons whose names are on the tax roll. This, it is believed, would disfranchise 75 per cent of the women and half of the men when it comes to voting on municipal utilities and school bonds. The port commission bill proposes to add to the three members now elected on a non-partisan ticket four county and city officials elected on party tickets for other jobs, a measure which is said to have for its prime object the partisan control of the port and its patronage.

The anti-picketing bill is so sweeping that it is believed its enactment would make it unlawful to carry a newspaper in which is printed a statement of the cause of any strike. The budget bill is said to be not a bill which would prohibit each city department from increasing its prearranged budget—that would still be allowed in emergency—but a measure which would require that such money be borrowed from the banks and not temporarily transferred from other city funds; a bill, in other words, which would keep city moneys on deposit in the banks at 2 per cent, while the city borrowed from the same banks at 6 per cent.

Certain interests in the state are said to be working for the enactment of these and other measures on the ground that Washington has been injured by "freak laws" and that this year's proposals are in line with a general tendency in the last legislature to return to a different sort of law-making. The charges made on the other side are that the last legislature, although thoroughly reactionary, lacked the courage to enact the program which it really desired, and put the matter up to the people in a series of cunningly devised initiative measures.

MR. STRONG'S REPORT ON STATE CHARITIES

ON Friday of last week Governor Whitman made public the report of Charles H. Strong, his special commissioner appointed a year ago to examine into the management and affairs of the New York State Board of Charities, of several related boards and commissions, and also into the charges brought by the city Department of Public Charities against the inspections by the state board of private institutions receiving money from New York city.

Mr. Strong upholds the charges of the city and recommends a thorough reorganization of the State Board of Charities, as well as the abolition of

several boards and commissions. A critical estimate of his conclusions will appear later in the SURVEY. Only a summary of his major findings will be given here.

The city proved its case, Mr. Strong finds, "out of the pages of the state board's own inspection reports." Private institutions receiving money from New York city and subject to the inspection of the state board care for more than 25,000 dependent children. The charge that many of these institutions were "unfit for human habitation" Mr. Strong declares untrue. This was made in the testimony before him of John A. Kingsbury, city commissioner of public charities. On the other hand, the charge that conditions in many of these institutions bearing the certificate of approval of the state board were "such as to be little less than public scandal and disgrace," Mr. Strong finds to be true. This was made in Mr. Kingsbury's report to Mayor Mitchel, which was forwarded to the governor and formed the basis for including this phase of the inquiry in Mr. Strong's commission. Seven, at least, of the twenty-four institutions on the city's controverted list must be thus described, says Mr. Strong.

For permitting such conditions to grow up and to continue Mr. Strong finds the state board responsible. He refers with appreciation to the "devoted, unselfish and uncompensated service of many of its members over long periods of years," and declares that he has not regarded his own commission as "an engagement to enter into a man-hunt" for the removal of any individual or board. He finds, however, that "at the time of appointment only a minor fraction of the state board had special qualifications for the post" and that "very few of the members possess what would seem to be reasonable familiarity with the state charities law, even in respect of the powers and duties of the board itself."

He finds, furthermore, many illustrations in the board's conduct of a "policy of aloofness," a "failure to drive hard enough." Sufficient power to enforce its own rules and standards with respect to private institutions exists, he believes, in the board's power to withhold its certificate of compliance, to issue a certificate of non-compliance, and to apply for a court order directing an institution to correct specified abuses in its care of inmates. Yet he finds that the board has all too infrequently withheld the first certificate, only once in twenty years issued the second certificate, and never applied for a court order. Its aversion to publicity as a means of enforcing its recommendations is another weakness in its policy, he declares. "Publicity," he says, "in the relation between a state department and a private institution holding any religious faith is essential."

"The State Board of Charities lacks power," he declares; "it lacks vision; it lacks drive. It does not know its real job. It is not doing its real job. It is ailing and it shows no sign that it knows what is the matter with it."

To the animosities that grew out of the city's investigation of private institutions and out of his own inquiry, Mr. Strong refers only incidentally. "I do desire to say," he declares, "that some widespread public animosities might have been avoided if the so-called 'Farrell-Potter pamphlets,' on the one hand, and the so-called 'Moree anonymous pamphlets,' on the other, had never been issued. All these were deplorable from every point of view."

The city's inspection, he finds, "galvanized the institutions into doing some things recommended and urged by the state board for years." "The objects of the city's investigation have been variously stated—to destroy the institutions; to convert the private institutions into public institutions; to place out all the children in private families; to secularize the institutions; to take God out of the hearts of the children; to found charity upon morals and not upon religion; to attack particularly the institutions of one religious faith; to destroy the State Board of Charities. There is no evidence before me that would remotely justify any such conclusion."

In the section dealing with infant mortality in private foundling asylums, Mr. Strong declares that the city Department of Public Charities "has a great duty to perform in this field." Complete utilization of the resources of the city, he says, would lead to a reduction in the number of commitments of children, and much can be done, he believes, that is not being done to keep mothers and infants together.

In urging his recommendations for a reorganization of the state supervisory system, Mr. Strong makes it clear that the State Board of Charities is guaranteed by the constitution and that he would not abolish it if he could. His desire is "to convert a weak board into a strong board, a board with inadequate power into a board with real power." "I do not mean," he says, "a board of control such as exists in many states, and usually not with advantage, but a strong, authoritative advisory and supervisory board, with sufficient administrative power to carry it through, and at the same time to cut out the vicious circle of interference by other administrators." Local institutional boards of managers must remain, he says, and must continue to exercise the "primary and fundamental administrative control."

The state board that he recommends would comprise, instead of twelve unpaid members appointed by the governor from districts, nine members appointed from the state at large, of whom

three would be paid and six not paid. At least one member would be a woman. Individual members, instead of serving eight years, would serve during good behavior and be removable by the governor for cause. At present the law specifies no qualifications for membership on the board; Mr. Strong would have special qualifications described in the law, "to the end that all the functional activities of the board should be discharged by persons with special training therefor."

Many of the new administrative and executive functions that he recommends should, he says, "be imposed upon the president of the board in the belief that efficiency in matters administrative calls for a one-man service."

Two new bureaus within the board are recommended; namely, a bureau for dependent children and a bureau for mental deficiency. The first of these would, among other things, develop new and reasonable standards of child care in the institutions, promote the placing out of certain classes of children in family homes, and stimulate an increase in financial support for the institutions, both from public and private sources. The second would address itself to the great problem of the care of the feeble-minded and might, when the constitution is suitably amended, be superseded by an independent state department covering this field.

Other recommendations call for an express grant of power to the state board to adopt rules and regulations for the reception and retention of inmates in state charitable institutions, such extension as there may be under the existing constitution of the visitational power of the board over private charitable institutions, and careful revision of the state charities law and the poor law. A state institution for defective delinquents is urged, as is also the care of adult female delinquents in public institutions exclusively.

The abolition of five offices and commissions is recommended. These are the fiscal supervisor of state charities, the Salary Classification Commission, the Building Improvement Commission, the Commission on Sites, Grounds and Buildings, and the Board of Examiners of Feeble-minded, Criminals and Other Defectives.

SHALL STEEL-MAKERS WORK SEVEN DAYS?

THE Lackawanna Steel Company, of Buffalo, has been for several months violating the New York state law providing that each of its employes shall have one day of rest in seven. That was admitted by the counsel for the company and by the superintendent of the plant at the hearing in Buffalo, last Saturday, before the New York State Industrial Commission, on the com-

pany's application for relief from the requirements of the law. Only second in interest was the fact, as developed at the hearing, that the company has not definitely formulated what sort of relief it wants.

Nevertheless, the whole burden of the argument in the brief submitted by the company and in the argument of its counsel was for total exemption from the provisions of the law. The chief grounds given were the difficulty of competition with steel companies in other states which do not come under the New York law, the prevailing scarcity of labor and the poor financial condition of the company.

It was contended that none of the leading steel companies of the United States, not even the United States Steel Corporation, now observes the principle of one day of rest in seven. Mr. Babcock, attorney for the Lackawanna company, stated that, with one or two exceptions, none of the competitors of the Lackawanna Steel Company are giving their men one day of rest in seven. He argued that on account of the scarcity of labor the men have become very independent and do not take the day of rest assigned to them, but take a day off whenever they feel like it. It was urged, further, that on account of great present activity in the steel business it is impossible to get men enough to provide the day of rest for all. The financial condition of the company was discussed in order to show that up to September only one dividend, which amounted to 1 per cent on the common stock, had been paid within the last ten years. It was stated that the men themselves prefer to work the seventh day in order to make seven days' pay every week.

In opposition to the application there appeared representatives of the Buffalo Central Labor Council, social workers and ministers' associations of Buffalo and of the state, the state and city Consumers' Leagues, and the American Association for Labor Legislation.

In a brief submitted by the last, it was pointed out that the steel company's arguments were inconsistent, in that they had shown no burden due to competition. The steel company's brief declared, on the contrary, that its practice and that of its competitors are substantially the same; thereby undermining its own arguments of discriminatory conditions. At the same time the company, in declaring that the men preferred to work seven days, proved that no expense whatever is attached to granting one day of rest in seven—the men and not the company pay the bill.

In the third place, it was pointed out that the company's weakened financial condition in the past was due to early mismanagement, and ought not to be charged against the employes. Further-

Longer Hours

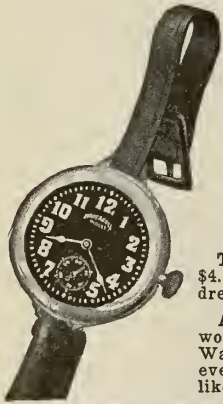
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more, it was shown that, although only 1 per cent had been paid prior to September 1, the earnings for the first six months of 1916 amounted to over 15 per cent, and a 6 per cent dividend was declared in September. It is currently stated in financial circles that the company now, in the second six months of the year, is earning at the rate of more than 30 per cent on its stock.

It was pointed out, further, that the company has never applied to the Public Employment office in Buffalo for aid in securing labor, and that its application is made just at a time when workmen engaged in seasonal occupations, which close down at the beginning of cold weather, will very soon make their presence felt in the cities, especially in Buffalo, where several thousand men will be released about December 1 by the closing of lake navigation.

Clear-cut and vigorous was the opposition from the Buffalo citizens. Adelbert Moot, a prominent attorney and formerly president of the New York Bar Association, told the commission that it had no power to grant such relief as the company evidently desires. The law gives the commission power to make such variations as will not violate the spirit of the law in the case of "practical difficulties" or "unnecessary hardships." Mr. Moot said that the company's brief failed to give any adequate statement of the existence of either practical difficulties or unnecessary hardships. The matters complained of, he said, were matters with which the legislature was cognizant when it passed the law, and it could not have intended that the commission should grant a variation upon such grounds. He said that either the company has been obeying the law in the past, and thus given proof that no serious obstacle stands in the way, or it appears before the commission as a violator of the law.

William E. McLennan, of Welcome Hall, Buffalo, said that it is of no moment in this case whether the company has made 10 per cent, 2 per cent or nothing. Doubtless it went into business in order to make money, but it has no business to do so at the expense of other people. "It is a species of wage-slavery," said Mr. McLennan, "to work men eighty-four hours a week! Men are more important than steel. It is the business of society to make men healthy and happy; no man can be either and work twelve hours a day—seven days a week."

The Rev. Charles Stelzle, representing the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, with a million and a half members in New York, told of having spent a day in Lackawanna last week in talking with business men, householders and many steel workers. The testimony of workingmen was that, although there has been no modifica-

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tion in the law, the hands in every department are required to work seven days a week. As a machinist of eight years' practical experience and as a minister dealing with labor men and labor problems for a number of years, Mr. Stelzle denounced the seven-day week.

Perhaps the most striking testimony of all was that of the Rev. James J. Coale, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Lackawanna—the only English-speaking clergyman in the city. Mr. Coale stated that he was reluctant to appear against the officials of the company, because "in spite of what has just been said, and what they are asking for, they have often lent their influence in the direction of better conditions." He said that these officials were asking for something they did not believe in, because they had frequently told him of their desire to see not only a six-day week, but an eight-hour day for the steel workers. He said that he could only conclude that they were making their present application as representatives of the stockholders, and felt obliged by reason of their position to do it.

Mr. Coale said that he did not know anything about steel-making, but that he did know something about men, women and children—he lived among them, worked with them, they are members of his parish, and he knew the social significance of the seven-day week, and that the consequences are unqualifiedly evil. The effect of such continuous labor can only be degrading. He stated that with a population of 16,000, Lackawanna has anywhere from 138 to 162 saloons. Nineteen of them stand opposite the gate where the men come from the mill. After weeks of overstrain without a day of rest, it is a natural tendency, he said, for men to get beastly drunk, and sometimes they go straight from the pay-window to the saloon and spend their entire wages before leaving.

Mr. Coale ridiculed the statement of the company regarding the desire of the men to work seven days a week. He showed that a great many men are feverishly working and hoarding their money in order that they may go back to Europe when the war is over and buy little farms or take charge of the farms on which they were born and live in comfort for the rest of their lives. "These men will go back," said Mr. Coale, "and spread abroad the tale of their twelve-hour day and their seven-day week in America. I am enough of a patriot to rebel against that being the reputation that America is to build for herself among the people of Europe."

The hearing ended with a dispassionate criticism of the steel company's brief by H. E. Hoagland, statistician to the commission. After pointing out several errors in statistical tables, Mr. Hoagland told the attorney for the company that

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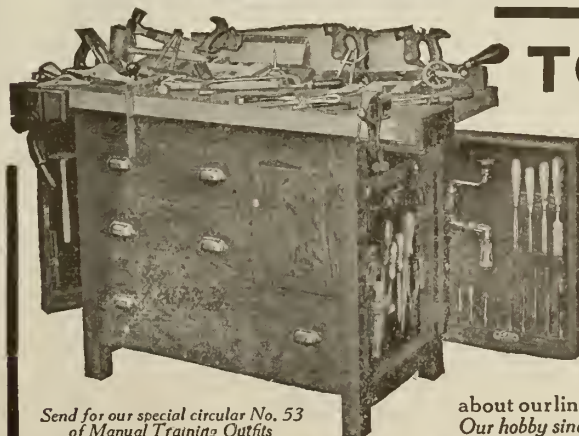
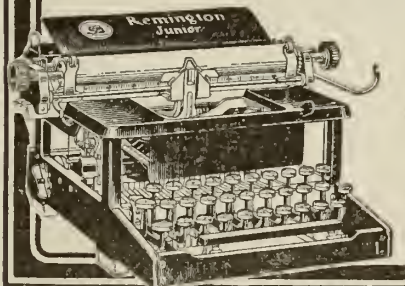
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his figures showing "average" time taken off by the men as evidence that they take off one day in seven were worthless. He pointed out that if some of the men lost more than one day in a week, other men could work the full seven days and still the average would indicate a day of rest for all.

THE PLANS FOR A PEACE LEAGUE

CONSERVATIVE but none the less hopeful evidence that nations are seeking out a substitute for war is found in the gradual acceptance of the idea of a league to enforce peace [see the SURVEY, November 20, 1915] by prominent men in England and the United States.

Thus Lord Grey, British secretary for foreign affairs, in a speech before the Foreign Press Association on October 23, held that the best thing neutrals can do for civilization at the present time is to work up sentiment for a mutual agreement to prevent wars in the future. He added that such a league must be prepared to uphold its decisions by force, if necessary, when a critical time came.

During the present presidential campaign both Mr. Wilson and Mr. Hughes have stated that America can no longer maintain her old policy of isolation. Both have described in clear and strong terms the interest the American people have in the prevention of war and the duty which lies upon them, as a peace-loving nation, to do their utmost for securing the safety of the world by a permanent combination for the restraint of aggression and the preservation of a general peace.

Both Lord Grey and Viscount Bryce, who comments on Lord Grey's speech in a letter to the London Times, welcome the fact that distinguished statesmen in America are considering how a league of peace should be formed and what its functions should be.

"If the risks of war," declared Viscount Bryce, "and the preparations for war are to be in Europe for the next thirty years what they have been for the last thirty—dark, indeed, is the prospect for mankind. In the establishment of such a peace league as Lord Grey agrees with Mr. Wilson and Mr. Hughes in desiring, lies the best hope that some permanent good for the future may come out of the suffering and horrors of the present."

On the other hand, Louis P. Lochner, American delegate to the Ford Neutral Conference who has been in the United States on a brief business trip, finds a possible danger in the plan of a league to enforce peace. Mr. Lochner believes that European diplomats refer to such a league when what they really contemplate is an alliance from which their present enemies are excluded.

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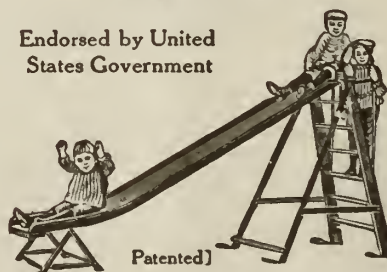
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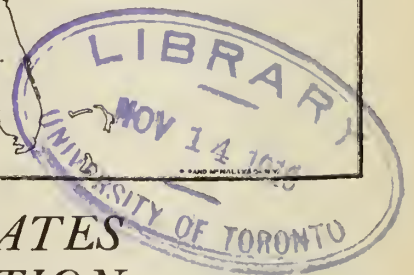
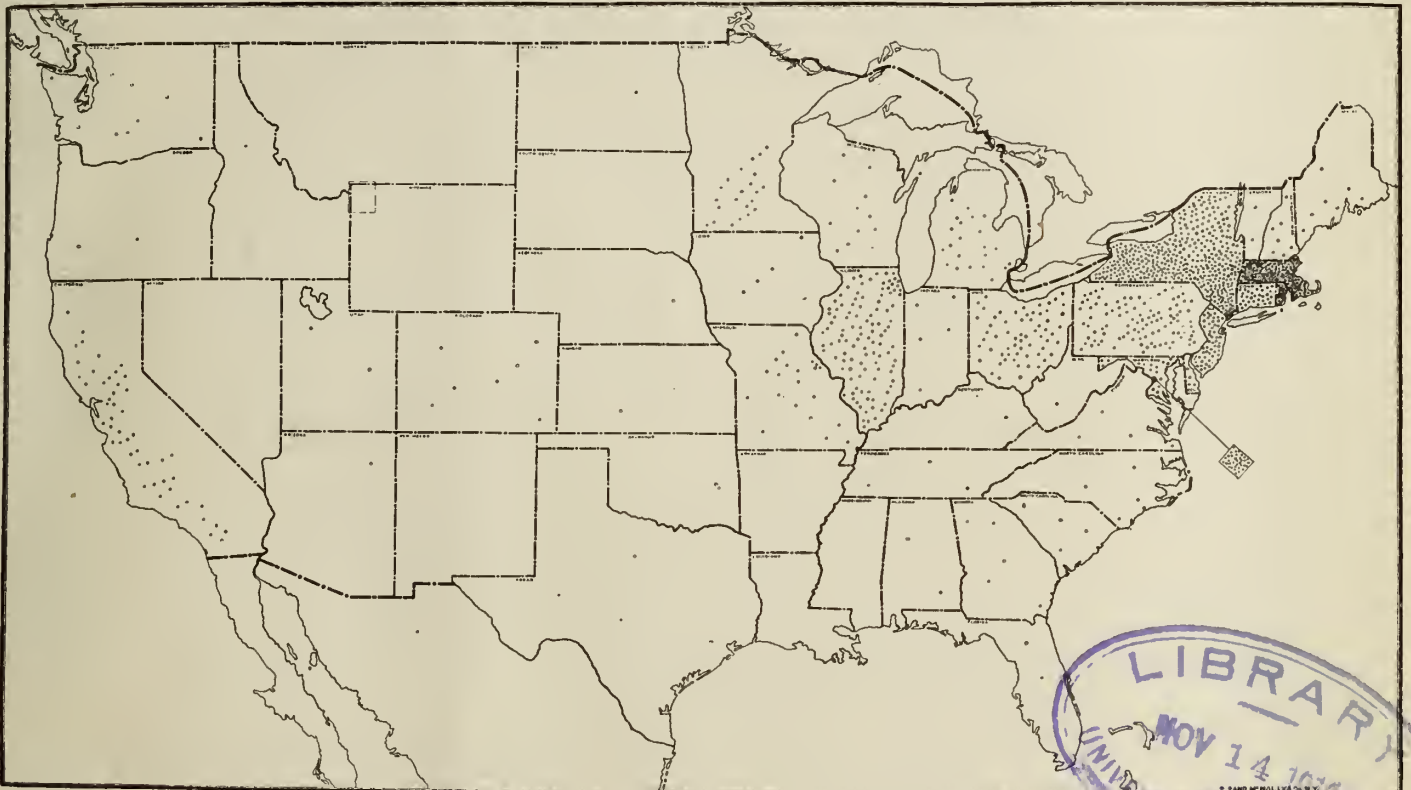

SURVEY

This issue consists of 56 pages.

S. A.

Regular section 24 pages: Annual report section 32 pages

U. S. A.



SPREAD OF SURVEY ASSOCIATES AS A MEMBERSHIP ORGANIZATION 1,000 COOPERATING SUBSCRIBERS IN FORTY-TWO STATES



Perhaps you will recall that last year we began our annual report with a paragraph about Job and his ash heap—as the shrine of too many cooperative enterprises. There was a reason. We had had tribulations and were in for more—unpremeditated and bigger than ever in the months ahead.

But this year!—we should like to begin straight off with a private chant to the prophet in his deliverance, if you will; or better, to Father Abraham. For Survey Associates are coming into it a thousand strong!

[See Annual Report Section.]

THE SURVEY

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SURVEY ASSOCIATES, Inc., Publishers

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The GIST of IT

DOCTORS in the United States are not holding back from the health insurance movement as they did in England. Indeed, they are helping measurably toward the day when agitation shall give way to legislation. But the discussions at the national public health conference brought out some lively differences among physicians, insurance men and laymen who are interested in labor legislation. Page 135.

THE author of "Publicans and Sinners" chides the pride of jobs among some social workers and makes confession of her experience as government investigator, charity visitor and welfare secretary for a large corporation. Page 138.

MR. PORTER would gather the workshops, homes, stores, schools, recreation places, union and employers' headquarters of the garment workers all in one part of New York city. And similarly with the millinery, fur and other trades—industrial units making up the industrial city of this machinery century as the old geographical units of Chelsea, Harlem, Greenwich and New York made up the leisurely town of yesteryear. Page 140.

LAND overcrowding, the curse of modern cities, may be caught at its beginning in Providence, if this old American city acts on the findings of its housing survey. Page 143.

ST. LOUIS must vote a big bond issue this week or risk all the newer developments of its schools. Page 145.

SOME light on nickel, nickel, who's got the nickel, when a strike-breaking agency mans the trolleys. Page 145.

THE five-dollar minimum wage has quite changed the relative importance of pay-day and wedding-day for Henry Ford's stenographers. Page 146.

THE principle involved in the Danbury hatters' case is being tried out on a million-dollar scale in a suit against the United Mine Workers. Page 146.

LOOKING into the use of drugs and the effectiveness of drug legislation, a committee of Philadelphians has discovered some astonishing social habits among victims. Page 147.

ENTIRE staffs of the social agencies of Milwaukee joined in making a day's sickness census under the auspices of the City Club. Page 147.

BOYS of an East Side neighborhood in New York have financed a new settlement house, thus passing on to a younger generation the settlement leadership which came to them at Madison House. Page 148.

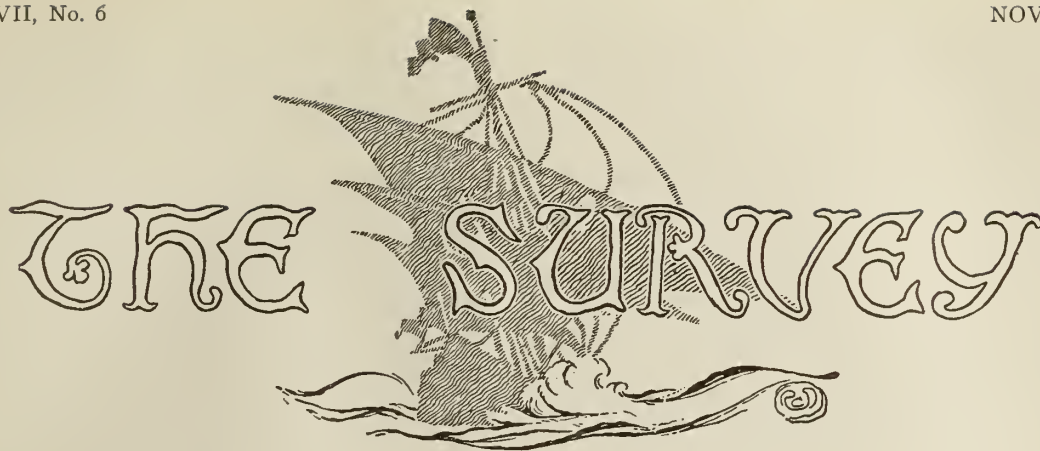
CONVENTIONS galore. All of the leading peace societies got together to begin drafting an American peace plan. The submerged nations of Europe gathered to put forward their common plea. California city planners reported on the working out of zoning systems. Illinois charity workers are writing an epitaph for their county jails. Public health workers discussed long hours, alcohol and other factors in efficiency. Page 149.

A SHELF of books in the field of civic principles and practice. Page 152.

HEALTH

ONE germ after another has been tracked to his lair by the laboratory men. One health campaign after another has aroused popular understanding of the sources and spread of disease. The two in combination, guided by the men in the youngest of professions—doctors of public health—are conspiring to produce The New Public Health. An important series of articles on it by Alice Hamilton, M.D., and Gertrude Seymour, begins in

The Survey Next Week



Health and Labor

Fatigue, Efficiency and Insurance Discussed by the American Public Health Association

By *Alice Hamilton, M. D.*

TWO subjects that always claim the interest of SURVEY readers were considered from many angles at the convention of the American Public Health Association just closed in Cincinnati. These were the physiological basis for the present move for a shorter work-day, and the effect of modern efficiency methods in industrial life on the health of the workers.

The speakers on the program representing the scientific point of view were C-E. A. Winslow, now of Yale, and F. S. Lee, of Columbia. Representing the practical men were John P. Frey, of the International Molders' Union, and Richard A. Feiss, owner of the Clothcraft Shops in Cleveland.

The scientists had their innings first. Dr. Winslow outlined concisely the conclusions of the Commission on Ventilation whose work is now known all over the scientific world. Fatigue, he said, was largely dependent on certain conditions of the air and, therefore, efficiency was dependent on air conditions. He quoted the studies of Prof. Ellsworth S. Huntington, of Yale, which have shown that the high points in the curve of output, both among piece-workers and students, come during spring and fall, for excessive heat and cold are both inhibiting to effort. A temperature of about 60° to 65° F. seems to be best.

In examining the factors which make air bad, Dr. Winslow dismissed the old superstitions about "lack of oxygen," "accumulation of carbon dioxide," "pollution by animal emanations," and laid the blame upon heat, humidity and stagnation.

The experiments of the commission had shown that actual physical changes of an abnormal character occurred when the temperature rose from 68° to 86° F. The effect on efficiency showed itself not in a diminished power but in a loss of desire to perform work, and if the inducement to overcome this disinclination were strong enough—as in the case of an exciting game or a piece of absorbing work—the will could bring about sufficient concentration. But under the slighter inducement, such as is furnished by ordinary school or factory work, the falling off in production at the higher temperature was

marked. Fully 37 per cent more work was done at 68° F. than at 86° F.

Dr. Lee chose for the title of his paper, *Is the Eight-hour Day Rational?* This, he said, was not really an economic or a political problem, but one of physiology, and all arguments based on social or other grounds were of slight importance compared to this; for if the physiological effects of any sort of work are bad, it should be changed on that ground alone. Fatigue is really a condition in which the stored-up substances of the body have been exhausted and in their place are waste products. If after this point has been reached, work continues to be performed, it is done only at the expense of an excessive nervous effort, with the result of chronic fatigue, physical and sometimes moral breakdown.

Now if the work demanded of a man is beyond his physiological powers, in Dr. Lee's opinion, it should be shortened, for a man has a right to demand that his physiological equilibrium be preserved. But this equilibrium is difficult to determine. The feeling of fatigue is notoriously a poor guide, for it may come on prematurely or it may fail to appear as soon as it should. We all know the sudden feeling of utter exhaustion which may come over us at the completion of an absorbing piece of work.

In industry, continued Dr. Lee, some occupations are fatiguing; others, much less so. How are we to determine that eight hours is the proper length for a working day? Certainly we have as yet no scientific basis for it. Yet probably, as was decided by that very careful observer, Professor Abbe, of Jena, it is the best rule we can follow in our present state of knowledge. We must have far more observation on workers themselves, workers of both sexes, of different ages, and in different occupations, before we can pronounce on the question. Certainly the length of the working day should not be the same for all. It seems difficult but it is not impossible to regulate work according to the industry and even to the capacity of the individual.

In the discussion, Dr. Hayhurst, who has had a wide ex-

perience in factory investigation, said he believed that in occupations involving much hazard, such as the very dusty trades, six hours should be the maximum. Dr. J. W. Schereschewsky, of the federal Public Health Service, had found that in the case of women, the eight-hour day was economically advisable. Piece work records showed that if the day were one of nine hours, one hour would be practically lost and if it were of ten hours, two would be.

Mr. Richard O. Feiss, who is reputed to have a model factory, described the welfare work carried on in it and spoke also of the introduction of an efficiency system, which he characterized as a conservation measure and, therefore, also a measure for conserving human effort. In his shop it had resulted in a great reduction of the labor turnover, so that what was once a department for hiring and firing was now one for hiring and keeping.

Speed is not injurious if properly controlled, Mr. Feiss held. Scientific management and motion studies lead to the formation of habit with all its saving of fatigue, and results, too, in the saving of time—and time is life. Another great advantage is the elimination of the boss with his nagging, and the introduction of the functional foreman with his close, intimate cooperation. There is an increase under scientific management of health, happiness, good spirits. His labor turnover now is only 48 per cent and over one-third of his force has been with him for five years or more.

John P. Frey was supposed to take up the question from the wage-earner's point of view, but throughout his short address there was no touch of a partisan bias. He discussed the actual application of efficiency in American industry with a detachment and impartiality worthy of a scientific assemblage and not by any means always attained in such an assemblage. He began by saying that wages determine life itself; on wages depend housing, food, recreation, every detail of daily living; and also the value which a man is to the community and even the length of time he will live.

This last assertion Mr. Frey backed up by figures from the records of the cigarmakers' union and the typographical union, showing the lengthening of the expectation of life in these trades since wages have been increased and hours shortened. He spoke of the need of knowing the point where work becomes excessive. In the case of steel, we can calculate the breaking-point, but much more important is the point, about half way to breaking, when the limit of elasticity is passed. This, not the breaking-point, is what we need to determine for man as well as for steel, and it is a very difficult matter. The experiments will have to be continued over long periods of time, for the effects of over-strain show themselves slowly.

Scientific Efficiency in Theory and Practice

THE SUBJECT of scientific efficiency Mr. Frey refused to discuss in theory. As well expect the practice of Christianity to conform to the theory expounded by its Founder as expect efficiency as practiced in our factories to be what the theoretical devotees of scientific management have claimed it would be. All reports from establishments using this system must be rigidly examined, for in actual practice some element will be found which does not appear on the surface. For instance, one such plant which reported remarkable results was found to have a system of physical examination for new employes so strict that 75 per cent of all applicants were rejected. This meant a picked force of athletes, who could not in any fairness be made a standard for an average group of men.

In other cases the apparent rise of wages following the in-

stitution of efficiency systems was found to be due to the substitution of low-grade labor on machines for high-grade labor. The unskilled probably did make more wages than under the old system, but it would be unfair to call this a general rise in wages.

The serious evils of modern industry, when the human element is considered, are the increasing intensity of speed and the increasing monotony. Both of these are fostered by the efficiency system. Though theoretically it may prevent fatigue, actually as now carried on, it increases fatigue. The "task and bonus" method is not the only one. In all sorts of ways psychological stimuli to increased and constantly increasing effort are devised by foremen who are themselves pushed on in the same way. The workers are divided into groups and raced against each other all day long, by foremen who also race with each other. The system advocated by Taylor has developed into an elaborately planned speeding-up system with all its consequent fatigue.

Dr. Lee closed the meeting by confirming Mr. Frey's statement. Scientific management was supposed to be based on physiological principles, but it bade fair to be pathological in practice.

The Doctors on Health Insurance

ANOTHER IMPORTANT DISCUSSION was that of health insurance—literally a discussion, for through a series of mishaps, not one of the speakers announced on the program arrived in time to read his paper. However, the interest in the subject among public health men is great and since most of them are familiar not only with the arguments in favor of health insurance but with the details of the measure now being put forward by the American Association for Labor Legislation, the meeting decided to assume that the papers had been read and proceeded to discuss what the speakers would have said.

Some thirteen or fourteen members spoke, chiefly officials of some public health department or men in charge of the health work of large industrial establishments. The principle of health insurance, or some kind of provision against the losses caused by sickness among wage-earners, was on the whole accepted, at least provisionally, for the purposes of debate; and attention was devoted to certain points in the bill proposed as a model legislative measure. The points dwelt on were the need of emphasizing preventive medicine; of providing some way of "jacking up" negligent communities or negligent employers; and the importance of so planning the medical features of the bill as to include in it all present agencies; for if not, the insured sick man might actually get poorer service than he does now.

Dr. Wm. C. Woodward, of the District of Columbia Department of Health, thought the selection and supervision of the physicians who are to form the panel of each insurance unit, a matter of first importance. This must not be done in such a way as to lower the medical profession in its own eyes, for that would mean driving away from the profession the most desirable young men and, therefore, in the end an actual lowering of its personnel. On the other hand, there must be some way of securing competence in the men selected, not only at the time of their selection but during their term of service. This, he thought, could best be effected through supervision by public health authorities, probably state, since there were constitutional difficulties in the way of utilizing the federal health service.

These health officials, he thought, should be the ones to pass on claims for disability and on the duration of disability, for thus impartiality of judgment would be secured and the at-

tending physician would also be relieved of the unpleasantness of forcing a man back to work before he felt able to go. Dr. Woodward felt that the increased force in the state medical service which this would make necessary, would be a great gain. These state supervisors would be in reality district health officers, of whom there are not nearly enough under the present system.

Dr. Otto P. Geier, of Cincinnati, declared that if we were to have health insurance it was a great pity to rush into it without first working out a system which would avoid the mistakes of the German and the British systems. Let us wait, he said, till such bodies as the American Medical Association, the National Safety Council, and the American Public Health Association have had time to formulate their ideas on the details.

Dr. Sidney McCurdy, of Youngstown, Ohio, is a convinced advocate of compulsory health insurance, largely because of his experience among working men, for he finds that under present conditions they are not getting proper medical care. They are sent back to work after illness with all sorts of physical defects which hamper them through the remainder of their lives. In examining men for employment nowadays he has found about 10 per cent with weak or defective heart, 4 per cent with hernia and 20 per cent with over-high blood pressure. Many of these defects could have been corrected by proper care during and just after an illness.

He thought that just as workmen's compensation has fostered accident prevention, so health insurance should greatly favor preventive medicine, but some central controlling body must be devised; it would never do to leave it to tyros.

The preventive features seemed to Dr. J. W. Schereschewsky to be poorly provided for in the model bill proposed, as is true also of the British system of insurance. He found nothing in the measure which would make the negligent employer feel the effects of his neglect. Nor did he believe that prevention of sickness would automatically follow the enactment of this measure as now drafted. That would come only after a long period of excessive expense for sickness claims had forced the community to institute reforms.

An Insurance Man on Health Insurance

DR. LEE K. FRANKEL, of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, tried to make clear some of the problems of insurance as they bore upon this measure. Insurance, he said, was, strictly speaking, the coverage of hazards, indemnity for loss. Only incidentally and secondarily did preventive work come in. The most important point to remember in health insurance was that the functions of the attending physician are absolutely distinct from those of the "claim agent," the man who passes upon the compensation. No one man could do these two things any more than he could be at once advocate for the plaintiff and for the defendant. The patient's claim must be passed on by a physician who has had no personal relation to him. Other physicians should undertake the actual care of the sick.

This, Dr. Frankel believed to mean that we are bound to see the advent of the salaried medical man devoting all his time to preventive work and health insurance and not dependent on practice. The situation in Germany, where there is no such division of function, has given rise to endless trouble and has grown worse all the time; so that inevitably after the war they must change to two sets of doctors, those engaged in the work of administering the Krankenkassen and those who are actual practitioners. This model bill he

thought too much like the German, since it, too, placed these two distinct functions in the same hands. Health insurance would, he thought, probably prove far more expensive than anyone now expected. In Germany it has amounted to 4 per cent of wages and no American working man has ever as yet submitted to such a tax as that.

Dr. George M. Kober, of Washington, rose to the defense of the German insurance system, dwelling on the admirable way in which the funds are invested in sanatoria for the tuberculous and in convalescent homes where the latest devices are used to restore function to injured parts. Dr. Kober recognized, however, the constant friction and difficulty of which Dr. Frankel spoke, and believed, too, that it could be avoided over here only by placing the decision as to compensation in the hands of a physician who was not dependent on his popularity for his living. He should be a man employed for his full time.

Dr. E. R. Hayhurst, of the Ohio State Board of Health, was also in favor of placing the medical service connected with health insurance in the hands of salaried men who ought to work in close connection with the institutions now existing, the hospitals and dispensaries. If this was not done, we might end in providing the wage-earner with poorer medical service than he now obtains, for we should be taking him away from the modern dispensary with its specialists and its diagnostic laboratories and throwing him back into the hands of the mediocre practitioner.

Labor Legislation Men on Health Insurance

AT THIS POINT in the discussion, John B. Andrews, of the American Association for Labor Legislation, and Michael M. Davis, Jr., of Boston, arrived from their delayed train. Dr. Andrews had been on the list of speakers and he at once essayed the very difficult task of answering a discussion which he had not heard. The argument revolved chiefly about two points: first, whether there was anything in the model bill which would bring the careless employer into line. Dr. Schereschewsky insisted that there was not; Dr. Andrews, that the indirect effect of the measure would be just that very thing. In this he was backed up by Royal Meeker, of the federal bureau of Labor Statistics, who thought that under the group system provided for, an employer who had an excessive amount of sickness in his establishment would be dealt with by the other members of his group whose insurance rate was being increased by the excessive claims from his plant.

The other point was that of supervision of the medical work by public health officials, and here there was a decided difference of opinion between Dr. Andrews and Dr. Davis, and the meeting in general. The former were inclined to dismiss the question with the statement that it had been submitted to physicians and they were utterly opposed to such "outside interference," and that they themselves believed all medical matters must be under the control of men directly responsible to those who disburse the funds. This met with very lively opposition along the lines of the discussion before Dr. Andrews' arrival, and the meeting adjourned without agreement on this point.

The impression left was that in some way the participation of the present health agencies of the state and of the federal government must be made use of if we were to have a health insurance measure which would be free from the defects of the British and German systems, and that in its present form the model bill did not provide for this satisfactorily.

“Publicans and Sinners”

By Edith S. Reider

ZACCHEUS, the publican, has always had my sympathy. I have often wondered whether he was “up a tree” really because he was too little to see over the shoulders of the crowd, or whether it was because he wanted to avoid being pestered by the people who disliked his business. For, after all, Zaccheus was really in the same fix with many of us who are doing our work under a certain amount of opprobrium, deserved or undeserved; for instance, agents of charity organizations, capitalists, lawyers, labor leaders, industrial welfare workers, clergymen, socialists, and especially “reformers” of all types.

Perhaps the underlying cause of this sympathy for Zaccheus is due to experience in several widely different lines of social service, each bringing association with men and women of large caliber, as well as the inevitable contact with those who love to air their prejudices, and each change bringing the feeling of having gone over to the “publicans and sinners”; or, to use another figure, of having left the sheep to join the goats. Thus came the opportunity to “see oursel’s as ithers see us,” which is so illuminating to the mind, so broadening to the soul, and so stimulating to the sense of humor.

First, in the federal department of labor, investigating the conditions of wage-earning women, there was the ordeal of facing those who thought we were “snooping,” as well as the more distressing experience of having certain persons, including some social workers, tacitly suggest that government investigations were not meant to bring results, save in the easy berths and fat salaries to those who were making the investigation. Meanwhile we spent much time and effort in trying to discover, among other things, to what extent wage-earning women were being worked overtime. This, of course, was our duty, and many an indignation meeting was held when a new case was discovered in which girls had been worked unmercifully. But if anyone could have found a more over-worked lot of girls than we were, at various times, he deserves a prize. Sundays, nights, rain or snow or summer’s heat, in sickness and in health, found us in the field, working intensely and under pressure—girls whose physique and experience had not prepared us for this strain as does the physique and experience of many a sturdy wage-earning girl of the factory.

The Gossip About Charity Workers

WHILE ENGAGED in this work we sometimes heard dubious reports of the ways of “charity workers”; how, for instance, a well-known man had gone into a house and refused to help a poor woman because she had good carpets and a phonograph! And we almost came to share the opinion that charity workers spent their time sitting around in elegant, comfortable offices, refusing the appeals of distress and drawing large salaries “in the name of a cold, statistical Christ.”

The government work completed, the next step was to find work that would go right into the lives and problems of people, a grateful change after the endless statistics, long reports and interminable questionnaires. Personal, helpful touch with suffering humanity was what was wanted, and what was found—as a visitor in the charity organization society of a great city! For the sinister imputations about “charity workers” had been forgotten and only the fact remembered that

families—nice, big families with babies, weary mothers in need of encouragement, confused young girls in need of a confidant, wayward boys in need of a “pal”—all these and many more would be turned over to one for advice and assistance if one went into “charity work.”

Three years of this, first as a visitor, then as an executive, brought out many a lesson of the patience and dignity, of the bravery and sweet humor of some of these families. Likewise it brought the realization that the handsome offices and large salaries of “charity workers” are few and far between. Many a night found these workers almost too tired to sit up long enough to eat dinner, while the memory of one early experience plunging through storm and wind and snow with a cold that ought to have kept one in bed for three days causes wonder that there aren’t investigators going about studying the “working conditions of social workers.”

From time to time, during these two phases of social service, sinister things were heard about “capitalists” and “big business.” To be sure, some work at a university had included an unprejudiced analysis of “big business”; and one could not help realizing the value of organization as well as the brilliant gifts of mentality and courage which are required to guide a great industry through a successful career. The personal friendship of a real live capitalist had revealed generous, lovable and many high ethical qualities, together with powerful mentality, which made one suspect there were other “exceptions” to the rule laid down by zealous labor agitators and radical friends who flared up with hatred at the very mention of capitalists. Moreover, many of those who imputed sinister motives to every policy that emanated from industrial organizations or capitalists, especially industrial welfare work, were themselves drawing every cent they earned from the contributions of these same capitalists.

About the time that the futility of trying to get some families to “stay on their feet” was striking in discouragingly, the call came out of a clear sky to study the conditions of the women employes of a great industry and to report the “truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth” to the president, a man of recognized sincerity, justice, and humanitarian ideals. The offer was accepted unhesitatingly, and when, several months later, changes which had been recommended were made, involving extensive reorganization in some instances and increased operating expenses in others, there came the deepened conviction that “big business,” like “charity work,” should not be given the wholesale condemnation we hear so often; that those who sweepingly characterize organized charity as done “in the name of a cold, statistical Christ” are no more fair than those who sweepingly characterize big business as the exploitation of the entire community.

So it was that this first position led the way into the field of industrial social service, carrying with it the chance to work with a normal group instead of the many subnormal families who were pulled out of one hole only to slip into another, and giving, more than ever, the opportunity to “see oursel’s as ithers see us.” The silent disapproval of certain associates was like the unspoken censure of friends to a man who has decided to take upon himself a wife who is “beneath him”; or the disappointment of a poor congregation when its

minister leaves it for a larger salary; or the shock of a religious sect when one of the faithful turns aside to embrace a heterodox belief.

To put it simply, the mental attitude of some workers toward industrial social service is very much like that of an old lady who went to the bond department of one of the most conservative banks in Chicago to invest a hundred dollars—a very precious and important sum to her. The banking men talked it over with her very carefully and patiently, and finally she decided to buy a first mortgage bond on a new building located on a prominent corner in the loop district. The transaction completed, she hurried out of the building with her bond. Half an hour later, to the surprise of the bankers, clerks, and customers in the quiet, dignified room, she came rushing back in tears and with angry ejaculations, exclaiming: "There ain't no such building; it's a vacant lot!"

The poor woman had hurried over to see the building in which she had invested her hundred dollars, had stood directly in front of it, and looked across the street at the aforesaid vacant lot! No explanations were attempted. The banker quietly gave her back her hundred dollars and took the bond. There was no use in pointing out to her that no reputable bank would dare stoop to such trickery. She had neither the intelligence nor the background of experience which would make her realize the truth.

Some of the letters of inquiry which come into the welfare departments of industrial establishments indicate a similar condition of mind. Yet it is often the same type of worker who will ask an industrial establishment to undertake a line of action which would carry it far into the field of philanthropy, perhaps establishing a paternalism which is quite opposed to the principles of democracy in which most of us believe.

This is not an effort to deny that there is exploitation in industry, any more than it is an effort to prove that social workers are never guilty of some of the harsh and unlovely things that have been reported. It is unfortunate that both in business and social service there are individuals who should not be trusted at all with the responsibility of dealing with other human beings. The fairest policy in philanthropy or business can be distorted until it is unrecognizable if interpreted by a harsh, dogmatic mind. And it is probably true that in connection with the activities of most of us social workers, things often happen which we would not permit if we knew of and could change. Is this not a reason, then, why social workers, of all persons, should be tolerant? Indeed, if anyone in the world has reason to be tolerant, social workers have, for they have more opportunity than almost anyone else to know all kinds of people—the poor and the rich, the weak and the strong, the ignorant and the intelligent, the unjust and the just. Even clergymen and physicians, to whom so much is confided, are not as likely to discover the weakness, the temptation to deceive, the tendency to exaggerate.

At a recent meeting in which socialism was discussed superficially, some ardent young social workers urged all to vote the Socialist ticket as a protest vote, seeming to think the world could not be quite free from the capitalistic taint unless everybody was thus willing to line up squarely with the Socialist party.

Social Service for Those Not Dependent

SHORTLY AFTERWARD, an equally enthusiastic worker (while discussing a strike in which the employers were meeting in daily conference with the representatives of employes to learn the grievances and arrive at an agreement) said very posi-

tively: "Well, I am willing to say that I think labor is *always* in the right." Again, a group of workers were analyzing the various phases of social service. When social service in industrial establishments was mentioned, one of those present whose broad sympathies, great executive ability, and keen mentality have won the deserved admiration of all associates, said: "I never considered industrial welfare work as social service. Why, I always think of social service as being done for people who can't support themselves."

Long years of administering relief to the very poor had established this point of view, though, in this case, there was no intentional criticism nor petty suspicion as there is in many others. It would be unfortunate, indeed, if social service had to be confined to the sub-normal, for many a self-supporting family is in need of constructive social service, and sometimes even temporary relief.

Pioneers and Bachelors of Art

WE CAN ALL afford to smile (and let it go at that) when the self-complacent young girl, with a year or two of training in a small college, thinks that this academic training gives her greatly superior advantages over some one in another line whose training is less academic but more technical, such as that of a visiting nurse, for instance. This naïve conceit is so much like that of the traditional sophomore that we can't afford to lose our patience any more than did one of the leaders and pioneers in charity organization work of whom the following story has been passed along. Upon being asked by a young college graduate, "Where did you get your training?" the mature woman to whom all look for wisdom and guidance replied kindly that she had had to get her training in the work itself (there being no schools of philanthropy or college sociological departments in those days). The young worker replied: "Oh, we require that all our force shall have special college training."

What we have to be careful to avoid is the danger of encouraging this feeling of superiority in our own colleagues. One of the most disturbing memories of social-service experience is that of having to hear the story of a leader who, in the expressive vernacular, "bawled out" a worker in another cooperating agency in the presence of a number of applicants. Perhaps more than one of us has had the disconcerting experience of learning from one of our families of bits of contemptuous conversation about other organizations, overheard "in the office," of a worker whose enthusiasm or temper outruns his or her discretion. When such things happen, the situation is too serious and humiliating to "let it go with a smile."

After all, so many of us live in glass houses that it is hardly safe to throw stones. We smile at the jealousies that are constantly cropping out in the professions; we wonder what the Master of us all must think when the churches squabble, and the clergyman of one sect considers his pulpit too holy for the presence of another follower of the Galilean who sat among His lowly congregation and, without form or litany, gave the world that most wonderful "sermon on the mount." We labor to get Germans and Scandinavians, Poles and Italians, Russian Jews and Irish Catholics to live together in peace and forget their differences of creed and nativity. But, after all, most of us continue in our own little groove, to be like the little girl who came home from her Presbyterian Sunday school and said to her mother in a shocked voice: "Why, mother, did you know that Jesus was a Jew?" "Yes, dear; didn't you?" "Why, no. I knew that God was a Presbyterian, and, of course, I didn't suppose Jesus was a Jew."

It seems, then, that no matter into which pew we get, we are pretty certain to be classed among the "publicans and sinners" by some of the brethren. But, after all, "publicans and sinners" are usually pleasant to work with; and we are all strong for "cooperation," that watchword of effective social service.

A prominent member of the faculty of the University of Chicago used to tell us the following incident in regard to the late President Harper. This faculty member found it difficult to work with a certain colleague and one day expressed himself to Dr. Harper to that effect. Whereupon Dr. Harper replied: "Why is it that you insist upon emphasizing the 95 per cent in that man that is hard to work with? Why don't you try harder to work with the 5 per cent that is good?"

Most of us have much more than 5 per cent that is good

to work with; but even 5 per cent is too valuable to waste in a world that stands so greatly in need of human service. To some of us the knowledge of human burdens, the "acquaintance with grief" that becomes a part of our lives if we engage seriously in social service, would be almost more than we could bear with the poise, and hopefulness and good cheer that is so essential to human helpfulness if there were not the happy association with other workers whose faith and hope and charity are too big to be held back by the little stumbling-blocks of human weakness that we all share. When a group of such workers get together and combine their sincere enthusiasm, their keen mentality, and their disciplined wills in the service of humanity, the inspiration is something that can never be lost. It is not only for the sake of social service itself, but also because we covet this inspiration for all workers, that this little "preachment" has been written.

Garment-Town: A City Within a City

Mr. Porter's Proposal for Industrial Sub-Communities Industrially Controlled

THE clothing industry is being knocked from pillar to post. The Save New York Committee made up of merchants on Fifth avenue has announced in full-page newspaper advertisements that the industry, within a few months, will have disappeared from the shopping district; buyers will again be able to come out at noon, go from limousine to shop door with ease, and look in at store windows without having to elbow their way through a crowd of tailors.

But the Save New York Committee neglects to mention the destination of the clothing industry. They promise to restore to Fifth avenue a sense of aristocratic leisure, and that seems to be as far as their purpose extends. Therefore it is upon the clothing industry, through its Joint Board of Sanitary Control, that the task rests of installing in a new place the manufacturers who are leaving their present quarters at the request of the committee.

This offending trade, with innumerable internal difficulties

From an old print. Courtesy Putnam's Magazine and the Fifth Avenue Bank.



FIFTH AVENUE AT THIRTY-SEVENTH STREET

Merchants of today are seeking to restore New York's main shopping thoroughfare to the aristocratic leisure of the days when it was a street of detached homes.

of its own to settle, established its joint board in 1913, at the time of the first protocol. When all other machinery of adjustment was abolished after the strike last spring, this board, representing the employers, the employes and the public, with its director, Dr. George M. Price, remained as a body useful to all sides. And it was a lucky thing for the hundreds of employers and the thousands of employes and the community at large that it did remain—it seems to be the sole interested party in the present homeless state of the business.

The board is now doing its best to find sanitary lofts away from Fifth avenue for the manufacturers who have promised not to renew their present leases in 1917 and later. An endeavor is being made to locate them in the section of which Union Square is the center. Here they would be not far from the present locations, while the offices of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association, and the Joint Board of Sanitary Control would be near at hand. But there are indications that they are not wanted here—that, again, they may be hounded to another quarter.

This is not the first time that pressure of circumstance has made the position of the clothiers precarious and unstable. A year ago it was proposed that they should move from the section above Thirty-third street to the section below it beginning at Twenty-third street, and the Save New York Committee was originally formed with this object in view. Then it was suggested that they go farther down to the section below Twenty-third street, ending at Fourteenth street, and the Central Fifth Avenue Association promised to chaperone that trip. Now there are intimations from the Central Mercantile Association that, while they are about it, they should go to the section below Fourteenth street—and there they meet the objections of the Washington Square Association!

To H. F. J. Porter, an industrial engineer who has been interested in the civic questions involved in this movement, the present impetuosity (coercion through threat of boycott) of the Save New York Committee can be attributed to this *laissez-faire* attitude of the city in planning its growth, and to the futility of past efforts to thin out the crowds of workers in this industry, who at noon-time and at night trample over



FIFTH AVENUE AS IT IS NOWADAYS

A sluggish stream of workers from the garment factories on the cross-streets. At noontime traffic is blocked and shoppers impatiently elbow their way through the ranks of leisured tailors.

the "best foot" of the city just as she tries to put it forward.

Obviously the industry must go somewhere. It is already on the march. But Mr. Porter wants a more radical move than that planned by any of the committees, admittedly interested in their own sections only. As far as the factories are concerned it will make little difference to them whether they move ten blocks or twenty. And if they now move twenty, Mr. Porter points out, they will be where they came from only a few years ago. By this migration to the section of the city bounded on the north by a line joining Washington Square and Tompkins Square, and on the south by Grand street, and the east and west by the rivers, the great wholesale district depopulated only a few years ago by the uptown movement of trade would be rehabilitated. Moreover, scores of buildings of the older type of construction are scattered through that section into which Mr. Porter would immediately conduct the industry. These buildings have been waiting for the dawn of a better

day before complying with the requirements for safety and sanitation laid down by the new laws. As it now stands the neighborhood is dilapidated, unused and an unhealthy spot.

In recent articles in the *New York Evening Post*, Mr. Porter has outlined his scheme in detail. The clothing industry is claimed to possess some 60,000 workers, 80 per cent of them men. They work in some 1,500 shops, located principally in the Fifth Avenue section, although some are situated in Brooklyn. Their continuity of employment is uncertain, and so they shift from factory to factory. Some who live in Brooklyn work on the west side of Manhattan, others who live in the Chelsea section of Manhattan work in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, and these streams of workers pass each other twice a day on the Brooklyn bridges and in the tunnels.

Evidently, in order that the worker in this industry may walk to his work, someone will have to collect its factories together and bring the homes of the workers near by or the

workers' walk will be a long one. First, then, we must estimate how much area this industry would cover if brought together. Sixty thousand workers represent 60,000 families. With an average of three members to a family and with their dependents, they make up a community of over 200,000 people—as many as there are in Providence or Indianapolis by the last census.

Now Mr. Porter figures that if this community were to be segregated in the section of the city below the line referred to above, there could be housed under the sanitary conditions required by the Tenement House Department, 2,500 people to a block, which would mean that eighty blocks would be required.

Then an area would be needed equivalent to twenty blocks for the 1,500 factories and twenty more blocks for storekeepers and their families, other institutions and warehouses, so that the industry would just about fill the section from that line down to Grand street. Such a mingling of residences and factories has not been contemplated, and yet if such a segregation could be accomplished all the advantages of an isolated and self-dependent community would be theirs.

It will be said that such an arrangement would be impractical of accomplishment; that the factories and homes of an industry would not so move. Mr. Porter's answer is that such a movement is actually in process, since the Joint Board of Sanitary Control has established a registry bureau through which manufacturers and employes may learn where in the lower section they may locate in safe and sanitary lofts and tenements respectively. By selective arrangement the board could bring the factory and home contiguous to each other.

Mr. Porter believes that the inhabitants would gradually rearrange their section so that in time an administrative building would be located centrally; parks would be developed with residences facing them and factories behind; warehouses would be established on the waterfront with a belt-line railroad between them and the piers for the receiving and shipping of raw material and finished products—for it should be realized that 85 per cent of this industry is located in New York city. Around the administrative building would be grouped registration offices, employment bureau and such other community offices and institutions as would be required. When so centrally administered, Mr. Porter believes the seasonal fluctuations of the industry would necessarily be taken in hand and controlled. For at present nearly a quarter of a million low-paid workers are twice a year thrown upon the streets of the city.

It was in the early 90's that the steel skeleton type of building construction was introduced into New York city, obtaining a foothold in Fifth avenue, north of Fourteenth street, through a simultaneous evacuation of that section by the fashionable element, which, with sudden caprice, determined to move uptown. Superimposing tenants presented the only way to secure rentals which would pay interest on the capital invested in Fifth avenue property. So the speculative builder found his opportunity realized in the combination of the demand for quarters by the rapidly growing clothing industry and the chance to meet it by supplying the multi-storied loft building then made possible.

The cloak, suit and skirt industry, which employed principally men, soon realized the attractive features of the then isolated high buildings with good light and air and the advantages of a Fifth avenue address on letterheads. So it invaded these buildings and soon Fifth avenue from Fourteenth street to Twenty-third street became the main street of a mill-town. Nearly a thousand factories, each with an average of some forty employes, occupied the loft buildings of lower Fifth

avenue and its cross streets. At noon the employes, flowing out on the sidewalks, so congested them that their normal use by pedestrians was prevented and access to the stores was precluded.

Conditions finally became so bad that the owners of real estate on the avenue and the tenants of the stores came together and formed the Fifth Avenue Association. At first their efforts were directed to appeals to the proprietors to establish lunchrooms in their lofts and to workmen to walk down the side streets. But when the workmen perversely still preferred Fifth to Sixth avenue, the aid of the police was invoked to convert stagnant crowds into moving streams. This resulted only in altercations and arrests.

At this juncture the president of the Fifth Avenue Association asked Mr. Porter to make a study of the problem and submit his recommendations. Mr. Porter already possessed thorough knowledge of the danger to life from fire in crowded factories, due to the inadequacy of exits. He, therefore, reported to the Fifth Avenue Association that a law which would reduce the number of people on each floor of these loft buildings to those who could safely escape by the exits in case of fire would so lessen the numbers on the sidewalks that the street congestion problem would be solved. This law, known as the occupancy law, was enacted, and the last report of the Fifth Avenue Association states that during 1915 its enforcement reduced the number of people in the lofts, and on the sidewalks over 40,000.

Then the sprinkler interests entered the arena. They induced the factory owners and manufacturers to favor the passage of a law that doubled the number of employes, provided a sprinkler system was installed. That action so nullified Mr. Porter's work that the congestion on the avenue was restored. Whereupon the Save New York Committee went to work to drive manufacturing from the district altogether.

Meanwhile, the Fifth Avenue Association had had its attention attracted to the financial loss of loft buildings placed so close together as to cut off each other's light and air. The association, therefore, secured legislation to regulate the heights of buildings and the appointment of a Commission on Building Heights and Restrictions, which subdivided the city into manufacturing, residential and unrestricted areas. Out of this grew the Committee on City Plan to pass on all physical changes in the city's development.

To Mr. Porter's mind these bodies, which aimed to foster community life by zoning the city into more manageable units, missed their mark because certain factors outside their control entered into the solution of the problem. They failed to notice the extent to which this zoning has already taken place. They failed, moreover, to recognize the industrial character of these zones. The herding together of the clothing factories under present discussion is typical in a somewhat more marked and violent form of every industry in the city. Mr. Porter has suggested a community life within the reach of one industry, and from this he visualizes a scheme for the development of the whole city.

Like the world itself, since the coming of machinery, New York has added to its trading and shipping facilities big producing plants until it is a manufacturing and industrial center. Within this whole, also, single industries have almost explosively expanded like the clothing industry—until it has become a mathematical and engineering problem to fit these parts together with harmony. But out of this tangle of varying industries, some sort of pattern has already formed. Movements totally unplanned and undirected have brought into existence parts of the city known as the leather dis-

trict, the machinery district, the jewelers' district, the silk district, the fur district, the cloak and suit district, the financial district, the wholesale district, and the retail-shopping district.

At the mercy of this segregating impulse and the driving power of industry are the real-estater and the homesteader. Values in property are constantly upset because a prominent firm in an industry becomes dissatisfied with its environment, is off uptown, and is shortly followed by all the little industries of its kith and kin.

Residential sections are never at peace. "Because the murky stream of industry as it swept over the city encountered obstructions at Washington Square, at Stuyvesant Square, at Gramercy Park, at Murray Hill, at Central Park, and swirling past instead of over them left residential mezas there, it by no means follows that the latter will stay there," says Mr. Porter.

"Sentiment has no quality of cohesiveness sufficient to withstand the forces of self-interest. Consequently these localities become honeycombed, disintegrated, and finally depopulated and a process of rehabilitation has to be imposed upon them. Or, as in the Save New York movement, a contest between two rival interests for possession develops and one or the other has to give way."

But why cannot the city take advantage of the automatic grouping of industries and help each of them to secure a separate and permanent place on the map? The pattern that Mr. Porter sees in his mind's eye is a circle of industrial communities all over the island of Manhattan. Workers and factories should, he thinks, form complete industrial villages, as isolated in the midst of New York as the industrial villages of Gary, Indiana; Essen, Germany; or Bourneville, England—villages controlled by the mutual interest of employer, of employe, and the public. And the clothing industry, lost and straying, would be the first of these to become settled in his proposed layout.

"A political democracy was suitable for the nation three-quarters of a century ago; an industrial democracy is needed now," writes Mr. Porter.

"With each industry in the city so segregated," he con-

tinues, "the community interest and the demand for efficiency would effectually govern and minimize unhealthy conditions. There is no reason, logical or otherwise, why there should have to be institutions private or public to care for the people affected by their occupational processes. The industry responsible for the causes should be held to account for the effects. Moreover, no progressive factory that wants to be efficient will have among its employes men and women who are habitués of the saloon and the brothel, and hence the industry made responsible for its section of the city would eliminate these evils from it."

Although transportation has been a vital issue for years in the city and was foremost in the minds of the two commissions in reaching their conclusions, yet the president of one of the principal rapid transit corporations says he still sees no amelioration of it. In fact, the division of the city into residence, business and unrestricted districts as now laid down would seem to separate these three closely related interests of the individual so as to entail upon the latter more traveling than ever.

But were a chain of industrial towns to encircle the city, each self-contained and self-administered, yet all supervised by the municipal administration, Mr. Porter believes the present and future rapid transit facilities would be more than ample to transport the comparatively few who would travel from town to town. And local transit facilities would develop to meet the internal requirements of each. The elevated roads, the eye-sore, ear-rack and nerve-shock of the multitudes, and the destroyers of property values, could then be dispensed with.

By boulevarding the streets connecting the various parks on which the industrial administration centers would be established, there would be developed a park highway such as is the delight of the people of Chicago, Cleveland and other western cities.

So, with the clothing industry as a text, Mr. Porter calls upon the city authorities to awaken to a realization of the opportunity which is now knocking at the door, and may never come again; to settle for all time many questions of vital moment to ever-spreading, ever-mounting New York.

The Houses of Providence

By John Ihlder

OUR war-boom towns are spectacular. They throw into sharp relief the social and economic problems with which we are trying to grapple and so make clear to even the most indifferent how far we are failing. But more nearly typical of American cities is Providence, with 247,000 population, the metropolis of Rhode Island. Providence is not and never has been a boom city. It has had a long and steady growth as a manufacturing center. Its industries are varied, its prosperity substantial. The changes that have come to it have come gradually. In that has lain its chief difficulty. In a boom town changes are so violent that everyone feels them; in Providence they have been so insidious that the community has adjusted itself to them almost subconsciously.

This does not mean that Providence has met and solved its problems, but merely that it has almost accustomed itself to them. When the industrial era began it began with water-power and an American-born population. So, instead of

being concentrated in the heart of the city, the industrial plants of Providence were scattered along the valleys that radiate from it like fingers from a hand; instead of depending upon cheap alien labor, the builders of new enterprises employed their fellow townspeople and people from the surrounding districts. So Providence has been a city of yards and gardens, of houses well up to American standards of their time.

But gradually the city and its satellite villages began to change. Population not only increased, but became of a different character. The textile mills, needing more operatives, drew workers from England and Scotland, then from French Canada. The Irish famine sent them thousands of another race. But all of these accepted the Providence they found, a city of widely-spaced small houses. Then began the new migration, Italians, Poles, Germans, and Scandinavians, Russian Jews, white Portuguese from Europe, Negro Portuguese from the Atlantic islands, Armenians, Lithuanians.

Some of these fitted into the old environment, but others changed the environment, so that those who had a pride in their city, and the Americans of Providence have a great pride in and love for it, grew uneasy.

Several years ago the Society for Organizing Charity began to discuss housing and called in the field secretary of the National Housing Association. Next, the Chamber of Commerce felt the need for action, and sent delegates to the National Housing Conference. Finally, representatives of all the social service organizations formed a general committee on improved housing. This committee partook of the spirit of the city. Instead of rushing into its work and seeking to achieve results over-night, it moved carefully before undertaking constructive work. First it called in John Ihlder, Madge Headley and Udetta D. Brown to make a study of existing conditions and tendencies. Then it planned so that the results of this study were printed and discussed at length by the National Housing Conference October 9-11.

The investigators found Providence an unusually spacious city. Thanks to a site whose hills and bays and valleys prevented the building of a geometrical city, thanks to a tradition of widely spaced houses supplemented by a development that drew population away from the center, Providence came through the period of unregulated growth with space within and without that has permitted the present generation to establish a park and playground system fitted to its needs and that will permit it to keep its yards and gardens and its small houses.

The first attempt to regulate the city's growth was by the adoption of a building code in 1878, during a decade when the increase of population was unusually rapid and when the wooden three-decker, imported from Worcester, began to multiply. This code, revised in 1909, is still the most important safeguard against permanently bad conditions. But with the tendency to land over-crowding that has begun in the Italian and Jewish districts and the building of large tenement and apartment houses by and for the American-born the present restrictions are entirely inadequate. As an illustration, it requires that windows shall be three feet distant from the lot line. Builders have interpreted this to mean that windows on a narrow court three feet deep meet the requirement. The result is gloomy rooms in new buildings and dark rooms in old buildings, which the new buildings blank.

Fortunately such land over-crowding has appeared in only a few places, and its appearance there has been enough to show the city what it may expect unless the building code is supplemented by a housing code. Providence has been predominantly a city of wooden dwellings, it has been a city in which the individual was unusually tenacious of his rights and privileges as against the community. So with the growth of population, wooden-sided, shingle-roofed dwellings have multiplied and crowded closer together, streets that should have been carefully planned by municipal authorities have been laid out and lined with dwellings by the private owner.

Against the increasing fire hazard the insurance companies are fighting vigorously and with prospect of success. But the unaccepted streets, unpaved, unsewered, many of them near the heart of the city and bordered by rows of three- and four-story tenement houses are a problem, with which the community has not seriously attempted to grapple.

Less important than these, because it is a condition that can be removed whenever the people determine that it shall be, and because considerable progress has already been made under the able leadership of Dr. Charles V. Chapin, superintendent of health, is the lack of proper toilet facilities. In spite of the requirement that there shall be proper closets

inside all new tenement and apartment houses and that all dwellings shall be connected whenever sewers become available, there are still 1807 privies in the city. On the other hand there is scarcely a house, scarcely an apartment in the city that has not running water.

With all these problems the report of the investigators deals at length, but it lays greatest emphasis upon the housing provided for immigrant groups and that which some of them are now providing for themselves. In this lies the chief value of the study for other cities.

Two of these groups, the Italians and the Jews, are notable for their eagerness to acquire real estate, and both are builders as well as buyers. With their almost passionate thrift and their habit of close living they have followed the worst American precedents. The three-decker they at once adopted, and, the Italians especially, progressed rapidly from the single three-decker to the double three-decker or six-family house. They added another story, making it a four-decker. They planted new dwellings in their rear yards. Now they are beginning to build large brick tenement blocks. So the districts in which they live have become notable for land over-crowding. In these districts are found the largest and the most rapidly increasing proportion of gloomy rooms.

This is the more remarkable when one sees how the Italian craves not only sunlight, but gardens. Already the over-intensive development of the Italian districts has driven many of their people to the outskirts of the city, where they cultivate little patches, or to the open country, where they are superseding the American farmers. Even within the city they have gardens so long as there is earth still open to the sun.

It is said by real-estate operators that the three-decker in Providence is a poor investment except for the Italians and the Jews. Newcomers, strangers in a strange land, naturally wish to live among their relatives and former fellow villagers. Also they wish to live cheaply. The earlier comers, the same relatives and former fellow villagers, find a profit in taking them in. But here, as nearly always, the advantage lies with those first on the ground. The immigrant rents from a compatriot an apartment in the crowded district to be near former friends. Theoretically, he pays less rent than he would for a small house in another part of the city. Actually he pays more. Wonderful tales are told of the speed with which an Italian pays for the three-decker or tenement which he has bought with borrowed money. Already there are Italians who have become landowners of no inconsiderable importance.

It has long been maintained that rents are higher in a tenement house city than in one of small houses. In Providence rents are higher in sections where multiple dwellings are most numerous than in sections inhabited by people of the same economic status where small houses predominate. The removal from the congested areas of those who have become somewhat acclimated might in time remedy the present condition, leaving Providence with but a few small blighted districts, were it not for the constant stream of fresh arrivals, who not only take the places of those who move away, but require more.

So a new crisis is upon the city, a more serious crisis than that which led to the enactment of the building code of 1878. Flimsy construction is a menace, yet if a building falls down a better one may be erected in its place. But once the land is overcrowded nothing will ever ease it of its burden except wholesale demolition at public expense, a process involving so great a deficit that few cities can undertake it. If Providence now sets good standards it can check the evil and keep it a manageable size. And that it proposes to do through the enactment of a housing code.



COMMON WELFARE

"PUNCH IN THE PRESENCE OF THE PASSENGER"

THE other day a man and his wife got onto a pay-as-you-enter street car in New York city. The man handed a quarter to the conductor, who returned fifteen cents in change.

"Why don't you give me the other ten cents, so I can drop it in the box?" inquired the passenger. "Oh, that's all right," said the conductor, "I'll drop it in."

The car went on, but the conductor didn't drop the dime into the box. The passenger watched him and discovered that whenever he made change he invariably put the money in his pocket. When passengers had their nickels ready and dropped them in the box themselves the conductor didn't ring them up. Finally the passenger moved back to the rear of the car and said to the conductor, "When are you going to drop my dime in the box?"

"What business is it of yours?" asked the conductor.

"Not much, perhaps," replied the passenger, "I was just sort of interested."

"Well, don't you worry," said the conductor. "You ought to be glad you're riding. The box is out of order anyway."

There was a policeman on the car, put there by the city to protect crew and passengers against attack by strikers. To him the passenger remarked, "I guess I'll go to the end of the line and find out if the box is really out of order. Meanwhile I suggest that you notice the conductor isn't ringing up any fares." So the policeman sat down where he could watch the conductor.

At the end of the line an inspector came aboard. At the request of the passenger he tested the box and the registering device and found them in order. "All right," said the passenger, "I want this man arrested." The car, with only the crew, the policeman, and the passenger aboard, was thereupon run to a point near a police station. There a big man got aboard. "What is all the trouble?" he demanded.

"Who are you?" asked the passenger. "I'm from the Asher detective agency. This man works for us and he doesn't have to register fares."

"Well, we'll find out," said the passenger.

Arriving at the police station the big man ran in ahead and drew the captain at the desk back into another room. When the captain emerged he said to the passenger: "Of course you are making this arrest."

"Oh, no I'm not," said the passenger. "The policeman here is making the arrest."

"No," said the captain. "Knocking down fares is a misdemeanor and it wasn't committed in the presence of the policeman. He didn't see it."

"Then he's blind," said the passenger as he made for a telephone booth, where he looked up the number of Frederick W. Whitridge, president of the Third Avenue Railway Company. Calling Mr. Whitridge out of bed, he explained the situation to him and asked him to have someone appear against the man in Night Court. Mr. Whitridge promised to try.

No one appeared in Night Court to press the charge, however, and the conductor was dismissed.

There was just one further step that the passenger could take. He reported the matter to the Public Service Commission, for, he said, "I thought the people of New York ought to know it if they are paying their money, when they ride on the cars, to the Asher detective agency."

In a few days came back a report substantially as follows: "The employment of detectives on the Third avenue cars was discontinued October 9."

The passenger looked at his calendar. October 9 was the day of his ride.

THE FUTURE OF ST. LOUIS SCHOOLS AT STAKE

THE St. Louis Public Schools are facing the most serious crisis in their history. For the first time the voters of St. Louis are called upon to issue

bonds for financing the construction of new school buildings. If the three million dollars bonds are voted down at the special election on November 11, all the newer activities of the schools—hygiene and attendance departments, manual training, summer and night schools, school centers, and other features—may be discontinued. Thousands of children would be compelled to go to school in portable wooden buildings, and some districts would run on half-time sessions.

In order to determine whether economies or changes in the methods of operation might not make the issue of these bonds unnecessary, the Board of Education has had made an exhaustive survey of all its educational and fiscal operations by a staff of experts under the direction of Prof. Charles H. Judd of the University of Chicago. The survey showed conclusively that no economies were possible to get the funds for new buildings from revenue. It demonstrated that the St. Louis school system in organization and efficiency is among the best in the country. The criticisms and suggestions made are of a minor character, and while they are numerous, they do not attack any fundamentals. The indications are that practically all the recommendations made will be adopted if the bonds are passed.

The survey staff studied and discussed the relation of the Gary plan to the St. Louis situation, but came to the conclusion that it offered no satisfactory solution of present difficulties.

MINERS' COOPERATIVE STORES IN ILLINOIS

IT was refreshing to hear Duncan McDonald tell the Illinois State Conference of Charities and Correction that trade unions were more and more aware that they had other objects to attain than to secure from employers a larger share of the profits for higher wages. The United Mine Workers of Illinois, whose secretary-treasurer he has long been, were reported by him to be attaining this further purpose in the establishment of cooperative stores. Although this move-

ment is only in its infancy, thirty-one stores started by the miners are owned and operated by the cooperators, who include others than miners. Buildings for some of these stores have been erected. The stores are operated on the Rochedale plan and yield from 6 to 10 per cent dividends every three months in proportion to the purchases of each stockholder, no one of whom can own more or less than five shares of stock at five dollars a share. A few such stores have failed because they failed to observe the conditions of success laid down in the regulations for running them. Cooperative medical service has been organized by some of these groups, and one of them has erected a hospital at a cost of \$50,000.

Not so much for what this cooperative movement has yet accomplished in America, did Mr. McDonald estimate its value, but because it is giving the working classes, by whom it is inaugurated, "strength and consciousness to consider labor as a service and no more a subjection and the world as a cooperative commonwealth."

LABOR AGAIN TESTING THE CLAYTON ACT

ANOTHER Danbury hatters' case, and upon a larger scale, appears to be involved in *Dowd vs. the United Mine Workers*, recently decided by the United States Court of Appeals of the eighth circuit. Damages to the amount of \$1,250,000 are sought under the Sherman anti-trust law on account of an alleged conspiracy involving a strike accompanied by destruction of property. The sum sued for is more than five times as great as in the hatters' case.

The plaintiff is Dowd, the receiver of nine coal companies of the Hartford Valley in western Arkansas, which were controlled by the Bache-Denam interests. In 1914, these companies became involved in a struggle with the United Mine Workers, which culminated in the almost complete destruction of one of their coal mines by a mob. In answer to the suit the United Mine Workers filed a demurrer, which was held to be good by the Federal District court. The Circuit Court of Appeals, however, reversed the decision. It holds that interstate commerce has been interfered with and that the plaintiff's bill states a proper cause of action.

Now the United Mine Workers have taken an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.

According to Edwin E. Witte, instructor in economics at the University of Wisconsin, this case shows much more clearly than ever before the extent to which the Sherman act goes in its application to labor disputes.

"The principal allegation in the plaintiff's bill," he writes to the SURVEY, "is

the same as that made by D. E. Loewe & Company in the Danbury hatters' case. This is to the effect that the defendants conspired to prevent the plaintiff from engaging in interstate commerce. The means used to carry out this conspiracy, however, were different, since no boycott was involved. Yet the Circuit Court of Appeals unanimously held that there had been interference with interstate commerce."

It is this interference which is emphasized by the court. It is not the strike itself, but the strike as a means for carrying out a conspiracy to restrict interstate commerce in coal that comes under the ban. Here the court follows the Supreme Court's decision in the hatters' case, which, contrary to general belief, does not rest upon the fact that Loewe's hats were boycotted. There, too, the grievance was the interference with interstate commerce. The boycott was only one of the several means employed to carry out the conspiracy.

"The present case," writes Mr. Witte, "is one which merits the closest attention of all those who are interested in the labor movement. The question whether organized labor has been exempted from the anti-trust laws does not arise, since the occurrences upon which this suit was premised antedate by several months the final adoption of the Clayton act. But the case does emphasize the vital need for such exemption. Whether this has been secured by the Clayton act is still an open question. This act declares that 'the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce.' But neither the Danbury hatters' case nor this proceeds upon the theory that the labor of a human being is a commodity. The bills allege restraint, not of the market for hatters and coal-miners, but of the market for hats and coal."

THE WAY OF A GIRL AT \$5 A DAY

SINCE October 10, the minimum for women over 21 years of age employed by the Ford Motor Company has been five dollars a day—the minimum established for men throughout the Ford plants in 1913. As yet there is no report of a long procession of women, babies, younger brothers and sisters and mothers across the continent to Detroit, similar to the stampede of men three years ago. About 1,500 are affected, the majority of them clerks and stenographers. The actual collective economic gain, therefore, is negligible. But wide publicity has been given the principle of equal pay for equal work.

Those semi-skilled workers, something under 900, in Detroit, who cut leather for the chassis upholstery and who do a more delicate work on the fine wires inside the magneto, gain a substantial

increase, as some of them have been paid only three dollars a day. The minimum for apprentices under 21 remains at twenty-six cents an hour. The minimum for apprentices over 21 is thirty-four cents, but the minimum for the trained worker under 21 is raised to forty-three cents an hour and for the trained worker over 21 to sixty-two and one-half cents an hour. Women with dependents have heretofore been getting pretty generally five dollars a day, and all have worked the eight hours as have the men.

At the Long Island City assembling plant in Greater New York, the stenographers are apparently not startled by the raise. "How do I like it?" said one of them. "Well, we girls have watched each morning the porter polishing up the handle of the big front door as we came to work, and we have wondered why we didn't buy a rag and polish brass for Mr. Ford—it paid so much better than typewriting. This money has been coming to us.

"But, of course, Mr. Ford doesn't really like to employ women. He says he can't build up an organization with them—they marry and quit work. I'll think twice before I get married now, though. I like my job too well to lose it. And I certainly wouldn't marry a man making only thirty dollars a week. I can hardly support myself on that," and she laughed, since her standard of living had been raised to that amount only two weeks before.

Mechanics about the shop thought, "Sure the girls should have the money if they could get it." There seemed a doubt in their minds, however, as to whether women were worth quite so much. The fly in the ointment seems to be the general leveling of wages. The head stenographer and the master mechanic, for example, are both a little disgruntled that their subordinates are now their equals in pay. "But you can't afford to kick," they say.

The announcement of the five dollars a day for women was made in the papers on October 26. On October 27, fifteen girls applied for work at the plant in Long Island City. Scarcely that many positions are being held there by women now, and seldom do they have women applicants for work. On October 28 none applied. But the stream of men, with the hope of five dollars a day, still flows past the employment desk, though with less of a rush.

A PREACHER'S VACATION IN A STEEL MILL

AN Indiana clergyman reports the novel experiment of taking his six weeks' summer vacation as a laborer in the steel mills at Gary. In an open letter to the Illinois Steel Company the Rev. John W. Newsom, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Valparaiso,

Ind., narrates his experience as an employe in the coke plant.

His purpose is stated to have been "to replete my purse, to reduce heft and girth, to make a new circle of friends and acquaintances, to gain first-hand knowledge of a concrete industrial situation." The mild prejudices which he entertained against the corporation were "considerably dissipated." He was pleasantly surprised by "the cheery good will" with which he was greeted by the men and the minor officials. "Kindness first" seemed to him even more prevalent upon the hearts of the men who were "rough in their words and unpolished in their manners" than the "safety first" signs which were painted everywhere.

The provision for comfort, cleanliness and safety, the absence of arbitrariness or driving to the performance of duty, and the encouragement to profit by educational advantages, were marked evidences of consideration. For a "green hand like himself" he thought \$3 a day to be good wages. But he considered the long hours a cause of genuine complaint. While some men have an eight- and ten-hour day, many are on duty twelve hours, and, with the coming and going, are held from home on an average of fourteen hours a day.

"With time deducted for sleep, they are left with two hours to be men, to cultivate human interests, to make love to wife and sweetheart, to play with their children, to learn to be good citizens and to take part in public affairs and to know something of the fun and interests of the big world beyond."

He concludes his interesting letter with this direct appeal to the management of the Illinois Steel Company: "You can fix this matter of the hours, if you will, and I trust that they will not stay fixed as they are. The consideration shown in other ways convinces me that after no long time these men will be granted right hours of service."

SOME CHILDREN STILL IN THE POORHOUSE

THE child care which satisfies public sentiment in many of the counties of Illinois is disclosed in a report giving the replies of forty-five county judges to the questionnaire sent them by Amelia Sears, acting for the Committee on Children of the State Conference of Charities and Correction. Her questions were sent to the judges in all the 102 counties of the state, but less than half of them responded. Of these forty-five, eight only reported detention homes provided by the county. Others wrote that the county pays a woman to take care of children in her own home.

An emphatic "no" was returned by thirty-five judges to the question whether children were placed in the poorhouse, although ten admitted that they

were temporarily lodged there. Thirty-three counties reported that no children are boarded in institutions, and in twenty-three counties children are temporarily boarded in private families, with more or less careful selection and supervision. In two instances the children were said to be placed with the sheriff but "never to be held in the jail."

The commitment of the feeble-minded to the state institutions under the new law is already being done in forty counties, which have had from one to sixteen feeble-minded persons committed to the state school at Lincoln. Regarding the compliance with the law for the registration of births, only thirteen of the forty-five counties reporting definitely stated that the new law is satisfactorily enforced. Twenty-three judges stated that it was not enforced, and nine either made no reply or wrote that they were not informed. The provision of facilities for recreation at private initiative and expense was reported in twenty counties. Thirty counties reported parks and playgrounds in some of their towns. In fifteen counties no parks or playgrounds exist in any of their localities. Pageants and public entertainments were reported in twenty counties and some form of school extension in fourteen.

PUTTING A QUIETUS UPON "C PARTIES"

THE group of Philadelphia citizens, doctors, lawyers, and business men, who some time ago organized into a "narcotic drugs committee" [see the SURVEY for April 8] and made a careful study of the drug situation throughout Pennsylvania, have reported on their year's experience in a brief pamphlet just published.

They found from conversation with 86 drug-users how easily and subtly the habit may be formed. Sixty of the drug-users, who had always lived in Philadelphia, gave these reasons: curiosity, 58, associating with fellow-workmen in poolrooms or saloons, they saw these men using and enjoying the "happy dust," and "wanted to see how it felt"; 2 began to use it during weakness that followed operations; 6 traced the habit to physicians' prescriptions; 1 used it deliberately, hoping to ward off tuberculosis, of which he was in fear.

The committee learned of "C parties" and "H" and "M" ditto, for which several persons pool their funds, buy sometimes 300 grains of cocain, heroin or morphin, and then spend 18 or 20 hours in some room till their common supply is gone.

They found that in the year of the enforcement of the Harrison law, 244 men and women had been admitted for treatment to hospitals for the insane, compared with 33 in the year preceding. These 244 came from 47 towns in Penn-

sylvania, and not from tenderloin districts only. Even in residence sections the drug-user need not go far for his supply.

These figures represent the replies of state, private and county case hospitals, only 56 per cent of which replied to the committee's inquiry. Questions addressed to health boards and charitable organizations in every state and many large cities brought replies indicating "a notable increase" in the number of applications for treatment.

That all these facts constitute "a grave source of danger to the social and economic well-being of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania" is the conclusion voiced by the committee. They recommend, first, state provision for adequate and efficient treatment of habitués; and, second, a state act supplementing the federal law and insuring more strict control over the manufacture, sale and use of narcotic drugs. The draft of a proposed act is included in the report, that time for consideration of its provisions may be allowed before the opening of the legislature. The pamphlet may be had from Dr. H. W. Rhein, 1732 Pine street, Philadelphia.

Another evidence of Pennsylvania's growing interest in the drug question is the recent presentment by the federal grand jury for eastern Pennsylvania, recommending that both federal and state laws be made stricter. Testimony in several Harrison-law cases submitted to the jury showed that the federal law at present was not broad enough to meet the problem. The state law of Pennsylvania applies only to cocain; the grand jury recommended that it be extended to include also morphin and heroin, which seem to be used even more than cocain.

Concerning the recent decision of the federal Supreme Court in the Jin Fuey Moy case, that the Harrison law applied to dealer, not to user, the presentment says: "Moreover, as practical men, we can see why the mere user or taker of drugs should not be punished. He is fit for the hospital rather than the prison, unless he has himself sold or peddled drugs and thus made money out of the business. We believe that the distinction made by the Supreme Court between the mere user and the dealer is a good and sensible one. We only wish that the law could be enforced more effectively as against the illicit dealer."

A COOPERATIVE CENSUS OF SICKNESS

THROUGH the cooperation of the social workers of Milwaukee, a sickness census was taken on October 26, to ascertain what proportion of the people in the city are sick at a given time, whether or not they have proper medical care, the number of sick who are wage-earners, and the extent to which

these sick wage-earners receive some sort of sick benefit or insurance. Inasmuch as a health-insurance bill will be introduced into the Wisconsin legislature this winter, the survey was designed also to ascertain approximately how many persons in Milwaukee will come under the provisions of such a law.

The items covered by the census are: the sex, age, and occupation of every member of each family canvassed, together with whether the wage-earners of the family earned more or less than \$1,200 during the twelve months preceding the census, and for every sick member of the family the nature of the sickness, the length of the sickness up to the date of the inquiry, whether the patient is at work, at home or at the hospital, whether the patient is under a doctor's care, how long the patient was sick before the doctor was called, and the amount and source of sick benefit where any is being received.

The Health Department, the Associated Charities, the Visiting Nurses' Association, the school nurses and a large number of smaller organizations donated one day's time of their field staff, while clubs, dispensaries, settlements, and other organizations provided additional volunteers. Students from the biology and civics departments of one of the high schools cooperated. Altogether more than 125 persons took part under the supervision of the Public Health Committee of the City Club.

It was not possible, even with this force of workers, to cover the entire city in one day, inasmuch as Milwaukee has more than 90,000 families. For this reason the sampling method was used. The territories assigned to workers were scattered throughout the city roughly in proportion to the population. Both rich and poor, native and foreign districts were covered. Data was secured from families where all the members were in good health, as well as from families where there was illness. Thus a representative sample of the whole city was secured.

It is believed by the Milwaukee City Club that this method of conducting a social survey on a particular problem has very distinct advantages. By virtue of its concentration into one day it is possible to secure the services of volunteers and social workers who otherwise would be unable to take part. A vigorous publicity program helped to concentrate the attention of the entire city upon the problem in hand.

A NEIGHBORHOOD GIFT FROM SETTLEMENT BOYS

"I WANT to do something for the neighborhood that helped me," said the director of the educational work of the new Arnold Toynbee House at 257 Division street, New York city.

This young man was trying to ex-

plain away surprise at the fact that he was planning to give up his afternoons and evenings after a hard day's work elsewhere. He was giving the chief reason why a group of young men, all of them settlement boys, former members of the Stevenson Club of Madison House, have undertaken to found a new house of inspiration, as they call it, on the lower East Side.

There are about twenty-five of these fellows between twenty and twenty-five years old, most of them still living in the neighborhood. Among themselves they have collected over a thousand dollars, taxing each other from fifty to one hundred dollars apiece, to pay the rent of the house on Division street. Of course, all service is voluntary, even that of the director, who is somewhat older than the rest of the group, and who has made his mark since his Madison House days.

It is not that they may make a name for themselves that they have branched out to found a new settlement, but because they see a real need for expansion,

because they have some new ideas and ideals of their own, and because they believe that from their own experience they are peculiarly able to understand the needs of the neighborhood.

Their plan of work is two-fold: work with children in charge of Rose Gruening, an experienced social worker who also conducts a training class for her club workers, and work with adults. For the former fifteen clubs have already begun lively existences. Besides, there is a class for clay-modeling, a game room, an evening study room for children and a bank.

The educational work for adults consists of classes in Americanization for those who need it; for the others, cultural courses, the kind, it was explained, that would not tend directly to an increase in earning capacity so much as those that will open up the beauties of living to people who have the material side of life sufficiently in mind. In other words, these young trustees want to have courses in art, literature and music, in science, perhaps, and history.

THE LIGHTHOUSE

Thomas Mott Osborne

Anne P. L. Field in the New York Tribune

I WATCHED the lighthouse yonder all the night
During the storm. It loomed out in its height
Like some great giant conscious of his might,
Awhile the lashing furies of the sea
Strove to tear down his calm security,
Twining their windy fingers in his hair,
And in defeat and impotent despair
To bow his head.
Instead
The light flashed forth fresh courage to the sail
Struggling against the gale,
And mariners who sighted its clear spark
Feared not the dark,
But set their course anew and kept their way
Until the day.

And as I crouched within my safe retreat
Hearing the raindrops beat
Upon my window-pane,
I saw in mind again
Another lighthouse brace his mighty form
Against the storm.
Firm-footed on his rock of faith he stood,
While evil elements did all they could
To break his will,
But still
He towered there steadfast,
Flinging his light broadcast
To every mast
Down in that whirling tide
Where men have died—
Guiding the drifting souls
To happy harbors and victorious goals.
A man whose heart is Heaven's own beacon sent
Into imprisonment,
For God called him to be
His lighthouse for a lost humanity.

Conventions

JOINT PEACE EFFORT

SENATOR La Fontaine's challenge to American peace forces to get into effectual touch with one another has been answered. On October 26-27, at the invitation of the American branch of the Central Organization for a Durable Peace, the American Peace Society, and the Church Peace Union, there was held in New York city a private conference of leading members of the chief peace movements of the United States.

The meeting was inevitably and intentionally tentative. The peace movement, like all broad and vital movements, embraces extremely divergent types of temperament and policy. Thus as one delegate reports, "to find a common basis by the process of cancelling out, eliminating all that does not command general assent, would be to stultify the group by reducing its common program to a mere truism. To attempt to force on all the views and policy of one or another wing would be only less disastrous."

This conference ran on neither of these rocks. Its main achievements were two. The last and most important of these was the appointment of a continuing committee of nine to arrange for a second and fuller conference and for further cooperation. The other was the working out of a questionnaire to be answered, in their purely individual capacity, by those invited to the conference.

Outstanding contributions to the discussions included an effective address by Lucia Ames Mead (which she was asked to prepare for print) on the question of military training with especial reference to the New York situation, and an earnest speech by Hamilton Holt. At the latter's suggestion and urging the conference voted to "recommend to the peace societies of the United States that they endorse and support the efforts of the American Neutral Conference Committee and others to induce our government to call or cooperate in a conference of neutral states to offer joint mediation to the belligerents by proposals calculated to form the basis of a permanent peace."

A storm center of discussion was the proposal of the League to Enforce Peace, the military enforcement features of which were assailed both from the practical point of view and on grounds of principle in speeches by Prof. William I. Hull and Anna Garlin Spencer.

Lively argument also dealt with the danger to peace involved in immigration laws discriminating on racial grounds, Dr. Sidney L. Gulick favoring a plan of percentual admission which Grace Abbott of the Chicago Immigrants' Protective League opposed.

The death of that veteran fighter for peace, Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, occurred while the conference was in session and brought an added sense of the length and strenuousness of effort that has been and must yet be devoted without stint to the many-sided work for peace.

In view of the some twenty organizations represented at the conference, the delegate quoted above points out the need of an endeavor to bring these scattered and probably often overlapping efforts together.

"But," she adds, "peace is by no means a simple proposition and many different kinds of work and workers are needed. These may be said to be of two main types. The work of research and education stands over against the work aiming at accomplishing direct results.

"In the first group we have the 'old line pacifists' proceeding in a leisurely way along lines of investigation and publication in regard to principles and methods. At its best this is scholarly, authoritative and fruitful, at its worst it tends to be passive and remote. Its great opportunity, at least on the educational side, is in war time when, for once, peace issues command thrilled attention, and efforts to keep internationalism are peculiarly needed.

"A newcomer in this field is the Central Organization for a Durable Peace, an outgrowth of the Dutch Anti-War Council (Anti-Orlog Raad), which is carefully working out a concrete program of constructive international policy. Others, particularly in the field of education and moral and intellectual conversion from the crudities of the philosophy of violence, are the School Peace League, the Federation of International Polity Clubs, the great peace societies organized for work among the churches and, contributing the deepest and most revolutionary note, The Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Society of Friends.

"Of the second group of peace societies, those endeavoring to attain objective results directly, three are perhaps most conspicuous. The American Union Against Militarism devotes its clever and untiring efforts to keeping

this country in the paths of sanity and peace. The League to Enforce (in red letters) Peace, probably the most powerful peace society in the world today, is in the field with a concrete political program, the main purpose of which is finding the most gratifying reception, not only from the President and Mr. Hughes, but from English and even German statesmen and leaders.

"Finally, the newest and most radical of this group is the American Neutral Conference Committee, which is seeking to mobilize American opinion, by petition and otherwise, in favor of a just and early close to the present war. It holds that America has a deep responsibility for this, that she is 'not negligible but negligent,' that much of the best opinion in Europe looks to see her move and back up the demand for negotiation now making itself heard in all the warring countries.

"That such various and such vigorous peace endeavors could be discussed in common and the next step taken toward further mutual understanding and assistance is, to the American peace movement, a vastly important event."

SEVEN IN ONE

NOT one convention, but really seven opened in Cincinnati when the American Public Health Association assembled there on October 24. All six departments of the association met simultaneously or gathered into one general session to discuss industrial hygiene, administration, research in laboratory and in vital statistics, sanitary engineering, sociology, and industrial hygiene to say nothing of a new group interested especially in foods and drugs, and that most valuable peripatetic session continuous in hall, dining-room and the city's thoroughfares. The 171 topics listed for these sessions, general and sectional, plus several new papers added upon discovery at the last minute, prove how far the health movement is ramifying into essentials of modern life, how ample is the development of any one section to tax the natural gifts and added training of the best health officer. There should be more of his ilk.

The semi-professional interest of SURVEY readers would perhaps have focused first on the papers from men in the field of mental hygiene. An important extension of school service, urged by Dr. J. T. MacCurdy, consulting psychiatrist at Randall's Island, New York city, was the opening of psychiatric clinics in schools. And, further, for such "different" people, children and adults, too, Dr. C. Macfie Campbell of Phipps Clinic, Johns Hopkins Hospital, urged community action. Adequate recreation and the intellectual stimulus that will help toward recovery should be given those whose mental de-

fect a specialist discerns in a lack of adjustment, or a lack of emotional balance.

That alcoholism is a mighty public health problem was the thesis of Dr. Haven Emerson's paper. From laboratory and factory Dr. Emerson brought proof of lowered resistance to disease where alcohol was habitually used. This was the only discernible point at which the convention broke down. Perhaps there was a rather wide gap between patella reflexes and a concrete, feasible program against alcoholism; but that in a scientific meeting the only "discussion" following this scholarly and earnest appeal should consist of jocose allusions to visits in New York in ante-anti-alcohol days and reminiscences of ancient whiskey headaches, only re-emphasized Dr. Emerson's emphasis on alcoholism as the next big problem to be dealt with.

A study of patients in hospitals of several states, offered by Dr. F. E. Williams of the Massachusetts Mental Hygiene Society, reversed the usually accepted relation of cause and effect and declared that mental defect lead both to alcoholism and to syphilis. The topic syphilis as a public health responsibility, and the methods whereby dispensary and hospital might avail, gathered one of the largest meetings of the convention.

The papers read will appear in the *American Journal of Public Health*. Some will be noted again in the SURVEY and a review of the health insurance discussion is printed on another page of this issue.

This very brief summary must close with the warning given in the vital statistics section against the crooked logic and unjustifiable deductions from statistics that too often characterize very well-intentioned "surveys," social and sanitary. Franz Schneider, Jr., of the Russell Sage Foundation, and Louis I. Dublin of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, especially, indicated some of the hasty generalizations, the lack of plan, the incorrect tabulations and worse analyses that go far to explain the failure of many "surveys" to win recognition.

There were 600 and more delegates attending from every section of the country. Next year they will meet in New Orleans. The new president of the association is Dr. W. A. Evans of Chicago. Prof. Selskar M. Gunn of Massachusetts Institute of Technology continues as secretary.

ABNORMAL AND NORMAL

FOR a year, a committee has been studying, by conference and actual field surveys, the problem of the mental defective in the state of Indiana. How its work, culminated in a conference held October 16-17 at Indianapolis for the purpose of presenting the problem of

the mental defective with relation to the home, the school and the community, and from the viewpoint of the medical and the legal profession is told by Arthur H. Estabrook of the Eugenics Record Office.

Mrs. Albion Fellows Bacon, he writes, made a plea for better homes, describing in her characteristic, forceful way how a gloomy, unsanitary house in an unpleasant neighborhood, on a noisy street, would increase the physical and mental strain in even a normal person, to say nothing of the delicate, nervous and highly strung. Then, too, she brought out how in such homes as these where there is no seclusion or privacy, and no bar to vice, the feeble-minded girl is unprotected, an easy prey.

For the mental defective in school, special classes were advocated, with small numbers in each class, where hand work replaces book work, where there is freedom from physical and moral control and where good habits may be taught. It was emphasized again and again, however, that the proper place for these children is in a state institution with one normal employe for every five feeble-minded children, instead of from three to five normal persons giving their energy for every five feeble-minded children, as is true in home care.

Both Prof. E. R. Johnstone of the Training School, Vineland, N. J., and Adelaide Steele Baylor, Department of Public Education, Indianapolis, mentioned the recent survey of the rural schools in one Indiana county by the United States Health Service which had demonstrated that there were nine feeble-minded children in every thousand attending school.

The medical men at the conference, according to Mr. Estabrook, brought out that now a stigma is attached to a legal commitment to a hospital for the insane, and that too often the member suffering from mental disease is committed by the family only as a last resort and too late for the full benefit of the treatment. They declared there is need of the development of a wholesome public opinion on that subject which will comprehend the fact that a mental disease is not a criminal condition, but a disease of the most delicate organ of the human body, in need of wise, scientific treatment, sympathetic interest, and humane nursing. It must be taught, also, they said, that the four causes—heredity, syphilis, habit-forming drugs and alcoholism—responsible for not less than 90 per cent. of mental defectiveness in all its forms, are controllable in a large degree, and will be controlled when public opinion so decrees it.

The usual discussion of custodial care versus sterilization for the feeble-minded was talked over, but no uniformity of

opinion appeared, and it was apparent that many of the physicians were opposed to sterilization on the ground that it would increase venereal disease and prostitution.

The result of the conference was the formation of the Indiana Society for Mental Hygiene, whose chief purpose, as outlined in the constitution, "will be to work for the conservation of mental health, for the prevention of mental diseases and mental deficiency, and for improvement in the care and treatment of those suffering from nervous and mental diseases or mental deficiency." The officers are, president, Prof. E. H. Lindley, Indiana University, Bloomington; and secretary, Mr. Frank D. Loomis, Children's Aid Society, Indianapolis.

That Indiana has now, without further legislation, a system of laws and agencies sufficient to properly furnish relief to mothers with dependent children, was the fact brought out by the sixth annual conference of the Children's Bureau of Indiana, held immediately following the meeting on mental defectives.

It developed, states Mr. Estabrook, that many township trustees and boards of children's guardians are now keeping many children, who would ordinarily be sent to orphans' homes, in their own homes with their mothers, by means of outdoor relief, the per diem amount being allowed by law to the mother to board her own children instead of to the home. In these latter cases the children become wards of the boards of children's guardians.

A special committee of the State Conference of Charities and Correction has held fourteen county social welfare conferences during the past year with the idea of educating the local community to its possibilities in the social line. Reports from different counties read at the meeting indicated that these conferences had stimulated the community and that the public had cooperated with the existing agencies much better than before. Further, it brought to the people an entirely different idea of the purposes and ideals of the different state institutions and of the present laws which the community can use in correcting local conditions.

TO ABOLISH JAILS

PROMPTED by the Committee on the Prevention of Crime, whose report was presented by Edith Abbott and supported by the Illinois Association of Probation Officers, a movement was launched at the Illinois Conference of Charities and Correction held at Alton October 19-22, to abolish the county jail system of mistreating misdemeanants and to substitute for it a state penal farm. Strong impetus was given by

Amos W. Butler's effective recital of Indiana's experience with her new state farm and by Warden T. J. Gilmour's moving story of Toronto's farm colony and its social salvage.

The demand for increased and efficient probation of misdemeanants and the parole of prisoners added urgency to the plea and plans for preventive measures in rural communities, through a children's program, and the better functioning of county agencies, especially through county boards of welfare. Some encouragement to this effort, but more need for it, was disclosed by the responses made by county judges to inquiries as to the care of children officially taken by their courts and in their communities.

The charity workers rallied for an additional day's conference, in order to effect the organization of the Illinois Charity Organization Society, which includes representatives of the sixteen towns and cities of the state in which relief agencies are organized. The proposal that the State Charities Commission should issue a monthly bulletin, especially helpful to county agents and officials of county institutions, was favored by all the official and voluntary charity workers.

"Labor compensation" called forth fresh statements of fact regarding the continued success of the cooperation between Hart, Schaffner and Marx and their thousands of employes in settling the differences constantly arising in the complicated manufacture of clothing; regarding the cooperative stores being established by the United Mine Workers of Illinois; and the necessity of municipal, state and national cooperation for the prevention and relief of unemployment.

The next program on rural social service is to include recreation and the committee on labor is to deal also with immigration. Wilfred S. Reynolds was chosen president of the conference for 1917, and Joliet was selected as the place of the next annual meeting.

WHEN CITIES GROW

ZONING or districting was the question in the foreground at the third California Conference on City Planning just concluded at Visalia. There was evident a much wider interest and understanding, according to Charles Henry Cheney, secretary of the conference, of districting as a means of protecting homes from the intrusion of apartment houses, flats, business, nuisances and industries, while many recent decisions were quoted which seemed plainly to show that the higher courts are becoming more and more liberal in their recognition of community versus individual rights.

Chester H. Rowell, of Fresno,

summed up as the methods for effective city planning attacks, first, proper public acquisition power or what is sometimes called the right of excessive condemnation, for which in California a constitutional amendment is required; second, early adoption of a comprehensive zone or districting system; and, third, a plan for future growth in some such way as the Germans do by restricting farm lands from city use.

As most of the eighteen planning boards in California have been established within the last few months, they are still trying to find themselves, and many of them seem to be floundering without any constructive program.

Discussion brought out that such commissions should first determine and list the vital problems of their communities as to street plan and improvement, transportation, park system, zoning, civic centers, etc., then select two or three of the most urgent and confine investigations to them. It was agreed that if the need of change was pressing there would be no difficulty in securing appropriations from the city council or funds from a group of citizens. Duncan McDuffie, of the Berkeley Civic Art Commission, pointed out that city planning commissioners generally have knowledge of conditions but are not experts and that the bodies which are accomplishing definite and constructive things are those which call in a consulting expert.

At another meeting the negative function of a city planning commission in California (to pass on plans for new subdivisions, with the veto power) was contrasted with the great positive functions of these boards—to initiate and present well-thought-out plans and suggestions for orderly civic improvement. It was also brought out how the motor traffic of the state has doubled in the past three years, pushing the city far out into the country, and thereby increasing enormously the demands for city planning and the extension of city conveniences to a heretofore undreamed-of distance.

"A home-made city planning exhibit and its results," explained by Dean George A. Damon Throop, College of Technology, Pasadena, provoked great interest by reason of Mr. Throop's graphic charts of where the tax money goes, where the assessed valuations are high and the blighting influence upon them of most of the railroad-owned property in the city. The fact that 7 per cent of the taxpayers paid over half the annual taxes and that half of all the taxpayers in his city paid less than twenty-five dollars each for the city's support annually gave an interesting sidelight on who pays the bills for improvements and whom to educate.

The conference voted to recommend

certain legislation, including extension of the state housing laws to a more comprehensive and stringent tenement house act, and the establishment of a bureau similar to the Massachusetts Homestead Commission, to supply information and encouragement to all the city planning commissions of the state.

The officers elected for the ensuing year are F. C. Wheeler, of Los Angeles, president, and Charles H. Cheney, of San Francisco, secretary and treasurer.

FOR THE OPPRESSED

THE Union of Nationalities, formed in Paris, in 1912, to take up the difficult problem of the treatment of the small nationalities, held its third congress June 27-29 at Lausanne, Switzerland.

News of the congress has just been brought to America by Aino Malmberg, a Finnish delegate, who has come here in the hope of forming a committee of influential Americans to make known the cause of the oppressed nationalities and exercise an influence upon those to whom the conduct of peace negotiations may be entrusted.

At this third congress of nationalities twenty-three different races were represented, among them Jews, Finns, Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Irish, Belgians, Egyptians, Albanians, Armenians, etc. M. Paul Otlet, director of the Bibliographic Institute of Brussels, acted as president, and M. J. Gabrys, a Lithuanian, as general secretary of the congress.

The first task, that of defining what was meant by the rights of the nations, was done by the delegates with a most remarkable unanimity and mutual understanding. No individual, they agreed, should have to suffer because of his race, language, or religion. Nationalities founded on communities of the same origin and traditions, or resulting from a voluntary association of ethnographically different groups, should have the right to decide their own fate and no annexation or transfer of territory should take place against the will of the population. The legitimate foundation of a state, they held, should be the will of the people. Nationalities living in their original territories, inside a state, should be given autonomy. An international court of arbitration should be established to settle all disputes between nations.

Later the sad tales told by representatives of the different nationalities about the situation in their respective countries made it clear to everybody, says Madame Malmberg, what it meant to be an oppressed nation.

Thus, the first speaker, the Lithuanian representative, Baron von Ropp, related the history of Lithuania from the

time of its strength in the Middle Ages until it came under Russian rule, when, though the Czar had sworn to respect its autonomy, in 1795, its rights were gradually withdrawn. In 1840, the last remnants of its constitution were abolished and Russian administration was introduced throughout the country, while the Lithuanian university was closed.

Finally, after an unsuccessful revolt in 1863, General Muraviev, "the hangman of Vilna," soaked the region in blood. It was attempted to wipe out everything reminiscent of the Lithuanian nationality. The geographical names were altered into Russian, books in Lithuanian were not allowed to be printed, the Lithuanian language and the Catholic creed were persecuted everywhere, and the private property of Lithuanians was confiscated. In 1905 the revolution brought some relief to Lithuania, but the rights gained at this time were afterwards withdrawn.

And what was the result?

Madame Malmberg's answer is that in spite of all persecution, the country was not denationalized, and the Russians are today complaining that there are no Russians in Lithuania.

This report of the Lithuanian representative practically repeated, according to Madame Malmberg, the same history told by the Finns, the Ukrainians, the Caucasians.

After Baron von Ropp, speeches were heard for Albania, for Armenia, for Egypt, for Belgium, and for Poland, all more or less recent history and therefore comparatively well known. As for the Jews, who, Madame Malmberg believes, have suffered more than any of the nations mentioned, M. Aberson described how a mediæval persecution of the Jew has been in full swing, even in peaceful times, in Russia, Rumania, Galicia, while the so-called Christians have tolerated it calmly.

Until now, the little nations have fought their hopeless fight separately, each in its own quarters, but now they have united their forces, struggling all for one and one for all, for freedom.

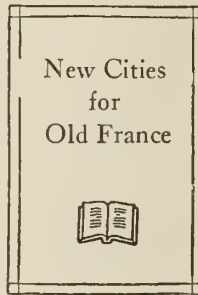
They are looking forward with hope to the coming peace negotiations, and, in Madame Malmberg's opinion, if the world could be persuaded that no peace will last so long as there are oppressed nations, this hope would be justified. She found a sad sign of the time, however, in the way the press of the belligerent countries treated the congress. The press of the Allies called it pro-German, "a result of German intrigue," while the German press, of course, called the meeting pro-Ally. Thus it appeared that, although in Premier Asquith's words, the nations went to war "for the freedom of the small nations"—as soon as the small nations uttered a hope of their own, the great powers were unanimous in condemning them.

Book Reviews

COMMENT RECONSTRUIRE NOS CITÉS DÉTRUITES

Notions d'Urbanisme s'Appliquant aux Villes, Bourgs et Villages.

MM. Agache, Architecte du Musée Social; Auburtin, Architecte du Gouvernement; Redont, Architecte Paysagiste, Librairie Armand Colin, Paris.



Almost before the fire-swept ruins of the devastated cities of Northern France are cold, plans are under way for their reconstruction after the war. The planning will not be for one city or one village, but for dozens of cities and hundreds of villages. Modern city planning has never had such a field. Cities are partly or totally destroyed and villages only heaps of bricks and stones. Not only will the rebuilding of these places be necessary, but also the reorganization of their economic, commercial and social life.

For the guidance of those who will have the replanning and reorganizing of these cities and small towns, a comprehensive volume has just been issued in Paris. It is only one of the many books, pamphlets and lectures now appearing in France on the subject, and is significant of the new attitude toward modern living conditions.

In the replanning, stress has been laid on the restoration of the beautiful and historic aspects of the destroyed cities—not as a modern imitation of the old, but rather as a new design which would partake of the spirit of the ancient monuments, parks and boulevards. There is still much to build on, for the open spaces, the great squares, boulevards and "places" remain in the cities and the quaint market squares in the tiny villages. "It is certain that the Place d'Arras has not disappeared," say the authors—"the place which has been destroyed three times in the course of the ages and which will rise more beautiful and more noble than ever after the war, in a style recalling its origins and history."

While the ancient and historic centers are an excellent base from which to plan the city beautiful, unfortunately they are a poor foundation for the city hygienic and sanitary. Sixteenth-century villages and the older portions of French cities, although picturesque, are abominable

places of habitation. The very solidity of the house construction, while resisting the wear of centuries and preserving for us architectural beauties, makes it almost impossible, except at great expense, to install modern conveniences and necessities, such as plumbing, gas, electricity, ventilation and light. The narrow streets, wide enough for the slow traffic and low houses of two hundred years ago, are now dangerous and unhealthy and a hindrance to the growth of a city.

There is in this fact a sad consolation for the destruction of the great monuments of art which have fallen with every city. For every cathedral destroyed, a thousand airless and deadly habitations have been destroyed also, and for every beautiful tree-bordered boulevard and ancient "place" razed by shells, a hundred hoary, fetid alleys have disappeared never to be seen again.

The sanitary regeneration of the devastated region is indeed the greatest task of French city planning for a generation to come. There is the old beauty to build on, but air, light and drainage must be incorporated. The story of the invading Germans who compelled the inhabitants of a certain captured town to use garbage cans—a modern method for taking care of refuse which they had successfully resisted for years—throws a droll light on hygiene in small French communities.

The great point made in the book under review, however, is that before a single stone of the ruins is moved, it proposes a comprehensive survey of each city and village and the adoption of a working program and plan, as though an entirely new place of habitation were to be raised. It is advised that documents concerning the topographic and climatic conditions be gathered, that the evolution of the city plan in the course of the centuries be studied together with the dominant characteristics, economic, social, etc., of the city, that data on the traffic needs for the immediate and more distant future be collected. A complete knowledge of the building and labor resources of the region, a survey of general health and sanitary conditions, and statistics on the former density of population are suggested as necessary for intelligent reorganization and reconstruction.

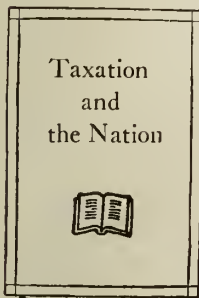
Mention is made several times in the volume of the American community center. It urges that these be established near the playgrounds in the cities and

large villages. Among other things, the center is endorsed as an active force in combating the evils of alcoholism, steps for the reduction of which have already been taken, as is well known, by the French government.

CHARLES J. STOREY.

THE SINGLE TAX MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

By Arthur Nichols Young. Princeton University Press. 340 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.65.



The preface of this volume states that the author "has undertaken to give a complete historical account of the single-tax movement in the United States, together with a discussion of the tactics of the single-taxers, their program, the present status of the move-

ment, and its influence upon economic thought and upon fiscal and social reform." In an absolutely impartial and most scholarly spirit, Dr. Young has achieved his object by long and patient research which carried him from coast to coast.

For nearly twenty-five years, the author points out, single-taxers have advocated the initiative and referendum as a means of getting their measures before the people for discussion. Separate assessment of land and improvements, brought about in many places by the activity of the single-taxers, furnishes them with a wealth of arguments and statistics. In their political relationships most single-taxers have adhered to the Democratic party because of its advocacy of state's rights and tariff reform. Many were in the Populist movement, and many followed Bryan. Recently, conspicuous single-taxers were attached to the Progressive party.

Although the author gives some attention to the agitation carried on in New York city since 1908 for the exemption of buildings and other improvements from taxation, he has failed to point out, as he might have done, that for tactical reasons an attempt has been made to disguise this single-tax drive as a movement to lower rents. Neither does he point out the increasing use of the single-tax propaganda under the banner of land-value taxation, the term single-tax being sedulously avoided.

It appears that although a prodigious amount of ability, self-sacrifice, and enthusiasm have gone into the single-tax movement, little has been accomplished in the form of legislation or the number of adherents gained for its essential principles. The number of convinced single-taxers in the entire country is probably not over 40,000.

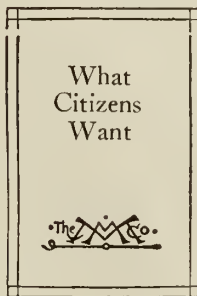
Nevertheless, the movement has had an important influence on public opinion and on other social movements. Single-taxers have played a prominent part in securing various reforms in the general property tax system, and they have inculcated the idea of using the taxing power as a means of social reform. *Progress and Poverty* did more than anything else to shake the self-satisfied economists of the eighties out of their rut. Henry George-ism has played in this country the rôle of Marxism and socialism in Europe.

The single-tax movement has insistently directed attention to the problem of poverty and has rendered a valuable service through its persistent advocacy of conservation of the country's natural resources. Single-taxers were among the first to raise the alarm against permitting our land, forests and mineral wealth to fall into the hands of the fortunate and favored few.

C. C. WILLIAMSON.

THE OPERATION OF THE INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM, AND RECALL IN OREGON

By James D. Barnett. The Macmillan Co. 295 pp. Price \$2; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.12.



Since the adoption of the initiative and referendum in Oregon by constitutional amendment in 1902, Mr. Barnett's book shows that the people of that state have voted on 60 constitutional amendments and 76 statutes, a total of 136 measures.

Of these 27 were referred to the people by the legislative assembly, 95 were initiated by petition, and 14 were referred by petition. As a result, 51 of the total of 136 measures were adopted by the people. About the same proportion of statutes and constitutional amendments have been adopted, 28 of 75 statutes, and 23 of 61 amendments. Of the referred measures, whether by petition or by the legislature, 16 out of 41 were adopted; and of the initiative measures 35 out of 95 were adopted, showing that the initiators were sustained in about the same proportion of cases as the legislators.

Many of the measures have been laden with technicalities beyond the grasp of the voters; some have contained actual deceptions; others have conflicted, or have been "omnibus" bills; while still others have been badly drawn. Much criticism is directed against the practice of circulating petitions for financial profit, and against the tendency to overload the ballot. It is pointed out that in Portland, Oregon, in the November, 1912, election, the voter had to pass upon no less than 238 separate matters,

including candidates and measures, state and municipal.

Surely, man is a political animal; and so is woman, in Oregon! Nevertheless, there is consolation in the fact that acquired habits are not transmitted to offspring, and Oregonians are now trying to devise ways by which their children will not have to resort to the billboards which now pass as ballots. Otherwise, there will be an even greater shortage of paper.

A chapter is devoted to the "education of the vote," by which is meant, presumably, the education of the voter. Organizations of all sorts have been formed to represent the interests of those favoring or opposing measures. The fire-eaters of the People's Power League and their descendants are offset by the safe-and-saners in the Taxpayers' League. Between these two organizations at the extremes of radicalism and conservatism are many others representing multifarious interests and different political views. The state helps out by publishing and circulating a pamphlet on the measures, giving arguments pro and con.

Though the most radical measures have been rejected—notably all single-tax measures—still the direct primary, local option, prohibition, women's suffrage, employers' liability, corrupt practice law, popular election of senators (virtually), abolition of capital punishment, eight-hour day on public works, presidential primary, recall, home rule for cities, and abolition of convict labor have all been secured by the initiative. On the other hand, one wickedly successful use of the referendum petition was in the holding up of the university appropriation in 1912.

Discussing the coordination of the initiative with the other organs of government, legislative, executive, and judicial, the author reports a determination on the part of the people to guard the initiative from legislative or executive interference. Candidates for public office are often required to give pledge that they will keep the faith of the people in their new instrument. The conclusion is drawn, however, that "the absolute prohibition of interference with the people's laws by the legislative assembly, in view of emergencies which are likely to occur, would be unwise."

However justified this conclusion, one wishes that the author would give his own reasons for it, instead of referring us to an article in the *Oregonian* (Portland), September 14, 1911. With respect to the relation of the initiative to the courts, it is observed that, inasmuch as it is as easy to pass a constitutional amendment as a statute, the fear of the courts is removed, and there is little interest in the movement for "the recall of judicial decisions."

Regarding the operation of the recall, conclusion is drawn that this feature of

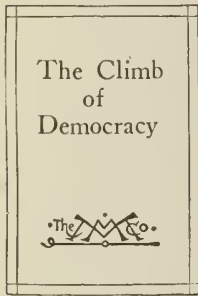
the Oregon system has been greatly abused, though it is yet too soon to make concerning it any inductions of permanent value.

Appendices of value are added to the general discussion, including a complete list of measures proposed, and the vote upon each. The volume is undoubtedly a contribution to our knowledge of the initiative and referendum in action. However, it has the appearance of having been put together with the aid of scissors and library paste; and one wishes that less attention had been given to what the newspaper editors thought about things, and more to a scientific analysis of the measures and the votes upon them.

ARTHUR EVANS WOOD.

COMPARATIVE FREE GOVERNMENT

By Jesse Macy and John W. Gannaway. The Macmillan Company. 754 pp. Price \$2.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.43.



This book is one of the series of social science text-books edited by Professor Ely, of the University of Wisconsin. The authors declare their purpose to be "not primarily a comparative study of existing governments, but a study of the various processes and institu-

tions by which free government is being attained." Naturally, the government of the United States is chosen as the basis for this study, but "a knowledge of free government in America involves an understanding of the rise of democracy in England," and for that reason they give England the second place.

France is assigned the next place in order of importance, because it is "developing a democracy under the normal condition of close proximity to rival states," and because in the French democracy high centralization prevails and through France modern free governments "are most notably linked to the ancient Roman republic through the system of Roman law." Germany is selected for special study because it exhibits "the early stages of transition from autocracy to democracy," and Switzerland because it exhibits "an advanced stage of assured democracy." The positive ground taken by the authors at the end of the volume is that federation is the means through which a world democracy must be worked out.

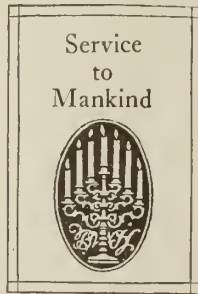
For those who are promoting the organization of an international league to enforce peace, this is a good book to study. While it appears to have been written without any reference to the present world war, its prophecy is completely at variance with the predictions

rife at the present moment that the cessation of military hostilities among the nations of the Old World will forthwith be followed by commercial struggles equally intense. It is noteworthy that the United States, as the primary example of a successful federation, gives the central government control over interstate commerce and thus prevents economic hostilities among its members almost as effectually as military hostilities.

DELOS F. WILCOX.

JOSEPH FELS; HIS LIFE WORK

By Mary Fels. B. W. Huesch. 271 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.12.



"A simple story of one who had the true faith: of the brotherhood of man and the worth of men. One who, seeing clearly the possibilities inherent in life on this earth, longed to open them up to all mankind." This statement from a publisher's note on the wrapper fits admirably.

Joseph Fels started out in life as a business man who had an inherent sense that the world was not as it should be and that ways of real reform were available. He was a man with strong social instincts, who found himself "by rediscovering the obvious." He thus missed the too commonly unhappy ending of a life spent upon "no thoroughfare."

Joseph Fels tried farm colonies, small holdings, and vacant-lot gardening. He also tried charity. But he soon came to believe that to join the ranks of the philanthropists is simply to follow the lines of least resistance. He said: "I hate to give, and most men are ashamed to receive as long as charity allows them to remain men." In explanation of this Mrs. Fels points out that "Charity cuts at the root of that personal initiative and independence which constitute the very essence of manhood."

Mr. Fels came to believe with Henry George that "this association of poverty and progress is the great enigma of our times. It is the riddle which the sphinx of fate puts to our civilization, and which not to answer is to be destroyed."

But this did not discourage him. What he came to see is presented with wonderful clearness by Mrs. Fels. So plainly did he see it that he all but abandoned his business to spread his propaganda and establish a juster order of things. That he had faith is evidenced by the fact that he matched every cent raised for the work in the United States, Canada, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Australia, New Zealand, and Germany. He made direct contribu-

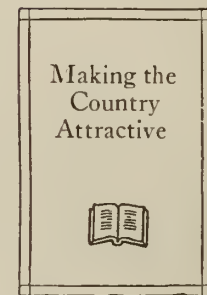
tions to the work in England, France, Spain, and China.

There are two remarkable things about this book—Fels and his biographer. His biography, as here presented, is short. But no one will seriously try to supplant it; although its subject stands out in many minds as one of the truly great men of his age. To see what he saw in the way he saw it can't mean less.

EDWARD T. HARTMAN.

FIFTY MILLION STRONG

By Ernest Irving Antrim. The Pioneer Press. 152 pp. Price \$.75; by mail of the SURVEY \$.79.



This is one of those little books, happily multiplying, that deal with social conditions and forces, that are big in the facts they state, yet compact and readable, and that in a suggestive and inspiring way promote interest and prompt action. In these one hundred and fifty small pages much is effectively done to make rural life and work interesting and attractive and to rate the influence and resource of rural America as the nation's chief asset.

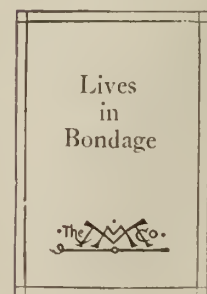
In the effort to make his points, however, the author somewhat idealizes the country at the expense of the city, and lays less emphasis than the facts demand upon the woeful neglect of local government, especially that of the rural county, which is as ring-ridden and spoils-cursed as the urban county. But the better side of the rural home, work-a-day life, recreation, school and church is so helpfully and hopefully presented as to constitute both a protest against rural deterioration and a powerful prompting toward redeeming every such loss.

The sub-title, Our Rural Reserve, far better designates the volume than the non-descript Fifty Million Strong.

GRAHAM TAYLOR.

THE SLAVERY OF PROSTITUTION

By Maude E. Miner. The Macmillan Company. Price \$1.50.



This is an admirable book. It strikes exactly the right note. It deals with a subject on which every intelligent citizen and especially every voluntary or professional social worker should read one book—and be grateful that he need not read many.

This book is not a compilation of disagreeable revelations, as reports of vice commissions and inves-

tigations must inevitably be. It is not sentimental, nor salacious. There is real experience in it, but the experience has been assimilated and its lessons are presented in a way which meets both literary and scientific standards. It is full of human interest, but the stories are skillfully used as a part of the argument. There is definite information, but it is illuminated by a sympathetic understanding of what the general reader requires to know and what may be left for official reports. For this book is intended for the general reader, and on this subject there are few who would claim to be specialists.

The author justifies the title, which may at first raise some question. There is in it neither sensationalism nor exaggeration. The slavery is not that of physical force, but the moral enslavement which literally means loss of freedom of will and action. Miss Miner is interested both in helping to free those who are enmeshed in this slavery and in preventing others from entering it. She has done both. How she and her associates have done this work, in such a way as to win the respect of judges and district attorneys and police departments and in such a way as to win the affection of the girls and women whom they have helped, is told in this book—well told and simply, but with dramatic appeal. There are far-reaching relations between prostitution and industry, education, recreation, police and courts, family life and religion, and these are accurately and clearly described.

The book sets forth a program, but it does not read like the partisan plea of a propagandist. It is hopeful without being crudely optimistic. It has an air of actuality without being pessimistic. It is serious without being unduly solemn. It is readable and reasonably complete, touching on causes, legislative remedies, and individual treatment, but emphasizing in every chapter the ultimate reliance on education, economic reform, and the whole network of social measures which affect prostitution only as they affect health, income and character. It is at the same time a manual of its subject and an illuminating discussion of a problem which no thoughtful person can ignore.

EDWARD T. DEVINE.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- MANUAL OF PSYCHIATRY. By J. Rogues de Fursac and A. I. Rosanoff. John Wiley & Sons. 522 pp. Price \$2.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$2.64.
- THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN. By Marion Talbot. University of Chicago Press. 255 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.35.
- AMERICAN PATRIOTS AND STATESMEN. Five volumes. Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart. P. F. Collier & Son. \$3 per set or free with 120-week subscription to *Collier's Weekly*.
- ELIZABETH FRY. By Laura E. Richards. D. Appleton & Co. 205 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.34.
- SOME PROBLEMS IN CITY SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION. (School Efficiency Series.) By Geo. D. Strayer. World Book Co. 234 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.62.

- FRENCH PERSPECTIVES. By Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant. Houghton-Mifflin Co. 238 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.34.
- ALGEBRA REVIEW. By Charles H. Sampson. World Book Co. 41 pp. Price \$0.40; by mail of the SURVEY \$0.43.
- WITH THE TURKS IN PALESTINE. By Alexander Aaronsohn. Houghton-Mifflin Co. 85 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.33.
- HISTORY OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN FRANCE. By Agnes M. Wergeland. University of Chicago Press. 136 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.05.
- SLAVERY IN GERMANIC SOCIETY DURING THE MIDDLE AGES. By Agnes M. Wergeland. University of Chicago Press. 158 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.06.
- COTTON AS A WORLD POWER. By James A. B. Scherer. Frederick A. Stokes Co. 452 pp. Price \$2; by mail of the SURVEY \$2.14.
- POLITICS. Two volumes. By Heinrich von Treitschke. The Macmillan Co. 406 and 643 pp. Price \$7 per set; by mail of the SURVEY \$7.32.
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- STATE SOCIALISM AFTER THE WAR. By Thomas J. Hughes. Geo. W. Jacobs & Co. 351 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.62.
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- AND THUS HE CAME. By Cyrus Townsend Brady. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 103 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.06.
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- WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE BY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT. By H. St. George Tucker. Yale University Press. 204 pp. Price \$1.35; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.41.
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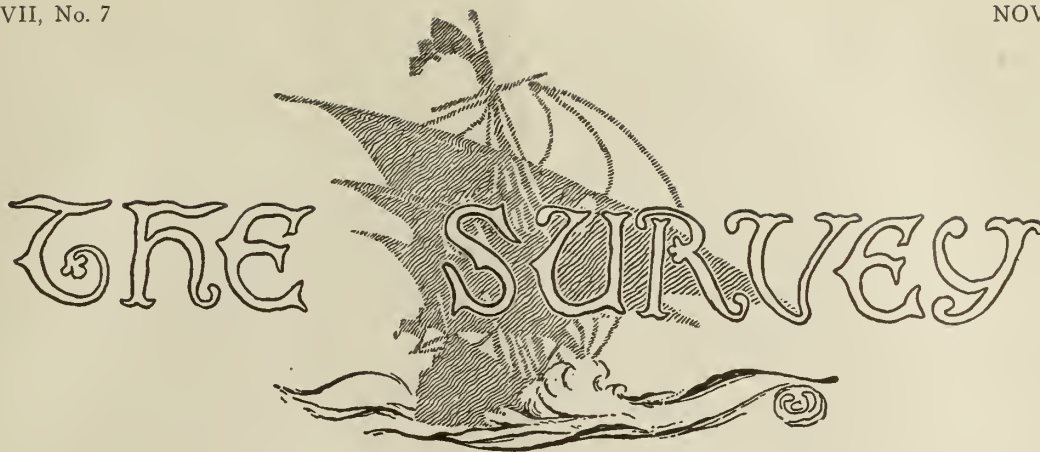
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Ourselves and Europe

II. Enduring Peace

By Edward T. Devine

IF we are to take our natural and legitimate part in the reconstruction of a devastated world we must rid our minds completely of the false notion that on the earth's surface there are two worlds: our own and Europe's. Our affairs do not lie entirely within our own boundaries. Even if the contrary were the case it would still be evident that the war is our concern. Our immigration has ceased because of it. Our finance devotes its energies to the war. Our industrial prosperity rests upon it, with the instability of an inverted pyramid. Our national election all but turns upon the issues which it creates.

Good citizens, however, do not limit their responsibilities to their domestic establishments, and no civilized nation can do so. When Lloyd George warns neutrals not to concern themselves at present about ending the war he opens rather than closes a discussion. Independent neutrals, in perfectly good temper, in a spirit of entire good will, in the light of reason and common-sense, claim the privilege of talking about peace as desirable and possible. The government will, of course, not proffer its good offices unless and until they are desired; but it is desirable for private individuals to speak out their sympathy for such measures as may help to end the war and to do their utmost to keep clearly and uncompromisingly to the front war's savage bestiality, its childishness, its pettiness, its futility and its wickedness. Even this war is not redeemed by the vastness of its operations or by the heroism of individual soldiers. To condemn the war, and to seek to give aid and comfort to those who in any land are trying to make an end of the war possible, is not to cast a slur on the belligerents. They cannot be blamed for acting rather than reasoning. They are in the fight, and it is so that men in mortal combat have always behaved. They have in front of them, in some cases on all sides of them, an enemy to vanquish. It is horribly simple.

Any misgivings as to whether the issues may not be complex and whether on some of them the enemy may be right would be a source of fatal weakness. For a soldier or a citizen to doubt in any essential particular the righteousness of his country's cause is to invite the fate of a "copperhead," at least to be taken for a suspicious person, probably in the pay of the enemy. There are neutrals who are so swept away by their

sympathies that they reason like the belligerents in the camp of their friends; or rather, they love and hate like belligerents and do not reason at all. To feel thus intensely the appeal of one side and the iniquity of the other may be for an individual an ennobling experience. It has led some Americans to a heroic death in the present war, and it has led many more to throw into the caldron the most precious gifts of clear vision and power of just dealing.

Better for most of us than this blind enthusiasm for either side, more in accord with the fundamental interests of civilization, is that passionate union of reason with good will which for the belligerent is all but impossible. His heart is hardened that he may fight; but why should we harden ours when the very thing which the world needs is that we may keep our hearts tender for all human suffering? His eyes are bloodshot and fixed upon a single goal, the throat of his foe, the very devil incarnate; but why should not our eyes remain open to the truth that the foe is no devil incarnate at all, but another man, whose eyes also are fixed and bloodshot as military tactics and the rules of warfare require? The judgments of the belligerent are distorted. He willingly allows himself to be deceived and is deliberately deceived by his leaders; but why should not we who remain free pronounce a more honest judgment and continue to exercise the power of frank and unprejudiced speech?

Neutrality in its etymological sense means indifference and suggests a sterile incompleteness; but neutrality in the sense in which it should be understood in America today does not mean indifference. It means a deliberate and well-considered judgment that the best interests of humanity and of America demand that the people of this country should remain in genuine friendship with the nations on both sides of the conflict, that we should retain the advantage which men at peace always have over those at war, the power to discriminate, to throw our influence where the welfare of mankind, as we see it, requires—loyalty and patriotism reinforcing our duty rather than coming between us and the ideals of our common humanity.

This positive relation with the nations at war is wholly incompatible with aloofness or indifference. We have an intellectual and moral obligation to follow the events of the

war, to form clear judgments concerning its causes and conduct, to appreciate its heroic aspects and its tragic aspects, and to put ourselves in position to support by voice and, if necessary, by vote, or even, in some conceivable situations, by force, those policies which the highest and best interests of mankind demand. In this world's crisis we shall play our part not by holding aloof, but by making the most of our unique position; not by ignoring the problems of the war, but by thinking them through, reaching independent and clear judgments, and striving by all appropriate means to carry those convictions into effect.

It is especially appropriate that social workers, who in their daily lives have to do with various aspects of social pathology, should realize that war is only an abnormal community convulsion. It brings tasks of relief, bigger and more difficult than others, but with a family resemblance. It destroys life and limb, but so do industrial accidents. It makes brothers hate one another, just as unfair competition and inherited prejudices have always done. It creates heroes, just as economic conflicts do, but it kills them in a remorseless tragedy only to be matched in the unrecognized, slowly moving tragedies of commerce and industry.

Who else but social workers have such a background of experience and such an acquaintance with human character under adversity as will enable them to understand the misery and to keep their poise in the sickening realities of war and its aftermath? Not because they are wiser or more humane than others, but because these are phenomena of their own calling, scenes from a life familiar to them in microcosm, they have a standing in the councils of those who would try to find a way out of the darkness.

From this standpoint the first demand is, of course, for peace. The greatest calamity which it is possible to contemplate is the continuance of the war for an indefinite period, as a war of attrition, a war of exhaustion. Only less calamitous would be such an overwhelming victory as few now on either side who have followed the events of the war really expect, although it is still proclaimed on both sides as the reason for going on.

The overwhelming majority of the peoples of all nations certainly desire peace. Not a premature or patched-up peace, say the official spokesmen of the allies. But what are the conditions and guarantees of an enduring peace? Not by the mouth of president or ambassador, but by unofficial voice and pen neutrals should begin to demand from those who decry an immediate peace some clear statements as to what they now consider the conditions of an honorable and lasting peace.

Strange phrases appear in the newspapers now and then, which, if taken literally, would mean that the war has degenerated into a war of plunder, revenge, and conquest. Irresponsible militarists are talking now and then as if England desired nothing less than to reduce Germany to the present position of Belgium. If this should ever come to be the temper of liberty-loving England, her friends in America will have a more terrible argument against war than all the literature of pacifism has furnished. If the allies desire that German militarism shall be destroyed, in the only place on earth where it ever can be destroyed, namely, in the hearts of the German people, they will not too long delay in giving expression to the desires of their own hearts. They will make it clear, even at the risk of what they may think needless repetition, that they do still stand for freedom, for the rights of large nations as well as of small nations to life and liberty, and above all that the childish and devilish doctrine of a war after the war has not seriously entered into their calculations.

Do they accept Lord Bryce or Lord Northcliffe as their spokesman?

The aims of the Entente allies, with the exception of England, are fairly definite and clear. Russia wants the outlet of the Dardanelles, and to be mistress in her own house, free of insidious German influences at court, in the bureaucracy and in business. France wants her lost provinces, and to be free of the invader.

But what does England desire? Her enemies say that she wants commercial expansion, freedom from German competition, the chance to replace Germany as best friend and exploiter in Russia, and possession of the German colonies. Some Englishmen—but these are clergymen and not soldiers—say that the main thing is to make sure that at the end the Germans acknowledge themselves to be criminals and that they should be so regarded by others. There must be no "saving the face." Hilaire Belloc, a very brilliant historian and critical writer, says: "There is but one obvious public policy—the maintenance of a continual drain of wealth from a Germany conquered and compelled to export to our advantage. It is a policy the victor can impose most simply by life-long indemnity, most drastically by the confiscation of mortgage and scrip, with garrisons to maintain the treaty."

Belloc adds that the whole history of Ireland has been nothing else but the taking of tribute from occupied and subject territory; that the whole history of modern Egypt is nothing else. He cites these examples not to condemn the policy, but as precedents to be followed in the case of Germany and Austria. "You can always," he insists, "so arrange matters that the vanquished have to produce wealth, indeed, but, instead of retaining that wealth, shall regularly pass it over to the victors."

It will not do to put off these questions until the war is over. The stubbornness of the fighting, the number of deaths, the amount of human suffering to be endured, the length of the war, all depend upon the changing aims of the countries at war. The attitude of neutrals depends upon them. The very direction of the thoughts and the intensity of the feelings of both neutrals and belligerents, and therefore the prospects of peace, are closely dependent upon these national aims.

With any aggressive military ambitions of the central powers there has never been any sympathy in America. There could not be. That those aims have already been thwarted, notwithstanding the present position of the actual fighting lines, seems certain. It is altogether probable that they would be repudiated by the German and Austro-Hungarian people themselves if military pressure were removed and the popular will could be ascertained. There might not be political revolution. That is probably quite as likely to occur in Russia or in England as in Germany.

Emancipation from the obsession of the military ideal might, however, come by a speedy, peaceful evolution. Such an evolution was actually in progress before the war. The balance of power was shifting from the agrarian and military caste to the industrial centers, from the ruling families to the democracy. One thing only may totally reverse this wholesome evolution, viz., for the allies to wage against them a ruthless war of conquest, of extermination. Perhaps Germany may be led into such a war on her part if her invasion of France or of Russia ever proves successful. That danger seems to be past. Probably neither France nor Russia can be occupied permanently by German armies, and it is well for civilization that it is so. What is not so clearly seen is that an equally fatal blow to civilization may be struck by those whom we have been accustomed to acclaim as its defenders.

That those who have died in defense of liberty and humanity may not have died in vain, it is above all essential that their armies shall not become the instruments of a perverted lust for victory at all costs, even at the price of the death of the very spirit in whose name they went forth to battle. The costs of the war are grievously heavy already, but unless the possibility of an early and lasting peace can be kept alive those costs will mount beyond all calculation. Agnes Repplier in the November *Atlantic* makes a stirring plea for the reading of the history of these current years, for remaining alive to the wonderful events which "are being written on indestructible scrolls for coming ages to read. Not with sorrow and shame only will they be read, but with elation, with the thrill of pride, with humble reverence of soul."

That depends upon the outcome. Miss Repplier feels aggrieved because a writer in the *SURVEY* alludes brutally to the cockpit of Verdun. But unless the soldiers of France remain citizens as well as soldiers it is a cockpit. Unless Englishmen carry themselves as torchbearers of civilization, rather than as commercial travelers, it is a dog fight that we are witnessing, as Lloyd George himself "brutally" calls it, and there may be nothing for it but that bystanders shall part the "game

dogs" if they can. If Kipling were right in his worse than brutal description of the Russian as the "bear that walks like a man," there could be no pride and no reverence in the story of his coming and going.

But the fact is that Russians are men and not bears. The French are citizens as well as soldiers, and the English are freemen and not slaves, even in war time. They will save themselves from their own worst enemies—those among themselves who, in their rage, would transform a defensible war into an ignoble war of extermination and exploitation. They will not summarily put aside the possibility of a peace by negotiation, with guarantees such as the nations of the future must rely upon.

American participation in the creation of the new order of things should be taken for granted. As between the present belligerents we are impartial, whatever our individual sympathies, but as between any future disturber of the peace and the peacemakers we shall not be impartial, and in the establishment of a secure and lasting peace we have a decided interest backed by a reasonable measure of moral force, capable of expression in terms of physical force if that should prove to be necessary and appropriate.

College Men and the Alcohol Question

By Rockwell D. Hunt

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

THE pre-eminence of the college man in America was never more pronounced than today; that it will be increasingly conspicuous in days to come is indicated by every present tendency. Therefore the attitude of the typical college man on the great questions of the day is a matter of genuine concern.

Indubitably the alcohol question is one of these. While hoary with age, it was never so forward-looking. More than two decades ago my social science instructor at Johns Hopkins, E. R. L. Gould—now of revered memory—pronounced the liquor problem the greatest of sociological questions. It has certainly got itself to the very forefront in our day as never before in all its long and sinuous history.

The ubiquitous investigator has been getting in his work. As the problem itself is all-pervasive, it must submit to the scrutiny of all who would make inquisition. There are biologist, chemist, bacteriologist, pathologist, neurologist, alienist, criminologist, actuary, sociologist, economist, explorer, captain on land and captain on sea, politician, moralist, religionist, labor leader, business man, legislator, jurist, administrator. The returns are coming in hourly; the sinister indictment is virtually completed.

What is to be the attitude of our pre-eminent college man when confronted with the conclusions deduced by such scientific minds as Gould, and Welch, and Fisher, and Kneeland, and Howard, and Kraepelin, and Farnum? Is it possible that the university professor, who should be *par excellence* the leader of leaders, is in danger of losing the most outstanding opportunity of his generation for virile and consequential leadership by maintaining a spirit of aloofness instead of assuming his rightful place in the glorious world-war against alcohol? Great is the force of hoary but vicious tradition, touching the use of liquor, that clings to the classic halls of learning. Will the scholar in the Republic be willing to shatter the vicious tradition?

Signs of the times are not wanting. In January, 1914, a

press dispatch to the effect that many Yale students were signing a pledge to refrain absolutely from drinking and gambling attracted my notice. Desiring accurate information, I addressed a letter to Prof. Irving Fisher, in which I said:

"In view of the fresh and very vigorous interest now displayed in the American liquor problem, politically as well as economically and morally, is not the moment auspicious for the economists and sociologists to inaugurate a serious campaign of education looking toward the total elimination of the drink traffic by 1920? In the presence of this great issue, can we longer justify ourselves in devoting major attention to matters of relatively less importance, while virtually ignoring this question of first magnitude?"

In his reply, dated February 2, 1914, Professor Fisher said:

"I am glad to know that you are treating the alcohol problem in a course. It seems to me inexcusable for us not to put these facts before young men in a scientific, dispassionate manner. As to a campaign on the subject, I shall be glad to cooperate in any way possible. My most active work for temperance and total abstinence will be as chairman of the Hygiene Reference Board of the Life Extension Institute."

Shortly afterwards, as a teacher of economics and member of the American Economic Association, I addressed the following letter to a select list of foremost American economists and sociologists:

"Has not the time arrived when American economists and sociologists should unitedly and purposefully grapple with the alcohol question, especially in its relation to the college and university?"

"In addressing this question to yourself and a small group of men, I recognize your deep interest in every great movement that makes for the general welfare, and I am not unmindful of the exceptionally favorable vantage-ground you occupy with reference to sound leadership among men of our brotherhood.

"As a slight beginning towards what may possibly expand into a most vital movement among the great body of our American college men, I have made bold to request an ex-

pression from you as to the wisdom and timeliness of entering upon a serious and dignified campaign for the elimination of alcohol from college life and functions as a part of the larger educational campaign for temperance or prohibition now stirring our land.

"As teachers of social science, should we not undertake to give systematic and adequate attention to this grave problem? Should not full recognition of the subject be accorded in the standard journals of economics and sociology? Should not regular courses in the study of the liquor problem be introduced in a very large number of our colleges and universities? Prof. Irving Fisher writes, 'It seems to me inexcusable for us not to put these facts before young men in a scientific, dispassionate manner.' Some expression of your judgment with reference to this whole matter, or any special phase of it, will be sincerely appreciated. Any constructive suggestion will be welcomed. . . ."

A few extracts from letters received in reply must suffice at this point. Prof. T. N. Carver, of Harvard University, now president of the American Economic Association, wrote:

"The problem which you raise is one that has long interested me. I think it important that the whole question of the liquor habit should be discussed in a thoroughly scientific manner."

Edward T. Devine, of the New York School of Philanthropy and Columbia University, reported:

"From the beginning of my work at Columbia eight years ago I have included the subject of alcoholism among the social problems of vice, crime, poverty and disease. I have been in sympathy with the suggestion that Robert Woods made at the National Conference of Charities and Correction a few years ago that a committee on the prevention of alcoholism should be formed somewhat on the analogy with the Committees on the Prevention of Tuberculosis with special, although, of course, not exclusive, emphasis on the medical aspects of the subject."

Prof. Frank Fetter of Princeton said:

"I can but express cordial sympathy with the end you have in view, the reduction and, if possible, the extinction of the alcohol habit in American colleges and universities. . . . I am a member of the American section of the International Committee for the Study of Alcohol, which no doubt will treat the matter in a more scientific way than it has ever been done before. I will be very happy to be kept informed of any movement undertaken or extended by you to deal with this subject."

Richard T. Ely of Wisconsin:

"My attention has been given in the last few years entirely to other problems than those which you mention. Am glad to know what you are doing and I am interested in your work."

Jeremiah W. Jenks of New York University School of Commerce and Finance expressed himself thus conservatively:

"I quite agree with you that the facts regarding the use and effects of alcohol, and tobacco, too, for that matter, should be placed before students in our colleges and universities in a thoroughly scientific and dispassionate manner. . . . Any teaching on the subject should, in my judgment, be scientific, and care should be taken that it should not become any kind of political propaganda, prohibitionist, high license, or otherwise. That is always a danger whenever any question that has a political side is introduced into the college curriculum, and it is an evil that should be carefully guarded against."

Prof. Albion W. Small of Chicago:

"Our students use the university somewhat as the subscribers to the Chicago telephone system use its different exchanges. They are in touch with the institution in either case simply when they are using it and this in both cases is a

very intermittent program. . . . As a matter of academic instruction, I do not think it would be the best use of our resources to undertake anything very different from the incidental references to the relations of intemperance and to the liquor traffic, which occur with great frequency in a large number of our courses. . . . This reply should not be interpreted as indicating coldness or lack of sympathy; the contrary is the case. . . ."

The virile, forward-looking letter from Prof. George Elliott Howard of Nebraska must be given without abridgment. It deserves to be recognized as a classic in the literature of prohibition. It bears the date of April 14, 1914, and is as follows:

"The belief is pervasive in our country that public opinion is now ready to sustain the decisive forward step in the movement against the liquor interest, and especially against the 'organized American saloon.' Already the movement has become national. Thus far the public school, the college and the university have signally failed to take their rightful place in the movement. Individually many courageous teachers have done their duty; but there has not yet been an earnest, thought-out, organized effort of all the educational forces as such. In the place of boldness, there has been timidity. Indeed the example set by professors and other leaders in college life has often been harmful. There exists an academic cynicism on the drink habit, as on some other great moral issues, that is very menacing and disheartening. College men are largely responsible for the excessive drinking and smoking habits of students. It is high time, as you suggest, for the economists and the sociologists to take the lead in an organized campaign against the alcohol traffic in all its many sinister aspects. Science has spoken. No safe refuge is left for the liquor interest. Nothing short of nation-wide prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks is adequate. College and university men and women should come forward, at whatever risk or sacrifice, to claim the leadership in this great battle for social righteousness."

Dr. Howard's letter renders special pleading unnecessary. Since it was written immense strides have been taken. Fisher has come clear over to Howard's position, as an extract from his letter of February 24, 1916, to one invited to become a member of the Committee of Sixty on National Prohibition, will indicate:

"Personally, I have only recently and almost reluctantly come to the conclusion that national prohibition is the proper method of solving this great problem. I still believe that the general education of the public is of the utmost importance. But the two go hand in hand."

The Yale professor is not alone in his new stand. Professors Loeb, Stockard, Jordan, O'Shea, Ross, and W. S. Hall are among those enrolled on the Committee of Sixty. This Committee is but one of a number of forces which seem really to have entered upon "a serious campaign of education looking toward the total elimination of the drink traffic by 1920."

As a young professor of political science, Woodrow Wilson once said, "It has never been natural, it has seldom been possible in this country, for learning to seek a place apart and hold aloof from affairs." We are coming more clearly to perceive that the "academic attitude" not only weighs and balances with scientific impartiality, but accepts conclusions that have been definitely reached and prompts to virile action. All science is for the benefit of the race; pre-eminent college men—economists, sociologists, and all the rest—are beginning to apprehend the bigness of their opportunity to advance human welfare by heeding the social demand for the elimination of alcoholism.

Birth Control¹

Its Medical, Social, Economic and Moral Aspects

By *S. Adolphus Knopf, M.D.*

PROFESSOR OF MEDICINE, DEPARTMENT OF PHTHISIOThERAPY, AT THE NEW YORK POST-GRADUATE MEDICAL SCHOOL AND HOSPITAL; VISITING PHYSICIAN TO THE RIVERSIDE HOSPITAL-SANATORIUM FOR THE CONSUMPTIVE POOR OF THE HEALTH DEPARTMENT OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

WHEN at this very moment across the sea in Europe the best blood of the nations which were heretofore considered the most enlightened, cultured and civilized, is daily being shed and hundreds of thousands of young men in the prime of life sacrificed to the Moloch of war, it must seem a hazardous undertaking to talk of birth control, which means artificial birth limitation and by some superficial observers is designated as race suicide.

But my appeal is not a plea for reducing the population but for increasing its vigor by reducing the number physically, mentally and morally unfit and adding to the number of physically strong, mentally sound, and higher morally developed men and women.

I deal first with the medical and sanitary aspects of the subject. No one will deny that we occasionally come across a well-to-do and intelligent family where by reason of unusual vigor, and particularly by reason of the physical strength of the mother, the parents have been able to rear a large number of children. In some instances all have survived and have grown up to be healthy and vigorous. But these instances are rare and are becoming more and more so every day. On the other hand, large families, that is to say, numerous children as the issue of one couple, are an every-day spectacle among the ignorant, the poor, the underfed and badly housed, the tuberculous, the degenerate, the alcoholics, the vicious and even the mentally defective.

It is well known to every general practitioner whose field of activity lies among the poor and the above-mentioned classes, that the infant mortality among these is very great. The same holds true of the mortality of school children coming from large families in these classes of the population.

Concerning tuberculosis, which, by reason of many years' experience, I am perhaps more familiar with than with other medical and social diseases, let me relate the interesting fact that a carefully taken history of many, many cases has revealed to me: that with surprising regularity the tuberculous individual, when he or she comes from a large family, is one of the latter-born children—the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, etc. The explanation for this phenomenon is obvious. When parents are older, and particularly when the mother is worn out by frequent pregnancies and often weakened because obliged to work in mill, factory or workshop up to the very day of confinement, the child will come into the world with lessened vitality, its main inheritance being a physiological poverty. This systemic poverty will leave it less resistant, not only to tuberculosis but to all other diseases of infancy and childhood as well.

The morbidity and mortality among these children is greatest when the children are most numerous in one family. In a publication of the Infant Mortality Series, Emma Duke gives the result of a field study in Johnstown, Pa., based

on the births of one calendar year, 1911. The inspection was made of the 1911 babies in 1913 so that even the last born baby included had reached its first birthday—or rather has had a chance to reach its first birthday; many of them were dead long before that day. The following is Miss Duke's table showing the infant mortality rate for all children born of married mothers in Johnstown during that year:

Deaths per 1,000 births in	
Families of 1 and 2 children.....	108.5
Families of 3 and 4 children.....	126.0
Families of 5 and 6 children.....	152.8
Families of 7 and 8 children.....	176.4
Families of 9 and more children.....	191.9

Dr. Alice Hamilton, of the Memorial Institute for Infectious Diseases, Chicago, made a study of 1,600 families in the neighborhood of Hull House. The following is the table of the child mortality rate of the 1,600 families as published by Dr. Hamilton:

Deaths per 1,000 births in	
Families of 4 children and less.....	118
Families of 6 children.....	267
Families of 7 children.....	280
Families of 8 children.....	291
Families of 9 children and more.....	303

Many families were found of thirteen, fourteen and even sixteen members. The largest of all was that of an Italian woman who had borne twenty-two children—and raised two. The small families of every nationality had a lower mortality rate than the large families of the same nationality. The Jewish families of four and less had the astonishingly low mortality rate of 81 per 1,000, while in families of eight and more the rate rose to 260 per 1,000.

The larger the family, the more congested will be the quarters they live in and the more unsanitary will be the environment. Last, but not least, with the increase of the family there is by no means a corresponding increase of the earning capacity of the father or mother, and as a result malnutrition and insufficient clothing enter as factors to predispose to tuberculosis or cause an already existing latent tuberculosis to become active.

The Part Played by Tuberculosis

WHAT is the result of this condition in relation to tuberculosis—one single disease? Out of the 200,000 individuals who die annually of tuberculosis in the United States, 50,000 are children. According to some authors 65 per cent of women afflicted with tuberculosis, even when afflicted only in the relatively early and curable stages, die as a result of pregnancy which could have been avoided and their lives been saved had they but known the means of prevention. Some times we succeed in saving such a mother by a timely and careful emptying of the uterus. But an abortion even scientifically carried out and only resorted to with the view of sav-

¹ Address delivered by invitation at the forty-fourth annual meeting of the American Public Health Association, Cincinnati, Oct. 27, 1916. Thanks to the courtesy of the editors of the *New York Medical Journal* we have been able to have the above appear simultaneously with the publication of Dr. Knopf's article in that periodical.

ing the life of the mother is never desirable, either for the consultant to advise, or for the gynecologist or obstetrician to perform; and who will dare to say even under the best conditions that this operation is devoid of danger?

What is the explanation and what are the consequences from the point of view of sanitation of the death of 50,000 tuberculous children? They have mostly become infected from tuberculous parents or tuberculous boarders who had to be taken into the family to help pay the rent. In the crowded homes of the poor there was neither sunlight nor air nor food enough to cure the sufferers and before they died they became disseminators of the disease. Nearly all of the infectious and communicable diseases are more prevalent in the congested, overcrowded homes of the poor, and particularly of those with large families. The propagation of syphilis and gonorrhœa by contact infection, other than sexual, can sometimes be avoided in the homes of the well-to-do by enlightenment and the conscientiousness of the afflicted. It is almost invariably communicated to the innocent in the homes of the ignorant and poor. Gonorrhœal infection from parent to child or from one infected member of the family to the other is responsible more than anything else for the 57,272 blind persons in the United States.

The great syphilographer Fournier left us the following irrefutable statistical evidences of the seriousness of syphilitic transmission: As a result of paternal transmission there is a morbidity of 37 per cent and a mortality of 28 per cent; maternal transmission resulted in 84 per cent morbidity and 60 per cent mortality; and the combined transmissions are no less than 90 per cent of morbidity and 68.5 per cent mortality.

I venture to say right here that would or could a syphilitic or gonorrhœic parent be taught how to prevent conception during the acute and infectious stages of his or her disease there would certainly be less inherited syphilis, less blindness from gonorrhœal infection, in other words, fewer unfortunate children in this world handicapped for life and a burden to the community.

Mental Defect and Alcohol

THAT INSANITY, idiocy, epilepsy and alcoholic predisposition are often transmitted from parent to child is now universally admitted and corroborated by every-day experience and by an abundance of statistics. Countless are the millions of dollars expended for the maintenance of these mentally unfit. The state of New York alone spends \$2,000,000 annually for the care of its insane. Whether sterilization of these individuals would be the best remedy is a question still open for discussion. The constitutionality of the procedure is doubted by some of our legal authorities. Segregation is resorted to in the meantime with more or less rigor according to state laws. Every year, however, many of the individuals who had been committed to institutions for the treatment of mental disorders are discharged as cured. They are allowed to procreate their kind. Would it not be an economic saving if at least the individuals whose intelligence has been restored were instructed in the prevention of bringing into the world children who are most likely to be mentally tainted and to become a burden to the community?

The economic loss to our commonwealth from bringing into this world thousands of children mentally and physically crippled for life is beyond calculation, for who will dare to calculate in dollars and cents the loss which has accrued to the community because so many mothers died of tuberculosis when an avoidable pregnancy was added to a slight tuber-

culous ailment in a curable stage? Who will dare to estimate the cost of the loss of an equally large or perhaps larger number of mothers afflicted with serious cardiac or renal diseases, or frail or ill from other causes, whose lives could have been prolonged had an additional pregnancy not aggravated their condition?

Of the many mothers, married and unmarried, who have become chronic invalids and even lost their lives as a result of having resorted to abortive measures in order to rid themselves of an unwelcome child, no statistics are available. If there were, they would be an appalling evidence of the great danger of such criminal procedures and would certainly show the advantage of a more enlightened attitude regarding the means of contraception, at least for the married women who are enfeebled or diseased.

The many diseases I have mentioned whereby children in large families and mothers because of too frequent pregnancies are carried off to an early grave are not limited to the poor. In regard to economies, the middle class suffers also. Thus, if even a relatively well-to-do family begins to increase all out of proportion to the earnings of the father, the family will soon be in want and approaching poverty. Less and less good food, less sanitary housing, less care of the children and more sickness will almost inevitably result. Every sickness or death of child or adult has increased the expenses of the family. There is the doctor's bill, the druggist's bill and, last but not least, that of the undertaker. A grave has to be purchased. If there have been savings, they are gradually swallowed up and debts are often contracted for the sake of a decent funeral.

Next to the medical and sanitary comes the physiological aspect of birth control, which can be summarized in a very few sentences. The average mother with two, three or four children, not in too rapid succession, but with two or three years' interval, is physiologically, that is to say, physically and mentally, stronger and better equipped to cope with life's problems than the mothers worn out and weakened by frequent and numerous pregnancies.

What is the physiological effect of voluntary artificial restriction of the birth-rate of the offspring? In Holland, where the medical and legal professions have openly approved and helped to extend artificial restriction of the birth-rate, the health of the people at large, as shown by its general death-rate, has improved faster than in any other country in the world. At the recent Eugenics Congress it was stated that the stature of the Dutch people was increasing more rapidly than that of any other country—the increase being no less than four inches within the last fifty years. According to the Official Statistical Year Book of the Netherlands, the proportion of young men drawn for the army over 5 feet 7 inches in height has increased from 24½ to 47½ per cent since 1865; while the proportion below 5 feet 2½ inches in height has fallen from 25 per cent to under 8 per cent.²

The Dutch Medical Profession

IN THAT ENLIGHTENED COUNTRY, the teaching by the medical profession of the most hygienic methods of birth limitation has enabled the poor to have small families which they could raise to be physically and morally better equipped than formerly, and what is most interesting to observe is that, whether as a result of this or for some other reason, the families among the well-to-do are not nearly as small as in other countries.

In Australia and New Zealand, the means of artificial restriction are in free circulation and the restriction of families

² The Small Family System; Is It Injurious or Immoral? By Dr. C. V. Drysdale. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York.

is almost universal. Yet these two English colonies have furnished to their mother country in these hours of struggle the most efficient, and physically and mentally best equipped regiments. The soldiers of Australia and New Zealand have shown themselves brave and fearless fighters and certainly equal, if not superior, as far as physical endurance is concerned, to their English brethren. In the latter country it is well known birth control is frowned upon by the legal and nearly all the ecclesiastical authorities.

And what of France? Before the present war Drysdale, in his book, *The Small Family System*, very aptly said:

"It has become the fashion to speak of the depravity of France, of her alcoholism, of her disregard for law and order, and of her terrible *crimes passionels*, and to ascribe them to the falling birth-rate. If this were the case, it is obvious that these evils would be most intense where the process had gone furthest, i.e., in the cantons of the lowest birth-rate (the French islands of Re and Oleron)."

The passions of the inhabitants of these islands are very innocent.

"They are reading and dancing. The dancing, always decent, is the preparation for marriage; illegitimate births are very rare. One could not imagine manners more pleasant or more honorable. Nevertheless the birth-rate in these islands is among the lowest. It is because everyone there is more or less of a proprietor. Each person has some property to protect; each is ambitious for his children."

But we have the authority of Dr. Bertillon, the French statistician, that it is just in the cantons of these islands in which the greatest moral improvement has taken place, and that where the French have obeyed the command to increase and multiply there alcoholism and crime abound.

Let me quote briefly from an editorial on contraception which appeared in the *Medical Times* of April, 1916:

"France today is presenting her splendid spectacle of utter efficiency to the world because only the fittest of her people have survived, and the chief factor there has admittedly been contraception. Surely we have heard the last of the croakers about decadent France. Holland would give an equally good account of herself if the need should arise and for the same reason."

Economic and Sociological Factors

BECAUSE of a high birth-rate concomitant with a high infant and child mortality rate, we have already touched in part on the economic cost growing into the millions which accrues annually to the nation. Well may we ask the question whether disease and the deaths of thousands of women and children can not be prevented by an enlightened attitude toward the question of birth control. Why is it not done? If the millions of dollars expended uselessly reverted to the nation's wealth, would they not add immeasurably to the health and economic happiness of the nation at large?

The social or sociological aspects of our topic are closely interwoven with the economic. That the social and moral life of a smaller family, where the father earns enough to support wife and children and where the mother can devote her time to the care of them, and where neither she nor the children must go out and help in the support of the family, is superior to that of a family with a large number of children where the mother and often the older children must slave, does not permit discussion. The larger the family of the poor, the more child labor, the more there is disruption and irregularity, and the more frequently one finds a lower standard of life and morals in general.

The records of charities and benevolent societies amply prove that as a rule the larger the families are that apply for relief the greater is their distress.

That judicious birth control does not mean race suicide, but, on the contrary, race preservation, may best be shown from the reports from Holland. The average birth-rate in the three principal cities of Holland was 33.7 per 1,000 in 1881, when birth-control clinics were started. In 1912, it had fallen to 25.3 per 1,000. The general death-rate, however, had dropped in the same period from 24.2 to 11.1 per 1,000, or less than half, while the two-thirds reduction in the mortality of children under one year of age—from 209 to 70 per 1,000 living births—is even more significant. (*Birth Control News*, published by Birth Control League of Ohio, Cleveland.)

As a final evidence of the social and economic value of imparting information concerning family limitation, permit me to quote from a personal letter from the great pioneer of this humanitarian movement, Dr. J. Rutgers, honorable secretary of the Neo-Malthusian League of The Hague. The league has been in existence since 1888 and received its legal sanction by a royal decree January 30, 1895. It has 6,000 contributing members; all information is given gratuitously. As a result of this league in Holland one does not see any more children dressed in rags as in former years prior to the starting of the movement. To use the venerable secretary's own words:

Testimony from Holland

"ALL CHILDREN you now see are suitably dressed, they look now as neat as formerly only the children of the village clergyman did. In the families of the laborers there is now a better personal and general hygiene, a finer moral and intellectual development. All this has become possible by limitation in the number of children in these families. It may be that now and then this preventive teaching has caused illicit intercourse, but on the whole morality is now on a much higher level, and mercenary prostitution with its demoralizing consequences and propagation of contagious diseases is on the decline.

"The best test (the only possible mathematical test) of our moral, physiological and financial progress is the constant increase in longevity of our population. In 1890 to 1899 it was 46.20; in 1900 to 1909 it was 51 years. Such rise cannot be equalled in any other country except in Scandinavia where birth limitation was preached long before it was in Holland. None of the dreadful consequences anticipated by the advocates of clericalism, militarism and conservatism have occurred. In spite of our low birth-rate the population in our country is rising faster than ever before, simply because it is concomitant with a greater economic improvement and better child hygiene."

The good doctor closes his letter by saying: "One must have been a family physician for twenty-five years like myself in a large city [Rotterdam] to appreciate the blessings of conscious motherhood resulting in the better care of children, the higher moral standard. And all these blessings are taken away from you by your government's peculiar laws, made to please the Puritans."

To these latter well-meaning people and those similarly minded who fear race suicide, particularly a decline of the American stock, I strongly recommend the reading of that splendid address of Dr. Charles A. L. Reed, former president of the American Medical Association, entitled *The American Family*. In the chapter on *The Outlook of the American Family*, he very pertinently says: "We see in a declining

birth-rate only a natural and evolutionary adjustment of race to environment—an adjustment that insures rather than menaces the perpetuation of our kind under favoring conditions.” And concerning under-population in general, this distinguished writer says in the same address: “It seems, indeed, to the careful student that the danger to the American family today and still more in the future lies in the direction of over-population rather than under-population.”

I may say in passing that in the state of New York we have observed the alarming phenomenon that the proportional increase among the insane is double that among the sane population.

And now I approach the last and most important phase of my subject, namely, the moral, which to me means no less than the religious phase of this great problem. Let me say that I approach it with awe and reverence, for I believe I fully understand the import of it. A quarter of a century of practice among the tuberculous, the rich and the poor, in palatial homes, humble cottages, dark and dreary tenements, and in overcrowded hospitals, has shown me enough to bring to my mind the utter immorality of thoughtless procreation, and my experience has been limited to this one disease of the masses. The tears and sufferings I have witnessed when I have had to decline help because it was too late to prevent, the despair of the poor, frail mother at the prospect of another inevitable confinement and later the sight of a puny babe destined to disease, poverty and misery has made me take the stand I am taking today. I am doing it after profound reflection and fully aware of the opposition I am bound to meet. But in my early career as an anti-tuberculosis crusader I became accustomed to the fate of those who venture on new and heretofore untrodden paths of progress.

The Moral Outcome

WHAT WOULD BE the moral outcome of birth control, or, let us rather say, rational family limitation, should it be judiciously taught to those seeking and needing the advice? Millions of unborn children would be saved by contraception from the curse of a handicapped existence as members of a family struggling with poverty or disease.

There are hundreds of young men and women, physically and morally strong, who gladly would enter wedlock if they knew that they could restrict their families to such an extent as to raise a few children well. But their fear of a large family retards, if it does not prevent, their happiness and, *ipso facto*, the procreation of a better and stronger man and womanhood. The woman withers away in sorrowful maidenhood and the man, whose sexual instincts are often so strong that he cannot refrain, seeks relief in association with unfortunate and often diseased prostitutes. The result is a propagation of venereal diseases with all its dire consequences.

Physicians, sanitarians and social workers know what these consequences are. They involve sterility, physical and mental suffering in the man, or sterility in both man and woman, and according to the severity of the infection—abortion, premature labor, a dead child, or one lastingly tainted with disease.

At times disease does not enter as a factor in the tragedy, but the result is a girl-mother, a blasted life—for our double standard of morality recognizes the “sin” only in our sisters, not in ourselves. Of her, compassionate tongues only say she loved not wisely but too well; of him nothing is said at all. He is spotless and virtuous in the eyes of the world and can go through life as if he had never sinned and been responsible for a wrecked life or two.

Even our moralists must acknowledge that by an early mar-

riage with a man of her choice, enabled by understanding to limit the number of children, many a girl would be saved from so-called dishonor and in many instances from prostitution.

One of the strongest arguments of our moralists and purists is that the knowledge of contraception would lead the young to enter forbidden sexual relations and degrade them morally. Granted that this may happen in a number of instances, the benefit derived from a diminution of venereal diseases form a greater number of happy and successful marriages among the younger people, fewer but better and healthier offsprings instead of an unrestricted procreation of the underfed, the tuberculous, the alcoholics, the degenerate, the feeble-minded and insane would more than outweigh the isolated instances of sexual intercourse prior to marriage.

In view of all the facts, I feel impelled to plead with all earnestness for the abolishment of the state and federal laws which make the imparting of knowledge for contraception a criminal offense. I plead for the establishment of gratuitous clinics, directed by regular physicians of high repute, remunerated by city or state, who are competent to give information as to birth limitation in such cases where they deem the giving of such instructions advisable.

As to the urgency and the wisdom of efforts to change these laws,³ I am sure that you will be willing to listen to the words of two of our greatest American physicians; first, to those of the venerable nestor of the medical profession, Dr. Abraham Jacobi, of New York, ex-president of the American Medical Association; secondly, to Dr. Hermann M. Biggs, of the New York State Board of Health, distinguished sanitarian and pioneer in the modern warfare against tuberculosis.

In his preface to Dr. William J. Robinson's book, *The Limitation of Offspring*, Dr. Jacobi says: “Our federal and state laws on the subject of prevention of conception are grievously wrong and unjust. It is important that these laws be repealed at the earliest possible moment; it is important that useful teaching be not crippled, that personal freedom be not interfered with, that the independence of married couples be protected, that families be safeguarded in regard to health and comfort, and that the future children of the nation be prepared for competent and comfortable citizenship.”

The Present Restrictive Laws

DR. BIGGS, prior to the recent dismissing of the case by Judge Dayton, of the federal court against Margaret Sanger for sending information about birth control through the mails, gave to the press the following statement: “I am strongly of the opinion that the present laws in regard to the giving out of information in relation to the governing of infant control are unwise and should be revised. There can be no question in the mind of any one familiar with the facts that the unrestricted propagation of the mentally and physically unfit as legally encouraged at the present time is coming to be a serious menace to civilization and constitutes a great drain on our economic resources. This is my personal view.”

To the foregoing expressions of opinions let me add what

³ United States Criminal Code, Section 211 (Act of March 4, 1909, Chapter 321, Section 211, U. S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 35, art. 1, page 1088 et seq.). New York Statute Book (Section 1142 of the Penal Law). The federal law prescribed a fine of \$5,000 or imprisonment of not more than five years, or both, for any one using the mails to give advice for producing abortion or preventing conception. The New York state law, above mentioned, makes the giving of a recipe, drug or medicine for the prevention of conception or for causing unlawful abortion a misdemeanor, punishable with no less than ten days nor more than one year imprisonment, or a fine of not less than \$50 nor more than \$1,000, or both fine and imprisonment, for each offense.

It will be noticed that both laws make the giving of advice for the prevention of conception as great an offense as producing abortion. According to the New York state law, a “lawful” abortion is permitted and not punishable, but to prevent such abortion, always more or less dangerous to life, is not permitted and punishable by law. In all medical colleges careful instruction is given how to perform the “lawful” abortion. All good textbooks on gynecology describe the operation as carefully as an amputation of the cervix or hysterectomy; but concerning the advice to give, for example, to the poor tuberculous mother who has had her uterus emptied once so that she may not be obliged to submit to such a “lawful” operation again, our teachers of gynecology and our textbooks dare not say a word.

Judge William H. Wadhams, of the Court of General Sessions, wrote me concerning these laws: "In order to save the state from the burden of large families, where there is no possibility of their being supported and where the neglect which follows often results in their becoming state charges not only because they are mentally but often physically unfit to bear the burden of life, I am of the opinion that there should be some proper birth regulation after a certain number of children have been born, and that, therefore, there should also be some modification of the laws with respect to the giving of information upon this subject. I think the sanitary, medical, social, economic and moral status of the population would be improved by proper and more general information upon this subject."

Some of Those Who Believe in Birth Control

BESIDES THE LETTER from this eminent judicial authority and the strong expressions of opinion of Drs. Jacobi and Biggs, I have been the recipient of communications from many leading physicians, divines, political economists and sociologists, all agreeing with me that judicious birth control, under the highest ethical medical guidance, is a national necessity and that our present laws on the subject need urgent revision. For want of space I will only mention the following: Dr. John N. Hurty, secretary Indiana State Board of Health; Dr. Godfrey R. Pisek, professor of diseases and children at the New York Post-Graduate Medical School and Hospital; Dr. J. W. Trask, Public Health Bureau, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Lydia Allen De Vilbis, Kansas State Board of Health; Dr. Ira S. Wile, editor *Medical Review of Reviews*, New York; Dr. John A. Wyeth, professor of surgery and president of the New York Polyclinic Medical School and Hospital, ex-president of the American Medical Association and the New York Academy of Medicine; the Rev. Frank Crane, formerly pastor of the Union Congregational Church of Worcester, Mass., editorial writer; the Rev. Percy S. Grant, rector Church of the Ascension of New York; the Rev. Frank Oliver Hall, minister of the Church of the Divine Paternity, New York; the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Unitarian Church of the Messiah, New York; the Rev. Stephen S. Wise, of the Free Synagogue, New York; Melvil Dewey, LL.D., educator, president of National Society for Efficiency; Prof. James A. Field, of the University of Chicago; Irving Fisher, professor of political economy of Yale University and chairman of the hygiene reference board of the Life Extension Institute; Franklin H. Giddings, professor of political science, Columbia University; William H. Allen, director of the Institute for Public Science of New York; Homer Folks, former commissioner of Public Charities of New York, now secretary of the State Charities Aid Association of New York; Lillian D. Wald, founder of the Henry Street Settlement and originator of the work of the school nurse in New York.

I must not fail to say a word about our Catholic friends and those of other faiths who are so strongly opposed to any

teaching or making public the means of contraception and limiting family increase. Let us have no word of bitterness or reproach because millions of devout Catholics hold these views. Let us not antagonize either priest or Catholic laymen who have a right to their conviction as much as we have to ours. If an enlightened government will at last permit contraception to be taught where it is likely to be productive of the most good, when in years to come we can show our Catholic brethren that because of birth control, resulting in a rational family limitation, we have decreased poverty, disease and crime and have produced a better generation of men and women, better equipped physically, mentally and morally for life's mission, in short, men worthy to be called true citizens of a great republic, then I am sure our Catholic friends will see that we after all have been not so wrong.

Without claiming the gift of prophecy, I venture, nevertheless, to foretell that as a result of wise, broad-minded and practical legislation concerning birth control the American nation will become the leader toward a finer, better manhood and womanhood, an example to be followed by the peoples of this and other continents. My esteemed friend, the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, of the Unitarian Church of the Messiah, New York, wrote me recently:

"Birth control is one more step forward in that full ordering and directing of his conscious life which is one of the most noble distinctions of the human as contrasted with the animal."

Dr. William L. Holt, writing on birth control as a social necessity and duty, says:

"Conscious and limited procreation is dictated by love and intelligence; it improves the race. Unconscious, irresponsible procreation produces domestic misery and half-starved children. Conscious procreation of human lives elevates man to the gods. Unconscious procreation degrades man to the level of brutes."

"Images of Their Creator"

TO QUALIFY the words of both, those of the divine as well as those of the physician, may I be permitted to close with what I am free to confess is my innermost conviction?

I believe in birth control, that is to say, birth limitation, based on medical, sanitary, ethical, moral and economic reasons. I believe in it because with the aid of it man and woman can decide when to have a child, work and prepare for its arrival, welcome it as the fulfilment of their heart's desire, watch over it, tenderly care for and educate it, and raise it to be what every child should be destined to be—a being happy, healthy, strong in mind, body and soul.

If we but use our God-given sense to regulate the affairs of government and family wisely and economically, this great world of ours will be one of plenty and beauty where the good will predominate over the evil and the children born in it will become men and women only a little lower than the angels—images of their Creator.

THE RAG PICKER

By Hilda W. Smith

THREE bells a-jangle down the long street,
Pushing his cart he goes, shuffling his feet.

Up a street, down a street, streets without end.
"Rags and old clothes! Umbrellas to mend!"

Are your dreams fashioned of tatters and shreds,
Faded old patches of yellows and reds?

Fabric of visions ragged and worn,
Hopes long forgotten, love turned to scorn?

Crying his trade he goes down the long street,
Shabby, round-shouldered, shuffling his feet:

Three bells a-jangle on top of his cart,
And maybe a tattered old dream in his heart.

The New Public Health

I

By *Alice Hamilton, M.D., and Gertrude Seymour*

PUBLIC health activities are claiming more and more the attention of all classes of people and especially of those whom for want of a better name we call social workers. The SURVEY has long wished to make a study of the actual status of public health work in this country; of the federal, the state and the municipal health departments, their organization, their ideals and their actual achievements. We are emboldened to begin this critical survey now because of the appearance of two very detailed studies in this field, both of which should be given as wide publicity as possible. Dr. C. V. Chapin, of Providence, has lately reported to the American Medical Association the results of an inquiry into the health departments of the different states; Franz Schneider, Jr., of the Russell Sage Foundation, has made a similar study of municipal health departments.

We have based our studies largely on the principles laid down by Dr. Chapin and by Mr. Schneider, and have supplemented the data contained in their reports by all the first-hand information we could gather from local health officials.

In the forthcoming series we shall try to give a clear picture of the ideals of modern public health work, and of the actual accomplishment at the present moment of the various state departments. In order to do the latter we shall have to pass in review the list of activities undertaken by these bodies and rate them according to their importance. We shall try to show which are indispensable and must be undertaken at once; which are desirable but of secondary importance, so that they may well be left to other agencies till the department is better equipped. We shall also look into an even more important feature—the constitution of the department, the selection of health officials, the degree to which the medical profession dominates the board's activities, the powers of the executive officer; and last, but most vital of all, the influence of politics in public health work, for, of course, nothing is proof against that subtle evil; the ablest officer and the wisest program are of little value if politics controls.

The Public's Share in Public Health

BEFORE beginning this critical study, it may be well to recall just what is the task of a state board of health—what share in "public health" must be the public's. The theory of the organization needs no justification at this day; but the board itself too often seems a remote entity, a "bureaucracy" related only in a vague way to actual processes of living and working. Whereas quite the contrary is the fact.

Says Prof. Milton J. Rosenau in the preface of his new *Preventive Medicine and Hygiene*:

"Exact knowledge has taken the place of fads and fancies in hygiene and sanitation; the capable health officer now possesses facts concerning infections which permit their prevention and even their suppression in some instances. Many of these problems are complicated with economic and social difficulties . . . preventive medicine has become a basic factor in sociology."

The doctor might have added "political" to his list of difficulties. But here, briefly suggested, is the task of the health officer: within the limits of his state and in cooperation with other states to make effective what is known about hygiene for the people of his charge; what

is known about sanitation for their external living conditions.

Such an attempt will touch a state's life, progress and activity at practically every point. How can a state be taught the scientific truth about health and disease? Is its transportation of commerce and of passengers also a transportation of disease? Is the water supply of its various communities satisfactory? What is the relation between that case of scarlet fever down in the southeast corner to an outbreak of the disease in the next state? Why are there seven more cases of typhoid in this county than its yearly average allows? Why, indeed, are there any cases there at all? Are births promptly reported? and sickness? and deaths? And of what use are these accumulating records? What special provisions are there for the industrial population, or for the rural, according to the character of the state? And what can a man do about it all, anyway?

Dr. Hill's Brilliant Book

THE MOST BRILLIANT as well as concrete reply to such questions is an account of just this new method of health work given in a fascinating little volume written by Dr. Hibbert Winslow Hill. Dr. Hill worked out his theory and proved its worth in the State Board of Health of Minnesota. In the following abstract of his *New Public Health* (Macmillan), all that is of interest belongs to the author; any error must be charged to the interpreters.

In new public health work the stress falls, says Dr. Hill, on the individual. In former days it was upon environment. Sources of infection and routes over which infection traveled were sought for—when sought at all—in garbage, backyards, damp cellars, bad ventilation, "sewer-gas" and everywhere else where they were not. The unventilated front parlor was blamed for tuberculosis. "The slum dwellers lived like pigs, thereby invoking the coming of smallpox . . . diphtheria, etc.," said an erstwhile report. But to the query, "Why do these diseases invade the porcelain-tubbed dwellings of the rich?" the only explanation was, "A visitation of Providence."

Children sat next to an unrecognized case of measles in school—therefore, "Oh, all children have to have measles anyway, and the younger they can have it the better!" In a book, which twenty-five years ago was standard, it is seriously stated that bubonic plague in Egypt was cured by better ventilation. Since then a million rats, pickled in alcohol, combed, dissected, have made a very different history. Human lives have been risked to compel the mosquito to give up his secret of yellow fever. Diphtheria has been traced to a human carrier instead of to sewer-gas. Nowadays, if people white-wash outhouses or "clean up" backyards, they also watch to see that the milkman does not leave infected milk.

Another goddess formerly set up and worshipped was "high health." "Keep in good condition—that's the best guard against infection," it was said. But general health has not proved a guaranty against specific infection. The one-fifth of the applicants for army positions who succeed in passing the physical examination, and are exercised, disciplined and fed at the highest known level of hygiene, succumb readily to infection; and every means of specific protection, such as anti-typhoid vaccination, is eagerly welcomed.

The truth is only this, in Dr. Hill's words: "The value of

high health, of hygiene, lies in the physical efficiency and bodily comfort which it bestows; in the sense of well-being, in the energy, alertness and keenness which result from it."

Health, in other words, is much more than the absence of disease, though it demands such measures of hygiene as shall make for the best internal workings of the human frame; of sanitation, as shall eliminate external conditions leading to disease or injury.

Is, then, environment become of none effect? Doesn't it matter whether the cellar is damp, the drain-pipe leaks, or garbage builds up a paradise for flies?

The issue here is one rather of self-respect and æsthetic and moral values than of sanitary legislation. The new public health does not encourage dirt; it does discriminate between general cleanliness and specific protection against infection. For if any part of the environment becomes infected by discharges from an infected person, the situation is immediately changed, and dust, garbage and flies assume a dangerous rôle. Unequivocally, no environment should be tolerated that "facilitates the exchange of human excreta," whether via the common drinking-cup, the roller-towel, the unprotected cough, or bad toilets into which infected discharge is poured without disinfection, to be brought back into the house and inmates on hands, by flies or other means.

The garbage-can is a place where flies feed and perhaps breed. But flies cannot carry infection if there is no infection to carry. Employes in various garbage plants average as well in health as do other men of similar status; so, too, employes in sewage systems, even those who work in city sewers.

Dr. Hill is not unaware of the claim, often insisted upon, that environments taxing the body forces beyond their powers of "compensatory adjustment" may contribute to the development of an existing infection—especially that of tuberculosis or pneumonia. But again discrimination is necessary. To induce infection, neither starvation or fatigue, nor unsuitable temperature, nor alcoholism—nor all together, will avail; nor will converse conditions offset the effects when a dose of infection is large, frequent, or highly virulent.

The Infected Person the Source

THE CENTRAL THESIS, then, of Dr. Hill's book is, that the infected person is the source and the *sine qua non* of infection. Therefore, when an outbreak of some communicable disease occurs, the new type of health officer will look first for the infected person; then for the routes over which infection could reach this individual; then for those from which it could spread from him; and, further, for those well-beaten paths from one individual to another in the same sociological group over which infection, once introduced, will promptly travel. Find the established routes of transfer, and the occasional bizarre mode may be considered later or ignored.

One example "of transfer in sociological groups" is the exchange of mouth-spray in talking, laughing or coughing, possible in groups working near one another; children at school; children playing together; church sociables; all the various "get-together" schemes of the modern neighborhood tendency.

The "established routes of transfer" Dr. Hill indicates thus:

THE CHIEF ROUTES OF INFECTION

<i>Diseases</i>	<i>Route</i>
Typhoid fever and other intestinal infections.....	water, food, flies, milk, contact
Tuberculosis (human).....	flies, milk, contact
Diphtheria, scarlet fever, measles, smallpox, etc.....	milk, contact
Syphilis, gonorrhœa, trachoma, leprosy.....	contact

These routes of disease, as well as the characteristics of the diseases themselves, are included in the study of epidemiology, the science of epidemics. Just how epidemiology works in practical life is suggested by an incident which Dr. Hill generalizes from many a particular case and locates at "Anybodyville."

Tommy Anybody and His "Rash"

MRS. ANYBODY keeps Tommy at home from school today because, as she says, he has a "scarlet rash." She hurries the other children off to school, often interrupted in putting up their lunches by the necessities of the nauseated Tommy. Her anxiety increasing, she asks a neighbor to come in and watch the child while she herself goes to the corner to telephone, not to Dr. A, who is fussy about reporting things and would tell the health department and have the house placarded, but to nice, easy-going Dr. B. Presently Tommy is seriously sick and the other children are packed off to a cousin's "in case they should get it." Then one of them develops a "sore throat" at the cousin's, is attended by Dr. B, has no rash and is soon better; but the little cousin whom the sore-throat child slept with presently has sore throat, too, and her chum develops unmistakable scarlet fever.

The chum is attended by Dr. A, who, recognizing the disease, reports to the health officer, placards the house, keeps the children from school and father from business, until the whole village eyes that family and talks of "surface water" in the well and the heavy shade-trees near the house. Then there's the mayor's statement "to allay excitement," all about a sporadic case that originated no one knows how.

Meanwhile, Tommy is popular at school, distributing "peelings" that are harmless), and scattering spray (that is by no means harmless) from his still sore throat as he tells how awfully sick he's been. And so on, until twenty or thirty cases have occurred, and even Dr. B recognizes that this is scarlet fever. The woman's club insists that the schools be closed and disinfected—Sunday schools and moving pictures are not interfered with.

The health department's record begins only with the case that Dr. A reported—the cousin's little girl's chum; has all Dr. A's cases and those of Dr. B after he "was sure." Later, it has reports of death from "acute Bright's disease," or meningitis.

Suppose there had been an epidemiologist in the local health department or that Dr. B had recognized Tommy's case, reported it and the report had promptly reached the state department—in either case, we have an epidemiologist on the scene of action. Posted on scarlet fever, he knows what the condition of the children's tongues and tonsils means, even if there is no rash. He isolates the sick child promptly and completely. He keeps the schools open, inspecting every child's throat daily for a week; sends home at once any child that shows signs of recent or developing fever, and his brothers and sisters with him; traces Tommy's infection to his recent visit to a slightly infected town in the next state, so freeing the milkman from suspicion, and insuring an accurate record of vital statistics in the local health department. He insures a lower death-rate, too, by calling the attention of local doctors to consequences as well as symptoms of scarlet fever, and to the means of guarding against them.

The epidemiologist has outlined a course of necessary procedure. Doctor, nurse, bacteriologist, sanitarian and citizen must cooperate in its administration.

"So long as governments permit infection to go unchecked," writes Dr. Hill emphatically, "the persons who unwittingly become infected should have rights in suits of damage against

such governments." The only sane and scientific procedure is a health administration that is in its personnel, of high-grade to command public respect; in its organization, simple to prevent duplicated effort; in its provision, adequate for the work to be done in its field. Adequate organization is the theme of later papers in this series. Just a word as to the personnel.

The New Profession of Public Health

PERHAPS it need hardly be said that here is the work of a new profession. The doctor alone cannot meet the situation—our already overburdened medical curriculum cannot take on in addition hygiene, sanitation, vital statistics, epidemiology and all the rest. The applied science of preventive medicine has come to have a training of its own, recognized by special degrees—the C.P.H., or certificate in public health; and the D.P.H., doctor of public health. The object of this special training is a specific service—the prevention of disease. But evidently it is impossible to prevent disease without a knowledge of disease. Therefore the higher degree in public health presupposes some medical training, often the regular medical degree.

But there is a distinction in point of view between medical practitioner and public health official. As Dr. Rosenau says, the doctor diagnoses and treats with a view to curing. His relation to the patient is personal. The health officer's interest is in the modes of spread of disease, and in methods of preventing that spread. His attitude is impersonal. His relation is to the community, large or small, not to the individual.

In this country there are at least twelve schools at which this special training is offered. These are, according to replies to the SURVEY's direct inquiry, last spring, Harvard-Technology School for Health Officers; the state universities of California, Colorado, Michigan, New York, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin; the Detroit College of Medicine; and Johns Hopkins, Tulane and Yale Universities. A plan for such a course has been adopted at Columbia, but has not yet been put into operation. Some of these are more brilliant in announcement than in achievement; but several have made a most valuable beginning.

Fully thirty courses are given, all bearing directly upon problems of disease prevention—from microscopic water-life to drainage construction. Ten of these training centers select their courses from the university's medical school, department of social science, laboratories. Two, the Harvard-Technology School for Health Officers and the new foundation at Johns Hopkins, are distinct units in the university organization, although drawing upon the faculties of law, dentistry, engineering or medicine for a part of the teaching staff.

Several schools have the cooperation of municipal and state health departments or industrial establishments, by means of which students in public health courses may visit factories of all kinds, gather vital statistics, inspect schools and do practical field work under the instructor's supervision. In Colorado, factory and department-store inspection form part of the course in sanitary surveys; and volunteer work in some health organizations is part of the requirement for both certificate and degree. Harvard-Technology students directly observe methods of medical inspection of immigrants at the port of Boston, and also the technique of quarantine. Several schools arrange to combine the last year of the medical course with public health specialization; Wisconsin requires two years of special study subsequent to the regular medical course.

But this fundamental fact is evident everywhere: that the D.P.H. degree is, like the Ph.D., not given upon a computation of time or number of courses, but rather represents long study and high attainment.

The certificate usually given for one year's work sometimes marks a milestone on the way to the doctorate in public health; sometimes it means that health officers have come in to "polish up" and to keep in touch with the newer methods; sometimes it suffices for the position to be filled—assistantships in non-official organizations. It is not considered an equivalent of the D.P.H. or a substitute for it, nor does it always lead to the doctorate.

And further, that public health is not only a distinct profession, but a profession of high order, is evident from replies to the SURVEY's question on this point.

"We are getting a very good class of students who are dedicating themselves to public health work with a zest and are quite willing to take the longer courses and subject themselves to severe examinations, in order to enter the new profession," writes Dr. Rosenau of Harvard-Technology. "Some of our graduates have obtained places at \$4,000 a year; others have accepted positions as health officers in small communities at \$1,200 or \$1,500 a year; others have accepted assistantships in teaching and research in departments of preventive medicine in medical schools; others have taken charge of public health laboratories; one occupied the chair of preventive medicine in the Harvard Medical School of China; one is epidemiologist to the state board of health, and so it goes."

"With very few exceptions (two were advised because of temperamental unsuitability not to continue), our students have been of high grade," says Dr. Abbott of Pennsylvania. "All have received satisfactory appointments. I can say that they were the 'pick' of the younger graduates in medicine."

That there is already a wide recognition of this training is shown by the fact that students are called to positions even before they finish the course. "We do not seem to have much trouble placing our graduates," writes one school. "In fact, it is hard to have them stay with us until the degree is reached. The large hospitals, the city laboratory and the state laboratory absorb our output."

The Part of the Public Health Nurse

UPON NURSING SERVICE, too, the influence of the new movement has been felt. The value of the public health nurse is evident to make the actual individual demonstration to the mass of people who must be reached in their own homes. The work that began as "district" or "visiting" nursing has been broadened by study of distinctive public health problems in cities and in rural communities; of the structure of prevention, relief and philanthropy; of methods of progressive health departments, and all experiments for bringing the expert help of those eager to give it in contact with those not always eager to receive it.

Such training must as a rule be acquired outside hospital walls. It is offered in the Department of Nursing, Teachers' College, Columbia University, in affiliation with Henry Street Settlement; by Simmons College and the Boston District Nurses' Association; in the School of Applied Social Sciences of Western Reserve; in the University of Ohio; by the College of Medicine in the University of Cincinnati; and by the Philadelphia Visiting Nurses' Association in connection with Phipps Institute.

The recognized value of these post-graduate courses is proved by the demand for the graduates, a demand greatly exceeding the supply.

Here, then, is offered an all-too-brief résumé of some aims

and methods of this remarkable "new public health" and the training requisite for their accomplishment; and some assurance of the high grade of student attracted by this specialization. And be it noted, the highest accomplishment, as well as the hindrances to the highest accomplishment, are quite within the control of public opinion and action in every state. Health administration is a large, practical business proposition.

"Call the population of the United States a hundred millions. . . . Every member of every generation suffers from at least one infectious disease, often from two, three or four . . . it is clear that every generation has from one to three hundred million attacks of infections. Each generation pays out at least ten billions of dollars and has the diseases, too. Why not pay one-tenth of that sum and rid ourselves of them forever?"

The National Drug Problem

III

By Charles B. Towns

PEOPLE are too apt to imagine that when a law is passed to remedy a certain evil, the evil is thereby automatically done away with. It is no secret, on the contrary, that laws are as fallible as their creators. There is no way to tell beforehand how a law will work out in practice. Experience here as elsewhere is the great teacher.

The drastic Boylan law, passed in New York state three years ago, and the federal Harrison law, have been found in practice to affect only certain sources of traffic in specified drugs; for they are confined to drugs legally prescribed by the medical profession. This has resulted in an increase of illicit traffic in those drugs of which the laws take cognizance. Moreover, the traffickers have been given, in effect, a monopoly in such drugs. They are able to exact for them practically any prices they see fit. A curious phase of the resultant situation has been an advance in price for all such drugs, even those destined for medical use. We are now paying from four to five times as much as formerly for the drugs in question.

It is a simple matter to check up the ways and means by which the illicit drug traffic is carried on. It would be possible to ship drugs direct from Europe and elsewhere and bring them in here billed as some other class of merchandise. But dealers do not even have to resort to that method. They ship into Canada or Mexico any quantity of drugs they wish and promptly smuggle them across the border. When one reflects that a man could bring enough of such drugs into the country in a handbag to poison every man, woman and child on Manhattan Island, it is easy to see that the work for the smuggler is not hard.

Individual instances of drug smuggling that have come to my personal attention are practically without end. Nor does it seem possible to do anything at the present time to stop the traffic. In New Hampshire, for example, there is a druggist who has one store on the Canadian line and another on the New Hampshire line. It is known that he has built up an enormous trade in habit-forming drugs in his New Hampshire store. It is obvious where the drugs come from. Yet to date no means has been devised to wipe out the wholesale smuggling carried on so brazenly here.

\$300,000 Worth of Morphine Found

AGAIN, the federal government recently found on a Japanese boat in San Francisco harbor a quantity of morphine valued at over \$300,000. Government agents wanted to confiscate the cargo, but the owners asserted that it was destined for Vera Cruz, and nothing whatever was done about it. Even if this contention were true, which is open to doubt, we should

probably have received most of the cargo in the end. I know for a fact that enormous quantities of habit-forming drugs are at this minute concentrated at Jaurez, Mexico, just south of our boundary, and that as much as from five hundred to a thousand dollars' worth a day is being purchased and brought over into our country for distribution.

In the face of these facts, what can the most stringent local laws accomplish as long as they concern themselves solely with drugs sold under a physician's order? We are not making the progress or showing the results we hoped for when the Boylan law and the Harrison law were passed. Nor shall we be able to attain the degree of control desired until there is an international understanding with those countries which produce habit-forming drugs, in order to bring about a strict accounting for all drugs dispensed by foreign governments.

An international understanding on this matter is not practicable at this time. But we should in the interim do the next best thing. We should have some frank understanding with Canada, Mexico, Porto Rico and other nearby countries. We should adopt measures through cooperation with them, to minimize the illicit traffic in drugs. Some such step is imperative. And at the same time our methods of handling the drug at home should be reorganized and perfected in the light of recent experience.

A Government Monopoly of Drugs

MY CONCLUSION as to the manner of bringing about this last suggestion is this: The only means of solving our internal problem satisfactorily is for the federal government to make either the handling of habit-forming drugs a government monopoly, or to require an accurate accounting of all such drugs, imported, manufactured and dispensed.

Furthermore, if it is difficult to bring about a government drug monopoly, there is consolation in the thought that it would be much more difficult—impossible, practically—to get the various states (with legal, political and other interests working against the idea) to pass adequate and similar legislation which would properly restrict traffic in habit-forming drugs to legitimate medical needs. If it be within the province of the federal government to do this, and I believe it is, I am going to try and see that the federal government is the one and only vehicle by which it is done.

I am going to propose this at the next session of Congress. I shall propose, also, that the general class of drugs known as hypnotics, openly prescribed by druggists and sold over drug counters for insomnia, headaches, etc., be incorporated into the bill as well. I shall further ask in this federal legislation to have incorporated the hypodermic syringe, as I have already

done in New York state. We have got to disregard the business interest of the druggist here and make way for the greater interest of the commonwealth.

We must exactly define the responsibility of the physician. He must prescribe and administer all drugs of a habit-forming nature. The matter must be put up to him so definitely that he will not be blamed, as he often is at present, for abuses arising from other sources; so that, at the same time, he will not be able to evade the blame for whatever evils are traceable to his occasional cupidity or weak-minded amiability.

Moreover, those who are afflicted with the drug habit now must be taken account of and provided for. Those who are eligible for treatment but are without means must have proper medical attention from state and municipal authorities the country over. And those unfortunates who on account of physical disability are dependent upon drugs to alleviate pain must receive from time to time the necessary amount of drug without being subjected to unnecessary expense or undue humiliation.

To sum up, these, then, are the steps to be taken, if we are to solve the drug problem as it exists to-day:

First, beginning at home, a federal monopoly in habit-forming drugs, which will include a strict accounting of all drugs used and will put the responsibility for their abuse upon the doctor by whose prescription alone they may be obtained.

Second, reciprocal agreements with nearby nations to be undertaken with a view to eradicating the wholesale illicit export and import of drugs which now obtains.

Third, an international arrangement, based on the assumption that each country will by that time have created a government monopoly of habit-forming drugs; such arrangement to limit production to an amount not greater than that necessary for the legitimate needs of mankind, and to include an accounting of import and export corresponding to each nation's legitimate needs.

The time has come when this problem, both national and international, must be squarely faced. The time is right and ripe. In the fight to come the human race must either win or lose greatly. There can be no compromise.

PENITENTIAL HYMN

(For a World in Arms)

By John Haynes Holmes

O God of field and city,
O Lord of shore and sea,
Behold us, in thy pity,
Lift naked hands to thee.
Our swords and spears are shattered,
Our walls of stone down thrust,
Our reeking altars scattered
And trodden in the dust.

O God of law unbroken,
O Lord of justice done,
Thine awful word is spoken
From sun to flaming sun—
We hate, and we are hated,
We slay, and lo, are slain,
We feed, and still unsated
We hunt our prey again.

O God of mercy tender,
O Lord of love most free,
Forgive, as we surrender
Our wayward wills to thee.
Absolve our fell allegiance
To captain and to king;
Receive in full obedience,
The chastened hearts we bring.

COMMON WELFARE



SOME RESULTS OF THE ELECTION

WITH the reelection of President Wilson in doubt until Saturday, and still later uncertainty over Congress (which will consist of a Democratic Senate and a Republican House), returns on constitutional amendments and other referendum measures are still in doubt.

The anti-alcohol forces lost, so far as the national Prohibition ticket goes, and they failed to carry amendments in California and Missouri through the adverse city votes of San Francisco and St. Louis. But their gains were so great that they claim the net result as a smashing victory.

Four states went dry—Michigan, Montana, Nebraska and South Dakota. Every proposal in a dry state to return to license was defeated—in Washington every county voted to stay dry. In Utah and Florida, the governors-elect and the new legislatures are strongly prohibitionist, so that dry legislation is assured. In Florida, indeed, prohibition was the chief issue, for when Sidney J. Catts failed of the Democratic nomination, he went it alone to victory as an independent Democrat. Alaska went overwhelmingly dry. There are to date, therefore, twenty-three dry states and one territory, with two more in prospect—"half the Union dry."

As a result of the vote a year ago, 600 saloons have just been closed in New York state—more than all the saloons closed by the state-wide measure in South Dakota. In New York, local option is confined to towns, and cities may not vote on it if they want to.

Of the eleven political units of Maryland which voted on prohibition, four, including Havre de Grace, went dry. The other seven, including Annapolis, Baltimore and Baltimore county, voted wet. Baltimore county was expected to go dry by about 5,000. Instead of that, it went wet by nearly 8,000. Baltimore city was expected to go wet, but no one, not even the liquor dealers, imagined

the wet majority would be more than 43,000, as it was.

There is, moreover, the liveliest expectation over the national prohibition measure. The South and the West are dry. These are the sections that swung the election, and the predictions of the anti-alcohol groups are reinforced by the Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*, who writes: "The prohibition wave is now so strong as to make it reasonably certain that a prohibition federal amendment will be passed by the session of Congress which will begin on December 4."

So far as direct effect on the House is concerned, the single Prohibitionist member, Charles H. Randall, of California, was reelected.

The first woman to be elected to Con-

gress, Representative Jeannette Rankin of Wyoming, is interested in many aspects of social advance and is a graduate, '09, of the New York School of Philanthropy. She has worked for woman suffrage in almost every state where a referendum has been taken in recent years. Running at large, she was elected as a Republican in a state which went for President Wilson. Her place at Washington is some consolation to the suffragists for the failure of their referendums in South Dakota and West Virginia.

George R. Lunn, ex-minister, twice Socialist mayor of Schenectady, N. Y., who was dropped by the Socialist Party because of his non-partisan appointments, goes to Congress as a Democrat. Congressman Meyer London of New York city will be the only party Socialist in the House, Victor F. Berger of Wisconsin failing to regain seat. Congressman Lewis, "father of the parcels post," lost out for United States senator as a result of a factional fight among the Democrats of Maryland. His defeat is widely deplored.

While the American Union Against Militarism did not endorse candidates on one side or the other, it has issued a statement pointing out the defeat of Senator duPont of Delaware, "the man reputed to be the head of the regular army coterie in the Senate," and of Congressman William S. Bennet, of New York, "who ran on a platform including universal military service." It was Congressman Bennet who attacked Frederic C. Howe's administration of Ellis Island and Mr. Howe's personal character.

The union explains the defeat of Congressman Tavenner and Bailey, leaders in the fight against preparedness, as due to the fact that they are Democrats running in districts normally Republican. It emphasizes the failure of the defense leagues to defeat Congressmen Sherwood, Gordon and Crosser of Ohio, "who have been most outspoken in their opposition to militarism"; and the reelection of Senators LaFollette of Wisconsin and Poindexter of Washington, both strongly anti-militaristic.

FOR THE PEOPLE



Vote YES on Proposition No. 1

50,000 hard-working men and women spent their vacations in the Adirondacks on the land comprised in Proposition No. 1.

No worker, no business man, no professional man, no father of children will have any more important duty on election day than to vote YES on Proposition No. 1.

A few men have agreed to give outright \$2,500,000 for the Palisades Park if Proposition No. 1 passes.



Vote YES on Proposition No. 1

PROPOSITION No. 1
 YES NO
 Shall chapter five hundred and sixty-nine of the laws of nineteen hundred and sixteen, entitled "An act relating provision for issuing bonds to the amount of eight hundred and ten million dollars for the acquisition of lands for state park purposes, and providing for the submission of the same to the people to be voted upon at the general election to be held in the year nineteen hundred and sixteen," be approved?

NEW YORK BOARD OF TRADE AND TRANSPORTATION
 WAMP FIRE CLUB OF AMERICA
 ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE ADIRONDACKS
 ADIRONDACK LEAGUE CLUB
 NEW YORK STATE FISH GAME AND FOREST LEAGUE

AMERICAN SCENIC AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION SOCIETY
 NEW YORK STATE FORESTRY ASSOCIATION
 NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF AUDUBON SOCIETIES
 LONG ISLAND GAME PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION

ELECTION ADVERTISING

Nine civic organizations joined in thus urging a referendum appropriation of ten million dollars for a state park in New York. At the time of going to press the result was not yet known

The Socialists gained in their total vote, running over one million, and probably have gained in the number of Socialist members of state legislatures. Assemblyman A. I. Shiplacoff in New York has another Brooklyn associate, Mr. Whitehorn. Organized labor failed to vote as a unit. All of the great industrial states, except Ohio, went for Mr. Hughes. Congressman Frank Buchanan of Illinois, a labor leader, was defeated.

Governor Hunt of Arizona, widely known for his fight against capital punishment, and Governor Capper of Kansas, who is profoundly interested in social legislation, are both reelected. Governor Hiram Johnson of California goes to the federal Senate.

For the twelfth time, Ben B. Lindsey has been elected judge of the Denver Juvenile Court.

That voters can be aroused to issues presented without the glamor of a personality was shown in the overwhelming affirmative vote in favor of a state budget for Maryland. The budget carried by more than 30,000, while President Wilson's majority was only 20,000. All the counties but one were for it and it carried every ward in Baltimore. The four Baltimore city propositions calling for loans were carried. One provides a million dollars for new school buildings.

In registering another repudiation of Mayor Thompson and his administration of the Chicago city government at the recent election, the big majority of voters were in the sorry plight of being obliged to defeat the sorely needed measures for which many of them had long worked. Afraid to trust either the \$4,450,000 of the proposed bond issues, or the management of any of the interests involved, they voted down the referendum proposals for the consolidation of the parks, for additional bathing beaches, and for better waste-disposal equipment. And they rounded out their vote of lack of confidence by defeating the mayor's candidate for state's attorney by a great majority.

The proposed amendment to the state constitution enabling the legislature to enact an equitable taxing system in accordance with modern standards seems to have a bare majority of the men's votes as required by law, but an official count may be necessary to confirm the first returns of the election. Its passage has been endangered by the failure of many voters to vote on the proposition at all, by the active work of railroad tax agents against it, and by the opposition of organized labor due to the fact that a similar measure was submitted by the legislature for an advisory vote of the people instead of a proposal to establish the initiative and referendum, which was then preferred by the unions and many others.

All three constitutional amendments

proposed in Missouri went down to defeat with prohibition. Although over three-fourths of the counties of Missouri are dry, the heavy wet vote in St. Louis offset any majority that the proposition might have in the rest of the state. Present returns indicate that the majority outside of St. Louis was very slight, Kansas City, however, voted dry, due, leaders say, to Billy Sunday's revival meetings. The Farmers' Land Bank amendment, a form of rural credits, was defeated, although late returns indicate that its originator, a St. Louis business man, has been elected governor. In St. Louis the charter amendment for non-partisan city elections was defeated.

The issuance of \$2,000,000 in bonds for the construction of new school buildings was authorized by popular vote in Cleveland. A strong publicity campaign, in which the findings of the Cleveland Foundation school survey were used and which made the city fairly sizzle with interest in the schools, had made it clear that several thousand children were attending school in basement rooms, portable buildings or going only part time because of congestion.

Massachusetts has apparently carried all four of the general referendum measures submitted. These are for holding a constitutional convention; authorizing cities to maintain schools of agriculture and horticulture as proposed by the Massachusetts Homestead Commission; revising the method of party enrollment at primary elections; and making January 1 a legal holiday.

Rensselaer, Warren and Livingston counties, New York, all voted favorably on the proposal to establish county tuberculosis sanatoria. Out of the fifty-seven counties in the state thirty-three have now either established county sanatoria or voted the funds.

ONE DAY OF REST REQUIRED OF THE LACKAWANNA

THE application of the Lackawanna Steel Company for exemption from the provisions of the New York rest-day law (see the SURVEY for November 4, page 131) has been denied. The New York State Industrial Commission voted on November 10 that the steel company must keep within the "spirit of the law" and gave it three weeks to show the commission that it has found some way of insuring the principle of one day's rest in seven.

This means that the commission has ruled against the theory that interstate competition should be a basis for the modification of protective legislation. The Lackawanna Steel Company had argued that few of its competitors in other states make provision for one rest day each week. It named most of the leading steel companies of the United States as working their men without regard to the principle laid down five

years ago by the American Iron and Steel Institute.

In order to check up this statement the SURVEY made inquiry of eight of the largest steel companies in the country. Only two companies, the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company and the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, replied officially. President Welborn, of the latter company, stated that every man in his employ gets one day of rest every week. The assistant to the president of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company stated that no rule is in effect; that the men take a day off as they please and average one day in seven.

A DEMONSTRATION IN TOWN HEALTH

FRAMINGHAM, MASS., a town of 16,000 population, has been selected as the site for the health and tuberculosis demonstration to be carried out under the direction of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis with a fund of \$100,000 furnished by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. Framingham seemed to the committee to present average industrial, social and health conditions, and to furnish a real tuberculosis and health problem, with a fair prospect of a successful demonstration in preventing disease and promoting health.

The plan, briefly stated, includes the discovery of all open, active cases of tuberculosis in the community at the earliest possible moment, and the thorough examination of all people who are willing to cooperate with the committee in order to detect incipient cases. The medical work is to be carried out with the assistance of the local physicians, whose diagnostic activities will be standardized through a preliminary post-graduate course of lectures and demonstrations. Public health education and hygienic control in school, factory and home are essential factors of the program from the constructive health side.

The success of the experiment will depend upon the degree of local co-operation secured. In this regard, Framingham has given assurance of its willingness to meet its own obligations. The result hoped for is a health program of significance to the whole United States, not only in anti-tuberculosis work, but in health work generally.

The chairman of the Community Health and Tuberculosis Control Committee, representing the national association in charge of the Framingham demonstration, is Dr. Edward R. Baldwin, of Saranac Lake, N. Y., president of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis. The executive officer in charge is Dr. Donald B. Armstrong, recently of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

WARDEN OSBORNE TO STUMP THE COUNTRY

A NATION-WIDE campaign for a prison reform, to be begun immediately, was announced last week by the National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor. One of the features of the campaign will be a speaking tour including many states by Thomas Mott Osborne, until recently warden of Sing Sing, who is honorary president of the committee.

The object of the campaign, it is announced, will be to put before the people information about prison conditions in their own and other localities. Prison contract labor, the convict-lease system prevalent in the South, brutal methods of discipline and other outstanding evils of present-day penology will be attacked. Mr. Osborne will carry word about his self-government reforms at Sing Sing.

Several states have urged the committee to aid them in local efforts for improvement, said E. Stagg Whitin, chairman of the executive committee. Alabama wants help in putting an end to the barbarous conditions in some of her turpentine and lumber camps, where leased convicts work. Missouri is said to be fighting a prison political reign. California is declared to be ready to begin self-government. Rhode Island and Connecticut need enlightenment about their contract labor systems. In Wisconsin a report made four years ago suggesting modern improvements is said to have been entirely ignored.

The committee believes the present to be an opportune time for the beginning of such a campaign. Forty states have legislative sessions, governors are to be elected in some thirty states, and Mr. Osborne's work at Sing Sing has awakened a new interest in prison reform everywhere.

ILLINOIS' ABATEMENT LAW HELD CONSTITUTIONAL

THE Committee of Fifteen in Chicago was organized to follow up the work of the Chicago Vice Commission and specifically "to aid public authorities in the enforcement of laws against pandering and to take measures calculated to prevent traffic in women." Perhaps its farthest-reaching public service lay in securing the enactment and enforcement of the Illinois injunction and abatement law.

That this has proved a formidable weapon for the suppression of disorderly resorts is due thus far exclusively to the activity of this committee, for neither the police, the city prosecuting attorney nor the state's attorney have as yet seen fit to initiate proceedings under it against the owners of property used for illicit purposes.

The law authorizes any citizens to petition any judge to issue a temporary



A PITTSBURGH POSTER WITH THE AMBITIOUS PLAN TO ABATE SMOKE THROUGH PRINTER'S INK

injunction against such proven illicit use of any building. To have the injunction made permanent the owner must be proved to have received the complaint against the illicit use of his property and to have failed to abate the abuse of it. In that event the court may order the property closed to any use whatsoever for one year, unless the owner's bond is accepted as safeguarding the continuance of the nuisance.

The 294 informal notices of complaint to property owners have proved so effective, their responses have been so prompt and satisfactory as to make it necessary to send but forty-two of the formal notices required by law. These in turn have been so scrupulously observed that only ten injunctions have been applied for and only two proceedings for contempt of court have been instituted.

A suit to set aside the law as unconstitutional was recently carried up to the Supreme Court by appellants who contended that it is unconstitutional in being class legislation and in depriving owners of their property without due process of law. In handing down its decision denying this contention and affirming the constitutionality of the injunction and abatement law, the Illinois Supreme Court declares the act to be "an exercise of the police power of the state passed in the interests of the public welfare for the preservation of good order and public morals."

The court denies that the statute confiscates or destroys property, and holds that deprivation of the use of the property for one year is not unreasonable as "security against the continuance or renewal of the nuisance," and further because "no injunction can issue and no order to close the place can be enforced

against an owner who has in good faith endeavored to prevent the nuisance."

"These results," the court declares, "may all be easily avoided by not keeping a house of prostitution or permitting one to be kept, and it cannot be regarded as unduly oppressive upon one who has wilfully kept or permitted such a house, to require him, after a judicial determination of that fact, to give security for the discontinuance of the nuisance long enough to assure the permanence of its abatement before he shall be permitted to again occupy and use the property within a year."

Under the vigorous superintendency of Samuel P. Thrasher, well known for years of similar service in Connecticut, the Committee of Fifteen has secured public confidence and financial support. Its successful defense of this law, which secured the settlement of its constitutionality once for all, not only reinforces the war of law against vice in Illinois, but prompts similar legislation and encourages the enforcement of law everywhere.

Another achievement of the committee is the putting into operation of the so-called "Kate Adams law," authorizing the commitment of the inmates and keepers of disorderly resorts, both male and female, to terms of imprisonment instead of fines. Public prosecutors have failed to take advantage of this law also and have even been rebuked by judges as acting more for the defense of those arraigned than for their prosecution. But now Judge Fisher of the Morals Court, supported by Chief Justice Olson, has taken the initiative from the bench in imposing prison sentences upon such offenders, averaging five months in the House of Correction.

MONEY LENDERS UPHOLDING LOAN LAWS

SMALL loan brokers who opposed the passage of remedial legislation designed to protect small borrowers from extortion are beginning to realize that such laws do not destroy the loan business, but, instead, raise it to a higher plane, decrease the losses and expenses of operation, permit a fair return on invested capital and make the business a much cleaner and more attractive one in which to engage.

In the states of Indiana, Iowa, Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island associations have been formed by loan brokers and companies licensed under and observing the small-loan laws. These state associations in turn have formed the American Association of Small Loan Brokers for the purpose of "uplifting and dignifying the small-loan business and assisting state associations in securing legislation, fixing terms fair to the borrower and rates that will yield a fair return to the lender."

Evidence has been given that this

new organization intends to live up to its declaration of principles, that it will "police the business," discipline its own members who in any way fail to observe the laws, regulate the character and extent of their advertising, seek to discourage the practices of unlawful lenders, and, if unsuccessful in this, aid prosecuting officials in convicting them.

The bitterest opponents of remedial loan legislation have now become its strongest adherents, and it is believed that the organization, made up of profit-making concerns not eligible for membership in the National Federation of Remedial Loan Associations, will become a powerful agency in improving small-loan conditions. To those who have been active in promoting the remedial loan movement this development seems epochal.

THE HARD LOT OF THE WAITRESSES

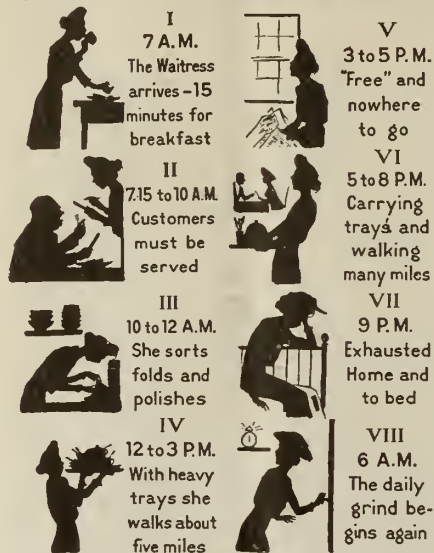
"SORE feet and a devilish mean disposition" instead of health, wealth and wisdom is the reward of many thousands of girls, in spite of their practice of "early to bed and early to rise"—so the Consumers' League of New York city has discovered in studying the work of women employed in restaurants and tea rooms.

When every day means up at 6, away at 6:30, home at 8 o'clock at night, worn by twelve hours' toil, the league investigators were not surprised that time after time in answer to the question, "What do you do in the evening?" came the reply, "Oh, I go right to bed."

Indeed, in Behind the Scenes in a Restaurant, as the Consumers' League calls the report of its enquiry just published, the darkest scene of all is the long grinding day of walking back and forth from kitchen to table, of carrying heavily loaded trays and remembering a multitude of orders. More than half (58 per cent) of the 1,017 employes who were interviewed exceed the fifty-four-hour limit for women in factories and mercantile establishments, while 20 per cent work twelve hours a day. A small number, 4 per cent, are employed at night. One-third do not have one day of rest in seven, and the majority are not allowed time off for their meals, but, as one girl put it, "must grab 'em anyway you can." All the laws designed to protect women from industrial strain leave the waitress unsheltered.

Nor is the restaurant worker repaid for her heavy burden by a high wage. Although "boarding-in" and tipping make a reckoning of the wage scale difficult, the Consumers' League estimates that without tips 87 per cent of the women workers are being paid less than the \$9 a week fixed as the minimum amount on which a girl can live independently in New York city. Even with food and tips added, the proportion re-

A MOVIE OF THE RESTAURANT WORKER



HER PROGRAM FOR **ELEVEN HOURS A DAY!**
SEVEN DAYS A WEEK!

FROM THE CONSUMERS' LEAGUE EXHIBIT

ceiving less than a living wage is 31 per cent. One-third of the kitchen and pantry hands, who make up 28 per cent of all workers, receive less than \$6 a week, and three-fourths less than \$7.

Nor is the income of a restaurant worker clear gain. A special dress is often required of waitresses, fines for lateness are customary, and in almost every place mistakes and breakages are charged to the girls.

The custom of tipping is condemned by the league report as a drag upon wages, because the employer takes advantage of the purchaser's contribution; as an unreliable source of income which makes a girl "take a chance" about getting into debt; and finally, as a temptation that leads girls to adopt an intimate personal tone toward men customers.

This willingness to accept money from men in the guise of tips as well as the freedom of talking with strangers which the trade furnishes, make restaurant work of peculiar moral danger to the young and inexperienced. Yet the league found one-fourth of all workers under 21 and two-thirds under 30 years of age, while less than one-third of the number are American born. Indeed, employers rely upon this very youth and ignorance for exploitation in the trade.

The final indictment of restaurant work with its present unregulated conditions lies in the fact that it is an absolute "blind alley." Peasant girls from Europe, country girls from upstate, come into the work strong and rosy-cheeked; within a few months they grow sallow and worn. And at the same time, according to the league's statistics, 65 per cent of those at work less than a year get \$6 or more a week, while only 55

per cent of those working over ten years receive as much.

"These facts," sums up the report, "point directly to the crying need for the limitation of hours for women [restaurant employes] in that the individual worker may be protected from overstrain, that the community may be guarded from the spread of contagious disease by people predisposed to infection through fatigue, and that the children of these women may be strong and capable of becoming useful citizens."

TWO SCHOOLS OF CIVICS IN TEXAS

THE Texas School of Civics and Philanthropy, a new training-school for volunteer and professional workers in the social and civic field, opened last month. The Houston Council of Social Agencies is announced to be its founder, under the supervision of the Houston Foundation—a municipal board of public welfare, "expending all city charity funds, receiving benevolent bequests and providing for organized work." With the help of interested citizens the foundation furnishes the support of the school for this first year, so that no tuition or registration fees will be charged its initial classes. Headquarters are in the City Hall of Houston. Its advisory council includes representatives of the University of Texas, Rice Institute and several other educational institutions, together with officials of the State Conference of Social Welfare, the Federated Jewish Charities, and the Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teachers Association.

The course leading to the certificate covers two years of class-room and field work. The entrance requirements exact an equivalent of a good secondary school and two years of university work. Students without certificates or degrees will be required to pass entrance examinations. M. A. Turner is director and Martha Gano registrar.

The school is incorporated as "a benevolent, charitable, educational and missionary undertaking—for the fitting of men and women for the public social service, for professional positions in voluntary, civic and social agencies, and for effective work as directors, members of committees, friendly visitors, contributors, or in the independent use of time and money for charitable purposes."

Nearby the Department of Public Welfare of the city of Dallas opens on November 24 a three-months course in applied philanthropy under the auspices of the United Charities of the city. Flora Saylor, who has been for eighteen years superintendent of the United Charities, will, as associate director, assume personal supervision of the school, and Elmer L. Scott, head of the Department of Public Welfare, will act as director. City officials, teachers, physicians, clergy-

men and professors in the Southern Methodist University are announced as lecturers. The inauguration of a hospital social service, it is hoped, will lead the Department of Health to encourage the attendance of student nurses. The promoters of this local training expect that it may enroll many who might not go elsewhere to seek further training.

CHINA'S PACE IN PUBLIC HEALTH A QUICK STEP

SO many copies were printed of the tuberculosis story calendar, reproduced in the SURVEY for November 6, 1915, that fully spread out, they would cover eight and one-half square miles, writes Dr. W. W. Peter of the Public Health Council of China. Under the joint leadership of the National Medical Association, the China Medical Missionary Association and the Y. M. C. A. in China, a brilliant public health campaign has been carried out in some of the leading cities of the empire.

Forty-eight meetings in one week, last May, was the record in Peking, with an attendance of 18,000. After the last meeting some of the principal ministers of the central government spent several hours at a luncheon discussing the relationship of national health and national strength. Five of the most powerful men in China were said to be present. In Changsha, thirty-six meet-



FIRST AID DRILL BY CHINESE BOY SCOUTS

ings in one week had an attendance of over 30,000.

These health weeks with their exhibits and lectures are planned to focus attention on some definite need or problem of the place in which they are kept. A special clean city campaign; a vaccination crusade, or in one case, a tuberculosis hospital, are among the results. Officials, gentry, educators, military, missionaries, police and merchants—all join in this public health movement.

CHICAGO'S \$11,000,000 MEDICAL SCHOOL

"YOU have no traditions," said Harvard to Chicago. "We're making them, fast," replied the mid-western university.

A new tradition is founded at the University of Chicago by the establishment of its own school of medicine. This new department is endowed by the General Education Board and the Rockefeller Foundation with \$11,000,000. For years the Rush Medical College has represented the medical depart-



OFFICIALS, POLICEMEN AND CITIZENS AT A MEETING IN THE CHINESE PUBLIC HEALTH CAMPAIGN

ment of the university, keeping its record high in Class A even with its limited funds and equipment. The disbanding of the Rush faculty will be followed, it is announced, by the reappointment of several members to the new department of the university.

Full-time teaching is perhaps the most important detail of the new plan. It is the system characteristic of Chicago's other departments as well. The necessity for such an arrangement, long since proved abroad, has been demonstrated also in this country, especially at Johns Hopkins university, as the only satisfactory basis of research work of enduring value.

The opportunity for medical research in the heterogeneous human conditions of the city of Chicago is limitless. And the university has by its brilliant beginnings in such work proved itself deserving of the new honor. It was Dr. Ricketts, of Chicago, who discovered the cause of Rocky Mountain spotted fever—paying his own life as the price of his discovery.

YALE DEPARTMENT OF UNIVERSITY HEALTH

YALE has appointed a university department of health, charged not only with the sanitary safety of students' surroundings but with furnishing them individual health supervision and advice. The department will make a careful and complete medical examination of all students engaging in organized athletics, all competitors for the editorial staff of the *Yale News*, student workers at the university dining-hall, and all freshmen.

Any member of the university may consult the staff; vaccination against smallpox and anti-typhoid inoculation are offered free and those unable to afford a physician may be cared for by the department staff at the office of the department or the Yale Infirmary.

A permanent endowment fund of \$300,000 will be needed for this work, but so confident are the university officers of the support of alumni and friends that they have authorized the immediate beginning of the work.

Dr. J. C. Greenway, director of the new department, served on the staff of the New York Hospital for several years, and also at Seton Hospital for Tuberculosis, New York city. His assistants are Dr. Orville F. Rogers, Jr., and Dr. Leonard C. Sanford, consulting surgeon for the football season.

SYPHILIS YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW

THAT the early syphilis of today may be depended upon to furnish the family syphilis of tomorrow is dramatically shown by a study of thirty families from the Boston Dispensary skin clinic, reported in a recent issue of

the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*. Dr. J. H. Blaisdell, physician of the clinic, instead of depending on mass statistics for his arguments, gives a detailed report of each family that shows in tragic monotony the tell-tale "head-aches," "mucous patches," "vague symptoms."

Two women had married a second time, so that the 30 families showed record of 62 parents. There had been 132 possible children, but only 23 were alive and healthy. These were born before the parents' infection. Of the 109 others, 79 were dead, either before birth or from diseases intercurrent with syphilis; 24 live on as syphilitics; 6, living, are "unclassed"—that is, a final judgment is not yet pronounced on their cases.

The menace of such conditions, says Dr. Blaisdell, is both immediate and remote. Innocent children of the next generation are handicapped. Present clean-living people are endangered—one of the women of this group was a waitress for a time at one of the Wellesley College halls.

The movement spreading through many cities to require examination of food-handlers, is one important step toward safety. There is an economic hold through the license that helps to insure proper treatment; whereas the experience of clinics is that voluntary patients make little effort to follow up treatment. Only 28 per cent of the patients for one year in the Boston Dispensary clinic returned after the first visit.

As to the type, age and marital status of consecutive adult cases at the clinic, Dr. Blaisdell shows that of 500 cases,

236, or 47 per cent, were single men; 35 were single women.

"Where," he asks, "do the single women proportionate to the number of single men go for treatment? . . . Statements from many doctors are all in agreement that the number of single women among their patients is proportionately small. The bringing under medical supervision of the relatively large number of single women now apparently under no control, would go a long way towards removing active foci of infection and minimizing the danger to their future husbands and children."

THE AUTOMOBILE THEORY OF POLIO

ON the day following a special meeting of the American Public Health Association in Cincinnati, newspapers in many parts of the country had startling announcements of a supposed action of the association. The cause of infantile paralysis, these papers said, had been announced by the Public Health Association to be the fumes from gasoline given out by motor cars.

It seems worth while to state the facts from which this statement grew before it has time to spread further.

The theory that poliomyelitis is due to "the gases and fumes given off into the atmosphere by the combustion of oils and fluids used as fuel in automobiles" was propounded by Dr. T. H. Harrington of the Massachusetts State Board of Labor and Industries, at the close of a paper given in the section on industrial hygiene and dealing with industrial poisoning from various gases. It was not even discussed by the meeting.

On the following day a committee appointed by the association formulated through Dr. Haven Emerson the present state of knowledge concerning the cause of poliomyelitis: that it is a human disease, conveyed from one human being to another; that it is caused by a virus which cannot be cultivated directly from the human victims, but can be sometimes conveyed to monkeys, in whom it sets up a similar disease, and from this second host it has been cultivated on artificial media. This seems to be the present extent of knowledge concerning the cause of poliomyelitis.

The special meeting referred to was a round-table, at which the health officers, called together a few weeks ago by the surgeon-general of the Public Health Service in Washington, practically held a second session. This gathering was concerned primarily with ways and means of avoiding a possible epidemic in the middle and western states another season. Several of the state boards of health are holding similar meetings and issuing instructions to local health officers to quicken their attention and enable them to report promptly.



BURNING UP DISEASE

Mayor Davis putting the torch to the huge death-figure carried at the head of the parade in Cleveland's disease prevention week

Book Reviews

THE INSTITUTIONAL CARE OF THE INSANE IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA (Volume I)
By Henry M. Hurd. Johns Hopkins Press.
497 pp. Price \$2.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$2.72.

Treatment of Insanity



To write the history of the many institutions that care for the insane in Canada and the United States would be too large a task for one man. The obvious course has therefore been followed of getting contributions on each topic from those best qualified to discuss

them. As there is no biological boundary between the United States and Canada, it is a very fine idea to combine the institutional histories of these sister countries with their similar problems. The work is so well edited that it escapes the patchwork effect usually resulting from divided authorship.

The account which this volume gives of the improvements in the care of the insane is interesting, profitable, and inspiring. The first section describes the Organized Activities of Alienists and the foundation and work of the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane, the American Medico-Psychological Association, and the *American Journal of Insanity*. Here the joint authorship is particularly valuable, as it allows the editors to tell the story of achievements in which they themselves have played a conspicuous part without any of that embarrassment or omission which a private individual might feel necessary in speaking of his own life-work.

The second section, dealing with the early care for the insane and the slow growth of legislation which curbed its many evils, serves as an introduction for the life of Dorothea Lynde Dix, who was the central figure of the struggle for better conditions. Her history shows the need of individual initiative in medical reform as in all other spheres of activity.

In the thirteen sections and fifty-seven chapters of the book no phase of the work is neglected. Institutional construction and care, the treatment and study of insanity, training nurses, private care, and the law of insanity, all are thoroughly discussed. One regrets the omission of any mention of the Eugenics Records Office at Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, whose field workers are gathering data in so many states of the

Union, and whose studies of heredity ought not to be neglected.

The racial side of insanity is well presented here in so far as it has been studied. There are chapters on insanity among Negroes, North American Indians, and Mongolians, which summarize such information as we have. It is regrettable that we have so little, as the increase or decrease of insanity among the Negroes, for example, would prove much as to their power of adjustment. The same is, of course, true of Indian insanity.

The chapters on immigration are significant, and point to the eugenic peril of haphazard immigration. More ought to have been said, of course, but asylum statistics of race are worse than medieval. Once, at a clinic in one of the largest insane asylums in New York state, I asked an assistant surgeon what language a foreign-born woman spoke. He answered, "She speaks the Austrian language." This was as absurd as though he had spoken of a European or African language, or of a Heinz product without mentioning which of the fifty-seven varieties.

It is no fault of the editors that there is little data on the forms of insanity usually associated with any given race. Irish alcoholism and Scandinavian melancholy are dimly shadowed in the statistics, but there is not even a hint of French-Canadian proneness to epilepsy or of certain special problems of Jewish insanity, let alone less startling tendencies of other races.

THE INSTITUTIONAL CARE OF THE INSANE IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. (Volume II.)

By Henry M. Hurd. Johns Hopkins Press.
397 pp. Price \$2.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$2.80.

The second volume of the Institutional Care of the Insane in the United States and Canada is as noteworthy an achievement as the first as regards co-operation, but is naturally not as unified in treatment, for it contains the history of a hundred and thirty-five institutions in twenty-five different states, and several authors have contributed to it.

The material is arranged according to the alphabetic order of the states, from Alabama to Missouri. It is a pity that it could not have been arranged chronologically, but the editorial duties would have been almost insuperable. The most noteworthy sections are those dealing with the Hartford Retreat in Connecticut; the Kankakee State Hospital

in Illinois; the Spring Grove State Hospital in Maryland; Modern Hospital in Massachusetts and the Kalamazoo State Hospital in Michigan. The problems touched upon in these sketches, such as sanitation, construction, administration and the elimination of politics from institutional work are very interesting.

The book is a mine of valuable information. The short résumés of the cure of the insane in each separate state are exceptionally useful.

JOSEPH GOULD.

A MANUAL OF FIRE PREVENTION AND FIRE PROTECTION

By Otto R. Eichel. John Wiley & Sons.
69 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.06.

Medicine for Fire Hazard



This unpretentious booklet by a doctor of medicine pretends "to supply a need" which many a larger volume by experts in this special field has failed to furnish. The author's "personal observation and study" during his practice in the hospitals of New York state have led

him, as they have led many others similarly placed, to a realization that conditions there are "hardly less than criminal." Therefore, he proceeds to offer recommendations for use not only "by superintendents and boards of managers, but also by inspectors, architects, builders, and others who have occasion to consider the fire problem in hospitals."

The doctor of medicine finds that "the hospital is virtually a large residence," and advocates a private fire association having a constitution, by-laws, regular meetings, etc., to establish a fire drill with a two-fold object: (1) "to train the employes and others to effectively man the fire apparatus, and (2) to prevent panic by teaching the patients and employes self-control and by training them in orderly and rapid methods of exit."

How effective the first of these objects, the fire-fighting force, would become is questionable, if, as he says, "efficiency and speed do not require the water to be turned on." As for the second proposition, its futility is stated without the author's realizing it. Neither a private residence nor a factory is filled with helpless patients, many of whom cannot be moved by others without endangering their lives. Yet he says, "the stretcher men and guards will report to rooms and wards containing bed patients and children, to remove them under the direction of the nurse who acts as floor captain."

It would have been interesting to have had a description of how these patients are to be taken down the fire-escapes, which, the doctor urges, must be kept in good condition. Instead, he concludes

his argument with the words, "after all have been presumably removed!"

There is too much presumption here; the doctor has too vivid an imagination to be practical. He is just playing with fire. The proportion of attendants to patients is so small that even if the latter could be moved and the former could be persuaded to risk their own lives, the bulk of the patients would have slight chance of being saved.

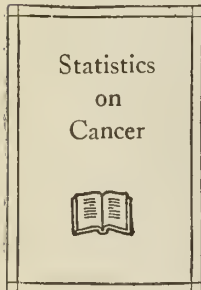
The facts are that we have had to wait for fire-proof materials and fire-proof methods of construction to be developed before safe hospitals could be built. All new hospitals are so constructed, and need no fire-drill, for the inmates do not have to be removed. Old hospitals are fire-traps, with only one practical way of being made safe; namely, being divided into sections by vertical fire-walls, thus reducing the area and at the same time the number of patients who would be endangered by a fire. The doctor does not realize the importance of this method sufficiently to describe it, but he acknowledges it has been adopted by the hospitals of New York city and is coming into general use.

The book is another case of the application of the adages: "A little knowledge is a dangerous thing"; and "A shoemaker should stick to his last."

H. F. J. PORTER.

MORTALITY FROM CANCER THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

By Frederick L. Hoffman, LL.D. Prudential Press, Newark, N. J. 826 pp. Free distribution.



This book is another example of an increasing and laudable tendency on the part of the great insurance companies to interest themselves in matters of public health. The first 221 pages, devoted to a general discussion of the problem of malignant disease, contain

a brief consideration of such questions as cancer houses and villages, *cancer à deux*, parasitic hypotheses, and so on. Through this maze the author moves with a tread remarkably sure in one who disclaims any special knowledge of medicine. His chief interest is reserved, naturally enough, however, for the statistical investigation of cancer, which, he contends, demonstrates a constant increase in the occurrence of this disease. Perhaps it does. At any rate, no one can confute his assertion that the public should be aroused to the necessity for early diagnosis and treatment, a proper enough procedure in any case, in view of the fact that even now approximately one woman in eight over the age of thirty-five and one man in ten die of cancer.

The remainder of the book is taken

up by mortality tables, charts, question forms, and a bibliography which includes articles on life insurance and cancer.

Dr. Hoffman's book should be in the possession of all who are interested in the investigation of malignant disease.

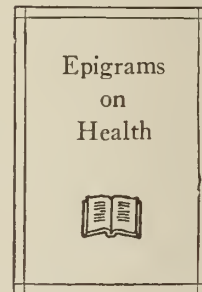
WILLIAM H. WOGLOM, M. D.

SIDE-STEPPING ILL HEALTH

By Edwin F. Bowers. Little, Brown & Co. 343 pp. Price \$1.35; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.45.

BREATHE AND BE WELL

By William Lee Howard. Edward Clode & Co. 150 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.07.



Occasionally we meet an individual who is bright, witty, a most charming conversationalist. We listen with pleasure. Suddenly the individual makes a remark that startles us. We weigh the statement carefully, and decide that the individual is mentally a

little "off"—if not actually insane. The book *Side-Stepping Ill Health*, is well described by this reference to a brilliant but insane individual. As casual readers, we might enjoy the clever things of the book. As critics, we cannot overlook the erratic and inaccurate statements that fill these pages.

We cannot, for instance, indorse his advice as to how to get drunk. We do not believe that plump people have a better chance of recovery from fever than lean folk; nor that every additional ounce in the consumptive's weight lifts a load from his heart and enhances his prospects of recovery. We do not believe that a displaced vertebra can be mistaken for lumbago. As to sleeplessness and its cure by sleeping with one's head to the north—unless one sleeps better with head toward the south: why not have our beds on pivots? Then we shall be able to while away our wakeful hours revolving.

The chapter on the quest of beauty is, in the language of the street, a "scream."

The book entitled *Breathe and Be Well* belongs in nearly the same category though it is less clever in its misstatements. Hardening arteries in women are said to be due to tight lacing and rich food—but what about men who have hardening of the arteries? I never before heard a "stitch in the side" attributed to unused lung cells; nor that a man without a sense of humor can never utilize his full lung power; nor that New England nasal tones are all due to catarrh. Dr. Howard says, "Let me hear an adult snore and I will tell you what that person has been, is, and will be." How interesting! He should advertise himself as a fortune-teller.

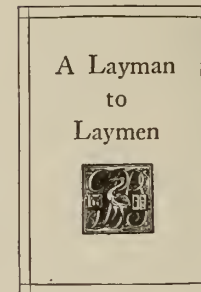
I have read enough of this book to pick up the specimens of amusing state-

ment referred to above. Can you excuse me for not reading the rest?

H. M. BRACKEN, M. D.

HOME CARE OF CONSUMPTIVES

By Roy L. French. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 224 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.10.



Among the many helpful books that have been written for the public as an aid in the campaign against tuberculosis this new one by Roy L. French is distinctive in that it is not only written for laymen, but written by a layman. Mr. French's book has one

message, namely, to show the family in which there is a case of tuberculosis how to take care of the patient at home. No matter what one may think about home treatment of tuberculosis, its inadequacy or its dangers, it is certain that for a number of years to come the hospital beds in the United States will not be sufficient to meet the real needs, and that home treatment must, therefore, be employed in hundreds of thousands of cases.

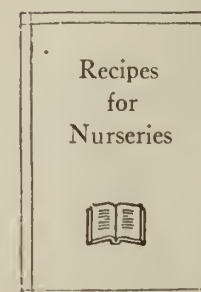
It is not in any sense an original book. Mr. French, out of his years of experience in an executive capacity in the anti-tuberculosis movement, has culled the best that the literature issued by various individuals and organizations has produced, and has compiled it in a readable, compact and easily accessible form. As compared with such an original production along the same lines as Dr. Lawrason Brown's *Rules for Recovery from Tuberculosis*, Mr. French's book cannot be considered.

Mr. French has tried to dodge moot points and to give what is generally considered the consensus of information on the various topics considered. The aim of the entire book is to inform, not to entertain. Dealing as it does, however, with almost every situation arising in the course of treatment for tuberculosis, this handbook will be valuable in any family where the disease is present.

PHILIP P. JACOBS.

DIET FOR CHILDREN

By Louis E. Hogan. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 160 pp. Price \$.75; by mail of the SURVEY \$.80.



Newly awakened interest in the relation of food to nutrition and growth makes welcome contributions purporting to apply the results of recent investigations to the diet of children. Within the last few years much has been written concerning the feeding of infants, but for the child over one

year the mother has been able to get but little definite information. The title of this book, *Diet for Children*, suggests that the much-sought information is at last available.

The book, however, is a great disappointment, for it not only fails to take cognizance of recent investigations, but many of the statements are incorrect and misleading, as for example, when fats are classified as hydrocarbons. The author appreciates that when milk is heated some chemical change takes place, but believes that the mother can correct this by consultation with a careful physician, or by studying for herself how to supply what is lost by heating and replacing it with other food. We wish Mrs. Hogan would tell us just what is lost by heating.

In the section dealing with the place of fruit in the nursery, the following statement is made: "They [fruits] contain very large proportions of water, but their food value lies in the sugar, acid, and salts they contain, which cool the blood, aid digestion, tend to promote intestinal action, correct tendencies to constipation. They are especially adapted to the nourishment of the brain and nervous system."

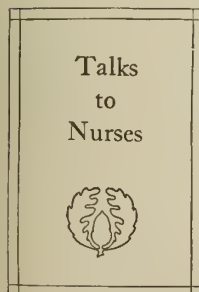
Considerable space is devoted to suggestive menus for children over one year. These are taken from various more or less reputable authorities, for which credit is given. Many of these are exceedingly helpful. However, few if any pediatricists now believe that eggs should be eliminated from the diet until the child is nineteen months old, although there are still some who would withhold meat until after five.

Approximately one-third of the book is devoted to recipes for making the various dishes which the author believes are suitable for children. In most cases the amount of material used indicates that family portions are to be prepared.

AMY L. DANIELS.

NURSING PROBLEMS AND OBLIGATIONS

By Sara E. Parsons, R. N. Whitcomb & Barrows. 149 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.08.



This little book embodies the substance, in a somewhat condensed form, of a series of informal talks given annually by Miss Parsons to the students of her school. In a simple, intimate, and straightforward way, she discusses the conditions inherent in hospital and training-school life and work, presenting the various situations and problems which the incoming student must inevitably meet. The change from life in an ordinary home to the highly ordered and complex life of the modern hospital is a sharp one, and the

adjustments which the student-nurse is called upon to make in attitude and in conduct are hard both to comprehend and to carry out. They tax heavily her powers of adaptation. During these critical and difficult months of training, the wise and friendly advice and counsel which this little book provides should prove helpful in many ways.

Miss Parsons makes no pretense of dealing with the subject of ethics in a broad way. No special attempt is made to establish or set forth ethical principles and apply them to the peculiar relationships of nursing. The writer has simply tried instead to deal with the concrete every-day affairs of hospital and training-school life and apply to them the results won through years of experience in the management of a wide variety of nursing institutions.

The book is full of practical good sense and breathes the kindly, generous spirit of the writer. It is pleasant to look upon the picture of the busy head of a great school of nursing, heavily burdened with the cares and responsibilities of the day, finding a quiet hour for these friendly talks and endeavoring to throw about such safeguards and protections as can be supplied in this way. Student and graduate alike will find much that is wise and helpful in Miss Parsons' book, and will be grateful to her.

T. C.

BOOKS RECEIVED

MOUTH HYGIENE. By Alfred C. Fones, Lea & Febrieger. 530 pp. Price \$5; by mail of the SURVEY \$5.20.

- PERSONAL HEALTH.** By Dr. William Brady. W. B. Saunders Co. 407 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.60.
- TAMING OF CALINGA.** By C. L. Carlsen. E. P. Dutton & Co. 239 pp. Price \$1.35; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.44.
- ONE HUNDRED CARTOONS.** By Cesare. Small, Maynard & Co. 199 pp. Price \$3; by mail of the SURVEY \$3.20.
- THE WHIRLPOOL.** By Victoria Morton. E. P. Dutton & Co. 348 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.62.
- THE WOMAN WHO WOULDN'T.** By Rose Pastor Stokes. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 183 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.33.
- OUR AMERICA.** By John A. Lapp. Bobbs Merrill Co. 399 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.35.
- WAR, PEACE AND THE FUTURE.** By Ellen Key. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 271 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.60.
- NATIONALISM AND WAR IN THE NEAR EAST.** By a Diplomatist. Edited by Lord Courtney of Penwith. Oxford University Press. 428 pp. Price \$4.15; by mail of the SURVEY \$4.35.
- FORM AND FUNCTIONS OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.** By Thomas Harrison Reed. The World Book Co. 549 pp. Price \$1.35; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.50.
- NATIONALIZING AMERICA.** By Edward A. Steiner. Fleming H. Revell Co. 240 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.09.
- ADVERTISING AND ITS MENTAL LAWS.** By Henry Foster Adams. The Macmillan Co. 333 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.62.
- THE DRAMA OF SAVAGE PEOPLES.** By Loomis Havemeyer. Yale University Press. 274 pp. Price \$1.75; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.85.
- FEEDING THE FAMILY.** By Mary Swartz Rose. The Macmillan Co., 449 pp. Price \$2.10; by mail of the SURVEY \$2.22.
- FIVE-MINUTE SHOP-TALKS.** By Halford E. Luccock. Fleming H. Revell & Co. 176 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.08.
- THE GATEWAY TO CHINA.** By Mary Ninde Game-well. Fleming H. Revell & Co. 252 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.63.
- MECHANISMS OF CHARACTER FORMATION.** By Dr. William A. White. The Macmillan Co. 342 pp. Price \$1.75; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.86.
- OUR SELF AFTER DEATH.** By Arthur Chambers. Geo. W. Jacobs & Co. 170 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.05.
- THEIR SPIRIT.** By Robert Grant. Houghton Mifflin Co. 101 pp. Price 50 cents; by mail of the SURVEY 54 cents.

Communications

SEVEN-DAY LABOR

TO THE EDITOR: I wish could have been in Buffalo for the hearing on the request of the Lackawanna Steel Company to be let out of the one day's rest in seven law, which is reported in the SURVEY for November 4, but on that day I was at the Pennsylvania State Conference of Charities. I did not even know of the hearing until I returned to Buffalo.

Perhaps it was a kind fate which kept me away, for the head of the Lackawanna Steel Company is a trustee of the society of which I am secretary, but the question discussed is part of my social religion, and if I had been in Buffalo I should have been there. Fortunately, some of the best social workers and social-minded citizens of Buffalo and Lackawanna were on hand to protest.

As president this year of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, I wrote to the State Industrial Commis-

sion that in my opinion no exemption should be allowed, especially in times of prosperity, for exhausted men make poor citizens and what is profitable to the employer is not always profitable to the state. I felt sure that in the national conference support of this law would be practically unanimous.

A private protest does not look well, however, in a matter which is public, and it is for this reason that I am writing to you also.

FREDERIC ALMY.

[Secretary Charity Organization Society] Buffalo.

THE CHARITY FILM

TO THE EDITOR: Permit me to express the disgust that I feel at your treatment of the Charity Film in your issues of October 7 and October 14. You are strangely tolerant, even indulgent, towards what you know to be a shameful libel upon the child-caring in-

stitutions, even though you recognize in it an "attempt to portray typical conditions" in these institutions.

Would you have been quite so austere detached if the film had "portrayed typical conditions" in an East Side settlement with equal fidelity to truth? I hardly think so!

THE SURVEY has been very unfair in its treatment of this "Charities" affair.

THOMAS F. WOODLOCK.

Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

HEALTH INSURANCE

To the Editor: I am astounded to find in the SURVEY of November 11 a report relating to the model bill for workmen's health insurance which must give to SURVEY readers throughout the country a grossly misleading impression. The bill was attacked, the SURVEY reports, by "an insurance man," Lee K. Frankel, who "tried to make clear some of the problems of insurance as they bear upon this measure." How far he and the SURVEY have failed to make it "clear" may be imagined when it is now made known to your readers that the very thing which Dr. Frankel complained had been overlooked is, in fact, *in the model bill!*

"The most important point to remember in health insurance," says the SURVEY account of Dr. Frankel's argument, "was that the functions of the attending physician are absolutely distinct from those of the 'claim agent,' the man who passes upon the compensation. No one man could do these two things any more than he could be at once advocate for the plaintiff and for the defendant. The patient's claim must be passed on by a physician who has had no personal relation to him. Other physicians should undertake the actual care of the sick. . . . The model bill is, he thought, too much like the German, since it, too, placed these two distinct functions in the same hands."

All of the above, and much more, according to the SURVEY account, was stated before any of the regular speakers arrived from a delayed train. It was pointed out, however, before the session adjourned, but the SURVEY fails to mention this, that the longed-for "separation of function" is specifically provided for in the model bill. Section 17 reads as follows:

"Each carrier shall employ medical officers to examine patients who claim cash benefit, to provide a certificate of disability, and to supervise the character of the medical service in the interests of insured patients, physicians and carriers."

Knowing Dr. Frankel, I feel confident that even as "an insurance man," he will wish to plead that he was ignorant of this provision, and that he will now be glad to congratulate the

committee which drafted the model health insurance bill for having, in reference to this "the most important point to remember in health insurance," made so marked an improvement upon the famous German system!

JOHN B. ANDREWS.

[Secretary American Association
for Labor Legislation]
New York.

To the Editor: In his letter, Dr. Andrews states as follows: "The bill was *attacked*, the SURVEY reports. . . ." I fail to find any statement such as this in the article in the SURVEY of November 11. In the discussion at the Cincinnati meeting, I tried to elaborate the necessity for a complete separation of the carrier which is to pay sick benefits from the organization which is to administer medical care. This separation is not a phase of the German system nor can I find it in the so-called "model bill."

I am acquainted with section 11 of the model bill referred to in Dr. Andrews' letter. He quotes this section in his letter as follows: "Each carrier shall employ medical officers to examine patients who claim cash benefit, to provide a certificate of disability *and* to supervise the character of the medical service in the interests of insured patients, physicians and carriers." The separation of the two functions, to which I have above referred to, is to my mind not covered by this section.

LEE K. FRANKEL.

[Sixth Vice-President Metropolitan
Life Insurance Company]
New York.

[In Dr. Hamilton's absence, I would say that Dr. Frankel's remarks at the health insurance session gave the impression of anything but an "attack." In fact, they were addressed exclusively to the meeting itself, which at this point was in danger of becoming absorbed in the medical aspect of health insurance and of forgetting the insurance technique involved. He spoke out of experience, not as an antagonist, and only at the close of his remarks referred to the model bill. The effect of his words was to clarify thinking—G. S.]

THE RETIREMENT OF OSBORNE

To the Editor: I was much interested in reading the instructive analytical article entitled The Retirement of Thomas Mott Osborne in the SURVEY for October 28. The writer speaks of the Osborne method of prison control as the "most hopeful experiment in prison regeneration that the world has ever known." He also states that the practicability of these reforms has been dem-

onstrated and that these reforms will be epoch-marking in penological advance.

The public, mindful of the unsavory history of the old Sing Sing management and also of the complete legal vindication of Mr. Osborne after "one of the bitterest experiences which can happen in this life," would suppose that the one important thing to do would be to retain him as Warden of Sing Sing Prison. That seems the natural conclusion.

Strangely enough the magazine article seeks to evade that conclusion. The writer has discovered certain temperamental defects in Mr. Osborne's character and, therefore, the state of New York should have another warden who is more pliable in his relations with his "superiors."

Thomas Osborne on the lecture platform would be an inspiring influence in shaping public opinion regarding prison reform, but the one cutting criticism of his gospel there would be "He can't make it work!" Surely the political governor and his other appointees are not altogether free from temperamental defects.

The logical conclusion, in view of the former warden's actual accomplishments, and the conclusion prompted by the public interest is to retain the warden who has made himself an expert in a chosen department and to retire officials who hamper and obstruct his work.

A. N. FOSTER.

[Minister First Unitarian Church]
Uxbridge, Mass.

To the Editor: I want to tell you how very much interested I was in Mr. Lane's article in the SURVEY for October 28. I think you deserve much praise for such a fine, careful and searching analysis of Mr. Osborne. Through friends who have approached the Sing Sing situation from various angles I gathered an impression which fits in exactly with the picture Mr. Lane draws. I think it is helpful to have said to social workers and the general public some of the things he has said, because an unbroken and indiscriminate approval of all that Mr. Osborne has done would mean losing the support of many people whose interest should be held for prison reform. It was a necessary thing to do and Mr. Lane has done it with tact and kindness. He is right in saying that Mr. Osborne is needed in the work of prison reform. As an "agitator" he can be of incomparable value, and the friends of prison reform devoutly hope that he has before him many years of usefulness.

J. PRENTICE MURPHY.

[General secretary,
Boston Children's Aid Society]
Boston.

JOTTINGS

WILLIAM BELL WAIT, principal emeritus of the New York Institute for the Education of the Blind, died October 26, at the age of 78 years. Mr. Wait was the originator of the New York point alphabet for the blind and was the inventor of a number of mechanical devices for using it in print.

As evidence that it is making an earnest fight against the mob spirit, the Southern Sociological Congress announces that it has issued an edition of 50,000 copies of the address on Removing the Causes of Lynching, given by W. D. Weatherford at the meeting of the Congress in New Orleans last April. Copies may be had of the secretary, J. E. McCulloch, Nashville, Tenn., at \$5 per hundred.

SIDNEY A. TELLER, director of Stanford Park, Chicago, has been appointed head resident of the Irene Kaufmann Settlement of Pittsburgh, Pa. Stanford Park recreation center has become widely known as the spot which had only "one bath-tub in the block" at the time the site was condemned as a recreation center. Since 1910, when it was opened under Mr. Teller's direction, nearly two million shower baths and swims have been given in the same block.

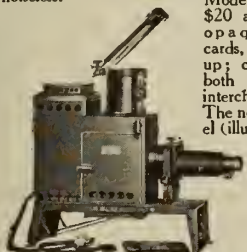
A NEW investigation bearing on the high cost of living in the United States is to be undertaken by the federal Bureau of the Census. The inquiry will be directed toward determining how far the cost of cartage in cities is responsible for the increasing retail prices of commodities in common use. Experts of the Census Bureau, it is said, believe that the city delivery system even more than railroad freight rates figures largely in the high cost of living. Provision for the expense of the investigation has already been made and work will be commenced as soon as Secretary of Commerce Redfield gives formal authorization for it.

There are many uses in connection with the activities of settlement work for the

Bausch and Lomb Balopticon THE PERFECT STEREOPTICON

Club Meetings, Lectures, Lyceums and other entertainments are made both interesting and instructive by its clear screen pictures. The new Mazda lamp of the Balopticon gives as brilliant illumination as the old style arc at less current expense. It is automatic and noiseless.

Models for lantern slides \$20 and up; models for opaque objects (post cards, maps, etc.) \$35 and up; combined models for both forms, with instant interchange, \$45 and up. The new Combined Model (illustrated) \$120.00.



Our Booklets give full details about all models. Sent on request.

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528 St. Paul St., Rochester, N. Y.
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Optical Products.



ROBERT G. VALENTINE, who made a unique position for himself as "industrial counselor," died suddenly of heart disease at a hotel in New York city, November 13. Mr. Valentine's work was based on the idea that "industrial audits," as he called them, are as necessary to the healthy operation of a business as financial audits. He was instrumental in establishing machinery for better relations between employer and employes at Filene's, in Boston, at the Plimpton Press, and elsewhere. For nearly a year he had been director of the Joint Board of Standards in the dress and waist industry in New York city.

THE Woman's City Club of Cleveland, with a membership of over 1,000, has opened sumptuous quarters in the Hotel Statler, with weekly luncheon meetings at which speakers discuss civic affairs. The secretary is Isabel Simeral. The Men's City Club, now four years old, with 1,200 members and growing steadily, has occupied new quarters in the Hollenden Hotel. Its open forum continues to offer a rostrum for some of the leading speakers of the entire country.

BEGINNING with the December issue, the *American Red Cross Magazine* will be enlarged, and will be produced by Doubleday, Page & Company, of Garden City, N. Y., instead of being issued from Washington, D. C., by the society itself. All profits from the magazine, it is announced, will continue to go to the society. An effort will be made to make it "more diverse in interest" and "to add to its usefulness and attractiveness." At the next meeting of the General Board the proposal will be made that members be asked on renewal of their memberships to pay \$2 annually, one-half of this to go to the magazine. The annual membership fee of \$1 will not be raised.

In sending out its program of lecturers for 1916-17, which includes H. G. Wells, Rabindranath Tagore and other "unusuals," the league for Political Education, New York city, reports that its endowment fund for the purpose of a new building has reached \$35,000. A much larger sum is desired to erect an auditorium which will be centrally located and available for lectures and public meetings in New York. Every available auditorium is described as too small or, as in the case of the Carnegie Music Hall, too large for such purposes; and the proposed auditorium would, it is held, be a genuine town meeting hall and civic center.

THE effect of war conditions upon the health of the poorer classes is noted by Dr. L. A. Davies, medical officer of Woolwich, England, in his annual report. Improved working conditions in that munitions region count to some degree favorably, but the emotional strain of grief and fear more than overbalance clean floors and good ven-

Classified Advertisements

Advertising rates are: Hotels and Resorts, Apartments, Tours and Travel, Real Estate, twenty cents per line.

"Want" advertisements under the various headings "Situations Wanted," "Help Wanted," etc., five cents each word or initial, including the address, for each insertion. Address Advertising Department, The Survey, 112 East 19 St., New York City.

HELP WANTED

WANTED—A first-class institutional carpenter and wife; man to instruct in furniture and cabinet making during winter months and buildings of all kinds during summer; wife to act as cottage matron. Permanent positions with good salary to right parties. Address 2404, SURVEY.

WANTED—An experienced industrial-welfare worker for factory. Must be a woman. Address 2409 SURVEY.

BY A MANUFACTURING CONCERN of high standing in a Western city, a competent woman to take charge of its Employing and Service Department. An American, college graduate, with some experience in settlement work, preferred. Number of employes about 400, four-fifths women. Address 2410 SURVEY.

A LARGE JEWISH EDUCATIONAL PHILANTHROPIC INSTITUTION invites applications for the position of Head of Department of Women's Work. Duties include organization and supervision of classes in domestic art, domestic science, physical training, social rooms, girls' clubs, etc., etc. The applicant must be a Jewess of broad theoretical training and thorough practical experience. She should be familiar with East Side conditions and problems and have held positions requiring executive ability. In replying please state age, education, positions held, salaries received, etc. Address 2412 SURVEY.

HEBREW TEACHER, Boys' Supervisor in Jewish Orphanage. Experienced man preferred. Apply 2413 SURVEY.

WANTED—At once, a trained worker to be General Secretary of a Charity Organization Society in a middle-sized city of Eastern Pennsylvania. Address, with references, 2416 SURVEY.

SITUATIONS WANTED

POSITION WANTED by young woman in social settlement in New York City. Four years' experience as club-leader and social investigator. Also five years teaching backward and mentally defective children. Prominent workers as references. Address 2414 SURVEY.

YOUNG WOMAN, several years' experience in charity work, desires position with organization as visitor, investigator, or agent for dependent children. Address 2415 SURVEY.

PUBLICATIONS

"Is There a Righteous God?"

and other Unitarian publications sent free. Address **FIRST CHURCH**, Cor. Marlboro and Berkeley Sts., Boston, Mass.

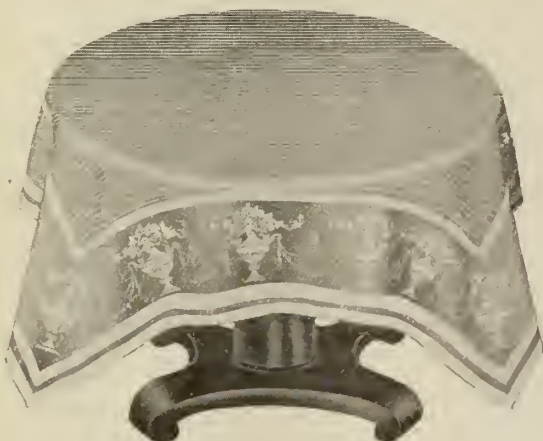
Table Linens for festal occasions



Reg. Trade Mark

Every housewife rejoices in one or two extra-fine and perhaps extra-large Table Cloths, to be used on those special occasions when it is desired to have the home appear at its very best.

Whether your best is to be a plain high-grade Satin Damask or an elaborate Filet Lace Cloth, the place to buy it is where there is the widest possible range of designs and where quality and value are assured.



504. "Fine Stripe. Vase Border."

Usually the finer and better the Linen, the simpler and more severe are the designs, for such designs reveal the fullest beauty of the fabric.

It is because of this that perfectly plain Cloths with no ornament except a Satin band are so much in favor. Others of this class have various smart stripe designs and simple borders.

Next in order comes this same character of goods with scalloped edges. And finally, the infinite varieties of Lace-decorated and embroidered goods in exquisite elaboration of design.

Such Cloths, glistening under the candlelight on your Thanksgiving table, impart a subtle sense of good cheer of which every guest will be conscious.

Send for new catalogue "Housekeeping Linens"
Orders by Mail Given Special Attention

James McCutcheon & Co.

Fifth Avenue, 34th & 33d Sts., New York

tilation. The increased use of alcohol may be traced to such emotion. Accidents have occurred as a result of the dark streets ordered as protection from air raids. Poor ventilation in cellars where hiding becomes necessary, may, Dr. Davies considers, account for the increase in respiratory diseases. Fear and shock have doubtless shortened also the life of those enfeebled from old age. They have caused many complications in childbirth cases.

I. IRVING LIPSITCH has been made superintendent of social service of the Federation of Jewish Charities of San Francisco. Mr. Lipsitch, who is a graduate of the College of the City of New York and of New York University, has been connected with the East Side Free Employment Bureau and the United Hebrew Charities, and general manager of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society, all of New York city.

THE Seabury essay prizes of \$75, \$50 and \$25 offered under the auspices of the American School Peace League, are for 1917 on the following subjects: 1. What Education Can Do Toward the Maintenance of Permanent Peace, open to seniors in normal schools; 2. The Influence of the United States in the Adoption of a Plan for Permanent Peace, open to seniors in secondary schools. The contest closes March 1. Further information can be secured of Fannie Fern Andrews, secretary of the league, 405 Marlborough street, Boston.

A TESTIMONIAL of satisfaction came into the Public Employment Bureau of New York city from one of the 1985 jobs which they found during the month of August. The letter is from the wife of a man making good as a light porter.

"wenday 30 Aug 1916

"Dear Sir

i let you now that my Husband has a job was suites him, and thank You weary much for the kind treating You gave my unfortunate Malheureuse brave industrious intelligent Husband Fred. He was nearly killed one year ago, and his nise body is damaged for all his life, that is what make him nervous he suffert terrible. Yours your high respecting and tankfully
A M

300 East St., first floor bak."

A BRAND new flag on a shiny flagpole proclaims that Esmond, R. I., has been judged the most spick and span mill village in the state. Last spring the Consumers' League of Rhode Island conceived a plan to beautify the rather gray and ugly factory towns. Through the cooperation of Governor Beekman prizes were offered—one (the flag and pole) for the greatest improvement in community appearance; two (first prize of a silver cup and \$10, second prize of seeds or shrubs to the value of \$5) for the greatest improvement of home grounds by a mill operative; and two (first prize of a silver cup and \$10, second prize fruit-trees to the value of \$5) for the best vegetable garden developed by a mill-worker. The prize garden committee which has just made awards, reports that the contest aroused civic pride throughout the state.

A COOPERATIVE store is operated by the Hotpoint Electrical Heating Company of Ontario, Calif., and its five hundred employees. The company furnishes space, equipment, light, heat and janitor service, and the business is conducted by a club, to which both employes and firm members belong. Goods are sold at 10 per cent above their wholesale price; overhead expense consumes about 7 per cent, leaving 3 per cent net profit. It is estimated that the average employe saves

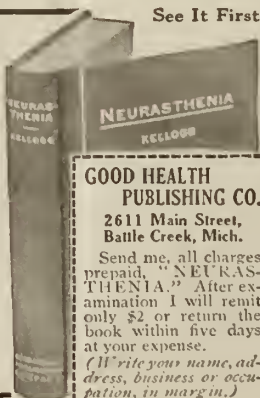
Neurasthenia Symptom — NOT Disease

Neurasthenia is due largely to habits which may be corrected by giving attention to causes of the ailment

This is fully explained by Dr. John Harvey Kellogg, who gives you in his new book—"Neurasthenia"—results of his experience with thousands of cases treated during the forty years he has been Chief Medical Director of the great Battle Creek Sanitarium. Dr. Kellogg's book is not a dry book—nor couched in technical terms. On the contrary, Dr. Kellogg has the happy faculty of making his writings easily understood and intensely interesting. If you suffer from nervousness—exhaustion—sleeplessness—or any other form of Neurasthenia, you need this book. It shows the way out—teaches you how to obtain relief from the dread fangs of nervousness.

FREE Examination Mail the coupon and we will send you "Neurasthenia," charges prepaid, for FREE examination. Judge for yourself if this book can help you. There are nearly 350 pages, many illustrations, complete diet tables and full instructions for exercise, rest and sleep. This free examination offer is limited, so send the coupon now before it is withdrawn.

Send No Money—Just the Coupon



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2611 Main Street,
Battle Creek, Mich.

Send me, all charges prepaid, "NEURASTHENIA." After examination I will remit only \$2 or return the book within five days at your expense.

(Write your name, address, business or occupation, in margin.)

about 15 per cent on his grocery bills. "The method by which goods are ordered by the employes and delivered to them illustrates the degree of efficiency which has been attained," writes Lowell C. Pratt. "Order blanks, properly filled out in the homes of the employes, are dropped in boxes near the time-clocks when the workers arrive at the factory in the morning. These orders are collected by the storekeeper and filled before the employes return to their homes, either at noon or at the end of the day's work. A delivery service is maintained for those who wish to pay an additional charge of five or ten cents, according to the distance."

THADDEUS SLESZYNSKI of Chicago, who organized the American Committee of Polish Social Workers, which met with the National Conference of Charities and Correction at Indianapolis last spring, has issued a questionnaire for the study of the second generation of Polish immigrants. It is intended to be used as a basis for interviews with American-born young men and women of Polish parents. The questionnaire is being sent out not only to Polish social workers, but to those who are working with the Poles throughout the country, in order to aid the Americanizing of the Polish people in America by efforts which have proved most successful and which are found to be in line with the preferences and appreciation of the Poles who have most benefited by them. The questionnaire itself is of special interest in suggesting some of the lines along which both the second generation and the first may be expected to cooperate most freely and effectively. Copies may be obtained by applying to Mr. Sleszynski, 2026 Haddon avenue, Chicago, who will welcome the cooperation of all interested.

CALENDAR OF CONFERENCES

Items for the next calendar should reach THE SURVEY before December 13.

NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER

- BLINDNESS, National Committee for the Prevention of.** New York city, November 24. Sec'y, Mrs. Winifred Hathaway, 130 East 22 street, New York city.
- CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, Western New England.** Springfield, Mass., November 22. Sec'y, James P. Taylor, Burlington, Vt.
- CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, West Va. State Conference of.** Clarksburg, W. Va., November 20-22. Sec'y, A. E. Sinks, 300 Board of Trade bldg., Wheeling, W. Va.
- CHURCH AND SOCIAL SERVICE, Conference on.** Clarksburg, W. Va., November 19-20. Further information may be received from Mr. L. M. Bristol, Morgantown, W. Va.
- CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA, Federal Council of the.** Third quadrennial council. St. Louis, Mo., December 6-13. Gen. Sec'y, Rev. Charles S. MacFarland, 105 East 22 street, New York city.
- CITY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION, Springfield, Mass.,** November 20-23. Sec'y, O. E. Carr, Niagara Falls, N. Y.
- CIVIC LEAGUE, Massachusetts.** Springfield, Mass., November 21. Sec'y, Edward T. Hartman, 3 Joy street, Boston, Mass.
- CIVIC SECRETARIES' CONFERENCE, Springfield, Mass.,** November 23-24. Sec'y, Hornell Hart, Milwaukee, Wis.
- ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION, American.** Columbus, O., December 27-30, 1916. Sec'y, W. G. Leland, 1140 Woodward bldg., Washington, D. C.



NABISCO

Sugar Wafers

In many homes a box of Nabisco Sugar Wafers is always kept where all may partake.

These fairy confections are beloved by old and young alike. Delightful in flavor, fragile in texture, Nabisco Sugar Wafers are dessert accompaniments appropriate for any time and any occasion. In ten-cent and twenty-five-cent tins.

FESTINÖ—Shaped like an almond, these little dessert confections delight all who try them. The kernel is almond-flavored creamy goodness.

NATIONAL BISCUIT COMPANY

MAKE A NOTE ON YOUR CALENDAR

FOR

THE FIRST WEEK IN DECEMBER

About December 1, we will mail to every SURVEY subscriber our special combination offer for new subscriptions to THE SURVEY and the most interesting, worth while and timely books of the year on social and civic topics—including the most significant new fiction, biography and travel.

When you get our list all you have to do is to sit down in an easy chair and put a mark opposite the titles of each book you wish, write out the names and addresses of the friends to whom the books and SURVEY subscriptions are to be sent, and mail the whole order to us—with a simple two-cent stamp.

In this way, you will not only rid yourself of cars, crowds, germs and fatigue, but also will have done your Christmas shopping **EARLY, EASILY and WELL.**

HADASSAH

American Zionist Medical Unit for Palestine

Physicians and nurses desiring to join the American Zionist Medical Unit for Palestine about to be formed by the Women's Zionist Organization Hadassah, will please address MISS HENRIETTA SZOLD, Chairman, 2 Pinchurst Avenue, New York City.

BASKETRY For Schools and Craft Workers MATERIALS

Send for free catalog!

"Everything for Basket Making"

Reeds, willow, chaircane (95c), flat rush, raffia, Indian ash splints, braided rush and straw, dyes and finishes. Wooden bases. Any amount of reeds sold from a half pound up. Also tools and books of instruction. Louis Sloughton Drake, Inc., 994 Waterlown St., W. Newton, Mass.

Pan-American reciprocity in child-welfare work is not the least of the international relations open to us. South America invites; North America lags. An article on just where and how the opportunity presents in the Survey next week.

INFORMATION DESK

The following national bodies will gladly and freely supply information and advise reading on the subjects named by each and on related subjects. Members are kept closely in touch with the work which each organization is doing, but membership is not required of those seeking information. Correspondence is invited. Nominal charges are sometimes made for publications and pamphlets. Always enclose postage for reply.

Health

SEX EDUCATION—New York Social Hygiene Society, Formerly Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis, 105 West 40th Street, New York City. Maurice A. Bigelow, Secretary. Seven educational pamphlets, 10c. each. Four reprints, 5c each. Dues—Active \$2.00; Contributing \$5.00; Sustaining \$10.00. Membership includes current and subsequent literature; selected bibliographies. Maintains lecture bureau and health exhibit.

CANCER—American Society for the Control of Cancer, 25 West 45th St., New York City. Curtis E. Lakeman, Exec. Sec'y. To disseminate knowledge concerning symptoms, diagnosis, treatment and prevention. Publications free on request. Annual membership dues \$5.

COMMITTEE ON PROVISION FOR THE FEEBLE-MINDED—Objects: To disseminate knowledge concerning the extent and menace of feeble-mindedness and to suggest and initiate methods for its control and ultimate eradication from the American people. General Offices, Empire Bldg., Phila., Pa. For information, literature, etc., address Joseph P. Byers, Exec. Sec'y.

MENTAL HYGIENE—National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 50 Union Square, New York City, Clifford W. Beers, Sec'y. Write for pamphlets on mental hygiene, prevention of insanity and mental deficiency, care of insane and feeble-minded, surveys, social service in mental hygiene, State Societies for Mental Hygiene.

NATIONAL HEALTH—Committee of One Hundred on National Health. E. F. Robbins, Exec. Sec'y., 203 E. 27th St., New York. To unite all government health agencies into a National Department of Health to inform the people how to prevent disease.

TUBERCULOSIS—National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, 105 East 22nd St., New York. Charles J. Hatfield, M. D., Exec. Sec'y. Reports, pamphlets, etc., sent upon request. Annual transactions and other publications free to members.

PUBLIC HEALTH—American Public Health Association. Pres., John F. Anderson, M. D., New Brunswick, N. J.; Sec'y, Prof. S. M. Gunn, Boston. Object: "To protect and promote public and personal health." Six Sections: Laboratory, Sanitary, Engineering, Vital Statistics, Sociological, Public Health Administration, Industrial Hygiene. Official monthly organ, *American Journal of Public Health*: \$3.00 per year. 3 mos. trial subscription (to Survey readers 4 mos.) 50c. Address 755 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING. Object: to stimulate the extension of public health nursing; to develop standards of technique; to maintain a central bureau of information. Publications: *Public Health Nurse Quarterly*, \$1.00 per year; bulletins sent to members. Address Ella Phillips Crandall, R. N., Executive Secretary, 600 Lexington Ave., New York City.

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS—Through its Town and Country Nursing Service, maintains a staff of specially prepared visiting nurses for appointment to small towns and rural districts. Pamphlets supplied on organization and administration of visiting nurse associations; personal assistance and exhibits available for local use. Apply to Superintendent, Red Cross Town and Country Nursing Service, Washington, D. C.

SOCIAL HYGIENE—The American Social Hygiene Assoc., Inc., 105 West 40th St. N. Y.; Branch Offices: 122 South Michigan Ave., Chicago; Phelan Bldg., San Francisco. To promote sound sex education, the reduction of venereal diseases, and the suppression of commercialized vice. Quarterly magazine, "Social Hygiene." Monthly *Bulletin*. Membership, \$5; sustaining, \$10. Information upon request. Pres., Abram W. Harris; Gen. Sec'y, William F. Snow, M. D., Counsel, James B. Reynolds.

EUGENICS REGISTRY—Board of Directors, Chancellor David Starr Jordan, President; Prof. Irving Fisher, Dr. C. B. Davenport, Luther Burbank, Dr. J. H. Kellogg, Secretary. A bureau for the encouragement of interest in eugenics as a means of Race Betterment, established and maintained for the Race Betterment Foundation in co-operation with the Eugenics Record Office. Address, Eugenics Registry Board, Battle Creek, Mich.

Racial Problems

NEGRO YEAR BOOK—Meets the demand for concise information concerning the condition and progress of the Negro Race. Extended bibliographies. Full index. Price, 25c. By mail, 35c. Negro Year Book Company, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

In addition to information in Negro Year Book, Tuskegee Institute will furnish other data on the conditions and progress of the Negro race.

HAMPTON INSTITUTE, HAMPTON, VA.—Trains Negro and Indian youth. "Great educational experiment station." Neither a State nor a Government school. Supported by voluntary contributions. H. B. Frissell, Principal; F. K. Rogers, Treasurer; W. H. Scoville, Secretary. Free literature on race adjustment, Hampton aims and methods. *Southern Workman*, illustrated monthly, \$1 a year; free to donors.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York. Publishes *The Crisis*, a monthly magazine, 63 branches and locals. Legal aid, literature, speakers, lantern slides, press material, etc. President, Moorfield Storey; Chairman of the Board of Directors, J. E. Spingarn; Vice-President and Treasurer, Oswald Garrison Villard; Director of Publications and Research, W. E. B. DuBois; Acting Secretary, Roy Nash.

Work With Boys

BOYS' CLUB FEDERATION—National Headquarters, 1 Madison Ave., New York City. Federation includes Boys' Clubs, Boys' Depts. of Recreation Centers, Settlements and Community Houses. A clearing house for information on subjects relating to work with boys. Printed matter distributed; workers furnished; assistance given in organizing. Wm. E. Hall, President; C. J. Atkinson, Executive Secretary.

Libraries

AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION—Furnishes information about organizing libraries, planning library buildings, training librarians, cataloging libraries, etc. *A. L. A. Booklist*, a monthly annotated magazine on book selection, is a valuable guide to the best new books. List of publications on request. George B. Utley, Executive Secretary, 78 E. Washington St., Chicago.

Recreation

RECREATION—Hundreds of able men and women gave their experience in neighborhood playground and recreation centers at the Recreation Congress held at Grand Rapids, Michigan. Many of the addresses will be published only in *The Playground*, published monthly, \$2.00 a year. Subscribe now. Playground and Recreation Association of America, 1 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Settlements

SETTLEMENTS—National Federation of Settlements. Develops broad forms of comparative study and concerted action in city, state, and nation, for meeting the fundamental problems disclosed by settlement work; seeks the higher and more democratic organization of neighborhood life. Robert A. Woods, Sec'y, 20 Union Park, Boston, Mass.

INDUSTRIAL SAFETY CONGRESS, New York State. Syracuse, N. Y., December 11-14. Sec'y, Henry D. Sayer, 230 Fifth avenue, New York city.

INDUSTRIAL WELFARE AND EFFICIENCY CONFERENCE, Fourth Annual. Harrisburg, Pa., November 21-23. Further information may be secured by addressing the Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, Harrisburg, Pa.

JEWISH FARMERS OF AMERICA, The Federation of. New York city, November 28-December 2. Sec'y, J. W. Pincus, 174 Second avenue, New York city.

LABOR LEGISLATION, American Association for. Columbus, O., December 27-29, and Cincinnati, December 30. Sec'y, John B. Andrews, 131 East 23 street, New York city.

MARKETING AND FARM CREDITS, Fourth National Conference on. Chicago, Ill., December 4-9. Sec'y, Charles W. Holman, 230 South LaSalle street, Chicago.

MUNICIPAL LEAGUE, Intercollegiate Division of National. Springfield, November 22-23. Sec'y, Arthur Evans Wood, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

MUNICIPAL LEAGUE, National. Springfield, Mass., November 23-25. Sec'y, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, North American bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.

MUNICIPAL RESEARCH WORKERS. Springfield, Mass., November 22-23. Sec'y, L. D. Upson, Detroit, Mich.

PLANNING BOARDS, Massachusetts Federation of. Springfield, Mass., November 23-24. Sec'y, Arthur C. Comey, Cambridge, Mass.

POLITICAL SCIENCE, Academy of. New York city, November 22-23. Sec'y, Henry R. Mussey, Columbia University, New York city.

POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION, American. Cincinnati, O., December 28-31. Sec'y, Mr. Chester L. Jones, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

PUBLIC SERVICE, Training School for. Springfield, Mass., November 22-23. Supervisor Charles A. Beard, 261 Broadway, New York city.

SEAMEN'S UNION OF AMERICA, International. New York city, December 4. Sec'y, T. A. Hansen, 570 West Lake street, Chicago.

SCIENCE, American Association for the Advancement of. New York city, December 26-30. Sec'y, L. O. Howard, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

SINGLE TAX LEAGUE, Massachusetts. Springfield, Mass., November 20-24. Pres., Alex MacKendrick, 120 Boylston street, Boston.

SOCIAL HYGIENE ASSOCIATION, American. St. Louis, Mo., November 19-21. Gen. Sec'y, Dr. W. F. Snow, 105 West 40 street, New York city.

SOCIAL INSURANCE, Conference on. Called by International Association of Industrial Accident Boards and Commissions. Washington, D. C., December 5-9. Chairman, Royal Meeker, U. S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Washington, D. C.

SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, American. Columbus, O., December 27-30. Sec'y, Scott E. W. Bedford, University of Chicago, Chicago.

STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION, American. Columbus, O., December 27-30. Sec'y, Carroll W. Doten, 491 Boylston street, Boston.

NATIONAL

CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, National Conference of. Pittsburgh, Pa., June 6-13, 1917. Sec'y, W. T. Cross, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION ASSOCIATION. Boston, Mass., February 27-March 1, 1917. Sec'y, H. F. Cope, 332 South Michigan avenue, Chicago.

STATE AND LOCAL

CHARITIES, Texas State Conference of. Austin, Texas. January 18. Sec'y, M. A. Turner, Room 215, City Hall, Houston, Texas.

THE
SURVEY



CHARITY
 PATCHWORK
 AND A PROGRAM
 THE STRONG REPORT

By
 WINTHROP D. LANE

AMERICAN
 IDEALS

By
 NEWTON D. BAKER

"THE TRUTH
 ABOUT OSBORNE"

By
 GEO. FOSTER PEABODY

THE SURVEY

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SURVEY ASSOCIATES, Inc., Publishers

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2559 Michigan ave., Chicago

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Special Announcement

The SURVEY Christmas Book Offer will be mailed to every SURVEY subscriber on November 28 as part and parcel of the December once-a-month issue—next week. This Christmas list is full of exceptionally attractive books and magazines at the best combination rates the SURVEY has ever offered. We hope it will save you time, effort and money, and by using it you will do the SURVEY a friendly turn.

The GIST of IT

A PACIFIST secretary of war sounds like an anomaly. Nevertheless, Newton D. Baker made a speech before the Cleveland Advertising Club in which there was more talk of national ideals of peace than of munitions and gunboats. Secretary Baker believes that we in America have found a true basis of internationalism in liberty of speech and action. And he counts the first step in that direction the first step of our forefathers onto Plymouth Rock—a timely point at this Thanksgiving season. Page 187.

FROM one who has demonstrated the principles of scientific management in his own plant comes sincere testimony of the value of the profession in which Robert G. Valentine was engaged at the time of his death. Henry P. Kendall, head of the Plimpton Press, Norwood, Mass., tells how Mr. Valentine devoted his life to reconciling the clear-eyed spirit of science with the blind spirit of democracy. Page 189.

BECAUSE legislation had been too busy abating hog cholera, instead of tuberculosis among children, the General Convention of the Episcopal Church at St. Louis set aside discussion of canons and prayer-book for a time to consider the rights of human beings. The Rev. George Craig Stewart, pastor of St. Luke's Protestant Episcopal Church in Evanston, Ill., who has tried a partnership between religion and social service in his own parish, reports how social service was one of the trinity of subjects that dominated the convention. Page 190.

THE doors of the closed shop are being battered down by the Chamber of Commerce in San Francisco. But Harry F. Grady, a San Francisco business man now studying at Columbia University, who knows intimately many men on both sides of the door, finds that under the sobriquet of law and order the business interests are employing the same methods of coercion and boycott which they decry in the unions. Page 192.

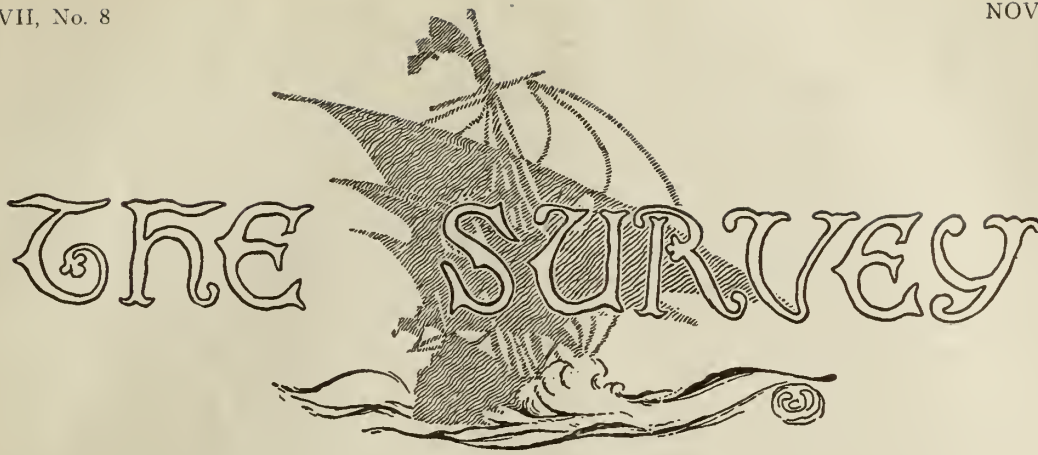
CHARLES J. STRONG, who conducted the charities investigation in New York, came at his task in the light of a long experience of civic work, including the presidency of the City Club. His report goes to the fundamentals of charity work as an essential function of government. He would abolish five overlapping and under-working offices and commissions and set up a supervisory board broadly equipped to do its work. Page 195. The State Conference of Charities, with only a few members present, passed a resolution opposing his plan. Page 207.

GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY, distinguished for many years as a champion of all good causes, differs with Mr. Lane's interpretation of Mr. Osborne's occupancy of the thorny warden's seat at Sing Sing. Pages 198 and 210.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE men are for making railroad labor compulsory pending arbitration; the American Federation of Labor is unanimously against compulsion. The *Congressional Record* please copy. Page 201.

THE government's theory and practice in disbursing \$2,000,000 to the families of needy guardsmen. Page 204.

FOOD prices have led a New York association to increase its budget of charitable relief by 25 per cent. Page 201.



National Ideals

By *Newton D. Baker*

SECRETARY OF WAR

EVERY now and then some orator who catches the public ear points to the fact that, as he sees it, America is becoming industrially splendid, but ethically or idealistically infirm. Now, I am one of those persons who do not believe that, and I want, if I can, to analyze this question of national ideals; to find out what they are, and why there are people who imagine them in danger because of the changed character of our civilization.

In the first place, it is difficult to catalog ideals. We are too busy about our bank accounts; we are busy over the affairs of our clients; we are busy about our children's schooling and about our wives' pickling and preserving; we are busy in our hours of occupation with our professions and in our hours of leisure with our diversions. It is a rare thing for a man to take a seat by himself in a corner and say, "How is it with my ideals?" "Where are they and what are they?"

Yet we all have ideals. They are fundamental to us. Every now and then some course of conduct, some incident arises which runs up against one of them. The touchstone of our innate and fundamental ideals rubs against this new proposition and we discover either that it is antagonistic or that it is virtually in harmony, and we have, if it is antagonistic, a revulsion of feeling, and if it is in harmony, we have a feeling that all is well with the world.

Likewise, as a nation, we have these deep-lying ideals buried out of casual sight; not lost, but put away for safe keeping; not made a matter of constant discussion and exhibition, but still a standard squaring our national life with our national conduct. These national ideals, not in themselves different from individual ones, are far more complex and, as years go by, of constant change in their application and in their range.

For example, we find Miss Agnes Repplier, brilliant and charming essayist as she is, continually writing about the ideals of our Pilgrim fathers. She talks about Plymouth Rock (when it was in its pristine glory and fame) as though there were some kind of virtue loose in the community that has ebbed away; just as Bob Aker's courage dropped out at his fingertips when he stood shaking and limp in the face of his adversary's pistol.

The dream of our Pilgrim fathers was to establish over

here a free government, of free men. Since that time, nobody has proposed anything to the contrary. But freedom today is a different thing from the freedom of the good old days. The adversaries of it have changed their countenances entirely. In olden times the ideal lover of freedom was pictured as a tall, broad-shouldered man, wearing a wide-brimmed hat, and carrying a forbidding looking gun on his shoulder, taking his family to church. His job was to make perfectly certain that his family would not be molested by red Indians. Likewise he had to protect them against frivolity in various forms. The Puritan set his face sternly against pleasure and realized quite truly that in the making of a new nation, conduct was anti-social which allowed a people to divert themselves by drinking and dancing and wasting the hours that ought to have been given to the serious task of the conquest of a new continent.

Nowadays we have still to fight savagery, but a savagery far more subtle, no longer stalking about with the tomahawk in its hand. And it is less easily discernible because the old degrees of intimacy among people no longer exist.

Miles Standish doubtless knew everybody who lived in the village where he lived. It was quite impossible for harm to happen to anybody without it being his personal loss. People attended weekly meetings and town meetings with one another. They called one another by their first name. They knew one another. We do not.

Bergson, the philosopher, once went into a French church and found a preacher holding forth with tremendous and moving eloquence. Everybody in the audience was in tears except one man who seemed unconcerned by anything. The minister wove his story and rose in his height of passionate appeal, from one level to another, the audience following him almost breathlessly. Finally when the service was over, Bergson, noticing this one man still perfectly untouched, followed him out of the church, and said to him, "I noticed that when this congregation was profoundly moved and everybody was in tears, or deeply stirred, you were entirely unmoved. How do you explain it?" The man replied, "Well, you see, sir, I don't live in this parish."

In the same way we (in modern society) are inclined to be parochial. We have our range of friends and business asso-

ciates. We have a lack of those old-fashioned contacts that brought men into close relation with the whole country.

It is unavoidable, therefore, if there be difficulty in tracing national ideals in the civilization that has succeeded that of our Pilgrim forefathers. Those fundamental virtues which we would amplify into national ideals used to be immediately reflected from individual to individual. The boundaries of the nation were within the periphery of a man's acquaintance. In this modern time when it is not possible to know your brother by sight or shake hands with the man whose destiny you may immediately affect, we have still to think of the consequences of national virtues, applied to the welfare of the entire human race.

And, although the effort is great and the result often hard to perceive, national ideals are just as robust; just as vigorous; just as honestly entertained and as stalwartly fought for as they were in the days of Miles Standish. They have, however, grown in their application until they are now splendid and worldwide. Those who look for a catalog of small virtues in some statute-book which prohibited certain acts on Sunday, down to the kissing of your own wife, as an offense of public propriety, those who look to that form of national ideals, will fail to recognize the extended and ennobled thing that now takes its place.

Among these national characteristics one of the most conspicuous is the preservation of the ideal of a free people in a free country. We have opened our arms wide and invited the downtrodden from all the world to participate in our new civilization. We have shown our adherence to this view. We have not fallen into any of the errors that so many of the old governments have fallen into. We have proscribed no language; we have leveled against no religious convictions; we have preserved freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, the utmost freedom of individual election in the matter of loyalty to ideals. In other words, we have made America a free place where men may come and live, work and make so long as they are not at variance with the common welfare, the highest ideal of all.

"Progressivism," Grandchild of Machinery

IN RECENT YEARS we have, in this country, seen the last of a series of changes in the adaptation of this highest ideal—the aim for common good. From a simple group of individuals as we were in Miles Standish's time, or George Washington's time, or John Quincy Adams's, we have suddenly awakened to find that we have become an exceedingly intricate and complicated social mass, our relations depending largely upon mechanical inventions. Whenever a machine is substituted to do the work previously done by two men, that machine creates relations between those men and makes them dependent upon one another. Meanwhile, we had supposed that we could have exactly the kind of government, exactly the kind of institutions under this changed form of civilization that we had under the simpler and less integrated form, and we were amazed that with the invention of machinery there grew up unconsciously, without contriving or design, a dozen situations calling for redress. Each by its inevitable working created injustice and inequalities. We found that while we had gained enormously in the art of production and had multiplied the forces that were available as aids in production, we had failed to attend to the processes of distribution. Thus there were raised amongst us great inequalities in distribution, far beyond those ordained by nature. Then it was that there sprang up in America the thing called "progressivism." And one great national party adopted a program which perhaps

was more forward looking than any social program ever adopted in the history of politics.

Much of this progressive platform consisted in unsettling things which had been settled; in disturbing a lot of situations which were heavy on some shoulders and comfortable on others. The platform called for readjustment, and no readjustment takes place with equal pleasure to all involved. It caused many pains in the body politic. The ultimate triumph of these social readjustments is, however, necessary and inevitable, because they are sane, balanced and not revolutionary, but evolutionary. They are the inevitable amplification of the original ideals which took a raw continent like this, uninhabited except by savages, and turned it into a great continent of welcome and opportunity.

Peace With a Heroic Drive in It

SO FOR century after century these ideals of freedom and justice have extended, growing more established, growing larger. And they are now no less easily defined, if people look for them, in their new home and new attire, and new habits.

But we Americans have another ideal. And it is upon that that I want to indict the human race. We in this country have the ideal of peace. We have come to the conclusion in this modern world of ours, and in America particularly, that peace is the normal relation of life.

The melancholy conclusion that peace and corruption are ordinarily brothers; that heroism is the natural consequence of war, is bred of a wrong ideal of peace. We cannot, of course, have peace without having something heroic in it. We must have a strenuous peace; a peace with an upward drive in it; a peace that engages the dominant appetite of mankind. Perhaps because we are descendants from savage ancestors and because of our struggle for survival there is away down in all of us a something forcing us to have an heroic opportunity. Therefore, unless we can get into peace something heroic, unless we can engage our mind and faculties upon a problem that promises to produce a result in the world, we can have no peace at all.

All Americans are desirous of connecting peace with those heroic opportunities. We have a great surging of emotions and sentiment toward bettering the lives of men, women and children. It has taken the social form of reducing the hours of labor of women and children in workshops, and insisting upon proper sanitation around the factory; it has increased the recreational opportunities of men and women, and of children, improved their educational opportunities, and raised to a higher level the whole plane of human life.

But in addition we in America want world peace. We have been struggling for a long time to secure it, and now, when the old world is disillusioned with war, comes our most opportune moment. Thoughts of the killed, wounded and injured, of the stricken faces of the mothers of the world as they walk the streets of their various countries in mourning for those who are already gone, and for those who will yet be dedicated to this awful slaughter, such thoughts will modify men's view and war will lose some of its heroism, some of its former splendor when it was physical combat between selected individuals.

Yet, first, we must have justice in the world. Our propaganda, world peace, must be founded, both here and abroad, on justice among men. And that means the abolition of the separatist tendencies that are in men, centuries old.

In 1815, when Napoleon had been finally overcome and the Congress of Vienna met to reestablish the map of the world,

the Russian Czar proposed that there should be a perpetual peace through the creation of what was called "The Holy Alliance." This was an arrangement by which the collective powers of all the nations represented would be used against any one nation, should it undertake to disturb the peace of the world. It was very much like the proposition of the present league for universal peace. Although Castlereagh, England's representative, was rather inclined to the plan, Metternich said the Czar was a silly fool and the only thing to do, because he was the Czar of Russia, was to humor him, write it down on paper, and go through the formality of signing it. After returning to their respective countries, they would see that nobody lived up to it.

At any rate, the Treaty of Vienna went to pieces. Many people think Prince Metternich intended it so. They contend that he surrounded the Russian Czar with spies in his employ, who whispered dreadful things to him, and made him believe that his life was in danger, until it affected his mind, turning him from a mild, benevolent and gracious man into a terribly despotic, cruel king.

But whatever people may have said, whatever may have been the cause of the change in the Czar, the peace of Vienna failed because it was not a just peace. It stood upon the pleasure of a half-dozen gentlemen, interested in the pretensions of princes and the destiny of dynasties, who sat around the table with a map of Europe and some lead pencils, and drew lines all over it, saying, "You take that." "We will take that." "His Majesty can have this."

The net result was an artificial peace, a peace based on force or power which recognized neither nationality nor ancient and traditional loyalty. Houses were divided against themselves; Poland was divided into three parts and each one was left struggling to reestablish the Poland in which it

believed and which it loved. The Austro-Hungarian Empire was made a polyglot empire, to whose difficulties, since the great revolution of 1848, are traceable the Balkan wars, and the serious troubles between Turkey and Europe.

Now, some time the present terrible war will cease and a peace will come in Europe. We Americans are vitally concerned in this peace, because today there cannot be a war even between Korea and Cochin-China without its affecting us. We ought, I think, to begin now to cultivate an amplification of our national ideals. So that, as the one great neutral nation, unengaged in the present controversy, friend to all those of both sides, the concerted, consolidated influence of America can help insure that the new peace will not be a peace of an artificial kind; that less attention may be paid to princes and kings and emperors than to the fate of peoples. We should try to impress upon Europe the excellence of our own experiment, allowing to people liberty of conscience, liberty of minds, liberty of speech, liberty to choose their national associations. Thus the balance of power in Europe may be preserved not by artificial boundaries, and among potentates and princes, but by the contentment of the people who live in the several nations, with their own sovereignty, their own territory, and under conditions of justice.

All this has happened to our ideals, since the days of the Pilgrim fathers and the Plymouth Rock. They are still alive and vigorous and potential among us, and if we but adhere to them with enough firmness and belief they may be a medicine for the diseases affecting the rest of the civilized world. Perhaps with our example, our influence, and our help, Europe may adopt them and employ them for her own good. Thus America will make a precious gift to the world apart from the satisfaction and happiness she has derived for herself in the pursuit of these ideals.

The First Industrial Counselor— Robert G. Valentine, 1871-1916

By Henry P. Kendall

THE death of Robert G. Valentine is more of a loss to this country than any can know who were not closely associated with him and with his work, plans and accomplishment in the profession of industrial counselor, which profession he created.

Mr. Valentine graduated from Harvard University in the class of '96 and afterwards taught English at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He gave up teaching to enter business life as secretary to Mr. Stillman, at that time president of the National City Bank of New York. He had to give up this position on account of his health, to regain which he spent several months in the South. He declined a tempting offer of the vice-presidency of a trust company in New York because he felt that he could be of greater service in other lines of work. He became connected with the Department of Indian Affairs under Commissioner Francis E. Leupp and was shortly after appointed assistant commissioner of Indian affairs by President Roosevelt and commissioner of Indian affairs by President Taft. His work in this department was conspicuous, first, for the unusual grasp of the whole Indian situation; second, for the selection and training

of the right type of men; and third, for the courage and independence shown in curbing the graft, the exploitation of the Indians and their lands, and the demoralizing activities of the liquor interests. Feeling that the department was organized in such a way that his policies would be continued, he resigned in 1912 to take an active part in the Progressive campaign for Roosevelt. In December of that year, he opened an office in Boston and established himself as the first in a new profession, that of industrial counselor.

His death occurred from heart failure while in New York, where he had been for several months jointly employed by the employers and the labor unions in the dress and waist industry. He had also been called in by Mayor Mitchel for advice in reference to the traction strike and as a result was engaged in making an industrial audit of the conditions affecting it. In both of these positions he was respected and trusted by employers and employes alike.

Mr. Valentine developed the technic of the industrial audit, which was one branch of his professional work. He believed it was just as necessary for an industry to be socially sound as it was for it to be financially sound and he didn't believe that

it could be regarded as financially sound if it were not socially sound. In making an industrial audit of a company, he thoroughly investigated and reported with practical recommendations on such matters as fire risk, safety, cleanliness and sanitation, ventilation, illumination, wages, fatigue, training and education of employes, means for venting grievances and little troubles which always cause greater troubles in a mill or factory, and the development of the personnel side of industry, which gives to the worker at least as great care as to the mechanical and production side of the business. There are few industries which he touched but he left better for workers and employers alike.

He believed in the people. He wished to spend the remainder of his life in serving their interests. He believed thoroughly in democracy and at the same time he had the scientific spirit. He used to say that he wished to leave after him a profession with the technic thoroughly established which would be perhaps the most potent factor in the study of America's greatest problem, that of industrial relations. He believed that the great struggle was that of democracy in its certain but slow and apparently blind progress. He believed in the spirit of science and of scientific management as the spirit leading to the one best way of doing a thing. He was devoting his life to reconciling the scientific spirit with the spirit of democracy. He believed that the reconciliation of these was the great problem of today and the task which he had undertaken.

Mr. Valentine decided questions on a basis of evidence. He was brought up in a very religious atmosphere. Later in life, many of the claims of dogmatic religion he could not justify by reason. He said that one of the keen losses and regrets in his life was the fact that he could not justify by reason the belief in a future life. Because of this, he especially wished to leave some form of service so organized that it would go on after his death. It was very largely this motive that impelled him to work so hard to organize and master the technic of a profession he hoped others would go into, which he believed was aimed more than any other line of activity to help make industrial relations sounder and

better. What finer spirit can be found anywhere in the ranks of the organized church than this?

Mr. Valentine was a well-read man and a deep thinker, with a distinctly philosophical mind, to which was added a keen sense of humor. He revealed great tact in handling difficult situations and at the same time he had the courage of his convictions. His sincerity and honesty, which were always apparent, won him the respect and confidence of employers, employes and their organizations. In spite of restrictions imposed upon him by a far from rugged constitution, together with the wear and nervous tension added by the several years' illness of his only child, his wonderful courage and buoyancy of temperament never permitted him to disclose the strain which he was under. He was very loyal to his wide circle of friends and gave to them without stint. His loss will be felt keenly by many in all walks of life with whom he came in contact. To know Mr. Valentine was to respect and admire him, and one could not commune with him long without getting a wider vision of our industrial and social life.

He leaves a widow and a little girl of six. His wife enjoyed the most intimate knowledge of his work and her remarkable sympathy and comprehension of it were a constant source of inspiration and help for him.

His work has already affected department stores, printing and bookbinding establishments, textile-finishing and cotton-manufacturing companies, public utilities, the needle trades and many others. The work he has started is too valuable not to be allowed to go forward with even greater power. It is the most effective kind of work, not only for better industrial relations and conditions, but also for greater efficiency in its broadest aspect. It aims to foster the right industrial and social relations in industry by a thorough-going study of the underlying influences, laws and effects.

A few months ago, he took into partnership with him his two chief associates, Ordway Tead and Richard Gregg. It is hoped that his firm will continue in their work and that other men of vision, whose dominant idea is service in this field, will enter it.

Social Service in Hall and Tent

By George Craig Stewart

“**M**R. CHAIRMAN!” As the chair recognized the reverend deputy from Minnesota (a bishop-elect he was besides) the whole House of Deputies turned to listen, for there was challenge and even combat in that voice.

The question before the house was a resolution of the Committee on Despatch of Business, designed to exclude the consideration of social service and religious education at a joint session of both the upper and lower houses of the recent General Convention of the Episcopal Church at St. Louis. There wasn't time, they said, to give to any other joint sessions than those arranged for the consideration of missions.

“Mr. Chairman,” shouted the voice from the Northwest, “up our way we have little difficulty in securing legislation to abate hog-cholera, but we have the greatest difficulty in getting legislation to check tuberculosis among children. In general conventions I have noted that we have plenty of time for tinkering canons and revising the phraseology of the

prayer book and I submit that we could profitably take some of that time to consider the great modern problems of social and industrial life which are pressing upon us. I move to amend the resolution so as to provide a joint session on social service and religious education!”

And the amendment went through with a roar of “Ayes.” Social service, religious education, missions—three phases of the one great central purpose of the church, the salvation of men through Jesus Christ! A trinity of interest, none afore or after the other, none greater or less than another, but coeternal together and co-equal! They dominated the convention, these three subjects, uplifted imagination, vitalized debate, determined legislation.

At this joint session of the convention notable addresses were made, a few of the high notes of which are quoted to show the trend of the discussion. Bishop Brewster of Connecticut: “The increasing emphasis upon social service is to be ascribed to the insistent pressure of the finger of God,

the work of the spirit. It is really a return to a more primitive conception of Christianity, not individualistic, but essentially collective and social. There must be increasing recognition that the value of human life is to take precedence over the value and interests of property. It is essential to the Catholic Church that it be a true democracy—manifestly, before men's eyes, a spiritual republic, the commonwealth of man."

Bishop Lines of Newark: "There are practical questions which every one must ask. What can I do in the particular parish in which I live? Well, you can look into the living conditions of the great majority of the people in your community and see wherein they need to be changed for their good. We must not bind the church entirely with the privileged people, but must remember that the unprivileged have as much right to the church as have the privileged."

Bishop Guerry of South Carolina: "We are endeavoring through social service to save souls. We need to deal with these brethren who are the champions of social righteousness and social justice in the church with great consideration and sympathy. They are the pioneers of a great movement which means much to the church of the future. They are the connecting links between the church and the great masses of the laboring people, who have become estranged from the church and who are seeking to find a remedy for the evils that surround them, in Socialism or in some other scheme for the reconstruction of the present social order. It is such men as these who are in a position to go to these estranged and separated brethren and say to them in the name of Christ, 'What you are striving to accomplish is included in Christ's great conception of the Kingdom of God.' It will be through some such movement as this represented here on this platform, and by the social forum tent, outside this building, that we are going ultimately to win back to the church the estranged and separated classes. I say then that the church accept this program of a kingdom of righteousness on earth as the one paramount issue, the one supreme end for which she was sent into the world."

For the Joint Commission on Social Service, its general secretary, the Rev. F. M. Crouch, reported social service commissions to have been established in all the eight provinces and in eighty-one dioceses, thus recognizing social service as on the safe dignified footing with missions and religious education. The commission itself, which includes in addition to distinguished bishops and clergymen such well-known leaders of the social movement as Robert A. Woods, Mrs. V. G. Simkhovitch, John M. Glenn, Vida D. Scudder of Wellesley, H. D. W. English of Pittsburgh, Jeffrey R. Brackett and Clinton Rogers Woodruff, registered in its triennial report the same advanced positions in the policy of the church as were taken in these platform expressions.

Thus it was stated that "the church must work not in duplication of the secular social agencies, which must result in a waste of time, energy and resources, but to cooperate to the fullest possible extent, not only with other congregations of whatsoever communion, but with recognized secular agencies operating in its own community." And further, "it is not the aim of the church's efforts in social service to train experts to take the place of those already trained by secular schools of philanthropy and practical experience in secular social work, but to make clear the meaning and bearing of these efforts and to educate its members to cooperation." "Religion must be the driving power in social service, the end and aim of which should be the cultivation or develop-

ment of a spiritual manhood and womanhood in an age when social technique is perhaps beginning to obscure the original spirit and motive of social endeavor."

Conceding that those desiring something more rigorous and vigorous than the mere amelioration of individual and social ills have discredited the church because it has too exclusively interpreted Christian love as "charity," the report insists that justice is but another phrase for love. This would seem to mean that the church has, and must have, something to say with regard to the right to labor and to livelihood; the right of all workers to adequate wages, reasonable hours and decent conditions of employment, without being subjected to needless overstrain, physical, mental or moral; the right of women workers to due consideration and protection, the abolition or effective regulation of child labor; the right of all workers to organize in self-defense, so long as their collective action does not constitute a distinct aggression upon the rights of the public; the right of all men who are reasonably industrious and conscientious in daily toil to wholesome living conditions, necessary recreation, education which will fit them and their children to improve their condition and their right to expect these things of employers and government, even if that means decrease of profits.

Social Service Tent and Socialist Mission

NEVER in the history of the Episcopal Church has there been so manifest an interest in all that social service stands for. Next to the convention hall was a social service tent, where an open forum was conducted daily. Across the street in the Jewish synagogue was a Socialist mission.

The subjects discussed in the forum and the speakers were as follows: What is Social Service? the Very Rev. Bernard I. Bell, dean of the Cathedral, Fond du Lac, Wis.; The Church and the Workers, the Rev. J. Howard Melish, rector of Holy Trinity Church, Brooklyn; Commercialized Vice, the Very Rev. Robert K. Massie, dean of the Cathedral, Lexington, Ky.; Social Service in a Suburban Parish, the Rev. George Craig Stewart, rector of St. Luke's Church, Evanston, Ill.; The Church's Responsibility to the Foreign-born in Rural Districts, the Rev. John N. Lewis, rector of St. John's Church, Waterbury, Conn.; Christianity and Force, the Rt. Rev. Paul Jones, bishop of Utah; The Church's Duty to the Unemployed and Poor of the Community, the Rev. Richard L. MacCready, rector of St. Mark's Church, Louisville, Ky.; Patriotism and the Kingdom of God, the Rev. W. Russell Bowie, rector of St. Paul's Church, Richmond, Va.; Some Practical Agenda, the Rt. Rev. Charles D. Williams, bishop of Michigan; The Problem of the Unemployable, the Rev. Ernest M. Stires, rector of St. Thomas' Church, New York; A White List of Investors, the Rt. Rev. Benjamin Brewster, bishop of Maine; The Deepening of the Social Conscience in the Individual, the Rev. William Mercer Green, rector of St. Andrew's Church, Jackson, Miss.; The Problem of Heredity, the Rev. John H. Griffith, rector of St. Mary's Church, Kinston, N. C.; Exodus from Poverty, How? the Rev. William H. Talmage, Flandreau, S. D.

But social service at the general convention is not to be measured by mass meetings and sermons and speeches, for social service is not a program but a spirit, not a new gospel but a fresh emphasis, not an abandonment of the cross but a return to the central principle of Christianity that even "the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give His life a ransom for many." That note was the preeminent one from first to last in the general convention.

The Open Shop in San Francisco

By *Harry F. Grady*

ORGANIZED labor is being assailed in its greatest stronghold. San Francisco, long the home of closed-shop unionism is the scene of a conflict, with the Chamber of Commerce and its affiliations on one side and the organized labor movement on the other.

The Chamber of Commerce opened the campaign in July with the statement that the people are determined to rid themselves of the "tyranny" of organized labor. It declared that it has no quarrel with unionism in itself, that it stands for the principle of organization among workers, that it is not opposed to collective bargaining, but that it is determined to establish the principle of the open shop and the supremacy of law and order, using every power at its command against the use of violence, intimidation and coercion (including picketing) in strikes.

An executive committee of five, known as the Law and Order Committee, has been appointed and a fund of one million dollars raised to prosecute all cases of law-breaking on the part of strikers, and to provide armed protection for the non-union men who are "asserting their right to work without being forced to join the union."

Spokesmen for the chamber maintain that collective bargaining is not dependent upon the closed shop, that if the unions are properly conducted they can build up a strength of organization and morale among their members which will make it possible for them to secure higher wages and shorter hours simply by depriving or threatening to deprive the employer of their services. It insists that labor politicians and officious and arbitrary business agents are obstacles not only in the way of industrial development, but of the true progress of the workers' cause.

The significance of such assertions is clear to trade unionists. Despite the protestations of no antagonism to "legitimate unionism" the labor men understand the open shop desired by the Chamber of Commerce to be the kind that is open only to men who do not carry union cards. They are sceptical, too, about the law and order planks. At the very meeting where this issue was raised, Captain Robert Dollar, steamship owner and leading opponent of the Seamen's Union, told his hearers, according to a San Francisco paper, that in previous experiences of his own, "quietness had been secured in a few days when union men went to the hospital in ambulances."

Another paper ascribed the following remarks to Captain Dollar: "'Let's fight,' he urged. 'If a peaceful workingman is beaten up by strikers, then beat up two strikers in turn.'"

A Campaign Dating Back to 1914

ALTHOUGH the occasion for launching this drive against organized labor was a strike on the water front in June, everyone familiar with the situation knows that it was planned long before that. A union-shop fight waged in Stockton early in 1914 was the opening wedge, but the real clash was to come in San Francisco, labor's stronghold. First the European war, and then the exposition of 1915 postponed the beginning of hostilities until this year.

Three events, up to the present time, have had a notable bearing upon the campaign. First, the strike of the longshore-

men offered a propitious beginning for the movement. It was accompanied by just the elements most suited to the alienation of public sentiment. There was violence, intimidation, and what is even more serious, the breaking of contracts with the employers. The situation is one that could not be justified by any true friend of labor, and indeed the Riggers' and Stevedores' Union has been severely criticized by the Water-Front Workers' Federation and by Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson. Part of the wage increase demanded was finally conceded, but much loss came to the workers and to the business interests of the city because of a strike that could have been averted if it had been intelligently and fairly managed.

Just as the open-shop movement, stimulated by the bad tactics of the longshoremen, was getting under way, there came a lockout and strike of the culinary workers, following a refusal of their demand for an eight-hour day. Coming, right on the heels of the big "law and order" meeting, it gave the Chamber of Commerce an opportunity at a single blow to weaken organized labor and to strengthen the spirit of solidarity among employers.

Letting the Restaurants Bear the Brunt

THE LAW AND ORDER COMMITTEE became active in inducing the restaurants to bear the brunt of the struggle for the open shop. Although, at first, there was a disposition on the part of a number of proprietors in the Restaurant Owners' Association, even some of the large ones, to concede the eight-hour day, to force these unwilling owners into the fight, the club of credit was used. The large wholesalers cooperated to bring pressure to bear on the restaurant man who would not put the open-shop card in his window. On the other hand, financial aid was promised from the war fund to any restaurant which might be injured by the open-shop fight, and property owners pledged two months' free rent to restaurants which might need it. Coupon books good in all open-shop restaurants were sold to business men and their employes, the former leaving their clubs in groups to patronize open-shop restaurants. Thus in every way restaurant owners were forced into and kept in the Restaurant Owners' Association.

The third event that fitted into the campaign of the Chamber of Commerce was the bomb explosion of July 22. The "Preparedness Parade" was passing down Market street when the explosion occurred, killing nine people. Organized labor had been hostile to the parade and had advised its members not to march. The crime, therefore, whatever be the true explanation of it, lent itself very effectively to the plan of the Chamber of Commerce to discredit the labor forces of San Francisco and to impress upon the city at large the necessity for its law and order program.

The community was terrified. A mass meeting of indignation was called and great determination expressed to find the guilty parties. A number of labor people were arrested and five finally indicted, one a woman.

Upon the indictment, the Chamber of Commerce made the charge that this crime was of a piece with the violence that had gone on in the water-front strike. It acted on the assumption that any such crime must have been committed by labor people

and declared that it was this sort of violence in the labor movement that it was seeking to eliminate.

Largely because of the zeal of the enemies of organized labor, the first suspect, Warren K. Billings, has been convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment. So scanty was the evidence that the district attorney, in summing up, asked for a verdict of guilty, not because guilt was proven, but on the ground that the convicted man might turn state's evidence in the hope of securing a pardon. In other words, it was the third degree on an unprecedented scale.

These, then, are the outstanding facts in the situation to date. As to the justification for the action of the Chamber of Commerce, it must be granted readily that labor has made mistakes. There is no doubt that in some of the labor unions of San Francisco injustices to members and to employers occur. There is no doubt also that the boycott is a form of coercion. Irrespective of their interest in the cause of the strikers, people do not like to patronize a picketed restaurant.

But the abuses of unionism can be summed up in terms of inefficiency of organization and leadership. Criticism cannot be carried to the principle on which it is founded, nor can it be traced to the closed shop and the unwillingness of a union man to work with one who does not share the responsibilities, financial and moral, of the organization.

The weakness of the position of the Chamber of Commerce lies in the fact that its move is not disinterested, as its leaders would have you believe. Whatever sentiments the employer may express about the welfare of the worker, there is always implied a welfare which does not encroach upon profits, or his complete control of his business. He fears the power of organized labor and resents the demands which it makes. Concessions of wages and hours are as nothing to the power to enforce those demands which labor has shown. Hence, the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce will theoretically concede anything in the matter of improved conditions for labor, if only labor will not show its teeth and fight.

If the clash is thus understood we will see that the issue is one of ultimate aims, and not, as the Chamber of Commerce insists, one of methods. That body is either knowingly or unknowingly clouding the issue. As a matter of fact, the same accusations which the Chamber of Commerce makes against unionism can be made against the Chamber of Commerce. It is using violence, coercion and the boycott. If unionism is offending against any fundamental principles of right and justice, the Chamber of Commerce, in its law and order committee, is offending in turn against those same principles.

In the water-front strike, for instance, two union men were murdered by gun-men. Neither of these murders was provoked. When the gun-men were brought to trial, Chamber of Commerce lawyers were there to defend them. The labor man sees no essential difference between the violence which he may use to protect his right to work under the conditions which he deems fair, and the violence of an armed guard who is paid to oppose him.

Chamber of Commerce Lawyers Active

IN THE CULINARY WORKERS' STRIKE, a dozen or so pickets were charged with disturbing the peace. These charges were usually based on trivial acts, such as shouting their admonitions too loud. But in this same strike a number of other arrests were made at the instigation of the unions for reasons more serious than disturbing the peace. There are three cases of private detectives in the employ of the Restaurant Owners' Association charged with assaulting pickets on their way home. Weapons were found on all of these detectives.

Indeed, the Chamber of Commerce lawyers have appeared as special prosecutors in all cases of arrest of pickets in both the water-front strike and the culinary workers' strike, and as defenders of the law-violators employed by their own members. These attorneys have on the one hand helped to secure the conviction of a picket for calling the cashier in a non-union restaurant a prostitute, and on the other have defended a non-union restaurant employer for calling a woman picket the same name. The conclusion is forced on an observer in San Francisco that law and order means Chamber of Commerce law and order.

Credit and Publicity Forces Mobilized

IN A LESS flagrant way the mobilization by that body of the economic, credit and publicity forces of the community represents a spirit of coercion and boycott of which it would be difficult to find a parallel. No non-union man was ever more directly coerced into the joining of a union than are the restaurants which, desiring to be independent and grant the demand for the shorter day, have been forced into the Restaurant Owners' Association.

To get control of the stevedores and teamsters, coercion is again being used. The Lumbermen's Association is pledged to get men from the American Stevedoring Company, a recent Chamber of Commerce creation, run on the open-shop basis. The Hardy Lumber Company, which is outside the association and employing only union men, is being subjected to every kind of pressure that the association and the Chamber of Commerce can bring to bear upon it. Though no strike is threatened by the teamsters, the Chamber of Commerce is securing from business houses power of attorney to make or cancel draying contracts, so that all draymen will have to accept the open shop or go out of business should a strike occur. Some of the large draying firms have not even been consulted about the matter. But if the Law and Order Committee gets the complete control of draying that it seeks, an individual drayman's constitutional right to employ union men if he so desires will receive scant consideration. Coercion in these associations under the leadership of the Chamber of Commerce is upheld in the name of the ultimate welfare of the members. That is precisely the union man's justification for forcing his fellow workers into the union.

The control of the press by the Chamber of Commerce since the beginning of its campaign has been absolute. This power it holds through the medium of the big department stores, who threaten the withdrawal of their advertising should the papers not acquiesce in the open-shop campaign. Even the *Bulletin* and the *Daily News*, which have always been strongly pro-labor, have published nothing pertaining to the present labor situation that could be objectionable to the Chamber of Commerce.

If one will read the history of the Ludlow massacre and of the events immediately preceding, he will find that same appeal made by the business interests for law and order, the same protestations about the wrongs committed by labor, the same violation of all those principles and rights on the part of the employer himself. Yet there can be no solution of the labor problem, there can be no organization of our economic life among lines that will eliminate destructive strife, until there is an understanding, a sympathy and a generosity on the part of the employer toward labor that will make possible the creation of an industrial commonwealth that will be a credit to the business genius of America.

The present open-shop fight in San Francisco cannot be successful. If the employers were friendly to the unions, anxious to work toward their upbuilding as in England, the

closed shop might not be necessary. But as long as their spirit continues as it is now, the unions will be forced to fight. The Chamber of Commerce has consistently gone on record as opposed to legislation for remedying the condition of the workers. Its whole labor policy has made very clear to the unions that they must remain militant if they are not to be crushed.

A splendid opportunity exists for the Chamber of Commerce to recognize the legitimate claims of labor, to further

those claims by aiding necessary legislation and to work for the correction of abuses by whole-hearted cooperation with the best leaders—in a word, to adopt the policy that the most enlightened business men are putting into practice in their individual plants. But instead it has chosen the course of trying to break the strength of organization by establishing the principle of the open shop, which destroys the basic principle upon which trade unionism is organized—the power of collective bargaining.

Charity Patchwork and a Program

A Review of Commissioner Strong's Report

By Winthrop D. Lane

OF THE SURVEY STAFF

THE real meaning and purpose of Charles H. Strong's special inquiry, at the request of Governor Whitman, into the theory and practice of New York's state administration of charities has never, probably, been as widely understood as it deserves. The newspapers, if they grasped its meaning, eschewed it as not news. Succulent stories of institution misrule, charges of cruelty and neglect against children, rancor between individuals, imputations of perjury and criminal libel—these were the aspects of the affair that caught their nostrils.

The truth is, of course, that Mr. Strong has helped to solve one of the most important and vexing problems of government. Civilization is in some degree measured by a people's care of its unfortunate wards. In New York one-third of the total state appropriations is spent on the three great institutional services—the prisons, the hospitals and the charities. The last of these were the subject of Mr. Strong's inquiry. He had before him a field involving the welfare, if we include all who in any way come under the inspection of the state, of 90,000 needy and defenceless persons. He has produced a report and a series of constructive recommendations that may well serve as a guide to the legislature for years to come. Its analysis of many current social ills applies to other states as well as to New York.

Mr. Strong was interested mainly in two things: Whether the present system of administering the eighteen state charitable institutions was the best that could be devised, and whether the chief supervisory agency, the State Board of Charities, was efficient in supervising private charitable institutions that care for public wards, especially those that receive money for the support of 25,000 dependent children.

Many difficult matters thus pressed upon him for consideration. Was the general system of administration that has grown up since the creation of the state board in 1867, and especially since the adoption of the constitution in 1894, good or bad? Was the state securing as administrators of this system men who were informed and alert in the things they had to do? Was an enlightened public opinion and a developing science of mental deficiency being followed in the care of the feeble-minded? Was the state adhering to the best practice in its protection of dependent children? Was it aware of the special difficulties presented by the lawbreaker who is mentally irresponsible? Was it combining humanity and economy in a way to secure the maximum of both?

The SURVEY has already published, in its issue for November 4, Mr. Strong's conclusions on the controversy between the New York city Department of Public Charities and the State Board of Charities. That he found conditions in several private child-caring institutions "little less than public scandal and disgrace," though he did not find any institutions "unfit for human habitation," and that he found the state board responsible for permitting such conditions to grow up and continue, must be regarded as a judgment in favor of the city as complainant. At the same time, he did no more than justice to President Stewart's long and devoted, even if somewhat timid, services on the board, and to those of several other members.

This, however, is now the least interesting part of his report. It is more important to consider his program for the future.

Mr. Strong has built middle ground between the advocates of a state board of management and control for state charitable institutions, and the advocates of a board limited to inspection and supervision. For years the controversy over these two forms of administration has been acute. Amos G. Warner pointed out in his American Charities twenty years ago that the dispute seemed likely to settle itself by a gradual modification of both forms. A tendency was noticeable, he said, "to ingraft certain executive duties . . . upon advisory boards without changing their general character." This tendency Mr. Strong has furthered. He found the existing State Board of Charities in New York ineffective in form and inept in personnel. He has proposed changes that will, if adopted, give it direction, a greater degree of expertness in membership, and more drive in its recommendations.

The story of what has happened to the state administration of charities in New York belongs to the field of dramatic tragedy. The boundaries of visitational powers over the three departments of institutional service already mentioned were marked out explicitly by the constitution of 1894. With respect to the charities, the management of each institution was left in a local unpaid board of managers. The State Board of Charities visited and inspected them. The comptroller audited their accounts.

Bit by bit this arrangement has been interfered with, confused, tied into one complexity after another. The power of the boards of managers has been whittled away. The state board has been shifted from this duty and that, until there has

sprung up a multiplied control and division of responsibility that has well-nigh driven institution superintendents mad. From the adoption of the constitution to the legislative session of 1915, says Mr. Strong, "there was enacted such a mass of legislation . . . that it defies my powers to tell just where the responsibilities for the discharge of many important functions lies. . . . It seems to have been a process of placing one layer upon another layer, until the patchwork has grown thick. Institutional heads in bewilderment turn not to the law, but render obedience unto any and all who make demand."

Consider some of the absurdities of this process. In 1902 the legislature created the office of fiscal supervisor of state charities. It imposed upon him the revision of detailed estimates of institutional expenses prepared by the institution heads. This power had for several years been exercised by the comptroller. The state board, however, had been consulted about institutional expenditures and this advisory function now ceased. The fiscal supervisor became, in effect, the fiscal dictator. No part of any appropriation could be spent until he had approved the estimates in detail. Increasingly he became a factor in the actual policies and development of the institutions.

This arrangement has not worked out well. The estimates come from the institutions quarterly. They state not only the amount required for the salary of every employe, but the supplies and equipment needed for the ensuing quarter. The supervisor may grant or refuse any or all of these items and increase or decrease the amount or price and alter the quality or kind. How intelligently he has exercised this power Mr. Strong illustrates as follows:

"One institution estimated in June for a barrel of hominy. The fiscal supervisor disallowed it, for the all-sufficient reason that 'there was no purchase last year in June.' Another estimated for a bottle of ink. The item was suspended because 'the size of the bottle was not stated.' One institution estimated for the usual quantity of typewriter paper. Item suspended without explanation. An estimate for a much-needed forty-five-cent ruler was made three times, and every time disallowed without explanation. An estimate for seventy-five cents' worth of knives was reduced to fifty cents, and the delay caused an express charge upon these knives of thirty-three cents. . . . These illustrations might be multiplied indefinitely."

Institutions in the Grip of a System

NOT ONLY in trivial matters did the arrangement break down. By means of this estimate system, says Mr. Strong, "the institution is gripped tight. It is in this way that the fiscal supervisor determines the dress and diet of the inmates, the books they shall read or study, the number of teachers they shall have, the extent and kind of the hospital equipment; in short, in the last analysis, administers the institution and checkmates, if he desires, the State Board of Charities as to any recommendation it may make for institutional management."

The power to control expenditures is the power to control policies. This power was, of course, intended to be vested in the local boards of managers, under the supervision of the State Board of Charities. Yet the annual reports of the supervisor have contained many recommendations concerning the discipline, training and entertainment of inmates and the desirability of closing Bedford Reformatory, and have even declared that, after all, the fiscal supervisor should be more concerned with the welfare of the wards of the state than with the cost of the institutions.

The office of supervisor has not done the things for which it was established. It has not equalized per capita costs of maintenance among the institutions. It has not put an end to unbusinesslike and extravagant requests for improvements by local boards. But it has done the mischief that was foreseen. From the hour of its creation, says Mr. Strong, "the power, dignity and influence of the State Board of Charities began to wane."

An Inefficient Commission

THIS IS but one of the layers placed by the legislature upon the administrative patchwork. Another was the Salary Classification Commission. Created in 1899 to classify into grades the officers and employes of institutions and to determine salaries and wages, this body, Mr. Strong finds, has done a bad job. It was composed of the comptroller and the president of the State Board of Charities, two busy men. Lack of staff, infrequency of meetings and sheer delay have characterized its work. Institutions requesting new positions have been put off for months and in one case for years; competent employes, unable to wait for the commission's decisions, have accepted better places elsewhere; salaries have remained, on the whole, not only poorly graded, but lower than the kind of work demanded.

Moreover, the legislature, this year, constituted itself a salary classification commission. Ignoring the schedules of the commission proper, it adopted its own titles, maximum rates of compensation, and even fixed the number of positions under each title in the institutional service. It created a new budget-making agency. Nothing is left, says Mr. Strong, to justify the continued existence of a commission that has few important duties left to it.

Not content with putting into the hands of the fiscal supervisor, in 1902, power that detracted from the state board, the legislature in that year created also a Building Improvement Commission. It took away from the state board power to approve plans and specifications for new buildings and improvements and vested it in this commission. The governor was made a member and was called upon to give his time to the careful consideration of such trivial matters as a shack over a root cellar, plastering in a toilet room, the resetting of register frames for eight dollars, one extra drop light, a pig-gery and a hen house.

The commission seems to have met first in 1905, although created in 1902. Building that went on during the interim must have been *extra* legal, says Mr. Strong. It has met only irregularly since. The president of the state board characterized it as a "useless commission" and Mr. Strong agrees with him.

Another bit of patchwork was the creation in 1913 of the Commission of Sites, Grounds and Buildings. Here again, ineptness has accompanied apparent laziness. In its first year the commission did little, in its second and third almost nothing. "Meanwhile," says Mr. Strong, "local boards of managers have gone on selecting sites for new buildings. The work could not stop; the commission has not met; the commission has been ignored." All of its original appropriation, amounting to \$80,000, lapsed, except \$572.33.

In 1912 a Board of Examiners of Feebleminded, Criminals and Other Defectives was established. (This is the only instance in the law known to Mr. Strong where criminals, as a class, are called defectives.) The purpose of the board was to go among the hospitals for the insane, the prisons and the state charitable institutions, and decide whether operations for the prevention of procreation on any of the inmates were

desirable. If so, a member of the board was to perform the operation. The board was composed of a surgeon, a neurologist and a physician.

Little Work Done But Expense Continues

NOT A SINGLE OPERATION has been performed. The board has examined 200 inmates, about one-half of whom are women, and has listed all of them as proper subjects for the operation. Actual performance awaits a test case brought to determine the constitutionality of the law. Meanwhile the work is proceeding daily at the rate of \$10 per diem and expenses for each member of the board. Mr. Strong found that \$16,700 had already been spent. The board had not examined a single case in any other state where the operation had been performed. That it should recommend for operation all whom it had examined Mr. Strong thinks amazing, in view of the limitations of the statute upon those upon whom the board is permitted to operate.

All this cumbersome piling up of one piece of machinery after another Mr. Strong finds and condemns. How he solves the riddle we shall see in a moment. Let us now turn to his analysis of the earliest and still the most important agency in the state's charitable administration, the State Board of Charities.

The SURVEY has already published his conclusion that this board "lacks power; it lacks vision; it lacks drive. It does not know its real job. It is not doing its real job." He found a board composed of twelve members, serving without pay for eight-year terms. The law requires them to be appointed from each of nine judicial districts, with three from New York city. No specifications of their qualifications are mentioned in the law; it is not surprising, therefore, that Mr. Strong found many of them unqualified. Here is part of the record on this subject:

"With a very few exceptions, the members failed to remember the particular committees of which they are members, probably because so many of the committees never meet. One member thought there were 48 state institutions in his judicial district alone. (There are only 18 in the entire state.) One did not know that the state board cannot visit such private institutions as are not in receipt of public aid. . . . Many of the members have no idea of the cost of the board to the state; one would not like to say it was as much as \$25,000 a year; another, who was on the committee on finance, put it at considerably less than \$30,000. (For salaries and traveling expenses alone it was, in fact, over \$97,000 in 1915.) One could not say whether the board had anything to do with appropriations for state institutions. (This is one of the most important duties of the board under the state charities law.) One who had been a member of the board for four years was not sure of the names of some of the other members of the board. Two did not know that the board had anything to do with the Indian poor. (This subject is dealt with at length in every annual report.) One never had visited any one of the eighteen state institutions, although a member for four years. One thought the duties of the fiscal supervisor should be discharged by the attorney-general. (The duties of the fiscal supervisor are set forth in the state charities law and it is a matter of common knowledge that they relate to fiscal affairs only and that the chief law officer would probably be the last in the state who should be called upon for this.) Many of the members did not know that the board possessed any power with respect to transfers of inmates from one state institution to another state institution. (A grant of this power was recommended to the legislature by Governor Higgins, and when it was given it was regarded as of large importance.) Most of the members thought that the state board

still possessed the power to approve or disapprove plans and specifications for state institution buildings."

There is three or four times as much more of this in the report.

Inside the board the prevailing conception of the board's duties is found to be an easy-going one. As one member put it: "It is not the habit of the board to take aggressive action in following out its recommendations." The board's consideration of reports on private institutions and its fixing of ratings for the institutions were so rapid as to make clear that these important matters were left almost entirely to subordinates.

How far this looseness of thought and procedure is inevitable in a board with only supervisory powers and having no measure of actual management of institutions is a difficult question. Indiana, with a board of supervision, has achieved a much stronger and more serviceable policy. So also has Massachusetts. Mr. Strong is convinced, nevertheless, that radical changes are necessary in the character and method of appointing the New York board. In this most students of the New York situation, outside of the personnel of the present board, agree with him.

The Board Mr. Strong Recommends

HE DOES NOT WANT, however, a board of control like the Iowa board. His desire is "to convert a weak board into a strong board," to create an "authoritative advisory and supervisory board, with sufficient administrative power to carry it through, and at the same time to cut out the vicious circle of interference by other administrators." The board should become, he believes,

"a board of nine, of whom at least one should be a woman, and of whom three should be paid and six should not be paid, appointed by the governor from the state at large, to serve during good behavior and removable by the governor on notice for cause; special qualifications for membership to be described in the law, to the end that all the functional activities of the board should be discharged by persons with special training therefor; the three paid members to be the president of the board and the chairman of the two new bureaus within the board, namely, the Bureau for Mental Deficiency and the Bureau for Dependent Children, these three members to be designated as president and bureau chairman, respectively, at time of appointment by the governor. The duties to be imposed upon these three members will require that they give all their time to the service.

"I recommend specification in the statute of specific qualifications for certain members of the State Board of Charities, with special reference to the several classes of state institutions supervised by the board, such as a penologist, or one skilled in the reformation of the delinquent; an educationist; a physician with special knowledge of tubercular diseases; a physician who is a general practitioner, with special reference to hospitals and dispensaries; a lawyer; a physician with special training in psychiatry, to serve as chairman of the new Bureau for Mental Deficiency; a specialist in the care of children in private institutions and in foster homes, to serve as chairman of the new Bureau for Dependent Children; and one generally conversant with dependency and the several forms of poor relief."

The administrative duties of the board should be imposed, Mr. Strong believes, upon the president, in the belief that efficiency in such matters "calls for a one-man service."

As steps toward giving the board real power Mr. Strong would expressly grant it authority to adopt rules and regulations for the reception and retention of inmates in state charitable institutions. This power it already has with re-

spect to private institutions receiving public aid. He recommends, also, that the board be compelled by statute to issue, when warranted, its own affirmative certificates of compliance that private institutions have lived up to its rules and regulations; these certificates should become, he thinks, a prerequisite to payments to the institutions by the local disbursing officers.

He recommends other revisions in the state charities law and the poor law and is "much impressed" with the suggestion that the town overseers of the poor should be abolished and that both outdoor relief and institutional control should be vested in one superintendent of the poor in each county.

In recommending a new Bureau of Mental Deficiency within the board, Mr. Strong declares that "mental deficiency is today perhaps the greatest social problem that confronts the state." He quotes Dr. Walter E. Fernald, of Massachusetts, that "there are reasons for believing that feeble-mindedness is on the increase, that it has leaped its barriers." He would prefer an independent department in the state government for the visitation and supervision of the feeble-minded, but says that it is beyond the power of the legislature to establish such a department. The duty of the new bureau would be to assume leadership in providing adequate state care for the feeble-minded until a separate department can be created.

To round out the care of the feeble-minded, he urges that an institution for defective delinquents be built without delay. The state has no such institution at present.

Mr. Strong makes no recommendation that would look to the elimination of public aid for the partial support and training of dependent children in private institutions. He is, of course, aware of the controversy that still rages over this question. The system of such grants, he says, "was regarded as entrenched by the leaders of the constitutional convention of 1894. It certainly is not less so today. . . . The friendly would have it remain always; the unfriendly—at least, the thinking unfriendly—find no practical way to be rid of it." Some children, he believes, could not and should not be cared for outside of good institutions.

Normal Children Belong in Families

NEVERTHELESS, he is cordial to the sentiment that "after all has been said in favor of the good institution that can be said, normal children should not be deprived of a wholesome family life except for reasons that are compelling." This means, first, the preservation, wherever possible, of the natural home of the child; secondly, the transfer of a normal young child from the natural home to a good foster home instead of to an institution; and, thirdly, the prompt placing-out of such child in a good foster home, either free or boarding, where it has first entered an institution.

It is partly this belief in the placing out of dependent children that leads him to recommend within the reorganized state board a new Bureau for Dependent Children. The chairman of this bureau should be one of the paid members of the board with special qualifications, he thinks. The functions of the bureau would be, subject to the approval of the board, to "develop new and reasonable standards of child care in the institutions; promote the placing-out of certain classes of chil-

dren in the family home; make uniform the institution methods of placing-out; adopt measures to lessen the mortality rate in founding asylums, such as to reduce the number of surrenders of infants to the asylums by mothers who could be aided to care for their children in their own homes; create and advance new measures of outdoor relief, in order to preserve for children their natural home; persistently stimulate, by publicity and otherwise, an increase in financial support for the institutions, both from the public treasury and the private benefactor, to enable the institutions to conform to reasonable standards of child care; and the chairman of this bureau will aid the president of the board in obtaining appropriations needed to meet the imperative demand for enlargement of the inspectorial staff of the board."

To Abolish Five Officers and Commissions

THE FIVE OFFICERS and commissions described at the outset as having hampered or confused the work of charitable administration Mr. Strong would abolish entirely. He would give to the state board the fiscal control of the eighteen state charitable institutions and the other duties now performed by the fiscal supervisor, leaving the power of audit to the comptroller, and he would entrust the discharge of these duties to the president of the board. He would modify the vicious estimate system, requiring less detail in allotments and allowing some latitude of action to the institution. He would secure the benefits of joint purchasing for the institutions, and of salary classification, by a standing conference committee consisting of the chairman of the state hospital commission, the superintendent of prisons and the president of the State Board of Charities.

The duties of the Commission of Sites, Ground and Buildings and of the Building Improvement Commission he would transfer to the state board. If the work of the Salary Classification Commission is not adequately met in some other way, he would entrust it to the standing conference committee already mentioned. If operations for the prevention of procreation are desirable, they can safely be entrusted, he believes, to the several institution authorities and their expert staffs.

Mr. Strong would restore to the state board the power to visit and inspect private charitable institutions not in receipt of public funds. This power was exercised by the board up to 1900. In that year the Court of Appeals declared that it did not have such power. Mr. Strong believes that "a private charity is a public trust and should be amenable to reasonable state supervision." He would include in this new grant of power all charitable institutions and societies making public appeals for funds.

These, in essence, are Mr. Strong's major recommendations. He has seen clearly and stated with courage many of the fundamental lacks in New York's administration of charities. He has risen above the animosities that seemed for a time likely to rob his investigation of usefulness if not to stop it altogether. His constructive program has already commanded the respect of those who are most familiar with his field of inquiry, and it will command their assistance. Meanwhile, parts of it may well serve as a text-book for more than one state with large numbers of helpless and dependent wards to care for.

“The Truth About Thomas Mott Osborne”

A Reply to Mr. Lane

By *George Foster Peabody*

NOT so very long ago, two honorable and estimable gentlemen gathered from every quarter of the United States facts as to how the election was going. Each believed he had every fact that bore upon the situation. Then each announced that his candidate was certain to be elected. Each was sure that he was right, and yet subsequent events seem to prove that one of them guessed wrong—or drew wrong deductions, if you prefer it that way. The facts were all right, as far as they went, but, unfortunately, neither of these honorable gentlemen had all the facts before him, nor did he interpret correctly the facts he had in hand.

All of which is by way of introduction to what might be called “The facts in the case of Thomas Mott Osborne, and proper deductions therefrom.”

First for the facts; and this is important, for while everybody knows the facts, so many people “know them wrong.” And since so many have been, and still are, wrong as to both the facts and the deductions from the facts, it was scarcely to be expected that the young and apparently inexperienced—and at times positively thoughtless—person who took it upon himself to settle the whole matter for the readers of the *SURVEY* should have been even approximately right. Unfortunately, Winthrop D. Lane, who wrote *The Retirement of Thomas Mott Osborne* for the *SURVEY* of October 28, started out by knowing a lot of things that weren’t true; added to that he knew a lot of things that were only half true, and still other things he didn’t know at all. Still he was able to write an article that would have been an important addition to literature on the subject of prison reform, but for the minor defects enumerated above.

I have known Thomas Mott Osborne for upwards of thirty years. I have had close association with him during that time in the very many relations developed by his extraordinary versatility and exceptional devotion to human welfare. I have made it my business, during past months, to make a careful study respecting the actual conditions of his administration as warden of Sing Sing prison, and I, therefore, feel obligated to throw some light into the dark corners of the *SURVEY*.

“His Friends Caused Him to Resign”

THE “genius of Thomas Mott Osborne” did not cause him to resign, as Mr. Lane says, nor have “those close to his work hoped that this tragedy would not occur.” On the contrary, his friends caused him to resign, and they urged him to resign for months before he finally accepted their advice. “Those close to his work” saw the impossibility of his position long before he realized it. They saw every effort of his superiors to discredit his work, to ruin him in the eyes of the public, to make “prison reform” a joke and a by-word, and they saw that the load was too heavy for one man to carry

alone. They told him so, and they told him that he could do better work outside of Sing Sing prison than he could as warden. He didn’t want to quit. He refused to quit under fire.

Then, when the attempt to besmirch his private character was defeated, and he came through victorious and vindicated, they told him that he should shift the burden. He believed that, with a new superintendent in office, he could accomplish the task he had set for himself. But it required the acts of the new superintendent himself to convince Mr. Osborne that, after all, his friends were right and that it was not for him then to push through the reforms that he had started.

But he had paved the way. There could be no permanent stopping of the forward march, and the friends of prison reform knew it. Even with strong elements of the administration opposed to prison reform, without human sympathy for the under dog, believing in “iron discipline,” and refusing to believe the reform of a man once a criminal was possible, the powers that hounded Thomas Mott Osborne and that were anxious to throttle his system and make the prison the football of politics didn’t dare go far against public opinion—to which even they are not entirely blind—and revert to the old system which they loved.

Mr. Lane quotes extracts from some of Superintendent Carter’s letters to Mr. Osborne. Perhaps he got them and his “deductions” also from Mr. Carter. One letter refused to allow the transfer of prisoners wanted as witnesses in Mr. Osborne’s behalf “to Salem county.” The proceedings were in Washington country—there is no Salem county in New York—but that little inaccuracy is immaterial when the others are considered. It has been the custom to transfer prisoners from one prison to another whenever a request came from an official for such transfer. The request, so far as I can learn, was never refused except in the case of Mr. Osborne. Only recently, at the request of the district-attorney of New York county, two men in the Tombs prison, under sentence to Sing Sing prison, and witnesses in the Rofrano murder case, were transferred to Clinton prison so that they would not come in contact with two other men, prisoners at Sing Sing, and also Rofrano case witnesses.

As for Mr. Carter asking Mr. Osborne “if he felt certain of the advisability of his court proceedings,” since when has the superintendent of prisons been authorized to stop the investigation of crime? and what interest had Mr. Osborne’s superiors in any efforts to prevent the punishment of his traducers if they could be found? Does Mr. Carter—and Mr. Lane—know that it is the duty of every citizen, whether holding an official position or not, to inform the district-attorney if he believes a crime has been committed? And if Mr. Carter did make such an intimation to Mr. Osborne—his subordinate—was he working for the best interests of the state, or under orders from some one who had a motive that wouldn’t bear close inspection? However, Mr. Lane may

have misquoted Mr. Carter, or may have misunderstood, as he has misunderstood in other things.

Next we find Mr. Lane all wrought up over the matter of publicity. Does he remember what happened to Mr. Osborne and Sing Sing prison and the state administration in the early days of Mr. Osborne's régime, when the then warden also was very much opposed to publicity? The newspapers of New York city had many a good story that never happened, or if there was a story, the details were distorted, not because the papers did not seek the truth, but because they got their information from the wrong source. The warden refused to give out stories of happenings within the prison, and the local correspondent for the majority of the New York city papers informed him that he didn't care as he had a "pipe line" into the prison and could get all the information he needed.

Distorted stories appeared so often and so regularly that Mr. Osborne, for the protection of himself, the prison, and the state administration, accepted the advice of friends and told the facts whenever a reporter called upon him for information. As a result, the newspapers quit printing the distorted and exaggerated stories that came through the "pipe line" and they soon had a better understanding of the warden and his work. Naturally, not only Mr. Osborne, but also all his friends who knew the situation, felt that the order of the superintendent was not for the best interests of the prison administration, and anyhow it appeared that the superintendent was not averse to a little pleasant publicity for himself. The newspapers had just come to see the real inside of Sing Sing prison, and if they were to be denied access to the news to which they were entitled, they were certain to accept the misinformation that would have to come through the "pipe line" from disloyal guards and others who had axes of their own to grind.

Now we come to the terrible record of escape from Sing Sing prison that has been worrying a lot of people—including certain persons styling themselves friends of the warden. There had been ten of them. Admitted. Prisoners say that Sing Sing is the easiest prison to get out of in the country. It's a wonder more don't escape. There had been as many as twelve escapes in one year before the coming of Warden Osborne and the Mutual Welfare League. And included in the ten escapes that bothered Superintendent Carter so much were "Tough Tony" Mareno and "Pete" Cullen, both of whom "saw the error of their ways" and returned alone and unshackled to take their medicine. Also included was a man who got as far as the roof of the bakery, was caught by a member of the Mutual Welfare League and brought back, and another who "stowed away" for three days and was caught by a guard as he was about to leap into the river. Then there was the man Shillitani, who was in the death house, which is run under the old system and was never taken over by the Mutual Welfare League. He shot two keepers, escaped as far as the Ossining hospital, and was back in the prison in the course of a couple of hours.

The Long-Term Men Who Were Trusties

THE DECREE that long-termers should not be made trusties is another point on which the friends of Mr. Osborne and the clever young man from the SURVEY differ materially. As a matter of fact, the whole administration of Sing Sing prison was at least momentarily upset by this order. It meant that the warden would have to depend upon the petty offenders, the short-term men, incompetents for the most part,

to do his work in the offices and elsewhere where competent men were most needed.

Everyone who knows anything at all about criminology knows that, as a rule, the long-term men are of a higher type than the short-term men. They are more likely to be normal, to be loyal, to understand and appreciate decent treatment, and therefore less likely to try to escape. The records, I venture to guess, will show that more short-term men try to escape than long-term men. The short-term men usually are of the lower grade, pickpockets, sneak thieves and the like. Of course, Mr. Carter, being a "business trained man," as Mr. Lane says, had never made a study of crime and criminals, and he didn't know this. But men who have devoted years to this subject do know it, and they would rather trust the average long-term man than the average short-term man.

Mr. Osborne a Business Man

THE "business-trained man" quotation recalls the fact that all through his story, Mr. Lane indicates his belief that Mr. Osborne is not a business man and never has been. He is described as a sort of dreamer with no executive ability, and "official station is not the place for the exercise of his peculiar genius," quoting from Mr. Lane again. Of course, the fact that for some twenty years Mr. Osborne was president of the D. M. Osborne Company, which he finally sold to the International Harvester Company for some millions of dollars—making a good deal with such a man as my friend George W. Perkins—is no indication that he is a good business man and executive. As a matter of course he was requested to serve as a director in various banks, another evidence of his want of business ability, and added to that he served a couple of most successful terms as mayor of Auburn. To be sure, that isn't much of a record, but I would like to ask what large business my young, self-confident and satirical friend, Mr. Lane, was ever connected with, even in a minor capacity, that he should be so good a judge of executive ability? However, when one becomes a carping critic, it doesn't require much for him to carp over, and mere details of fact can be brushed aside as of no material value. On the other hand, Henry Ford, after a visit to the prison, remarked:

"Mr. Osborne, you must have had some business experience before becoming a prison reformer."

And Mr. Ford was less surprised at the administrative efficiency of Sing Sing after being told of the warden's business career of twenty years. Perhaps the readers of the SURVEY will credit Mr. Ford with a fair-to-middling notion of what business efficiency means and allow his opinion to offset that of Mr. Lane.

Here comes a point where friends of Mr. Osborne are compelled sorrowfully to plead guilty to one count. "He has shown himself to be a poor judge of men," says Mr. Lane and then he cites the case of Charles H. Johnson, former deputy. Guilty! If Mr. Lane had known just a little bit about Sing Sing prison, Thomas Mott Osborne and his former deputy, he would have left Mr. Johnson's name out of it. Mr. Osborne did make a mistake when he made Mr. Johnson his deputy; he was a poor judge of men in this instance—he gave too much weight to recommendations—and his friends found it out long before Mr. Osborne was willing to admit his mistake.

When Mr. Osborne was told first by a newspaper reporter that Mr. Johnson—who was paid by the warden personally, not by the state—was not loyal to him, he refused to believe

it. That was after Mr. Osborne had recommended Mr. Johnson to Kent Hubbard to be head of the Cheshire, Conn., reformatory. Mr. Hubbard accepted Mr. Johnson on Mr. Osborne's recommendation. He was to carry the Osborne system to the boys at Cheshire. But he failed. Mr. Hubbard, who has had large business experience, proved to be a better judge of men than Mr. Osborne was, and as soon as Mr. Johnson's contract expired Mr. Hubbard pushed him out, back upon New York, where he has been given an official position for his "loyalty"—but it wasn't loyalty to the man who gave him his first big opportunity.

Much more might be said on this feature of the case, but I shall refrain. Let the trained investigator of the SURVEY go into it a little deeper and see what a colossal burden of ignorance he has been toting around with him.

The former superintendent of industries, L. C. White, is hardly worthy of passing mention. Mr. Osborne did dismiss him. Mr. Osborne, despite Mr. Lane's estimate of him, is a business man, and he had a right to feel assured of loyalty from his subordinates. No business man can succeed without confidence in his associates. No real business man will try to. Naturally, Mr. White had to go for the good of the administration.

I almost forgot to mention the dismissal of Superintendent Riley, "following a promise to Mr. Osborne," quoting Mr. Lane again. It was such a long, long time following that promise. And then it didn't come as a result of any such promise at all, but at the demand of Prof. George W. Kirchwey, who was then acting warden, while Mr. Osborne was fighting a gang of enemies that would put most of the men in Sing Sing to shame for the littleness of their crimes. The most casual reader of the newspapers should know more about that affair than Mr. Lane seems to know.

Mr. Riley ordered the removal of the leading spirits of the Mutual Welfare League from Sing Sing to Clinton. Dean Kirchwey took a train for Albany and Mr. Riley went to Sing Sing to see that his order was obeyed. What Dean Kirchwey said to the governor has never been recorded in the public prints, but it was enough. The governor at last took the action at the demand of Dean Kirchwey that he refused to take or neglected to take at the request of Mr. Osborne's friends prior to that time, and I have no doubt that Dean Kirchwey was among those who had advised the governor long before that prison reform was impossible with Mr. Riley as superintendent.

Some Achievements at Sing Sing

THE "indictment" of Mr. Osborne by his "good friend" Mr. Lane, I have tried to answer to the best of my ability, though I admit that I am not a trained investigator who can ferret out things that do not exist. Now, I would like to call attention to some of the things Mr. Osborne has done for Sing Sing prison, despite the fact that "official station is not the place for the exercise of his peculiar genius," according to the SURVEY's clever young man.

Mr. Osborne has given Sing Sing prison the best administration it ever had. From having the worst hospital in the country—or one of the worst—Sing Sing now has one of the best. The hospital was in a hopeless state when Mr. Osborne became warden. It was in the hands of persons so incompetent or so negligent of their high calling that the prisoners

refused to accept treatment except in the most urgent cases. Men with loathsome communicable diseases were not separated from other men free from those diseases. There were no reports of cases of assault, no examination as to the mental condition of the prisoners, in fact, nothing that is considered really important in modern medicine. Mr. Osborne reorganized the whole system and made it a model for other prisons to copy.

He reformed the purchasing department, sought bids in the purchase of supplies instead of giving the contracts to favored political friends as had been done theretofore. He reformed the accounting department so that there could be some real understanding of the finances of the institution. He put the guards on an eight-hour day instead of working them twelve hours daily. He reduced the per capita cost of the guards. He gave the prisoners three meals per day, instead of two. He increased the gross sales of the prison-made goods 11 per cent and the profits 100 per cent.

Unfriendly and Hostile Superiors

ONE OFFICIAL was forced out because he trafficked in drugs, another for being "irregular in his accounts," and another on charges of incompetency. He turned the whole institution upside down, and rottenness dripped from it. He didn't do all he could have done had he had decent and honest co-operation. He couldn't reform Sing Sing and at the same time reform the hearts of men who belong to an age that is past and gone. But he did more than any other man in the world could have done under the handicap of unfriendly and even hostile superiors, who tried to block every good deed he aimed to do.

Moreover, Mr. Osborne does not believe the men in Sing Sing are innocent lambs who should be turned loose upon a trusting community. He believes they belong right where they are until they are cured. He is no sentimentalist, though he thoroughly believes in honest sentiment as a moving power. He did say that Thomas Bambrick was innocent, and some pretty hard-headed men believe he was right when he said it. And the people who believed Charles Becker was innocent are almost without number.

There are many things that I would like to tell, as a friend of Thomas Mott Osborne and his system of prison reform, but perhaps I have said enough to convince the readers of the SURVEY that Mr. Osborne had good reason to be at least slightly annoyed at times by what he has had to put up with from his enemies—also from so-called "staunch friends"—both in and out of official life. Perhaps at times he did show a little evidence of "temperament." Perhaps "his psychology is quite understandable," once more quoting from the erudite Mr. Lane, but I am inclined to think that most of us would expose our "temperament" under such circumstances, quite as much as Mr. Osborne has.

I am a humane man, I hope, and yet if I were forced into the position of having to put the "brand of Cain" upon the forehead of a known enemy or upon the forehead of a so-called friend who exposed to the world his mistaken and ignorant idea of what he thought was my innermost character, under the guise of friendly admonition and honest analysis, I am afraid I would have to allow the enemy to go unscathed to leave his trail in the open, where all would see and understand, and call the "friend" forth to the branding.

COMMON WELFARE



COST OF LIVING AND COST OF GIVING

THE enormous increase in the prices of food is creating many pressing problems for relief and other philanthropic organizations. The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor has been making a study of what this increase in the cost of food means to the poor families of the city. From a comparison of actual purchases of food made by families in November, 1915, and in November, 1916, it appears that the increase in these twelve months alone has been approximately 30 per cent; and prices of food had already increased in November, 1915, very greatly as compared with the period preceding that.

A typical family order with the actual retail prices and the percentage of increase in each food as given by the association is reproduced at the bottom of this page.

There has not been a decrease in the price of any item of food. The increase in price ranges from 11 per cent for milk to 20 per cent for bread, and 114 per cent for potatoes. As a result of the study, the Relief Bureau of the association has decided to increase by 25 per cent the daily allowance for food in the families which are given assistance.

Based on the studies of W. O. Atwater, Robert C. Chapin and others, with needed corrections for increases in prices which took place after these studies were made, the association in 1913 established 27 cents a day per unit as the basis for the relief which it allowed for food purchases. On the unit system, a workingman would be allowed the full 27 cents; a woman, eight-tenths of that; the children, fractions representing food needs at various ages. The per diem allowance for each unit has now been changed by the association to 34 cents. It has been the practice of the association in families in which there is tuberculosis to allow 30 cents per unit instead of 27 cents. This has now been changed from 30 cents to 38 cents, which will mean an added cost of ap-

proximately \$2,000 a month. The association estimates that the increase in the cost of food to all of its activities, including institutions, will be at least \$35,000 for the current year.

CAPITAL AND LABOR ON ARBITRATION

BALTIMORE and Washington, D. C., according to the railway time-tables, are just forty miles apart, but last week the distance between them was exactly equal to the mileage between the North and South Poles.

On Friday the National Council of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States met in Washington to consider the relations between the railroads and the public. The discussion came finally to the best methods of dealing with industrial disputes and reached its climax when Alexander W. Smith, of Atlanta, declared that compulsory service on the railways would not come under the prohibition of involuntary servitude in the federal constitution. Mr. Smith was applauded with enthusiasm when he said, "Involuntary servitude as a punishment for crime is not forbidden. Make it a crime to strike on public utilities, and the labor unions will have to go out of business, so far as public-service corporations are concerned."

On the same day, delegates to the convention of the American Federation

of Labor, meeting in Baltimore as representatives of more than two million organized workingmen, without debate and without a dissenting vote, declared themselves "unequivocally opposed" to any proposition for the settlement of disputes that involves the element of compulsion.

The Chamber of Commerce meeting was called to determine what recommendations should be made to Congress regarding changes in the existing laws affecting the railroads. This week the Newlands committee, which is to inquire into all phases of the railway question, began its hearings. The Chamber of Commerce wishes to take a referendum vote of its constituent members—the local chambers of the whole country—in order to determine what suggestions it should lay before the Newlands committee.

Congressman William C. Adamson, one of the chief speakers, defended the eight-hour law and denied that it is unconstitutional. He conceded that the railroads had a right to have it tested in the courts, however, and he expressed the opinion that the employes ought to be willing to wait until it is so tested before asking to have it put into operation. With regard to the future, he was opposed to government ownership and did not believe it offered any solution of the railroad question. Legislation to pre-

FOOD	QUANTITY	NOV. 1915	NOV. 1916	PER CENT OF INCREASE
Codfish	1 lb.	\$.10	\$.15	50
Eggs	2 doz.	.62	.98	58
Butter	2 lbs.	.66	.86	30
Cheese	1 lb.	.20	.23	15
Bread	17 lbs.	1.13	1.36	20
Barley	¼ lb.	.03	.03	00
Oatmeal	4 lbs.	.16	.20	25
Macaroni	1 lb.	.06	.08	33
Rice	1 lb.	.05	.06	20
Molasses	1 pt.	.10	.10	00
Sugar	5 lbs.	.33	.40	21
Beans	2 lbs.	.18	.30	67
Cabbage	1 hd.	.11	.15	36
Carrots	6 lbs.	.15	.24	60
Potatoes	6 lbs.	.24	.30	25
Potatoes	18 lbs.	.42	.90	114
Tomatoes	1 lb.	.10	.10	00
Apples	12 lbs.	.30	.60	100
Raisins	1½ lbs.	.18	.23	28
Coffee	¾ lb.	.10	.10	00
Tea	¾ lb.	.07	.07	00
Cocoa	¾ lb.	.13	.13	00
Chuck steak	2 lbs.	.44	.44	00
Bacon	1 lb.	.22	.22	00
Milk	21 qts.	1.89	2.10	11
Totals		\$7.97	\$10.33	29.6

vent strikes, he believed, will come very shortly. He denounced strikes on public utilities as outrages, and said that Congress will probably take action to make them impossible without waiting for any report from the Newlands committee.

President Charles R. Van Hise, of the University of Wisconsin, who was chairman of the arbitration board in the case of the engineers in the eastern territory in 1912, denounced the Adamson law and the attitude of Congress in passing it. He held that Congress ought to provide for the regulation of wages by some public authority, just as rates are now controlled by the Interstate Commerce Commission. When that is done, he believes, strikes should be prohibited.

This was a view to which Charles Nagel, who was an arbitrator in the case of the engineers and firemen in western territory in 1914, was opposed. It is time to consider where we are going, said Mr. Nagel. "If the government fixes rates and wages there's only one other thing to fix and that's the dividends"; that will mean government ownership, and he doubted whether we have sufficiently weighed the consequences of such a move. "I'm not troubled with constitutional questions," he said, "but with political."

Speaking of the eight-hour question, Mr. Nagel declared that it has "never been arbitrated, never been investigated, nobody knows how it will work—and the law was put over in twelve hours."

Henry R. Towne laid before the meeting a plan, endorsed by the Merchants' Association of New York, which would require men employed on public utilities to sign individual contracts binding them to perform service for a stated period. This is a scheme similar to the one that has made trouble on the Interborough in New York city. It was endorsed by Arthur Jordan, of Indianapolis, who said that a threatened strike on the street-car lines of that city was made impossible by just such contracts. The union could not get the men out.

These remarks were made in the course of an informal discussion. Mr. Jordan spoke after Alexander W. Smith, of Atlanta, had made the remark quoted above about involuntary servitude, and after another speaker had declared that while it is legal for a man to quit work it may be illegal for two or more to conspire to do so. Mr. Jordan said that he felt reassured to hear lawyers so express themselves. "We know very well," he said, "that the prohibition against involuntary servitude never was intended to apply to this sort of thing."

There was a good deal of condemnation of the railway unions for their activities last summer and sarcastic reference to the helplessness of business organizations. "If our 300,000 members would let it be known that they would

vote against a demagogue we might accomplish something," said one delegate. Robert Garland, of Pittsburgh, said that there ought to be a million members in the United States Chamber of Commerce. "Then," he said, "Congress and the legislatures would listen."

There were just two delegates who had a good word to say for the labor organizations. One, from Council Bluffs, Iowa, reminded the meeting that unions have "sprung out of the abuse of power." He expressed himself as "sympathetic with the idea of preventing strikes, but you must be very careful to put something else in its place to safeguard the workers' rights." The other, from Massachusetts, said he had heard of capital making threats, too, when it didn't get what it wanted. Their remarks were not received with utmost enthusiasm. Two men coming down the aisle together as the meeting broke up summed it up to their own satisfaction. "Trade-union lawyers," said one. The other shrugged his shoulders.

LABOR BRIDGING THE PACIFIC

ON the second day of the thirty-sixth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, now sitting in Baltimore, there was introduced into that gathering a resolution signed by all of the delegates coming from California. It is a historic document. It reads:

"Whereas, the recognized menace of unrestricted Asiatic immigration has resulted in the passage of the Chinese exclusion act and the subsequent adoption of the so-called gentlemen's agreement between this country and Japan, and

"Whereas, in the spirit alone of imperative necessity and self-protection, organized labor of America has favored and urged the passage of such exclusion laws, but has at all times been ready to aid and encourage the workers of every country and of every color and creed to emancipate themselves from exploitation; and

"Whereas, we have recently learned, with interest and gratification, that the working people of Japan are organizing into industrial unions, and have formally invited the organized workers of California and the organized workers of America to send delegates to the fifth anniversary of the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan, to be held at Tokio next spring, and

"Whereas, the California State Federation of Labor, without receding one step from its well-known attitude upon Asiatic exclusion, has already accepted the invitation and has given to the delegate from Japan an expression of good will and a message of hope and encouragement for a brighter future to the workers in his country; therefore be it

"Resolved, by the American Federation of Labor in annual convention as-

sembled at Baltimore, that for the sake of a better understanding and permanent friendly relations between the workers in Japan and America we, too, accept the invitation of the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan and hereby authorize the Executive Council to select a suitable person to carry a message of good will and encouragement to the working people of Japan."

The convention will adopt this resolution. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, will go to Tokio with Paul Scharrenberg, secretary of the California State Federation of Labor. They will speak in all of the principal industrial towns of the empire before they return. Their coming is expected to mark a new period in the modern development of Nippon. Trade unionism will have become identified with the cementing of international peace and the erasure of old suspicion.

Back of this miracle—for to the Californians who signed the resolution it is a miracle—are a picture and a man. The picture is that of a trade union hall at Oxnard, in southern California, in the year 1906. Fifteen hundred workers in the sugar-beet fields had gone on strike. Half were Mexicans, hastily formed into a union. The other half were Japanese, likewise organized by themselves. Attempts had been made to drive them back to work. One striker had been shot dead and others wounded. Their ranks held, and the weeds in the beet fields grew.

The hall was arranged with a platform for officers at each end, and a desk in the middle for the American who had been called in to act as their spokesman. Japanese workers at one end of the hall handed him translations in English from the records of their proceedings. Mexicans handed him translations from Spanish, to show what action they had taken.

Both unions had applied for charters in the American Federation of Labor. Meanwhile they fought on as one body of workers, and they won their fight for a living wage. Word came from the East that the Mexicans might affiliate, but that the Japanese were refused, owing to the hostile feeling toward Japanese laborers by the unions in California.

The man back of the miracle is Bunji Suzuki. He started to organize the first group of trade unionists in Japan five years ago. Last year it had 10,000 members. This year it has 30,000. Suzuki came to America last year and appealed for friendly understanding between the labor movement here and the workers of Japan. Last summer he won the support of practically every man of influence in the trade union world of the Pacific Coast. He had not only made good his promise that the Japanese labor movement was to take deep root and

grow, but he had formed the Japanese laborers in California into a federation of trade unions. When the cooks and waiters in San Francisco struck, the Japanese culinary workers refused to take their jobs.

At the time of the Oxnard strike the Union Labor Party in San Francisco had just brought the United States and Japan to the verge of war by discriminating against Japanese in the schools. Ten years have passed—years in which the threat of Japanese attack has seemed to sections of the American public to have constantly hung over our Pacific states. Jingoism has played upon this fear and huge appropriations have been made for the navy.

Now comes Suzuki with his handful of Japanese trade unionists at home and his still smaller band of organized workers in this country, and appeals for an entente of organized labor. The Californians have not forgotten the Japanese of Oxnard, and they have come to hate the whole scheme of militarism. They are speaking out for fraternity across the Pacific.

EMPLOYERS' ORGANIZATION STIFFENS UNIONS

TWELVE of the most important employers' associations in the United States announced on November 15 the formation of a National Conference Board. The associations comprise over 15,000 employers, having a combined labor force of 7,000,000 wage-earners—over 75 per cent of all workers in the country.

The conference board will be a clearing house of information, and through publicity and education attempt to enlist the sympathetic support of the public and the cooperation of the government. A statement of its purpose has been given to the press by Magnus W. Alexander, manager of the board. Misunderstandings have occurred previously because of a "lack of publicity"; henceforth, "there will be nothing concealed or suppressed, and there will be no presentation of arguments except in the full light of day and for the benefit of the whole people."

The board intends to begin its campaign, it says, among its own members. Every manufacturer must have a "broad patriotic purpose" in order that increased prosperity may bring greater prestige to the country. Apparently this is the main purpose of the new organization.

But this cannot be brought about without the cooperation of labor. Therefore "one of our great industrial problems is the satisfactory adjustment of labor troubles," reads the board's statement. Again, cooperation can be brought about through education alone. "It is unfortunate," continues the state-

November in the Beet Fields

By Edward N. Clopper

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

Photos by Hine



IN COLORADO WHERE PARENTS AND CHILDREN ALL WORK

THE harvest season in the sugar-beet fields is at its height, and child labor is flourishing in the process of pulling and topping. After several rows of beets have been pulled, the workers take their long knives and begin to cut off the tops. These tops are fed to the cattle and are very nourishing.

In the picture above the girl is just beginning, and the boy is just ending the topping stroke. The girl is holding the beet against her knee, and with one vigorous stroke cuts off the top. The top that the boy has just cut off can be seen falling just below his knee in the picture. The father and mother and two children are shown, while in the shack where they make their home for the season, two babies are left. This family cleared about \$300 last season, having begun in May and finished in the middle of November, when the children were finally allowed to enter school.

In the other picture two girls are shown—nine-year-old Amelia and twelve-year-old Mary, who are working at topping, while their father is hauling the beets to the mill. The mother also was at work in the field and said, "Amelia, she not work all time—she wash dishes and tend baby." There are seven children in the family. They attend school only after the beet work has been done.

The amount of energy put forth by the boys and girls in these harvesting processes is much greater than it appears to be upon casual observation; indeed, the owner of one farm declared that the ten-year-old daughter of his contractor topped five tons of beets daily, besides the weight of the tops and the clinging soil.



AMELIA, NINE, AND MARY, TWELVE YEARS OLD, TOPPING BEETS

ment, "that employers in the past have not taken a direct and intelligent interest in all of the vital problems involved in the industries with which they are identified." The National Industrial Conference Board insists, however, "that it will represent fully the progressive industrial movement throughout the country." It hopes "to stimulate the employer to maintain good conditions of work; to provide fair treatment for his workers and to take a personal interest in them." It hopes, what is more, "to develop among the employes a reasonable attitude towards manufacture and other industry, to inspire a sense of fair play, efficiency, and loyalty." In short, to bring about "complete understanding."

The New York *Tribune* announces the conference board as a "union formed by employers against labor." It also reports their cooperation in a drastic effort of the National Founders' Association, a member of the board, to repeal the Adamson eight-hour law. This the conference board later denied.

The formation and purpose of the new organization was made public by William H. Barr, president of the National Founders' Association, at the twentieth annual meeting of that body in New York on November 15.

He detailed the purpose of the National Industrial Conference Board, as explained by Mr. Alexander, and on the very heels of this made a caustic attack on labor. "Labor organizers are truculent and aggressive," said Mr. Barr. "Organized labor is never satisfied, and it is eternally bent on wrecking that structure of industry which has been erected through the patience, persistence, and patriotism of business men in this country, and which is the support and livelihood of labor itself."

LABOR made immediate and vigorous answer, for the action of the big employers led to a solidifying of labor sentiment to a degree hitherto unknown; and the addition of 400,000 members to the American Federation of Labor emerged as a clear possibility this week, as a result of conferences and the exchange of expressions of sympathy and support, between chiefs of the four railroad brotherhoods and officials of the American Federation of Labor.

At a meeting in Washington November 19, a defensive alliance was entered into between the Railway Department of the American Federation of Labor, with 350,000 members working in the shops, yards and telegraph offices of the railroads, and the brotherhoods, with 400,000 members in train service.

The spirit of unity thus engendered between the federation and the four big unions who have so long stood aloof from it was brought to a point still

more intense by a visit of the brotherhood chiefs on Tuesday to the convention of the federation, in session at Baltimore. Warren S. Stone, of the engineers; L. E. Sheppard, acting president of the conductors; W. C. Carter, of the firemen, and W. G. Lee, of the trainmen, addressed the convention and were greeted with great enthusiasm.

Grand Chief Stone declared that the only reason there had not been affiliation long ago is the fact that trouble would arise over questions of jurisdiction, between the brotherhoods and some of the unions now in the federation. But, he said, "there is a better understanding today than ever before." In private conversation with a representative of the *SURVEY*, none of the chiefs would say that affiliation is going to come. "It would have to be taken up in our conventions," said Mr. Stone, "and it probably will come up when they meet again."

CHICAGO'S JUVENILE COURT TESTIMONIAL

THE recent withdrawal of Judge Merritt W. Pinckney from the bench of the Juvenile Court of Chicago on account of illness and after seven years of service called forth tributes of public appreciation which attest the hold which both he and the court have upon the heart of the big city. As soon as the judge was able to meet his court associates, the police and county probation officers gathered around him as their guest at dinner and vied with each other in expressing their affectionate regard for him and regret at his withdrawal.

To the good fellowship among the probation officers, largely promoted by the attachment each one of them feels for the judge, is due the continued success of this Juvenile Court.

The more public testimonial took the form of a banquet, November 11, of 500 guests, widely representative of the bench and bar, many callings and classes. The after-dinner speaking took the form of a legal hearing, with Judge Pinckney as defendant. "Some facts in the case" were presented by Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, president of the Juvenile Protective League, and Judge Harry Olson, chief justice of the Municipal Court.

The appointment of probation officers by test of their merit, the establishment of the first psychopathic laboratory, the service of a woman assistant to the judge of the court, the successful establishment and administration of the funds for parents and the harmonious and vital cooperation of the official and voluntary agencies in dealing with juvenile delinquency and dependency, were the outstanding facts which were emphasized not only by word of mouth,

but, more still, by the deeds achieved.

Judge Pinckney's "defense" was a characteristically modest and sympathetic expression of the deep experience he had shared with others for seven years in dealing with the 11,819 delinquent boys and the 4,089 delinquent girls, besides all the dependents, and the parents of both.

"The judge may forget," he said, "but the juveniles never. They hail him on the streets, call him on the telephone, write him letters, the great majority of them bearing glad tidings of their making good." "The Juvenile Court," he said, "is a vision, which the judge must keep splendid."

Judge Victor Arnold, who succeeds Judge Pinckney on the Juvenile Court bench, followed with the declaration that "after all was said and done, nothing remained for him to be and do but to be and do like Judge Pinckney."

"RELIEF" OR "SUPPORT" FOR THE GUARDSMEN?

VOLUNTARY associations which have been giving relief to the needy families of members of the National Guard called to the federal service in June are now gradually closing their books. One by one they are checking off the lists of dependents who have been allowed payments from the \$2,000,000 appropriated by Congress for the purpose.

Many of these agencies have been impatient at the delay in getting funds distributed—the first payments were made in October; at the wholesale distribution of relief without investigation; at the large lump payments, leading to extravagant expenditures; and at the difficulty many women had in cashing the unfamiliar checks in which payment is made.

In Washington, the situation is seen from a somewhat different angle. As to the time element, it is pointed out that Congress made the appropriation on August 29, and by October 1—a bare month later—actual payments had been made. During October some 5,000 claimants were paid \$422,000 and new applications were being approved at the rate of 400 a day. The War Department estimates that the entire appropriation will be exhausted before the end of January.

Congress appropriated the money for the "support" of families of guardsmen; it was not paying the guardsmen a living wage. No private in the ranks could support a wife on his \$15 a month; no corporal on his \$21; nor a sergeant at \$30, or even a first sergeant at \$45. They answered the President's call in high spirits. They left their families to what might come.

Whether it was because some of the European nations in their present war

have placed the families of soldiers on the nation's payroll, or whether because they expected the United States to set an enlightened example, none of the guardsmen seem to have doubted that Congress would provide. They were resentful, some of them, that their families had for the first time to ask for charity during the time which elapsed from their federal enlistment on June 18 and the first government payments on October 1. And they welcomed the change from reliance upon charity to something akin to a government pension.

So that, when Congress did provide as they had expected it would, the guardsmen asked for as large a monthly allowance as their captains and their friends were willing to certify that they needed. They felt themselves underpaid in the military service; many of them had earned less than a comfortable living wage before joining the colors. Now they have bid for some of the arrears.

In the service there is a broad human sympathy with this feeling. The guardsman believes that the payment of \$20 to \$50 a month, based on the contribution of the enlisted man to his family before leaving home, is rightly his. At the War Department, where the depot quartermaster handles the applications as they pour in, the point of view of the enlisted guardsmen is understood. No investigation of the need of the family is made after the organization commander has passed upon it, and the commander almost uniformly approves the application. Now that the government has begun to carry the burden of "support," there are, as compared with the voluntary relief workers, no questions asked. Support for the family is the thing wanted, and support is furnished.

How clearly divergent are the paths of the government in its issuance of these sums to the families of the guardsmen, and the voluntary committees which looked after the families during July, August and September, is illustrated in



THE LATEST INVADERS OF MEXICO

Trucks run by the Army Department of the Y. M. C. A. have traveled the entire length of the international border. The ones shown here followed the line of General Pershing's command into Mexico to provide recreational features for his men.

the District of Columbia. The Citizens' Welfare Association, organized on July 3, gave relief to 200 families before it closed its work on October 5. John Dolph, the president, in his final report, dwelt upon the fact that all applicants had secured assistance, where personal investigation by a volunteer committee had established the fact of need. He told, among others, the story of a mother with five children, forced to go to work only six weeks before she was to give birth to another.

Thousands of guardsmen left their families in almost as dire need, as the records of charitable associations from coast to coast will bear witness. They were typical American wage-earners of the unskilled crafts. The call to service at once disclosed that, whether through unemployment or through working at less than a living wage, they fell into immediate want.

The fact that the government saw and met the need of a living wage while he was away rings in the brain of many a guardsman and many a guardsman's wife. And he is bringing home with him, as the regiments are mustered out, a question as to who may see that need when he is not away.

Y. M. C. A. CIRCUIT RIDERS ON THE BORDER

THOUSANDS of young men, some little more than big boys, were suddenly transplanted last June from home-life to military camps along the Mexican border. When loneliness, discontent and homesickness swept over these lads, one institution provided a measure of home environment and social intercourse that eased adjustment and prevented dissipation.

This institution was the Young Men's Christian Association, whose machinery was started in operation the moment that the call came for mobilization of the National Guard. Experienced secretaries of the Army and Navy Department of the association, equipment and supplies were hurried to San Antonio and El Paso, which were selected as field headquarters. As troops arrived at camping places, the erection of the association buildings was rushed to completion, sometimes by hired carpenters, in other cases by the troops themselves, military commanders giving full cooperation.

By October 1 forty buildings had been erected in camps extending from



COMPETING FOR THE BOYS ON THE BORDER

At the right a house of prostitution at Laredo, Tex. At the left typical Army Y. M. C. A. building, quickly and inexpensively erected, with open sides and equipped within for games, reading, meetings, motion pictures and other wholesome social uses. One of the features has been a clean-living campaign, through which the Y. M. C. A. secretaries have combated the influence of the red light districts.

Brownsville on the Gulf of Mexico to San Diego on the Pacific Ocean. Most of these are of simple frame construction, 40 by 80 feet in dimensions, with high roofs and sides that open, carefully screened against insects, and so well ventilated that they proved the coolest places in camp during the hot summer. They are the best-lighted and most cheerful spots on the border. Each center has a staff of from two to five secretaries.

At first the writing tables and the free writing materials were the most popular offering. As many as 2,500 letters a day were dropped in the letter-box; there are still few buildings where the present output of correspondence is less than 1,000 letters a day.

Among newer features, such as entertainments given by the troops themselves, music, lectures and reading-room facilities, the greatest attraction is the motion-pictures. One or more structures in every camp possess a "movie" equipment and in many where the buildings will not accommodate the crowds the screen is set up out-of-doors. Along with social activities, there are church services on Sunday and at mid-week, and Bible classes.

The temptation of prostitution, common to all military camps, is present on the Mexican border. To counteract this the Y. M. C. A. has conducted a clean-living campaign with a series of effective addresses, supplemented by the organization of committees and personal interviews. Thousands of men have signed what is known as the clean-living card of the Army Y. M. C. A.

No men appreciate the work of the Y. M. C. A. more than some 40,000 soldiers, most of them regulars, on patrol duty in the Big Bend District of Texas, where some troops are 80 miles from the nearest railroad station. Two traveling secretaries with an automobile truck of supplies, a portable electric-light plant and a motion-picture machine are continually visiting from camp to camp. Visits of two or three days are made at each camp; motion-pictures shown, phonograph concerts given. There are helpful talks to the men, and stationery, magazines and books are left behind for their use.

In September a Y. M. C. A. expedition of three motor-trucks went down the line of General Pershing's communications in Mexico, leaving large quantities of writing materials, magazines and other supplies at each camp of his command.

The results accomplished, the often-expressed appreciation of the men and the favorable comments of their officers have convinced the committee in charge that an expenditure which will be not less than \$300,000 by January 1, will in every way be justified.

FURTHER REFERENDUM ELECTION RESULTS

RETURNS from constitutional amendments and other referendum measures continue to dribble in. New York quite probably has voted the \$10,000,000 for the Bear Mountain state park, the big favorable majority in New York city overcoming the opposition vote up-state. The single-tax measure in California is reported badly defeated.

Later returns from Washington indicate that the two initiatives prepared by the liquor interests, which would have put Washington in the anomalous position of being a prohibition state without a single legally dry spot, were defeated even more decisively than at first appeared. One of these measures, providing for the licensing of hotels to sell liquor, was beaten three to one even in King county, which went wet at the prohibition election two years ago, and the same county voted three to one against the measure permitting beer. So decisive was the outcome that there is talk now of reinforcing the present law by prohibiting even the importation of liquor in small quantities for personal use.

The seven laws passed by the last Washington legislature and referred to the people by petition were all snowed under. These measures, if carried, would have destroyed the effectiveness of the initiative, referendum, recall and the direct primary, and would have made an increase in municipally-owned utilities almost impossible. The constitutional amendment providing that only taxpayers be allowed to vote on bonds and matters of public finance was also defeated.

Anna Louise Strong, running for the state legislature in King county (Seattle), in a district which has hitherto been three to one Republican, came within one hundred votes of winning her seat. Dr. Strong, together with other Democrats, lays her defeat to premature news of the election of Mr. Hughes, which was displayed throughout Seattle for three hours before the close of the polls.

Oregon adopted the proposed system of rural credits, modeled after the federal measure, which will bring the rate of interest on farm loans down to 5 per cent in place of the present rate of a little less than 9.25 per cent. The old discriminatory Sunday closing law was repealed. Both of the anti-prohibition bills were defeated, as was the single-tax measure.

Alabama triumphantly passed its school-tax amendment to the constitution—a measure which opens great possibilities to progressive parts of the state in building up a modern school system. Another successful measure was that safeguarding savings depositors in banks,

who hitherto have not been on an equal footing with checking depositors, in case of a bank failure. The proposal to substitute biennial instead of quadrennial sessions of the legislature was defeated, as were the amendments permitting Montgomery county (Birmingham) to pay her county officials salaries instead of the present fees.

Judge Ben B. Lindsey's reelection to the Denver Juvenile Court appears, on later returns, to have been won by a 10,000 majority, with a total vote of nearly 36,000, whereas the other candidates on the Democratic ticket for county offices won by about 3,000 in a total vote of 27,000. As usual, Judge Lindsey was bitterly opposed by a number of strong interests and had the support of only one of the Denver newspapers.

At a special election on November 11, St. Louis voted \$3,000,000 in the first school-bond issue of her history. They were approved by an overwhelming majority. The bonds are to be used exclusively for the construction of new school buildings to replace scores of portables in which over 6,000 children now go to school, and to relieve half-time sessions in a few districts.

All expenses of the St. Louis schools, including buildings, have in the past been paid out of current revenue. The increasing activities of the schools in the past decade have made it impossible to meet all maintenance expenses and to finance new buildings. Last year the board felt obliged to eliminate summer schools, cut down the night schools, and put some schools on half sessions in order to keep up any building program whatever. The bond issue will, it is expected, enable the schools to catch up with its building program by the construction of twenty grade schools and one high school.

A MILLION-DOLLAR FUND HALF RAISED

ABOUT \$500,000 of a much-needed endowment has been secured for the Henry Street Settlement of New York by its campaign committee. During the past few months the committee has worked steadily toward a million-dollar endowment, which must be followed by several other million-dollar funds if the settlement is to realize to the full its opportunities.

Special demands have been made this summer upon the settlement's nursing service to meet the infantile paralysis epidemic emergency. How fully the settlement met these opportunities, as far as its equipment allowed, has already been told in the SURVEY for June 3 and August 12. And these demands continue in the long period of after-care necessary to restore crippled children to health, in which the settlement is closely associated with the Central Committee

on After-Care, described in the SURVEY for October 21.

But the epidemic and after-care work are only a portion of the need in Greater New York for skilled visiting nurses. Each year of the settlement's work reveals greater opportunities, especially for education in matters of health that spells prevention and social progress. The committee on endowment is emphasizing the necessity of freeing from financial anxiety those in charge of its work. The first million has not yet been reached, but the returns for so short a campaign are considered remarkable.

SOCIAL INSURANCE URGED IN MASSACHUSETTS

SOCIAL insurance has got its head above the surface in the old Bay State; whether it will sink or swim remains to be seen. The Social Insurance Commission, constituted by act of the last legislature, has completed a series of hearings, taking up the three phases of social insurance which were referred to it—health, unemployment, and old age.

Unemployment, acute a year and a half ago, is now at such a low ebb that public interest in it has waned. The need of dealing with unemployment according to some far-reaching and permanent plan was, however, forcibly brought out at the hearing by labor leaders and members of the State Committee on Unemployment. There seems to be general agreement that an extension of the system of labor exchanges throughout the state is desirable and that some step of this sort must take precedence over any such plan as unemployment insurance.

Old-age pensions, investigated in Massachusetts by a state commission in 1910 and since by other public and private bodies, drew large numbers to a hearing and is in fact a semi-political issue. Widely varying views have been exchanged, although there is little contention against the need for better provision for the aged. The differences lie chiefly between those who favor a non-contributory system of old-age pensions after the British plan, and those who insist that if old-age pensions must be, a contributory system is the only one compatible with sound public finance and individual self-respect. Organized labor is definitely committed to the non-contributory plan and will urge it vigorously. Many other groups in the community are opposed. On this issue there is likely to be a sharp locking of horns.

The recent impressive hearing on health insurance has already been reported in the SURVEY for October 14. The commission comprises six legislators and three governor's appointees, and naturally includes widely divergent opinions. Whether from such a group any unanimous report will come forth on

the controversial details of old-age pensions, is very much of a question; whether the looming but not yet trenchant demand for health insurance will carve out clear-cut recommendations for legislation, is a moot point also.

The State Department of Health was directed by the legislature to cooperate with the commission, and has assigned Dr. W. W. Walcott to the study of health insurance. His report, especially as to existing arrangements for the care of the health of workers in large industries, will be awaited with interest. Here, too, should be mentioned the valuable report, signed by Dr. E. R. Hayhurst, of the two years' investigation of occupational health hazard in Ohio, made by the State Board of Health, for which the state appropriated \$14,000. The report strongly urges compulsory health insurance, and was commented upon widely and favorably throughout Ohio and in other states. The California Social Insurance Commission, with Dr. I. M. Rubinow as secretary, will also, undoubtedly, make a contribution to this subject.

When the time comes for practical action, will Massachusetts lead California as it once was accustomed to do, or will the Far West show that it has an incurably progressive habit?

STATE CONFERENCE AGAINST THE STRONG PLAN

FEW members of the New York State Conference of Charities and Correction know that their organization has been officially placed in opposition to Commissioner Strong's plan for the reorganization of the State Board of Charities. At the final meeting of the conference, November 16, at Poughkeepsie, after many of the delegates had gone home, and before more than a few of those present had reached the hall, the following resolution was passed:

"Resolved, that this State Conference of Charities and Correction deprecates any change in the composition of the State Board of Charities whereby its membership would cease to be unpaid or the term of service would become subject to the mutations of politics. In the opinion of the conference, a slowly changing, unpaid membership, serving for long terms, representing the city of New York and the several judicial districts of the state, will best safeguard public interests and promote the charitable ideals of the commonwealth.

"Resolved, that copies of this resolution be sent to the governor and presiding officers of both branches of the legislature by the president of the conference."

The resolution follows a preamble of considerable length. In this the most pertinent "whereas" recites that "the conference has always been animated by

a sincere desire to conserve forms, methods and statutory requirements which have proven well adapted to the needs of the state and the development of its institutions."

Commissioner Strong's report, reviewed at length on page 194 of this issue, proposes fundamental changes in state charity administration. Only a few copies of it have as yet been distributed or even printed. As members of the conference learned of the resolution there were outspoken expressions of opinion against it. The feeling was that, however innocent in appearance, the resolution was intended as a slap at Mr. Strong and an endorsement of the present state board and its work. This feeling was enhanced when the statement was made that the resolution had been drawn up by an employe of the board.

ONE-THIRD OF A BILLION CHRISTMAS SEALS

START now. Start before November 30, says the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, so that business men may have the Christmas seals to put on December bills and circulars.

Practically all of the 325,000,000 seals printed by the American Red Cross and the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis have already gone out to the local tuberculosis associations, which sell them. Instructions are ready telling just how to begin the campaign and push it through. More than \$3,000,000 has resulted for tuberculosis work in the nine years since Jacob A. Riis imported the Red Cross seal idea, and a little tuberculosis society in Delaware started the ball a-rolling in this country.

Several important new features are introduced. Last year came the mail-sales letters. To such direct personal letters, not asking for charity but giving opportunity to take part in the fight against consumption, enclosing a number of stamps, thousands of friendly notes and checks for thousands of dollars have come in. In Colorado, 21,000 of these mail-sales letters were sent out in 1915, and only twelve replies criticized this method of sale.

Last year, too, the pennant competition opened. Cities and towns were grouped according to population. Kimballton, Ia., stood victor in class 1, its 300 residents taking 18,333 seals; Brooklyn, in class 10, showed a per capita sale of 2.037. In the state competition, Rhode Island, class A, showing a per capita sale of 2.293, bore off the pennant; Minnesota took the class B pennant, with her per capita record of 1.340; and New York in class C, with 1.820 as the per capita record. Total sales last year netted \$760,000.

Book Reviews

THE RESTORATION OF EUROPE

By Alfred H. Fried. The Macmillan Company. 155 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.08.

Pacifism
via
Germany



The importance of this short volume lies in its authorship rather than in the originality of its proposals. Dr. Fried, for many years the recognized leader of German pacifists, in a series of essays refreshingly free from technicalities and worn historical paral-

els, sets forth a program of European reconstruction which is eminently sane and inspired by a truly international outlook. His discussion of the causes of the war, concerning itself with broad social and political currents rather than with diplomacy and political conflicts, brings the author into line with the best thought of English and neutral writers.

He shows that the international disorganization beneath a merely superficial state of "peace" was a condition which, with the increased sensitiveness given to military effectiveness by competitive armament, could end only in one of two ways: a world-catastrophe, such as has actually happened; or a reorientation of foreign policy in every European state on the lines of international economic co-operation.

We are not sure whether Dr. Fried sufficiently realizes the difficulties in the way of economic cooperation of commercially competitive powers when the political *status quo* is so preponderatingly in favor of one of the competing parties as it has been. It is not easy to see how a great nation which in some way or other has obtained possession of the best markets or the best instruments of commerce may inaggressively be persuaded to let in a newcomer whose growth in population and industrial productivity calls for an expanded sales territory and participation in the most lucrative branches of trade. Only full partnership would seem to offer an adequate solution; and for this, the author admits, the nations of Europe have not been ripe.

Dr. Fried is most illuminating in the lessons which he draws from the progress of the war (to April, 1915, when this book was published in the original). He shows conclusively that the excessive armaments of the principal powers

themselves inhibited rational means of adjustment.

"It can no longer be said that it was armament that kept Germany at peace for forty-four years. It is not a question of armament alone, but of *competition* in armament. It did indeed postpone open war, but it only postponed it, and never for a single hour did it give us any real security."

We do not agree with the second conclusion drawn by the author from the progress of the war; namely, that it is impossible to humanize and regulate warfare. Such evidence as has been received in this country would seem to show that, isolated instances apart—though some of these are on a desperately large scale—the campaign on both sides is waged with greater sensitiveness to innocent suffering and with a stricter adherence to established moral codes than any previous great war.

The comparison which the author uses in illustration shows him to be wrong on this point. For, in the case of shipwreck, the regulations made for the conduct of crew and passengers are, so far as our testimony goes, followed more nearly now than they were in the past with its lesser development of social responsibility.

On the other hand, Dr. Fried seems to indulge an undue optimism on other points. Thus, when he says that "the catch-phrase of a 'fresh and merry' (*frisch und froehlich*) war is at last dead forever." It is remarkable how, with patriotic celebrations, perverted history in schoolbooks, with monuments and museums devoted to the alluring phases of warfare, with fiction which suppresses ugly facts, and with an unscrupulous press—which, by the way, comes in for some telling comment by the author—the sham glory of militarism returns again and again.

Again, though he speaks of the necessity of an energetic movement for connecting the many international ties which have been broken, a movement in which he assigns a large share to the United States as the leading neutral power, the author does not perhaps sufficiently realize how deep is the hatred which, in several of the belligerent countries, has been engendered by the war. The task will not only be a difficult one, but it is almost inconceivable that it will be successfully accomplished, as he hopes, within a few years.

"The task," he says, "will surely be lighter than after the last great Euro-

pean war. The aftermath of this war will be too awful; and we better understand why great nations are so stiff-necked in their antagonisms."

It is more likely that economic necessity will bring about the European co-operative union which will ensure world peace and for which Dr. Fried makes an eloquent plea, than a memory of the war's awfulness. The fear of future wars, unless modified by active participation in a great constructive plan of political and economic re-organization, is apt to revive the hysterical cry for national "preparedness" with its old calamitous results. B. LASKER.

AMERICAN LABOR YEAR BOOK (1916)

Rand School of Social Science. 382 pp. Price \$.50 paper; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.58.

Progress
of
Labor



Here is an attempt to put together in compact form the most important facts concerning labor and allied movements. In the section devoted to conditions in the United States, the essential characteristics of the principal national labor bodies are explained; the leading strikes of the year are reviewed; the cases of Quinlan, Lawson and other labor defendants are outlined; recent legislation is considered and the "protocol" is discussed by Morris Hillquit. In another chapter, the history of the growth of socialism in the United States is briefly reviewed and the differences between the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party explained. The introduction of matter beyond the scope suggested by the chapter headings is indicated by the treatment of Mexico under the heading International Socialist and Labor Movements. Here a brief account of the Mexican revolution is given.

Despite the fact that the book is, for the most part, admirably detached and unbiased in its statement of fact, there is evidence here and there of a spirit not strictly scientific. For example, the Manly report of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, signed by four of the nine commissioners, is designated the "main" report, while the Commons report, signed by five commissioners, is referred to as the "minority" report. More than three pages are devoted to a review of the former, while the latter is dismissed in ten lines. Regardless of which was the "main" report, the fact that two important reports were made would seem to require a review of both.

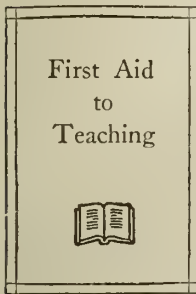
There are few such lapses as these, however, and the names of Florence Kelley, George M. Price, Harry Laidler, William English Walling, Helen L.

Sumner, I. M. Rubinow, Scott Nearing and others of similar standing are sufficient to indicate the high character of the work as a whole. The book will be very valuable for reference and will answer many questions for the student of labor and reform movements.

JOHN A. FITCH.

REACHING THE CHILDREN

By Henry C. Krebs. A. S. Barnes Company. 127 pp. Price \$\$.54; by mail of the SURVEY \$.60.



The man who wrote this book "has been there," he knows what he is talking about. He writes especially for the teachers of village and country schools. To some the many quotations with which he begins his chapters will be repellent and they will close the

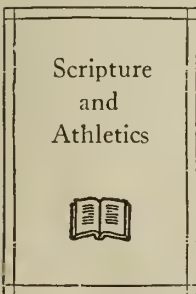
book in fear of dry, didactic pages to follow. Such will miss the first-hand illustrations and pointed application of them to real work by real teachers among real children.

If, with Lincoln, we agree that a man's legs are of right length when they reach the ground, we must also approve of most of the homely, sympathetic suggestions to teachers in this little book, for they have proved a thousand times that they reach actual children. Happy are the children whether in country or in city, whose teachers have so caught the spirit of this book, that they can radiate it like an atmosphere—in personal control, in class, on the playground, in the shop, at home, and in the world of imagination and ideals.

HENRY W. THURSTON.

FIFTY YEARS OF ASSOCIATION WORK AMONG YOUNG WOMEN

By Elizabeth Wilson. National Board of Young Women's Christian Association. 402 pp. Price \$1.35; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.50.



It is fitting that a movement of as far-reaching international importance as the Young Women's Christian Association should have a written history, and it is fortunate that Elizabeth Wilson was selected as the historian, since she has produced a book of real value,

not only to the association clientèle, but also to all those interested in work for young women.

Miss Wilson has sifted her material carefully, with the result that she has given a vigorous and stimulating story of a half-century of effort. When one realizes how easy it seems to be to drop

into mawkish sentiment in regard to religious work for young women, the book must be regarded as a triumph.

The book is divided into three parts:

I. Preliminary organizations in Great Britain and America before 1866;

II. Local and national organizations in the United States;

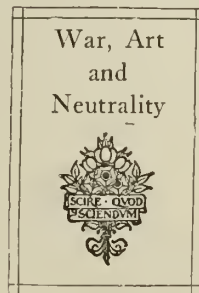
III. 1906-1916. The Young Women's Christian Associations of the United States of America.

It is a fascinating story, in spite of its 400 pages, of work for and with young girls and older girls, in city and country, in school, college, shop and factory, and would prove instructive reading for those who think the Y. W. C. A.'s activities are limited to prayer meetings and homes for young women. They are as wide as the needs, and work for immigrants rubs elbows with athletics and Bible study. But I am giving away the story. You must let Miss Wilson tell it to you.

ANNIE MARION McLEAN.

ONE HUNDRED CARTOONS

By Cesare. Small, Maynard & Co. 200 pp. Price \$3; by mail of the SURVEY, \$3.20.



In the early weeks of the war it was widely recognized that American cartoonists had struck the true note. While editors and writers floundered for something to say or even a point of view, cartoonists in every part of the United States showed the misery and horror of it all; blood but not glory; women, children and dumb men chained to the wheels of a 42-centimeter chariot.

The collected cartoons of this volume printed, even in these times, on durable paper, will preserve this point of view far beyond the life of the flimsier pages of the New York *Sun* and *Harper's Weekly*, for which they were drawn. In a way, they do Cesare an injustice, for they are all on war and include none of those later drawings on various current topics, many of which have been reproduced in the SURVEY, which he has done in the congenial atmosphere of the *Evening Post*.

Cesare may not be neutral, but he sees more than one side. There is red wrath in every stroke of his pen for those who sank the Lusitania, and scorn for Ferdinand for selling Bulgaria on the auction block. Yet nothing could be more contemptuous than the picture of John Bull, caught like a thief rifling a United States mail-pouch. Italy and Greece, opera bouffe figures, are hiding in a cyclone cellar the ancient statues and paintings they have risked.

Only two of the drawings have much

hint of the future. One is the look in the eyes of France, a young woman in liberty cap and sabots, as she calls her boys of eighteen to the colors. The other, the face of a gigantic Slav, gun in hand, as he catches sight of the minarets of Stamboul.

Cesare's publishers do not lead, but follow, in declaring him artist as well as cartoonist. His book is bound to be compared with that of the other great neutral cartoonist, the Dutchman Raemaekers.

ARTHUR P. KELLOGG.

BOOKS RECEIVED

ABRAHAM LINCOLN. By Brand Whitlock. Small, Maynard & Co. 210 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.08.

AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS. By Edwin G. Norse, University of Chicago Press. 896 pp. Price \$2.75; by mail of the SURVEY \$3.

AN APPROACH TO BUSINESS PROBLEMS. By A. W. Shaw. Harvard University Press. 332 pp. Price \$2; by mail of the SURVEY \$2.16.

A CHRISTMAS MEDITATION. By Lawrence Gilman. E. P. Dutton & Co. 16 pp. Price 25 cents; by mail of the SURVEY 27 cents.

COMMUNITY HYGIENE. By Woods Hutchinson. Houghton Mifflin Co. 310 pp. Price 60 cents; by mail of the SURVEY 70 cents.

A COURSE IN CITIZENSHIP. By Ella Lyman Cabot. Houghton Mifflin Co. 386 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.38.

THE DEATH OF A NATION. By Abraham Yohannan. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 170 pp. Price \$2; by mail of the SURVEY \$2.10.

EVERY AMERICAN'S BUSINESS. By John Calvin Brown. Mitchell Kennerley. 313 pp. Price \$1.50 paper; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.58.

FOCAL INFECTION. By Dr. Frank Billings. (Lane Medical Lectures) D. Appleton & Co. 166 pp. Price \$2; by mail of the SURVEY \$2.08.

HOW THE WORLD MAKES ITS LIVING. By Logan Grant McPherson. The Century Co. 435 pp. Price \$2; by mail of the SURVEY \$2.15.

THE KNOW ABOUT LIBRARY. Toy book of useful information interesting to young folks. E. P. Dutton & Co. 20 volumes; 10 cents per volume.

THE MEASUREMENT OF INTELLIGENCE. By Lewis M. Terman. Houghton Mifflin Co. 362 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.62.

THE NEW RESERVATION OF TIME. By William Jewett Tucker. Houghton Mifflin Co. 213 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.60.

THE OWLET LIBRARY. Picture Paster Publishing Co. 10 volumes. Price \$1 per set.

PRACTICAL ENGLISH FOR HIGH SCHOOLS. By William D. Lewis and James Fleming Hosc. American Book Co. 415 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.10.

THE PROMISE OF COUNTRY LIFE. Edited by James Cloyd Bowman. D. C. Heath & Co. 303 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.09.

SMOKY ROSES. By Lyman Bryson. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 104 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.31.

THE SOCIAL CRITICISM OF LITERATURE. By Gertrude Buck. Yale University Press. 60 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.04.

A STUDY OF FAIRY TALES. By Laura F. Keady. Houghton Mifflin Co. 313 pp. Price \$1.40; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.50.

TALES OF THE LABRADOR. By Wilfred T. Grenfell. Houghton Mifflin Co. 240 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.35.

TEN BOYS' FARCES. By Eustace M. Peixotto. Walter H. Baker & Co. 107 pp. Price 25 cents; by mail of the SURVEY 28 cents.

UNDERSTANDING GERMANY. By Max Eastman. Mitchell Kennerley. 169 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.33.

WITTE ARRIVES. By Elias Tobenkin. Frederick A. Stokes Co. 304 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.35.

THE WORN DOORSTEP. By Margaret Sherwood. Little, Brown & Co. 196 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.33.

ARE YOU HUMAN? By Wm. DeWitt Hyde. The Macmillan Co. 65 pp. Price, \$0.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$0.54.

RHYMES OF A RED CROSS MAN. By Robert W. Service. Barse & Hopkins. 192 pp. Price, \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.07.

WOMEN WORKERS AND SOCIETY. By Annie M. MacLean. A. C. McClurg & Co. 135 pp. Price, \$0.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$0.55.

THE VAMPIRE OF THE CONTINENT. By Count E. zu Reventlow. The Jackson Press. 225 pp. Price, \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.34.

TUBERCULOSIS DISPENSARY METHOD AND PROCEDURE. By F. Elisabeth Crowell. The National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis. 119 pp. Price, \$0.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$0.29.

In Reply to Mr. Peabody

[See page 198 of this issue]

By *Winthrop D. Lane*

MR. PEABODY has presented the case for Mr. Osborne with honest conviction. He occupies a high place in the community and his words should receive generous attention.

Unfortunately, he is right in saying that he is not a trained investigator. Like others of Mr. Osborne's passionate friends, he has read into my article an avalanche of things that are not there. He lumps me with Mr. Osborne's conscienceless enemies and is apparently unaware that his own recital of the things Mr. Osborne has accomplished reads as if it were made up from pages of the SURVEY—pages, moreover, that were composed by me.

I go with him fully in his admirable indignation at "the powers that hounded Thomas Mott Osborne." I have expressed similar indignation in previous writings in the SURVEY.

Nothing in my article takes the side of Superintendent Carter or of Governor Whitman in the events that led up to Mr. Osborne's resignation. Mr. Peabody's intimation that it was from Mr. Carter himself that I got the extracts from Mr. Carter's letters and my own "deductions" is groundless. I read this correspondence in Mr. Osborne's office at Mr. Osborne's request.

Mr. Peabody somehow supposes me to be ignorant of former Superintendent Riley's mischievous interference at Sing Sing, and to be inclined to excuse Governor Whitman's tardiness in removing Riley. I did not excuse it and can only say that again Mr. Peabody ignores what I have written in the SURVEY on this subject. Neither would I excuse Mr. Carter's long-distance and dictatorial attitude toward Sing Sing, which lacked both insight and grasp and was a disservice to the state.

If Mr. Peabody had read with less passion he would not have failed to see that my analysis of the reasoning by which Mr. Osborne became convinced that he ought to resign was entirely sympathetic. It was intended to make clear to persons having no detailed acquaintance with the situation how he could honestly and logically reach that conclusion. I am not at all convinced that I should not have reached the same conclusion if I had been in Mr. Osborne's place. That does not prevent me, however, from questioning the necessity of that conclusion.

Mr. Peabody is at great pains to offset what he seems to think is the intent, or the effect, of my remarks about publicity, escapes from Sing Sing, and sending long-term men inside the walls. It is labor lost. He has simply missed my

point. I was trying to show the effect that the superintendent's orders in regard to these matters had upon Mr. Osborne. I cannot hope that anybody will re-read my article in the light of Mr. Peabody's eloquence, but I can thank him for having expressed so well so much of my own feeling about these orders.

The major point of my article was not that Mr. Osborne's resignation was injudicious. It was that Mr. Osborne could be of greater service to prison reform and to his own ideas unofficially, outside prison, than officially, within. For this view I gave two reasons: first, an appreciation of Mr. Osborne's vast powers as interpreter and leader of public sentiment—with this all of his friends agree; second, a recognition that Mr. Osborne is in certain definite ways unfitted for administrative work—with this, despite Mr. Peabody's denial, at least some of his staunchest friends agree. One of these friends has described the article as accurate, another as "judicial and discriminating."

With the opinion that Mr. Osborne can be of greater service outside prison than within Mr. Peabody expresses complete agreement. We differ, of course, in regard to Mr. Osborne's fitness for administrative work. On that issue my article must speak for itself. The statements of fact on which I based my opinion do not enjoy the attention that Mr. Peabody has bestowed upon other parts of what I wrote. I can only point out that he fails to refute any one of those statements of fact.

The crime of being a young man I cannot deny. On the other hand, it is not within the province of Mr. Peabody to deny my fundamental admiration for Mr. Osborne or for his ideas. It seems a little strange that one who has known Mr. Osborne for "upwards of thirty years" and who professes boundless admiration for his teachings, should still be able to talk of "branding" as a proper punishment for what he considers crime. Mr. Peabody is right in saying that there is no Salem county in New York—it was the town of Salem in Washington county that I should have named—but he seems to have slipped back in his thinking to the days and reactions of another Salem, remote from the enlightened ideas that he has been at such labor to defend.

Conventions

CITY AND CAMPUS

AS the public is awakening to the value of expert knowledge, so the universities, private, municipal, and state, are realizing more than ever before their duty to train men and women for service to their communities. To stimulate this sense of duty the Association of Urban Universities met in New York city, November 15-17.

The conference was welcomed by William A. Prendergast on behalf of the city, and by Henry Moskovitz, president of the Civil Service Commission. How widely the student should wander into extramural activities, into general field work connected with courses along civic lines; and how far the work of the city administration should be studied on the campus were questions variously handled.

Frank B. Williams, speaking at the City Club meeting of November 16 on College Courses in City Planning, explained the extreme pressure on the educator of the new subjects along social lines, all seeking a place in the curriculum. Mr. Williams, aware of the danger to the student of too great a variety of subjects, nevertheless made a

plea that more emphasis be laid on city planning in a number of courses of which it was a possible corollary—in history, in civics, in sociology, in engineering, in architecture, and in civil law. In graduate work, he urged more specific courses. "Of all problems which we in this country have been called upon to solve," said Mr. Williams, "with municipal government we have had the least success."

Officers elected for the ensuing year are: president, Samuel Black McCormick, chancellor of Pittsburgh University; secretary, Prof. Frederick B. Robinson, of the College of the City of New York.

TRAINING CITY OFFICIALS

AT the invitation of the University of Pennsylvania the Society for the Promotion of Training for Public Service held the third annual Conference of Universities and the Public Service in Philadelphia on November 15-16. On a subject so comparatively new, it was inevitable, reports Nina R. Dear-dorff, of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, that there should be a wide divergence of views.

Representatives of the universities had many interesting and concrete questions to ask, the advocates of special training for public service had interesting answers to give.

One feature, according to Miss Dardorff, that formerly occupied a large place in discussions of civil service reform, was conspicuously absent. The conference did not devote a minute to finding out how to keep incompetent people out of office. The constructive suggestions on how to prepare men to perform efficient public service left no time for the older ideas.

The more conventional educators wanted to know what assurance they could give the students who equipped themselves for a public career that they would be given an opportunity to enter such a career. Those who have been in the thick of the fight answered that the supply created the demand.

It was generally recognized that before the civil servants can reach their highest usefulness to the public, they must be able to rely on a widespread and sustained and intelligent citizen opinion. And to obtain this, Charles McCarthy, of the Wisconsin Legislative Reference Bureau, made a powerful appeal that the well-springs of knowledge, our universities and colleges, be free from the subtle and insidious forces that tend to prevent the research and teaching staffs from applying their talents directly to the solution of society's hard problems. W. D. Lewis, principal of the William Penn High School for Girls of Philadelphia, pointed out that the one big, first duty of all public schools is to give the children a specific knowledge of citizenship and to develop a social conscience. Louis B. Wehle, of Louisville, stressed the need for socializing the lawyer's education.

Field work, actual direct contacts with the world just as it is, gives something—"an emotion, a grip on the subject"—to young men and women, it was emphasized, that formal lectures, reading or other classroom instructions could not possibly bring to their preparation.

WAYS TO LESSEN POVERTY

TO a delegate new at charity meetings, the Massachusetts State Conference of Charities, held at Lowell, seemed "a three days' discussion of the non-economic present distribution of wealth with some methods of temporary relief of conditions resulting therefrom."

At its first session the conference tackled no less ambitious a subject than the Abolition of Poverty with an address by Bolton Hall, the New York single-taxer and promoter of vacant-lot gardens. The very fact that in the past Mr. Hall has been an outspoken critic of organized charity gave greater interest and significance to what he said. While

many differed from him, they recognized clearly that he was preaching the gospel of preparedness against the evil results of extremes of wealth and poverty. He was preceded by a forceful introductory analysis of the situation by Edward T. Hartman, the president of the conference, who is secretary of the Massachusetts Civic League. The prevailing thought of the conference, traced easily through the entire program, was toward prevention of, or better, toward forestalling, dangers to social progress lurking in an unknown future lying around the next turn.

A cordial spirit of mutual good will and cooperation prevailed. The new president is Robert A. Woods, of South End House, Boston; and the secretary, Richard K. Conant, of the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, 6 Beacon street, Boston.

SOCIETY'S CHILDREN

A DEFINITE effort to make the influence of the Iowa State Conference of Charities and Corrections, held at Ottumwa, October 22-24, felt throughout Iowa communities, gave special importance to that convention this year, according to Bessie A. McClenahan.

The subject around which the discussion of the conference centered was child-welfare, as made possible through a larger use of the juvenile court, a pre-school period of attention to child health, stricter child labor laws, vocational training, and increased opportunity for recreation. Juvenile delinquency and dependency in a certain "Juke" family of Iowa was the subject of a paper showing the menace of lack of social control.

The conference appointed a legislative committee of seven to cooperate if possible with similar committees from other state organizations in bringing about certain social legislation. Particularly, the conference endorsed a law limiting the hours of work for women, a law establishing a child-welfare research station at the state university, and providing for the codification of all laws relating to children.

The officers elected for the coming year are: president, Paul S. Pierce, Iowa City; secretary-treasurer, Bessie A. McClenahan, Iowa City.

The children of Iowa received still further attention at the Conference on Child Welfare called at Iowa City October 25-27 by the state university. The university, reports Miss McClenahan, invited the Mothers' Congress and Parent-Teachers' Association to hold their biennial at the same time, thereby making the conference a cooperative one. Methods of developing county child-welfare and parent-teacher associations were outlined, community bet-

terment was discussed in relation to the social worker, the visiting nurse and the consolidated school, and suggestions were made for remedying the lack of suitable recreation and amusement in Iowa communities. Resolutions were adopted endorsing temperance legislation, woman suffrage, and the movement to secure the child-welfare research station.

The following officers were elected by the Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teachers' Association: president, Mrs. Allen O. Ruste, Charles City; secretary, Pamela Fluent, Charles City.

NEW YORK CHARITIES

IT was fitting that the seventeenth New York State Conference of Charities and Correction should hold its first meeting in the students' building at Vassar, the college of Katherine B. Davis and Julia C. Lathrop. The papers read were important and interesting, but the whole conference was marked by absence of discussion from the floor. At the first session, for instance in his paper on The Social and Public Health Aspects of the Venereal Disease Problem, Dr. Edward L. Keyes, Jr., deliberately threw down the gauntlet to those who advocate birth control, in the expectation that animated discussion would follow. Not one delegate present took it up.

The liveliest meeting was that at which Thomas Mott Osborne, speaking on the Mutual Welfare League, drew forth some discussion and a rejoinder from State Superintendent of Prisons Carter.

In a paper on The Relation between Trade Unions and Social Workers, John A. Fitch pointed out a distinct feeling of distrust between trade unionists and social workers, particularly on the part of the former, which he held must be recognized and should be bridged. Interesting comments were made by Peter Brady, secretary of the Allied Printing Trades Council; Ann Hogan, a member of the Women's Trade Union League; W. E. McLennan, headworker of Welcome Hall, Buffalo, and Mary Van Kleeck, of the Russell Sage Foundation.

Lee K. Frankel, of New York city, was elected president of the next conference, to be held at Binghamton.

AGAIN THE FEEBLEMINDED

IF consciousness of an evil is the first step toward its eradication, the spread of feeble-mindedness bids fair to be checked, as measured by attention given it at this year's state conferences of charities and corrections. The last conference to devote practically all its sessions to this problem, according to T. L. Gillen, of the University of Wisconsin, was that of Wisconsin, held in Sheboygan, October 17-19.



The fact, writes Mr. Gillen, that the report of the standing committee of the conference on feeble-mindedness, presented by Mrs. George A. Chamberlain, of Milwaukee, estimated some 14,000 feeble-minded of all grades in Wisconsin, led, quite naturally, to a discussion of whether the state as a whole, the Board of Control, and the various municipal and school authorities are awake to the gravity of the situation. It was pointed out that the one state institution for the feeble-minded has a waiting list constantly of between three and four hundred, while the new institution for epileptics and feeble-minded, which the Board of Control is building at Union Grove, will not be completed, according to the present plans, for twenty years, and even then will only care for 1,500 inmates.

The inter-relation of feeble-mindedness with blindness, disease, and crime was analyzed. Dr. W. F. Lorenz, director of the Wisconsin Psychiatric Institute, declared that "of the various causes that can seriously undermine the health of either parent, resulting in either malnutrition of the germ cell previous to conception or interfering with normal development after conception, in addition infecting the child with a serious disease, syphilis is unquestionably the most frequent factor."

Because every court must occasionally deal with criminals who are not normal mentally, and because feeble-mindedness can now be diagnosed rather certainly, Judge Albert H. Schmidt of Manitowoc urged the necessity of a psychiatrist to assist every judge in the determination of mental status.

Besides the reports and papers bearing upon feeble-mindedness, Mr. Gillen reports that methods were recommended to improve out-door relief in Wisconsin through systematic records and reports to a central authority, through education of public relief officials by means of gatherings, conventions, literature and, above all, by the incorporation into the law of standards of relief, and through supervision by specially qualified persons. He also writes that the

committee on probation urged that the system in Wisconsin be revised so that juvenile probation work now handled in various ways by individual courts be placed under state control with both juvenile and adult probation handled by a state probation board or commission.

JOTTINGS

CHLOE OWINGS, formerly general secretary of the Associated Charities of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., is serving as private secretary to H. O. Beatty, director-general of the American Relief Clearing House at 5 rue de François, Paris.

AMY WOODS, former secretary of the Associated Charities, of Newburgh, N. Y., is the new secretary of the League for Preventive Work, Boston, succeeding Isabelle Kendig Gill, who resigned in order to study law at the Cambridge Law School for Women.

CIRCULATORS

A new membership class of SURVEY ASSOCIATES

IT has been through the generous mustering of cooperating subscribers at \$10 that the most marked gains have been made in securing funds to carry on the non-commercial work of the SURVEY, and to invest in its circulation and growth as an educational enterprise.

This mustering of support does not, we believe, exhaust the reserves of interest and good-will which are to be enlisted if a way can be found.

Many SURVEY readers who have not \$10 to contribute stand ready to give time and effort to the venture. Many of them secure for us new readers. This cooperation we shall endeavor to systematize, recognizing it as a basis for membership. Readers of the SURVEY who send in eight new \$2 once-a-month subscriptions within the fiscal year, or four new \$3 weekly subscriptions (in addition in each case to their own renewals), will be eligible for election as annual members of SURVEY ASSOCIATES. The cost of filling these subscriptions should leave a margin in each case equivalent to that left from a \$10 cooperating subscription after deducting the cost of sending 52 issues to the cooperating subscriber.

EDUATIONALLY this new cooperative membership should be doubly effective—widening the group of readers and at the same time helping to bring SURVEY ASSOCIATES to a new level of self-dependence.

From the current annual report of Survey Associates, Inc.

PRESIDENT WILSON has amended the civil-service rules so as to permit paroled prisoners in federal penitentiaries to fill civil-service positions when recommended by the federal Parole Board and the Department of Justice. Such persons have heretofore been ineligible. The order will apply to 300 paroled prisoners.

THAT social service is not all statistics and visits on needy families is shown by the Cleveland Associated Charities, which has quarterly parties of its eighty or more workers to arouse enthusiasm, acquaintance-ship and esprit de corps. The invitation to the last party, on Hallowe'en, took the shape of a dried corn husk, on which was inked a poetic invitation.

A COMMISSION from the American College of Surgeons has been appointed to visit South America and meet fraternally with the medical societies of different countries. The commission includes Dr. Edward Martin, Philadelphia; Dr. A. J. Ochsner, Chicago; Dr. F. S. Simpson, Pittsburgh; Dr. C. H. Mayo, Rochester, Minn.

A SUMMARY of the nineteen-volume report on the condition of women and child wage-earners in the United States has been recently published by the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics. The demand for the full report has been greater than the bureau could fill, and no appropriation has

We Are Trying for 100.

SURVEY CIRCULATORS

FROM A LONG ISLAND Y. M. C. A. SECRETARY:

"I am enrolling hereby as one of the new class of cooperating subscribers, and this is the first of the four or more subscriptions I will send you as fast as I can get them."

FROM A SOUTH DAKOTA MINISTER:

"In reply to yours of the 9th, let me say that I am one of those whose interest in the SURVEY outruns my financial ability. I regret that I cannot send in ten dollars and thus become an associate. But I think I can get four new subscribers; at least I am ready to try it, and shall be doing my community a service in the effort. Please send me whatever materials you are using for the purpose of getting new subscribers."

FROM AN IOWA RABBI:

"I am in receipt of your letter of November 9, and take pleasure in enclosing card pledging myself to become a 'Survey Circulator.' I have regretted for a long time that the heavy demands upon me in every direction have prevented my assisting the SURVEY financially, and I am glad of the opportunity to serve the SURVEY in this way. I will do my best to carry out my pledge."

FROM A MINNESOTA WOMAN:

"Enclosed you will find the card signifying my intention to enlist as a Survey Circulator. Will you send me one or two copies of the last two issues of the SURVEY? I think they are particularly interesting and will undoubtedly help to secure new subscribers."

LET us go back ten years. That was when the SURVEY (Charities, it was then called) first set out to enlist "cooperating subscribers," at \$10 each, to develop the journal as an *educational enterprise*, "beyond the limits of meager commercial receipts." Something like eighty-nine readers enrolled the first year as "cop's."

By 1912 the muster had reached a point where we were warranted in launching Survey Associates as an adventure in cooperative journalism. In the four years since it has reached the thousand mark; and we are creating a new membership class of Survey Associates, based on service.

THESE are SURVEY CIRCULATORS, and we want to enroll one hundred of them this initial year.

TO explain: If we can get 100 regular \$3 subscribers of the SURVEY, each to enlist four new \$3 subscribers, that will add 400 new readers—fill a good-sized lecture hall, if you accept the comparison, fifty-two times, with friends of those present readers who may be assumed, like them, to be more than ordinarily concerned in social questions. There could not be a truer process of natural selection by which to extend the SURVEY's audience where it will count for most.

MORE, these 400 new \$3 subscribers will bring in \$1,200. Now, the cost of running off additional impressions, on this issue of November 25, for example, is on the press, is much less than the cost per subscriber of printing our regular "run." Let us set the cost of filling these 400 extra subscriptions at, roughly, \$600 a year. This leaves an equal amount free for that work of journalistic development so sorely needed to lift the standard of service which the SURVEY can render to all readers.

MAY we enlist you as one of the initial group of 100 SURVEY CIRCULATORS who will help us demonstrate this new phase of that free co-operation which in gifts of time, money, manuscripts and active work has made the SURVEY not only possible, but a living thing!



been made for printing a new edition. The summary covers the more important results of the investigation.

A HEALTH information bureau is the latest development in the work of the American Public Health Association, 755 Boylston street, Boston. It will endeavor to answer queries from all health workers, whether members of the association or not, on policy, ascertained fact, methods, work of others, authorities, or similar subjects.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY of child labor just published by the federal Children's Bureau covers all the speeches made in Congress since the first federal bill was introduced in 1906; material on practical experiments in training children for industry and in vocational guidance; state laws and their enforcement, and uniform legislation. It may be obtained free of the Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C.

A PLAN for a garment town similar to the one designed by H. F. J. Porter (see the SURVEY for November 11) was suggested in the *New York Times* of November 5 by the Degnon Terminal Company. A site within a five-cent fare from Manhattan, adjacent to Queensboro Bridge in Long Island City, has been chosen. As in Mr. Porter's plan, a complete community life would be provided for, with factories, homes and amusement parks of the workers brought together. An outlay of \$50,000,000 is believed necessary.

WITH Germany, England, Ireland, Russia and France taking control of their food supplies, and with the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome, of which Simon Lubin, a Californian, is the active head, calling upon the whole world to conserve its food supply because of short crops, particular interest attaches to the National Conference on Marketing and Farm Credits to be held December 4-9 at Chicago. Discussion will range over a wide field, including the rise in the cost of living and the distribution of immigration. Programs and information may be had of the secretary, Charles W. Holman, 230 South La Salle street, Chicago.

GIRLS who have not been reached by infant hygiene and personal hygiene classes, which now are a part of the curriculum in the seventh and eighth grades of the Cleveland public schools, are being reorganized in Junior Mothers' Corps at the fifteen prophylactic or preventive dispensaries maintained by the city Division of Child Hygiene in co-operation with the Babies' Dispensary and Hospital. The girls are in large part those who, through work in factories or stores or through taking their grammar

SURVEY ASSOCIATES, Inc.

112 East 19th Street, New York City

I wish to enlist as a Survey Circulator for the publication year 1916-17—as my piece of co-operation in carrying forward the educational work of Survey Associates, Inc.

Name.....

.....

Note:—A Survey Circulator, in addition to the renewal of his own subscription, undertakes to secure four new \$3 weekly subscribers, or eight new \$2 once-a-month subscribers (or their equivalent). A Survey Circulator is eligible for election as a member of Survey Associates for the current year, but assumes no financial liability, nor promises renewal another year.

(The fiscal year ends September 30)

Classified Advertisements

Advertising rates are: Hotels and Resorts, Apartments, Tours and Travel, Real Estate, twenty cents per line.

"Want" advertisements under the various headings "Situations Wanted," "Help Wanted," etc., five cents each word or initial, including the address, for each insertion. Address Advertising Department, The Survey, 112 East 19 St., New York City.

HELP WANTED

WANTED—At once, a trained worker to be General Secretary of a Charity Organization Society in a middle-sized city of Eastern Pennsylvania. Address, with references, 2416 SURVEY.

WANTED—Housekeeper, Jewish, with institutional experience. Address 2418, SURVEY.

WANTED—Manager, Housekeeper with institutional experience. Reference required. Address 2419, SURVEY.

A MAN as supervisor of boys; also a woman as supervisor of the younger boys in Jewish Orphanage. State experience, former employment and salary expected. Absolutely permanent positions for right parties. Address 2422 SURVEY.

WANTED—An experienced institutional boys' supervisor, to take charge of boys from 10 to 15 years of age. Address, 2423 SURVEY.

SITUATIONS WANTED

YOUNG WOMAN, several years' experience in charity work, desires position with organization as visitor, investigator, or agent for dependent children. Address 2415 SURVEY.

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school work before the infant hygiene classes were organized (within the last two years), have missed this training. Members of the Women's Board of the Babies' Dispensary and Hospital act as chairmen of the groups in the different dispensaries, and nurses from the staff give lessons in the care of the baby and personal and home hygiene.

FRANK P. WALSH, formerly chairman of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations; C. E. S. Wood, a lawyer of Portland, Ore.; Edward P. Costigan of Denver, counsel for John Lawson, the Colorado strike leader; Austin Lewis of San Francisco, and Amos Pinchot of New York, have joined what is to be known as a National Labor Defense Council, for the purpose of offering legal assistance to workers who do not belong to strong labor organizations, which are able to employ counsel for them. The organization has been promoted by a committee consisting of Fremont Older, editor of the San Francisco *Bulletin*; Helen Marot of the Women's Trade Union League; Dante Barton of the Industrial Relations Committee; Lincoln Steffens and Ida Rauh, chairman. An effort is being made to raise a fund of \$5,000 to maintain the field work. It is stated that the counselors are giving their services without compensation.

A CONFERENCE of Oppressed or Dependent Nationalities has been called at Washington, December 10-11, by a committee of which Grace Abbott, chairman of the Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago, is chairman. Miss Abbott's committee was appointed by the executive committee of the American Delegation to the Congress-After-the-War of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, of which Jane Addams is chairman. The call for the conference points out the great need for formulating public opinion with regard to the rights of submerged nationalities, and that the United States is the appropriate nation to open such discussion because of its traditional position in the leadership of those who believe in self-government and because it contains in its population representatives of all of the oppressed, as well as of the dominant nations. Discussion, it is expected, will be forthcoming from American representatives of the Poles, Ruthenians, Finns, Letts, Lithuanians, Russian and Rumanian Jews, Bohemians, Slovaks, Croatians, Irish, Syrians, and Armenians. Fuller information may be had of Miss Abbott at 1140 South Michigan avenue, Chicago.

CHICAGO is beginning to react against the multiplicity of tag-days and the laxity of the City Council in granting its permission to agencies to solicit donations on the streets. For several years a single tag-day was permitted in the interests of thirty-six children's charities, whose standards were vouched for and whose tag-day management was supervised by a federation formed for the purpose, known as the Children's Benefit League. About \$55,000 was thus collected, each organization taking the amounts gathered by their respective taggers. This year, however, the City Council set aside November 1 as another tag-day, naming ten agencies, with very varied purposes, as beneficiaries. There seems to be no way of ascertaining the total amount collected, as there has been in the case of the Children's Benefit tag-day. The criticism of this laxity has prompted an investigation by the city commissioner of public welfare, the report of which is still pending. Meanwhile the Association of Commerce Subscriptions Investigating Committee is itemizing its action in regard to each of the agencies soliciting funds on the street, because the City Council ruled that all agencies seeking tag-day privileges must have the endorsement of this committee, which some of them are said not to have secured.

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IT has been estimated that every case of human plague costs the municipality in which it occurs at least \$7,500. This does not include the commercial loss from panic and extreme quarantines. The only safety is freedom from rats, thus checking the spread among land rats from ship-borne foreign rodents; and the only sure freedom from rats is absence of food for them—i. e., municipal cleanliness. New Orleans has rat-proofed 122,281 buildings since the report of a case of human plague there two years ago, and has caught nearly 800,000 rats. The reward of "keeping everlastingly at it" was again shown when in September two rodent cases were confirmed in the Public Health Service laboratory at New Orleans.

"SINCE August, 1914, we have been saying that the world has gone mad," wrote Dr. William Graham of Belfast, in a recent issue of the Manchester *Guardian*. "Yet the fact is that insanity, like crime, has lessened during the period of the war." Dr. Graham, a recognized authority on mental diseases, finds the reason for the fewer admissions of women, especially, to insane hospitals in the fact that so many women have thrown off benumbing conventions and gone out to do hard, healthful work in the open air, and they have found a new interest in existence. So, too, the daring of a march to the front has freed many men from neurasthenic weakness and fear to which they had been in bondage for years.

THE SURVEY

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DREAMS do come true sometimes. In 1516 Sir Thomas More dreamed of an island of Utopia, where society was ordered ideally. Now, in 1916, after 400 years, Mary Breeze Fuller, of the department of history at Smith College, has discovered he was not such a visionary after all. Page 223.

THE United States has remained a unit and yet encouraged variety of customs and manners in its states. So Edward T. Devine, in the third of his series, Ourselves and Europe, believes that after the war the larger countries should be independent and all small nations freed from home-rule from oppressive domination. Page 217.

FOR a century Poland has served three masters. Now that these masters are at war her tragedy of vassaldom is complete. Her kinsmen are fighting each other, her children are starving, her country is devastated by hostile armies surging back and forth. Ernest P. Bicknell, director of Civilian Relief, American Red Cross, describes the desolation he saw while traveling through Poland. Page 231.

IF a child grew to a man in a year could his parents train him in the way he should go? When houses spring up from a plain over night and grow into a city within eighteen months, can the city be planned as it should? John Ihlder, housing expert, says the war-boom town of Hopewell, Va., guided so far by the Du Ponts, must rely for its future on democracy. Page 226.

DELEGATED to carry a message from the unorganized armed workers of the United States of Mexico to the organized unarmed workers of the United States of North America," John Murray, a member of the Typographical Union, returned in 1915 from Mexico to interpret labor's part in the revolution and to promote a Pan-American labor alliance, which gathered head at the recent Baltimore convention of the American Federation of Labor. The federation's Committee on International Relations reported efforts already made to secure revocation of the Carranza decree of last August outlawing strikes. Page 237.

LAY ON, MACDUFF!" was the keynote of the inwardly harmonious but outwardly aggressive convention of the American Federation of Labor in Baltimore last week. With radicals and conservatives putting aside their differences and with the 400,000 members of the railway brotherhoods lining up with the federation, the employers' new board seems to have its work cut out. Page 219.

UNCLE SAM, master American, has his engagement book full up. He's to be asked to look into the high cost of living (page 246), and perhaps to set a fair price for coal (page 247). When Congress meets next week his admiring constituents will press for a program of social legislation (page 249) and the pacifists, particularly on the Pacific coast, believe he has a good chance to press for intervention by neutrals. Page 258.

WITHIN the week California dispatches have told of the death of two young Americans—a man and a woman—who summed up the fire, the revolt, the impetuosity and the idealism which have marked the spirit of youth in this generation: Jack London and Inez Milholland Boissevain.

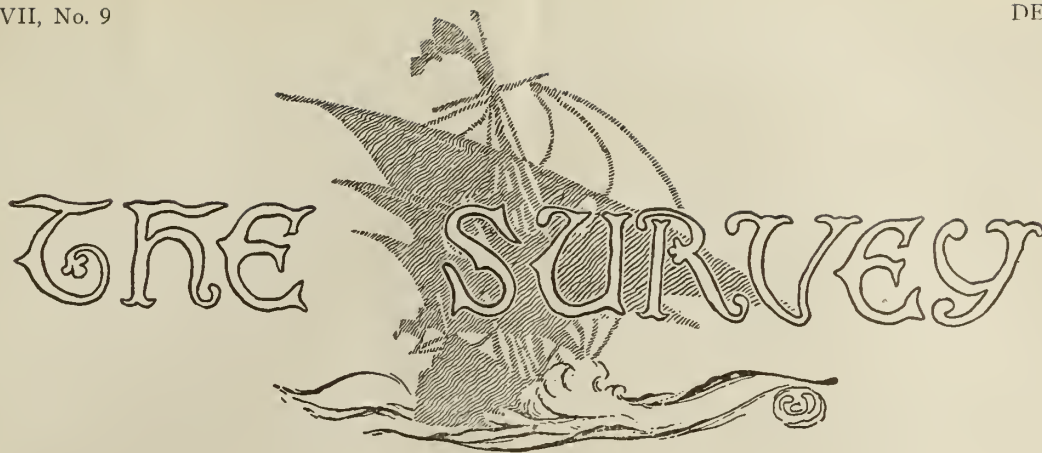


Portrait of
**MARGARET
DONEGAN**

By
Wm. Starkweather

EXHIBITED at the Folsom Galleries in New York city, this portrait of a studio scrubwoman aroused much interest by its introduction of a present-day democratic subject into the traditionally formal and ecclesiastical "vision picture" of early Italian and Spanish art. In place of a biblical character or Spanish grandee, Mr. Starkweather substitutes no other than Margaret Donegan, studio scrubwoman, mother of a boy who has been killed in a mill. Unnoticed by the artist or his model, she stands before us, arrested at her mop and pail by a vision of her son being received into heaven.

The central color is the faded blue of the work-a-day dress and apron. The smock of the unperceiving artist is ochre, balanced by the gold-and-yellow robe of his model on the other side. These colors are reflected in the vision above the clouds, while the rear of the studio is a red-brown, deepening into black.



Ourselves and Europe

III. Home-Rule

By Edward T. Devine

WITH all the nation's moral influence and with entire readiness to accept the consequences of a more active participation in international affairs, America should stand for the hastening of a permanent peace. Without offensive officiousness we should still have a peace program, one which will be in accord with justice, will square with facts as they are, and above all, will anticipate the needs of the living populations of the nations that are and are to be in the period after the war.

America should stand for the principle of humanity's undivided obligation to rebuild on a more secure basis what has been destroyed by the war. This means in the political field not merely villages, but nations; not merely groups, but a world state. In this no belligerent nation can easily make the start. No small state can easily undertake it.

If ever the phrase "manifest destiny" had any meaning, it applies here and now to the task of our own nation in its obligation to act as a mediator between the nations of the earth and the new order of which we are all the integral factors. It is not a closet philosopher's task nor a poet's; but poets and philosophers as well as lawyers and diplomats and business men and labor leaders have their part in it. It is a democratic job, for thinkers and workers and philanthropists.

What we in America have to do first is to overhaul our stock of ideas and experiences and see what keys there are among them which may fit the locks now to be opened. Self-government, home-rule, and indissoluble union are certainly among the principles with the practical working of which we are very familiar and concerning which we have a right to speak with some confidence. There has been in this country in the past as much superficial talk about states' rights as there is in the world today about small nations. No one disputes now that Napoleon, whatever his crimes, rendered a service to central Europe by greatly reducing the number of small German nations, and that in carrying this process further Bismarck followed the larger patriotism.

If there is any one act of the present war which neutral American opinion unanimously condemns, and with reason, it is the invasion of Belgium. But to set up, even under the stress of this indignation, the principle that under all cir-

cumstances America will favor the independence of small nations rather than their incorporation into larger political units would be inconsistent both with our own history and with the best interests of civilization.

America stands for home-rule, for local autonomy and for the protection of minorities, not necessarily for the political independence of small nations. The civil war settled adversely the question of independence for the southern confederacy against the all but unanimous desire of its people. But the civil war did not destroy home-rule in southern states. Irish home-rule appeals to the enthusiasm of Americans, but Irishmen who lately conspired for the independence of Ireland were disloyal not only in a legal and political sense, but also from the standpoint of the economic, social, cultural and religious interests of Ireland. An independent Ireland is impossible not because it would be a thorn in the side of England, but because it would fail to satisfy the hopes of patriotic Irishmen. The real Ireland, largely transferred to other lands because of the lack of home-rule, will live again on Irish soil if the zealous enemies of England in Ireland and in America do not make home-rule impossible.

The home-rule principle, as it has been applied in the states of the American union, as it is now demanded for American cities, as it has been developed in the self-governing colonies of the British Empire, and as it is to be tried in Ireland, is one which, in still greater variety, fits many of the vexed problems of Europe after the war. America will, of course, have no reason to favor the loss of independence of any now sovereign state. For the most part our instinctive sympathies will be with Poles and Serbians and with any other struggling peoples who, having at any time enjoyed independent national existence, desire to regain it. If, however, we want our sympathies to have any definite effect in the face of actualities, if we mean that our words shall carry weight in international councils, we shall carefully consider whether the policy of larger political and economic units, with home-rule all around, will not be more advantageous than the carving of existing empires into petty and economically dependent nations or the bolstering up of artificial states for purely sentimental reasons.

Home-rule implies freedom of religious worship, cultural

ideas and local institutions, freedom of language and of educational systems, freedom to shape courts and administrative systems to meet local needs as locally interpreted, freedom from oppressive taxation levied for other than legitimate social needs.

The federal principle, first tried out among us on a large scale and under conditions which are at all analogous to those which will have to be faced in Europe after the war, secures these advantages of home-rule while recognizing that there are other matters with which the government of the larger, inclusive unit must deal. As to what those matters are, American experience has also something to say.

Federal Functions and Powers

THAT THERE MAY be no vexatious tariffs, separating one local community from another within the same imperial or federal system, the adjustment of tariffs should be left to the general government. Trunk railway systems and other great highways are for the larger rule, streets and police systems for home rule. There should be no harassing obstacles to freedom of movement, of changing legal residence from one locality to another, those who move retaining whatever rights may have been obtained through payment of taxes, military service or otherwise. Hopes had been aroused before the war that such obstacles might soon be removed even as between nations; but it is possible that progress in this direction will now have to be made first within definite political systems or international groups rather than by the adoption of universal internationalism. A common citizenship and equal protection of the laws should be a matter of course within each of the larger units, and they would be entrusted with international relations.

There need be no fear that the central governments after the war will lack essential powers. American experience immediately after the Revolution is not likely to be repeated. Diplomats and soldiers and bureaucrats will be keen to see the need for safeguarding the powers of the great empires or the imperial democracies which will face one another after the war. The danger is in the opposite direction. America and the neutral nations generally must stand for the utmost application of the principle of local autonomy, of home-rule. We believe in assimilation through the dissolving influence of ideas. We have faith in the survival of the best ideals where there is freedom for discussion, comparison and spontaneous growth. We believe in the process of give and take. We still insist that no man is good enough to govern another, and that self-government is the ultimate political principle among men. Political independence for a small nation may be but a sham, inviting speedy disaster. Home-rule is the reality. Safeguarded by protection in fundamental rights for minorities, it embodies the vital principle which in one case may be expressed by political independence and in another by local autonomy within a federation.

Applied to states and territories home-rule is the great fact of American history. Purchased Louisiana and Florida, annexed Texas, occupied California, Porto Rico and the Philippines are joint witnesses with the original states that this is permanent American policy. As applied to cities by the states, it is a later but already vital principle of our domestic policies.

In the world after the war home-rule will be no mere academic question. Upon the acceptance of it in the internal relations of the great states, the possibility of a permanent peace largely depends. England must find the way to its application in India and Egypt as well as in Ireland; Russia

and Germany in other places than Poland, if these empires are to be as secure after the war as before. To Austro-Hungary the necessity will be nothing new. America, in one sense, has no concern whatever with such domestic affairs of her neighbors, but in a deeper sense the principle of home-rule is of such universal application, and its part in making possible any larger synthesis is so important, that it cannot be ignored in the discussion of international relations.

The oppression of any people is of universal concern. The destruction of any distinctive national life is a loss to humanity. By frank speech, eye to eye, and hand in hand, such wrongs in each land should be righted by international cooperation. It has been said that the two best books on the problem of the American Negro have been written by Europeans. The subject is one on which the best thought and the closest observation of the world may well be brought to bear. We believe in the principle of home-rule, and not even to prevent the possibility of a lynching can that principle be set aside; but citizens will be found in all of the states in which lynchings have occurred whose minds are open for any sound advice as to how to prevent them.

Home-rule implies something akin to the bill of rights. The eighteenth century formulæ may not fully satisfy us, but they are not obsolete. Life, liberty, property, freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom of assemblage, a speedy trial, the equal protection of the laws, are all very desirable and they are by no means everywhere enjoyed. France and England may need neutral friends at the peace to help put them back in their rightful place as the corner-stone of the new civilization. But we shall want other things in the same place of honor, things which our fathers left to private initiative or did not think of as fundamentals of the state. Life means with us more than not being killed. It means health, a low death rate, full nourishment, freedom from infection and physical injury. It has meant that even during the war, for soldiers must be in good physical condition to kill instead of being killed. Home-rule will, therefore, have to include the right to protect the public health, the right to sanitation and a decent standard of life.

Some Rights Under Home-Rule

PROPERTY is at bottom the protection against poverty. The right to property meant formerly security in the possession of property already accumulated. It must mean that still, but it must mean more. Property is secured through efficient industry. Efficiency in industry implies training and intelligence. Such security against poverty as can be provided by a good mental and physical education, by protection of the weak against exploitation, and the development of the capable to the utmost of their individual capacities comes within that conception of rights which home-rule is intended to secure.

Health and education in the new world-state will depend, as they have always depended in the past, on the individual himself, but they are now known, quite as certainly as any other scientific fact is known, to depend largely on the local community organization. If it is efficient, they are within individual reach. If it is inefficient, they may not be. If we conceive home-rule in these terms as freedom to secure the wisest and most beneficial ordering of the local community, as opportunity to seek the common welfare by all the most direct and the most diverse routes, with every encouragement to judicious experiment and every facility for comparing experiences, it will be evident that it is not an empty formula.

Reformers and imperialists have one tendency in common, that of impatience with deviations from type. Factory and

housing reform, organized charity, the movement for the emancipation of women, pacifism, and militaristic imperialism are all alike in that they seek to impose by one means or another a particular set of ideas on all the world. The small nations have been a buffer against this tendency, while they have on the other hand often facilitated the early stages of reforms—or reactions. Home-rule, with its insistence on variety, on local independence of judgment, on the responsibility which goes with freedom, and on the freedom which is a condition of responsibility, is an even better guarantee that deadly grey monotony shall not overwhelm the world.

Music, architecture, painting, sculpture and drama thrive best where there is freedom and spontaneity. War and industrial exploitation thrive where huge territories and populations can be subjected to identical pressure. Economic prosperity and social welfare are to be sought in the same directions as the fine arts. Industry may be conceived in either way. There may be a huge industrial development which does not mean economic prosperity, much less social welfare. That form of socialism which has been popular in France and is known as syndicalism has the advantage over Marxian socialism that at least it offers the possibility of infinite variety and a chance for experiment. Freed of its violence and dishonesty, which are apparently all that make it attractive to some ardent spirits, the syndicalist program becomes an extreme and interesting proposal for the application of home-

rule to the field of industry. It does not follow that it would be desirable. Cooperative industry is quite possible without it.

Variety is desirable in customs and manners as well as in police regulations and occupations. Criminality is not a mere deviation from type. If it were, a society of criminals might be founded with some hope of a successful home-rule experiment, but colonies for criminals are successful only as far as the colonists cease to be criminals and become law-abiding citizens, however great their variety of tastes, customs, manners and habits.

America stands, then, in the councils of the world for toleration of creeds, of institutions, of social and industrial relations. This principle has been slowly developed under the conditions of our own national life. It was not brought by the colonists from England. Many of our early colonists were persecuting zealots. Our mother country, even in the colonial days, was not England, but Europe.

America still has much to learn from other countries as to how to apply the home-rule principle, especially to cities. The principle itself America has learned through her evolution of three centuries from a weak handful of isolated colonies to a compact nation of a hundred million people to which every strain of the old-world population has contributed. This has been the preparation for the difficult and not inglorious task to which we are now called.

The Solid Front of Labor

By *John A. Fitch*

OF THE SURVEY STAFF

“**L**AY on, Macduff, and damned be he who first cries ‘Hold! Enough!’” Thus spoke Samuel Gompers, with a dramatic intensity impossible to convey in cold type, as last week he hurled the defiance of organized labor into the teeth of the newly organized association of hostile employers. That it was labor’s defiance and not alone the utterance of the president of the American Federation of Labor was shown by the storm of applause with which the delegates to the thirty-sixth annual convention of the federation greeted it.

Thus, to a marked degree, was the temper of the convention which adjourned last Saturday in Baltimore, made manifest. Very much to the fore in the convention were such subjects as the rise in the cost of living, the fight of the railroads against the eight-hour day and the organization of the new National Conference Board, made up of employers representing, it was alleged on the convention floor, a capitalization of eight billions of dollars and employing seven million men; organized, it was stated, to fight the labor unions. Whether because of these matters, about which everyone was thinking, or because of other factors, the outstanding feature of the convention was its belligerency.

One of the first and most striking evidences of this militant spirit appeared in connection with the injunction question. The Executive Council had reported on a recent decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts declaring unconstitutional the “model” anti-injunction law of that state. The committee on the executive council report, therefore, brought in a recommendation as follows:

“Your committee would further recommend that it be the

sense of this convention that it seems to be the settled purpose of interests antagonistic to the freedom of men and women who labor, to persuade and then use the judiciary to misconstrue constitutional guaranties, and thereby nullify legislative enactments so as to leave but one remedy; and we, therefore, recommend that any injunctions dealing with the relationship of employer and employe, and based upon the dictum, ‘Labor Is Property,’ be wholly and absolutely treated as usurpation and disregarded, let the consequences be what they may.”

This recommendation was adopted by a unanimous vote of the convention.

There was less discussion of arbitration and compulsory service in the convention than had been anticipated by outsiders. At the last term of Congress, President Wilson recommended the enactment of a law similar to the Canadian industrial disputes act. This law, if enacted, would forbid the calling of a strike, on public utilities at any rate, until a government body had had opportunity to investigate the causes and the merits of the controversy. It is reported that the President will again make such a recommendation on the reconvening of Congress this month.

Perhaps it was because organized labor is so completely a unit in opposition to any law that will modify in the slightest degree the right to strike at any time that extended discussion of the subject was not deemed necessary. The convention, nevertheless, left the public in no doubt as to its stand on that question. In the report of the Executive Council, there was extended reference to the demands of the railroad brotherhoods and the legislative proposals of the President.

After considerable discussion of the element of compulsion in connection with strikes the report stated that "the wage-earners of the United States will oppose any proposition to impose upon them compulsory institutions which disguise involuntary servitude." Its recommendation that "this convention take an unequivocal position against compulsory institutions and in favor of the maintenance of institutions and opportunities for freedom" was unanimously endorsed. Later on a resolution was adopted with equal unanimity which declared "that men individually or collectively have a right to stop work any day or any time in a free democracy, and that their right is natural, legal, inalienable and never should be surrendered; and that laws that violate this right are hereby denounced as reactionary, unconstitutional and dangerous to the stability of democratic government."

At another time the convention cheered when W. G. Lee, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, said: "I don't believe Congress will pass a compulsory arbitration law. We will fight it as long as we have breath to fight anything."

One of the biggest days of the convention was the day of the visit of the chiefs of the four railroad brotherhoods. The addresses of these men were significant of a changed attitude. As reported last week in the SURVEY, their utterances made it very clear that there is to be a community of action between these great bodies of organized labor. That means, whether the brotherhoods eventually affiliate with the federation or not that organized labor, two and one-half millions strong, is hereafter on all important matters to present a united instead of a divided front.

In another way the visit was important. It came just after a conference between the brotherhoods, and the Railway Department of the American Federation of Labor, which represents various classes of labor on the railroads toward whose interests the brotherhoods have been charged with being indifferent. The fact that there should have been effected a defensive alliance between these two bodies is highly significant. But it is no more so than the declaration of W. G. Lee, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, who told the convention that cooperation is necessary in order to organize the "shopmen, carmen and other crafts" who have not been permitted to organize.

If anything further were needed to show that labor is ready to meet any new aggressions on the part of the organized employers with a united front and a fighting spirit, it appeared in two characteristic speeches made by Samuel Gompers. The first was in reply to the addresses of the brotherhood chiefs, from which the Shakespearean utterance at the beginning of this article is quoted.

The other speech came a few days later and was in answer to an editorial appearing in one of the Baltimore papers. Again Mr. Gompers reverted to the new line-up of capital against labor.

"If these men who control billions throw down the gauntlet, we will accept the challenge," he said. "It is not we who make the attack. We are going to act on the defensive, where we can, whenever it may be politic to act on the defensive. But if the fight is to be made to take from the men, women and children of our time the advantages which we have secured, then these employers and corporations had better look out. We are not going to be forced back. The men and the women of labor are not going to be forced back! We will resist, and resist to the utmost."

The first speech was received with great enthusiasm. The second aroused the convention as nothing else had done. After

applauding with unexampled vigor for a few moments, the delegates rose as by a common impulse and shouted, cheered and stamped their feet. It was a great demonstration, not only of loyalty to their chief but of a spirit of united aggressive opposition to a threatening foe.

Harmony—Ready to Fight

WITHOUT doubt the dominant note of this convention was pugnacity. Paradoxical as it may seem the next most impressive thing was its harmony. It was a convention all ready to fight—somebody else. The old issues that have, in past conventions, separated radicals and conservatives into distinct groups were either lacking altogether or were handled in such a way as to avoid a break. Not a single vote was taken that could be regarded as a test of the strength of one or the other of the old contending groups. The radicals were less militant than usual and the conservatives more so. Thus moving each toward the other, the two groups came so near to meeting that it can be called a united labor movement, the representatives of which gathered in Baltimore and took counsel against a common foe.

It is not to be inferred that there were no differences of opinion in the convention. On the contrary, the inevitable jurisdictional disputes took the usual amount of time. There was one rather bitter discussion of a quarrel between the United Garment Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, a seceding body. In this discussion Alexander Schlesinger, president of the Ladies' Garment Workers, denounced as "outrageous" a reference to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers as a "strike breaking agency."

There was sharp debate, too, over the question of militarism. A resolution had been introduced by the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers which stated that Secretary of War Baker has offered in behalf of the War Department to furnish instructors and equipment to public schools which are willing to introduce military training. The resolution condemned this action, declared the American Federation of Labor "utterly opposed to militarism" and directed the Executive Council to file a protest with President Wilson. The committee to which this resolution was referred, of which Andrew Furuseth, of the seamen, was chairman, and Matthew Woll, of the photo-engravers' secretary,—both "conservatives" or "administration men"—recommended non-concurrence in the resolution.

In the spirited debate on this question radicals like Max Hayes, of the Typographical Union, and Joseph D. Cannon, of the Western Federation of Miners, found themselves on the same side of the question with conservatives like James Duncan, of the granite cutters, and Sara Conboy, of the textile workers. In spite of the fact that a similar resolution was defeated in last year's convention at San Francisco, no one spoke against it this year except the chairman and the secretary of the committee which brought in the unfavorable report. Max Hayes, who lives in Cleveland, said that he was shocked at Secretary Baker's apparent conversion to militarism. James Duncan, member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, said that he had come away from the San Francisco convention "broken hearted" over the action of that convention and he pleaded with the delegates to support the resolution. When the vote was taken the recommendation of the committee was rejected by a unanimous vote and the resolution adopted.

In the two conventions previous to this one the eight-hour day has been a bone of contention. At Philadelphia and at San Francisco the debate was sharp between those who favored the use of either legislation or trade-union activity as

a means of securing the eight-hour day, and those who favored union action alone. Several resolutions were introduced at Baltimore, designed to commit the federation to the legislative method. A general canvass of the delegates seemed to indicate that there was an even chance that if it came to a vote the "radicals" could win.

Here, more than at any other point, the underlying harmony of this convention was made evident. There are deep and honest convictions on both sides of this question. If a vote had been proposed on any of these resolutions an acrimonious debate would have been inevitable. It was feared by radical and conservative alike that such a debate would have a bad effect on the present struggle of the railroad brotherhoods for an eight-hour day. Therefore, despite the belief of many radicals that this time they could win, despite even the joy they might have experienced in heckling Samuel Gompers, traditional foe of eight-hour legislation, for his stand on the Adamson law, it was agreed to sidestep the issue in this convention. The committee on resolutions proposed that the whole matter be referred to a committee of five who are to confer with the brotherhoods and report not later than four weeks before the date of the next convention. This substitute resolution was adopted without opposition.

Not all the time of the convention was given up to denouncing open-shop employers or to Socialists and reactionaries falling into each other's arms. There was enough discord to show that the war is still on, even if the strategy of a larger warfare requires harmonious action for the present. There was a vast deal of business done on all sorts of matters of interest to union men and women. A resolution was adopted favoring the organization of "Erickson Jr." clubs—a non-military boy-scout and trade-union propaganda organization, named for its founder, a union painter in Wyoming. Old-age pensions were favored both for government workers and those in private employ; the restriction of immigration by means of the literacy test was advocated; the Gary school plan is to be investigated and a report made to the next convention.

Several matters of great importance were acted upon without receiving the attention of delegates who were opposed to the action taken. The first controversial subject that found delegates "asleep at the switch" was the immigration question. The action favoring restriction went through without a dissenting vote. Next day the delegates of the Ladies' Garment Workers told the convention that they had been unaware of what was happening when the vote was taken and they wished to be recorded in the negative.

Another such occurrence was the action on a resolution to create a women's bureau in the United States Department of Labor. The National Woman's Trade Union League had taken action favoring the creation of such a bureau. The committee to which the resolution was referred, however, reported that the necessary machinery now exists in the Department of Labor, and it recommended non-concurrence in the resolution. The report of the committee was adopted without debate. Next day Andrew Furuseth, who favored the resolution, moved to have the matter reconsidered. Neither he nor any of the other supporters of the plan had been aware of what the convention was doing when the adverse action of the day before had been taken. Mr. Furuseth showed that the machinery in question does not exist and he stated that Secretary of Labor Wilson favors the establishment of such a bureau. He asked the convention not to "turn down" Secretary Wilson. The delegates, nevertheless, refused to reconsider the matter.

The action on social insurance went through in the same way, without the friends of the measure realizing what was happening. The Executive Council report denounced the promoters of compulsory health insurance as "barnacles" upon the labor movement, and stated that before the "model bill" of the American Association for Labor Legislation—though it did not mention the association by name—was drawn up there had been no consultation with representatives of labor. It also condemned the London bill for the investigation of the question by a federal commission. The council recommended that social insurance, "if established at all, shall be voluntary and not compulsory."

This recommendation was adopted without a dissenting vote, although it put every Socialist in the convention on record as opposed to the action of Meyer London, Socialist member of Congress. Another resolution, introduced by George W. Perkins, of the Cigar Makers' Union, and adopted by the convention, was so sweeping in its condemnation of compulsory and private insurance of all kinds that Mr. Perkins arose later to explain that he hadn't intended to oppose the compulsory insurance of injured workmen.

It happens that many of the delegates, including non-socialists like the representatives of the Typographical Union, were in favor of compulsory health insurance. About forty such delegates signed a paper stating that they were in favor of it and opposed to the action of the convention.

Pan-American Relations

PROMINENT among the acts of the convention that met with no opposition was the attention given to the cost of living. It was evident that whatever wage increases there may have been during the year, the delegates were smarting under the rise in prices of the necessities of life that has gone far toward and in many cases has altogether wiped out the effect of the increased pay. A resolution introduced by William Green, of the United Mine Workers, which was adopted by the convention, demands the appointment of a federal commission to investigate the causes of the increase in prices. Three resolutions called for an embargo on foodstuffs.

Such, in brief, was the thirty-sixth convention of the American Federation of Labor. An account of it would be woefully incomplete, however, that did not take into account a factor that has received almost no publicity, but which may be looked upon, in later years, as far the most important feature of the convention. There were present as delegates to the convention representatives of the labor movement in no less than four foreign countries. These were Great Britain, Canada, Japan and Mexico. How much sentiment for international peace may be created by the reception of such delegates no one may know. The American Federation of Labor sends delegates every year to England and Canada. Next year it will be represented in Japan.

But the movement is far more than a matter of sentiment. Carlos Loveria, of Mexico, came to the convention after an extended trip through Central and South America in the interest of a Pan-American Federation of Labor. He was able to report more than the favorable reception which was everywhere accorded him. He found the practical beginnings of such a movement in the interest of peace in South America. Chile and Peru had a war ten years ago in which Peru lost two provinces. Since the war diplomatic relations have not been renewed and each is in a state of constant "preparedness" against the other. The labor organizations of the two countries, however, have arranged to exchange ambassadors. In the capital of each country, therefore, there is an accredited representative of the working people of the other.

For All the Children of the Americas

By *Edward N. Clopper*

SECRETARY FOR NORTHERN STATES, NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

IN a Georgia public school report, referring to the advisability of increasing the taxes so as to secure a longer school term, a county superintendent says: "For several consecutive weeks the local editor and myself, by hard effort, succeeded in arousing little or no enthusiasm on the question." He does not say just what he means, but his words sound a plaintive note.

One is tempted to write in the same vein about the participation of the social workers of the United States in the first American Child Welfare Congress held last July in Buenos Aires. The National Child Labor Committee, in cooperation with other agencies, tried its best, through the press, the platform and the mails, to persuade social workers in this country to attend or at least to join the congress, but it "succeeded in arousing little or no enthusiasm on the question." It was another demonstration of our provincialism. There will be another chance in 1918 when the second congress will convene in Montevideo.

Last spring, while there was still hope, a man who had been urged to go asked what the round trip to Buenos Aires would cost. When told, he exclaimed, "Why, I could go to Europe and return for that?" Others felt the same way. It was a sad commentary on either his memory or his geography teacher. And it did not help the situation to remind him that the distance from New York to Buenos Aires is fifty-eight miles greater than that between New York and Constantinople, and 856 miles more than from New York to Moscow, for when he overcame his incredulity he said he couldn't afford it. But he would have gone to Europe last summer if it had not been for the war!

It will be a long time, unfortunately, before we really think of South America as our neighbor. Patagonia is our synonym for the unattainable. Perhaps the trouble is that we look on South America as our neighbor. After the modern way of people who live in apartment houses—a neighbor is somebody or something more or less intangible that it would be embarrassing to meet in the hall.

Even in a commercial way we hold aloof. One would think personal contact essential to establishing and promoting relations between buyers and sellers so much unlike as the South American merchants and the North American manufacturers. But many of our business men think otherwise. Some confine their efforts to correspondence; others send representatives who speak neither Spanish nor Portuguese and are obliged to set forth the virtues of their wares through interpreters. They innocently believe the words, "Made in U. S. A.," hold some magic power and that goods bearing them will almost sell themselves. But it is amusing to see salesmen trying to market a certain make of automobile whose name, formed by putting together the initials of its manufacturer, makes a Spanish word that is applied to a murderer.

Too often our products are stamped "Made in America." From the Latin-American's viewpoint this is unpardonable. That we should arrogate to our own land the name of the whole western hemisphere is to them both impudent and sinister. They insist upon calling us North Americans. But we have never stood upon ceremony in such matters. When

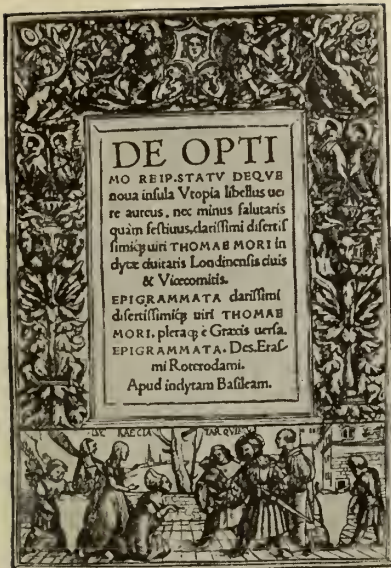
we took over the island of Puerto Rico in 1898 we didn't like the spelling of the first word and promptly changed it to Porto. Now *puerto* is a perfectly good word in Spanish, but its successor has no place in any tongue. And so we go blundering blithely on our way and cannot understand why so many foreigners fail to appreciate us.

We are altogether introspective even when we go abroad. So it seems part of the eternal fitness of things to hear the people of Venezuela, Bolivia, Paraguay and Tierra del Fuego discussing, as they very intelligently do, the merits of the Republican and Democratic candidates for the presidency of the United States and remarking about the prosperity of the Mormons in Utah. But what an eloquent silence ensues on our part when the conversation shifts to local questions. They know far more about our affairs than we know of theirs. The "world's series" of baseball games for "the championship of the world" has recently been played. Why "world"? The series must be between two teams, one the winner in the National League and the other the winner in the American League, both organizations being of the United States, the whole United States and nothing but the United States. The rest of the world has nothing to do with it. Perhaps, after all, this is truly "American." But is it any wonder that Latin-Americans have occasional doubts about us and look askance at assurances of disinterestedness from what their newspapers call "the colossus of the north"?

The Latin-American peoples are continually holding out to us opportunities to get acquainted and to cooperate with them. They have taken the initiative now in the realm of social welfare work and have established a Child-welfare Congress for all the Americas, to meet biennially and bring together the socially minded of the New World. There could be no finer spirit than the Argentinians have shown in doing this. The social workers of Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, Peru and other countries promptly entered into this effort to cultivate international friendships and to establish ideals of American childhood. But so far it has met with but scant attention in our country—we have not yet caught this spirit, we have not yet seen this vision. When we do, the story will be different.

Here we have problems of immigration, labor, illegitimacy, disease, delinquency and a host of others. They have the same problems, and knowledge of this fact makes at once for a kindlier feeling between us. Our common lot of social ills will make the Americas kin.

At the request of the committee on organization of the second American Child-welfare Congress, a committee for the United States is being formed to represent the congress in this country and to promote its interests here. Among those who have accepted membership on this committee are Jane Addams, Julia C. Lathrop, Samuel McCune Lindsay, Wilfred D. Reynolds, C. C. Carstens, Homer Folks and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise. With the cooperation of equally representative and earnest committees in the other American republics, and under the leadership of Dra. Paulina Luisi, a prominent physician of Montevideo who has been elected president of the second congress, the success of this movement to unite the social workers of the two continents in a common effort in behalf of children seems assured.



IS SIR THOMAS MORE UTOPIAN?

By

Mary Breese Fuller

REDUCED FACSIMILES OF THE TITLE PAGE OF THE UTOPIA OF MARCH, 1518, AND OF THE ISLAND OF UTOPIA



DECEMBER 1916 marks the four-hundredth anniversary of the publication of Sir Thomas More's Utopia—and in the old world and in the new we are just bringing into sight the central faith of More's vision. By far the most remarkable realization of More's ideals has come in the last generation. What has been accomplished in socialized living as More conceived it during the last decade, what is to be accomplished in the very near future brings amazement at the prophetic insight of that extraordinary mind of the sixteenth century. In the process of time, his idealism has been in a great part fulfilled—to such an extent that More himself, even after four hundred years, might be astonished.

The Utopia was printed in Louvain, in 1516, under the superintendence of More's friends, the cosmopolitan Erasmus and the French scholar, Peter Giles. Written in Latin, the book soon had a wide circulation among scholars, running through three editions in a year. It was translated into English by Ralph Robinson in 1551, nearly twenty years after More's death. Once in the vernacular, it rapidly became a classic, but of late years it has shared the fate of many classics; it has been handled without being read.

There are two books, or divisions, of the Utopia. The first book, written last, merges the imaginary nation of Utopia with the events and ideas of the period in which it was written.

The early sixteenth century, like the early twentieth century, was a time of peculiar expansion, material and spiritual. The daring voyages of Portuguese, Spanish and English sailors into unknown western waters gave More the opportunity of placing his story in regions teeming with imaginative suggestion. The account of the island and state of Utopia is made the story of a traveller, Hythloday, who was with Americus Vespucius on his fourth voyage, and who found this island somewhere between Brazil and India. A touch in the tale vivid with the discoveries of current explorers, is the clothing of the Utopian priests—robes of bird feathers, like those worn by the Aztec priests of Mexico.

In More's time the knowledge of Greek coming from Italy through travelers hungry after new truth broadened and stimulated education at the universities. The Utopians coming to lectures at dawn and praying in their temples that God would let them find a better government and a better religion than theirs, if such things were, reflects

the mental awakening in all Europe. The revival of Greek and its appeal to More is shown in lesser detail by the nomenclature of the Utopia. "Utopia" is Greek for "no place"; the name of its discoverer is Greek for "nonsense"; the origin of the settlement is made Greek; the names of its towns are Greek—Amaurot meaning "shadowy" or "unknown."

With the widening of the world's knowledge of territory and of ancient learning with its rich revelation of humanity, came also the poignant realization among a few thinkers that the old bottles were rotten into which the new wine was being poured. Vast stores of money ground out by unjust taxation and hoarded up by Henry VII in the belief that the wealth of the nation consisted of the actual amount of gold and silver in its treasury, had been wasted in futile wars by Henry VIII. Parliaments were still bodies of nobles and upper-class merchants, meeting to grant money on the king's demand. Representation and legislation for the benefit of the mass of the people were yet far in the future.

Social and economic distress stood out blackly against the freshness of new worlds. In England the turning of vast quantities of "plough land" into pasture land drove thousands of men out of work and their families from the soil.

The streets of the cities were narrow and filthy; the houses were crowded together and lighted by few windows, mostly containing oil paper. Offsetting this squalidness were vulgar displays on the part of king and nobles of luxury, of silk, gold and jewels, such as took place at the famous meeting of Henry VIII and of Francis of France at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Leagues were made and broken and war waged by popes and kings as another kind of game or display. Religion offered scholars a theology of mummified sayings by church fathers, a Bible mutilated and overshadowed by ancient commentaries. It offered the common people the privilege of kissing the relics of the saints and of buying pardons for their sins.

In criticism and comment on the historical situation, the Utopia reflects the thought not of More alone, but of the group of scholars called the Oxford reformers—Colet, Erasmus, and More. The lofty spiritual vision, the historical sense and the original educational ideals of Colet, the iconoclastic satire, the detached view of national and international weaknesses and the passion for scholarship of Erasmus, are united in the Utopia with the gentle wit, the detailed practical

understanding of political and social life and the humanitarian zeal of More himself.

More, like all political idealists, is strongly influenced by the community ideas of Plato's Republic, but his social suggestions are less abstract and more practical than those of Plato.

The first of these suggestions to be acted upon was that the government should be responsible for giving employment to the poor. Statesmen of the later Tudor period, particularly Somerset, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, had struggled with the problem of idleness and crime coming from the enclosures. Prohibitive legislation was ineffectual. The necessary new method of living was furnished incidentally in Elizabeth's reign by the exiled Flemish and Dutch weavers, who taught their trade to the idle husbandmen.

And finally the famous Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601 did make the state responsible for the care of the infirm and old and, to a certain degree, for finding work for able-bodied poor. This is the law on which all later Poor Laws have been founded.

There came also in Elizabethan times the doing away of the financial policy of hoarding gold and silver and the substitution for it of the practice of credit and "the free circulation of money" advocated by the Utopia. This policy made taxation less oppressive and "commerce and exchange" more possible.

More's own office of Commissioner of Sewers made him especially critical of the condition of London houses and streets, but not until after the great fire of 1665 did conditions in his own city approach the Utopian picture of "streets twenty feet broad and houses faced with stone, plastering, or brick." The windows "glazed in glass" were just beginning to be used in private houses, and were rare as late as the time of the younger Pitt and the French Revolution.

In 1793, a tax on windows as a luxury showed perhaps a beginning of the redistribution of property toward the ultimate goal of the Utopian state.

Political and Religious Toleration

POLITICAL REFORMS, approaching now more nearly the Utopian standard than economic reforms, were nevertheless slower in getting under way. Not until the nineteenth century did genuinely representative government, primaries in election—"the syphogrants choose the prince out of the list of four who are named by the people of the four divisions of the city"—and the secret ballot in election, come.

Religious toleration such as the Utopians enjoyed was very slow in coming. A Utopian "might be of what religion he pleased and might endeavor to draw others to it by force of argument—but without bitterness against those of other opinions." More himself was executed in 1532, a martyr to his conviction that the English church should not cut off its allegiance to the Pope. Not until one hundred and fifty-seven years later was the Toleration Act passed, giving freedom of worship to all Protestants except Unitarians. One hundred years more passed before Catholics in England had freedom of worship, and not until the middle of the nineteenth century were religious disabilities removed from office-holding.

Beauty in the lines and space of the temple buildings, in incense, in music, in the colors of the birds' feathers on the priests' garments, exalt the imagination of the Utopian worshippers. Their prayers are largely praise. "Their spacious temples gather all in worship of the Divine Essence." There

is a hint of Protestantism in that their priests are married, and that they wonder whether (in the Christian sect) a "priest might not be chosen without referring to the authority of the Pope." These latter were Lutheran ideas.

In spite of all the sect divisions which still exist in Protestantism, are we not coming now into a larger place, approaching the Utopian idea of religious union amid theological differences? The Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Association, the World's Christian Student Federation, the Panama Congress, and other federations of churches show a growing fundamental unity in religion.

Toleration, a dream four hundred years old, is becoming reality, not only in the churches, but in the courts and prisons. Of the likeness between Thomas Mott Osborne's ideals and those of More, I wrote in the SURVEY of October 30, 1915:

"More protests against capital punishment 'for a little money,' i. e., theft. Osborne protests against capital punishment for any offense. More was interested in reforming the society which produces thieves; Osborne is interested chiefly in reforming the individual criminal. Both, however, attack the institutions of the state which propagate the criminal and the laws which maltreat him. Both reformers advocate fundamentally the same attitude of mind on the part of judge and warden toward the wrong-doer—the attitude of the educator, not the punisher. Both More and Osborne advocate similar methods of training the criminal into an upright and useful citizen by giving him healthy conditions for body and mind, and responsibility in action, while he has about him an atmosphere of increasing trust, as he warrants that trust."

In Thomas Mott Osborne's prison are criminals of many sorts; in the prisons of England were mostly thieves saddled upon the state because of the economic conditions. In the Utopia, as More in England saw all crime being caused by a desire to rob, private property was abolished. Consequently there is no pay, except his livelihood, coming to the working man, and the question of wages does not enter into his life. Of next importance, however, in the life of the working man or woman comes the question of the number of hours of labor. The Utopian community had only six hours in its working day. We have not reached that standard. We may in America never wish to reach it. But slowly modern labor legislation has been approaching the eight-hour day.

Working hours for men are regulated mostly by the trade unions; for women and children by state laws. The report of the Bureau of Labor statistics of the United States Department of Labor, issued in December, 1915, and covering the period from 1908 to 1915, gives some idea of the growth of recent state legislation. "We find within this period the number of states prohibiting factory employment under 14 years of age increasing from 30 on January 1, 1908, to 41 in 1915, the number requiring medical examination or a certificate of physical fitness preliminary to the issue of work permits from 8 to 35, the number prohibiting night work under 16 years from 18 to 36, and the number limiting hours of work under 16 years to eight a day from 3 to 31. The number of states prohibiting night work for women have increased from 3 to 6, the number limiting the hours of work in factories to eight per day increasing from none to 4, the number limiting hours of work to ten a day increasing from 15 to 34, while two classes of laws not known in New York state in January, 1908, namely, minimum wage and mothers' pension laws, have been enacted, the former in 11 states, the latter in 39 states."

The chief occupation in the Utopia, however, is not manufacturing, but agriculture, the most necessary type of employment in community life. "No person, neither man nor

woman, is ignorant of it." With these "husbandmen" More shows the working of his practical mind. He picks up the ancient custom of using incubators. "They breed an infinite multitude of chickens in a very curious manner; for the hens do not sit and hatch them, but a vast number of eggs are laid in a gentle and equal heat in order to be hatched." Only recently have we used incubators first for chickens and then for babies.

Besides this knowledge of agriculture, each Utopian has a peculiar trade for which he has been trained. The slowly growing emphasis on vocational and technical training is another important fulfilment of a Utopian ideal.

But work is secondary in the Utopian state to self-improvement of mind and body. Lectures are given in the early morning to such as are disposed to attend. The increase of university extension lectures and classes arranged by our state and municipal boards of education in the last few years carries out that idea of educational opportunity. Moreover, in the Utopian intellectual life, "learning was in its own tongue." Though English literature came richly to its own in the later Tudor period, it is rather pathetic that More did not live to see his Utopia in the vernacular.

Because the Renaissance had renewed for More the Greek idea of full development of body as well as of mind, the Utopian takes no pleasure in asceticism, and much of his leisure is spent in play. We, only lately awakening from our Puritan one-sidedness, are opening playgrounds and writing books on "play and education."

And how the allegorical plays of the Utopians, battles between virtues and vices, so popular in the Elizabethan period, are being renewed in our wave of masks and pageants! Imagination such as that of Percy Mackaye and his followers is stimulating municipal school and settlement pageants of the symbolic type. We are slow indeed in the new world to give to music the place in popular recreation that the continental people give it or that the Utopians give it in their evening diversions. But the continental leaven is working in us more hopefully of late through such agencies as the music settlements, community choruses, and municipal orchestras.

For making the whole community life a healthy one, the Utopians insist on eugenic marriage, the definite method of which seems to have been taken from Plutarch's "Lycurgus." With us laws on state regulation of marriage have come only within recent years. In the United States the report of the Eugenic Record Office for 1913 (the latest available report), sums up the facts in this way: "The principle that the state may and should control marriage matings is, as we have seen, recognized by all states." In detail marriage is limited in three ways, (1) by limiting the physical and mental condition of the consorts, (2) limiting consanguinity, (3) limiting mixture of races.

The Utopians, like ourselves, aim for the healthy state, but take, also, great care of their sick. They have public hospitals provided "so furnished and stored with all things that are convenient for the ease and recovery of the sick and those that are put in them are looked after with such tender care that there is scarce one who does not choose to go thither than to lie sick at home." Contagious wards are furnished far from the rest." The first real separation of the contagious wards in the United States did not come until after the Civil War, and the plan of More's Hospital City, "four hospitals built without their walls so large they may pass for little towns," is only being approached by the hospital planned by the College of Physicians and Surgeons in alliance with the Presbyterian hospital, in New York city. The use of hos-

pitals is still meager compared to their possibilities, as Dr. Richard Cabot has brought out in his articles in the April and May *American Magazine*, advocating a pay clinic. The experiment in the pay clinic in the Massachusetts General Hospital is the latest step in hospital progress. But social service work of the last ten years, the movement for industrial medicine imposed in such labor legislation as the Working Men's Compensation Act, and the reporting of industrial diseases, have been potent agencies in connecting the hospital with the people.

Future Fulfillments

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to dwell on the present-day fulfillments of the Utopians without perceiving how close we are to future fulfillments of its prophecy. The whole social scheme of the Utopians, the hatred of war, the emphasis on internationalism are the ideas now being emphasized and urged under the shadow of the great war. More's satire is nowhere bitterer than on the subject of leagues, reminiscent of the behavior of Pope and sovereign in the shifting and selfish political arrangements of the early years of Henry VIII.

The Utopians shrink from all forms of treaty making. "They judge that the partnership of kindness and good nature unite men more effectually and with greater strength than any agreements whatsoever. . . . They detest war as a very brutal thing, although they prepare themselves in readiness for fighting, should it be absolutely necessary. They go to war in their own behalf only if bodily harm is done any of their citizens and the offending individuals are not surrendered for reparation." They help out their friends sometimes in trade wars, "but in no victory do they glory so much as in that that is gained by dexterity and good conduct without bloodshed." "They reckon that a man acts suitably to his neighbor when he conquers an enemy in such a way as that no other but a man could be capable of, and that is by the strength of his understanding."

"If war is declared they try first to kill the leaders responsible for the war. They think it an act of mercy and love to mankind to prevent the slaughter of those that must otherwise be killed in the progress on their own side and on that of their enemies by the death of a few that are most guilty." One's mind instantly flashes to the words of Lowes Dickinson in his article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for December, 1914, on the responsibility of the governing few in Europe for instigating the great war. One is also reminded of the plank in the platform of the English Union for Democratic control declaring the necessity of genuine parliamentary control over foreign affairs.

And yet from a dozen current writings might be culled such quotations as: "It has nothing Utopian about it," "he refuses to be carried away into any Utopia," "he indignantly combats the idea that there is anything Utopian about himself," and "More, who in spite of his Utopia, was in many things an eminently practical man." I wonder as I read these earnest repudiators of Utopianism, if they have ever read the tiny book from whose ideals they shrink. Have they any conception of the number of Utopian ideals, political, social, religious, which have been carried into actual fulfillment?

Sometimes More played fantastically with his mind. He imaged a state where fashions never changed, where jewels were valued as playthings for children, and gold as chains for slaves, where laws were few and lawyers never needed. But, since time has made 1516, 1916, these things are about all that is left actually chimerical in the Utopia.



BRAGGING LIKE A BOY

In twenty months, Hopewell, Va., grew from a sandy plateau to a city of 35,000 people. This reprint from "A History of Hopewell" shows two actual scenes in the oval pictures and a modest prediction in the skyscrapers borrowed from an older community.

Hopewell

A City Eighteen Months Old

By John Ihlder

INTO the brief year and a half of Hopewell's existence has been crowded experience which even Oklahoma has not duplicated in a generation. In April, 1915, this new Virginia war town was merely a sandy plateau. In December it was a turbulent ungoverned frontier community; five hours later a waste of smoking ashes; ten months later a fully organized municipality dealing with wracking social problems. And along with and causing these sudden changes was the overnight growth of a small dynamite factory at the confluence of the James and Appomattox rivers into the enormous Du Pont powder mills.

Three years ago, the Civil War, the landing of Grant's army, the fall of Petersburg and the surrender at Appomattox were still matters of current interest to this part of Virginia. For perspective it looked back to the founding of Jamestown, whose ruins lie a few miles down the river. Here American history was born. Here began the frontier that decade after decade crept steadily westward until, with the ending of the past century, it disappeared.

Then came a new war, greater even than that in which the valley of the James had played its part, and suddenly the

frontier seemed to revive for a moment on the spot where it had started.

This new frontier community was typically American, typical no less in its differences from Leadville and Tombstone, than in its likenesses to them. For the American frontier was never for two decades the same except in its zest, its tumult and lawlessness, its optimism for the future and its privations of the present. These Hopewell shared with its predecessors. Hastily and flimsily built, ugly as only that which is cheap and shoddy can be ugly, pretentious with wooden false fronts on its buildings as all aspiring frontier towns have been, dreaming of a magnificent future amid the mire and grime of the present, it proved that the old American spirit had not died, but has simply lacked recent opportunity for expression.

Then came the great fire of December 9, 1915, and in less than five hours Hopewell had gone. But where there is work and wages there will be a town. More rapidly than before Hopewell rose from its ashes. To-day, with its suburbs and company villages, it is supposed to have a population of 38,000.



RUBBEROID COTTAGE, ATTRACTIVE AND COMFORTABLE, BUT COLD IN WINTER

But even before the fire times had begun to change. The old frontier had before it the wilderness, behind it a country scarcely more settled and orderly than itself. Hopewell is in the midst of our oldest commonwealth. Only half an hour away is staid, conservative Petersburg; a little further away is Richmond. Frontier lawlessness may be picturesque in history or romance, but it is uncomfortable in a civilized, twentieth-century neighborhood.

The helplessness of the officials of Prince George county in their attempts to deal with drunkenness, vice and murder

became a scandal in the eyes of Virginians. The fact that the coroner was called upon to investigate six murders in one night might make interesting stories for the newspapers of New York and Chicago, but it did not stimulate the pride of the people of Richmond. So, backed by that better element which seems to have existed in every city except Sodom and Gomorrah, Governor Stuart took charge.

The legislature gave Hopewell a city charter of the regulation Virginia kind—mayor, aldermen and councilmen; and the governor appointed city officials and a chief of police.



THE BEST CLASS OF DURABLE COTTAGE BUILT BY THE COMPANY



With a sanitary office at the left and a jail and police headquarters at the right, law and order are being established in Hopewell.

The town became technically "dry," vice sought cover, tumult and disorder diminished. Death Valley and Slaughter Lane became interesting souvenirs. A fire department was established. Most recently a building code has been enacted. Hopewell ceased to be of the frontier. It even ceased to be a boom town.

During its first year Hopewell ignored loss. The Eppes family, who owned much of the surrounding—and far from fertile—territory, did not realize fully what the powder factory might have meant to them. They were not only modest in their expectations, but they actually spent money on development. Where sparse crops had grown, they marked out a series of rectangular streets on a level tract between the railroad and the river, built a sewer system and laid water mains supplied by a pump in a ravine. They expected lots to sell for about \$50 each.

The price of lots, however, at once jumped to \$105. Then from nearby cities, from Washington, New York, and, as always, from Los Angeles came the real estate operators. Property changed hands every day. Prices mounted with every sale, until some 25-foot lots sold for as much as \$4,000 each. I have been told by an engineer who platted the city that he knows of lots selling for \$25,000 each. Soon the original Hopewell, shut in by the railroad and powder plant on one side, the Appomattox river on the other and the Du Pont village developments at the two ends, became too small for the activities of these boosters. They leaped across the larger of the Du Pont villages and began to buy and plat farms far beyond the old Eppes plantation. A retired minister who had bought 100 acres at \$10 an acre as a refuge in his old age, sold 80 acres for \$80,000.

The Plight of Those Who Bought

THIS is the bright side, the side of those who sold. The other is the side of those who bought. For miles along the tracks of the railroad and the trolley line to Petersburg are rows of neat little street signs proclaiming the existence—on paper—of Bellevue and Hillcrest and Wildwood avenues.

At intervals are station platforms and real estate offices bearing euphonious real estate names familiar in every American suburb. Behind some of these are one or two or three widely scattered, newly built houses. And further back, so far back as to be out of sight of all except the persistent enquirer, are the investments of Virginia school teachers and ministers and small salaried clerks who spent their savings in the hope of large and quick returns.

Nor are these the only ones who have lost or stand to lose. Some of the real estate operators themselves were caught when last spring the Du Pont company finished construction work on its plant and discharged 11,000 workers. That was Hopewell's first great shock. Up to that time it had persuaded itself that there was no limit but the sky. Prices dropped like lead. One man told me he had built a dozen houses in the outside district. The lots had cost him \$200, the houses \$400 each. At first he had rented them for \$35 a month, then for \$25, now he rents for \$12 and \$15. He has gotten half his money back and hopes that he may come out even by inducing some of the 4,500 to 5,000 men who daily commute from Petersburg and Richmond to move their families. But it is hope rather than expectation, for what Hopewell now looks forward to is contraction rather than expansion of the powder mills. The only section where rents re-



The only hospital is maintained by a doctor who is in constant hot water for lack of a license to practice in Virginia. He has made a notable fight against vice.

main as high as \$45 a month for five rooms in a board "apartment house" is in the original Hopewell, where property owners are still sure of the drawing power of the "white lights" before the stores and movies.

Meanwhile, during these vicissitudes of the city and its widespreading suburbs, the Du Pont company has pursued a steady, consistent policy in the housing of a considerable proportion of its 15,000 employees. Although, as at Penn's Grove (see the SURVEY for February 5), its provision has not been enough to meet more than a fraction of the need, in this as in other ways it has been more foresighted than has the unorganized population of Hopewell. It has looked forward to a near future when its force would be materially reduced by the departure of the construction gangs and has not attempted to provide for the peak of the load. Even for the rest of its employes its plans did not contemplate a future much beyond the duration of the war. Recently, however, it has announced that when war orders fail it will convert its plant to the making of dyestuffs and other products for which the present equipment is partially fitted. If this program is to be followed the company will soon be faced with new problems in its villages.

But granting the premise upon which the housing work was undertaken, that after a few years the plant would shrink to approximately its original size, there is much to be said for and little to be said against what the company has done. It could and should have bought up all the land upon which the city of Hopewell stands—provided Mr. Eppes would have

sold. Then it could have controlled land prices and the methods of building. It could have installed as good a sewer and water system for the whole community as it now has for its own villages. Yet it should be added that many of those who thronged Hopewell have been neither employes of the company nor legitimate purveyors to their needs.

Early in its expansion the company built Davisville, or, as it is now known, Shacktown. Here the men engaged in construction work were sheltered in long, one-story wooden, rubberoid-covered barracks. Shacktown is inside the barbed-wire fence that completely surrounds the plant and it may be entered only by those who have tickets or are in the company of an official. The long buildings are divided into rooms around the walls of which are ranged solid lines of three-decker iron bedsteads. Each room has sheltered as many as thirty men, but the number is now reduced to eight or ten. Between the rows of barracks are wash-houses and sewer-connected water-closets. At one side of the enclosure is a commissary, where the men may buy their meals at cost.

Since the departure of the construction gangs, Shacktown has been populated by single men employed in the mills. On one side are negroes, in the middle immigrants of all nationalities, on the other side Americans. The last has significance. On the far side of its plant, along the James river, the company built a village for American bachelors. The 100 or more houses here are steam-heated, while the situation in an old pine wood above the river, where the acid fumes seldom come, is the pleasantest of all.

A room in one of these new, clean houses rents for fifty cents a week. But the men and boys found the situation too



The single men for whom these cottages were built by the company deserted for the white lights of the city. They are now occupied by families at \$5 a month.

quiet, too far removed from the life of the business streets. So when the construction gangs left, many of them moved to Shacktown and took up their quarters in the vacated barracks that are already becoming dilapidated. Barren and ugly, the air filled with acid fumes and with frequent showers of soot, Shacktown offers but two attractions: men live there rent free and are just across the railroad from the "city."

Meanwhile the James river villages are being populated with families, the old bachelor quarters converted into three-room apartments that rent for \$5 a month.

When it was too late to prevent the disorderly development of Hopewell, the company bought large areas at both ends of the city and began there the erection of "rubberoid" cottages like those at its Penn's Grove plant.

In the northern development, named A village, live the

chief officials, the supervisors, chemists and other higher salaried employes. Most of the 143 houses are of fairly substantial construction, clapboard or shingle outer walls and plastered within. A considerable proportion of them are of the "ready-built" variety made in Michigan. This village already has a settled, permanent appearance. Most of its streets are well paved, trees have been planted, the yards are well sodded, and about the houses are bushes and flowers. Here, too, is a large clubhouse or hotel where some four hundred bachelors live.

B village, at the other end of Hopewell, is of much less permanent construction. All of its 1,086 houses are of boards covered with "rubberoid." But they are attractively designed, widely spaced and surrounded by well-kept lawns and flowerbeds. The streets, however, are not paved and the sidewalks are of wood.

The chief complaint against the B village houses is that their light construction makes them cold in winter. But the Virginia winter is comparatively mild, so mild that by the simple though expensive expedient of letting the water run all night, there were only two or three times last winter when the plumbers could not keep up with the bursting pipes.

Sunshine and Bath-Rooms

IN ALL the company's houses, except the converted quarters of the James river villages, there is a fully equipped bathroom in every family dwelling. Moreover, except in the James river villages and part of B village, where houses are built in groups of six or eight, all are so widely spaced that the sun reaches every part of them. In the James river villages the converted houses contain three rooms; in B village the detached houses contain six rooms and rent for from \$7.50 to \$8.00 a month; in A village they range from six to eight rooms and rent for from \$12 to \$15 a month.

The total monthly rental from all the company's houses is \$10,500. This is said to be based on a 10 per cent gross return upon the cost, and one official optimistically declared that the houses will have paid for themselves "in fifteen years anyway."

There are several faults with this reasoning, aside from the obvious one that gross return is very different from net return. Flimsily built houses, such as those of B village, will not last fifteen years unless they have been practically rebuilt in the meantime. Already the cost of maintenance is beginning to make serious inroads upon the gross return. The cost of streets, sewers, water mains, pumping station and filter-



"Shacktown," bachelor quarters built of short-lived rubberoid, furnishes separate sections for Negroes, native whites and foreign-born workmen.

ing plant are not figured in. To be sure, part of the water system cost should be charged to the mills, which use them also, but part belongs to the houses.

Then there is the cost of garbage collection and of cleaning, for the company keeps all its houses and their surroundings in the most sanitary condition. A part of the work of its sanitary squad is the draining of marshes and the oiling of stagnant pools. Were all these costs figured in, it is doubtful if the 10 per cent gross would show any per cent net.

There is no intimation in this that the company is of a philanthropic bent. What it has done, it has done because it is good business. The wife of one of its employes who lives in B village said that her family had never been so well in their lives as during the year they have lived here. Light and air, space for the children to play, abundant and pure water, sanitary and convenient toilets, malaria and typhoid banished. These things mean not only steadier and more efficient but also more zealous employes. And the Du Pont company realizes it.

If peace is to change the powder mills into dye works and there is to be here a permanent city, there arise at once new problems, first among them the old question of democracy or autocracy. Should the company which has owned and maintained a remarkably good camp own and manage a permanent town? Even with the camp it has difficulties. Around its holdings are private developments that it cannot control.

A Neighboring Menace

A SHORT DISTANCE outside of B village is a Negro settlement, the inhabitants of which get their water from a polluted well. The week before I was in town there were several cases of typhoid in this settlement, a menace to thousands of company employes, for whose protection the company has taken every precaution on its own property. In a little ravine below A village is a collection of shacks and tents inhabited by men and horses. The surroundings are filthy. Flies swarm. The people get their water from a spring that may be polluted at any time. A drain from the hill above discharges a constant stream of dirty water into a scum-covered pool. The company officials have no authority there. But company houses stand on the edge of the ravine.

The city of Hopewell, itself surrounded by company property, has an inadequate sewer system, while its water comes from a well in a ravine, along the banks of which stand several privies. Though the company houses are widely spaced and covered with a non-inflammable material to reduce the fire hazard, the city nearer to the mills is a tinder-box. During a recent week it had two fires.

But while these matters are bad enough in a temporary development, and become worse if the development is to be permanent, there are other difficulties, even more serious, sure to arise if the company attempts to control all the surrounding territory. Had there been no free city of Hopewell, it is safe to assume that already there would have developed an antagonism between the company and its employes. Had there been no choice between living in an expensive, flimsy apartment or in a tent in Hopewell or in a sanitary, attractive and comparatively comfortable cottage in B village, there would have been from the cottage dwellers complaints now not even thought of. To-day, when a considerable number of employes are forced to put up with the expensive inconveniences of Hopewell or make the daily trip to Petersburg or Richmond while awaiting their turn to get a company cottage, those who are installed have a lively sense of their advantage.

Besides affording a contrast, Hopewell has been a safety

valve through which has escaped energy that more closely confined might have produced an explosion. And still more important, it has given this shifting throng from every quarter of the globe a chance to find itself. Pressure from outside, from state officials, has played its part; but also there has been good yeast working within.

No one knows yet the exact proportion of the many elements in Hopewell's population. And if he did know to-day his knowledge would be antiquated to-morrow, for during the past few months the company, instead of employing everyone who applies, has been able to pick and choose. It is weeding out. One result, according to the superintendent of schools, is that there are now only six or eight nationalities represented, while last winter there were twenty. Another result is the disappearance of the more turbulent spirits.

The impression one gets of the population is as if there had been a sort of sub-marine volcanic eruption that has thrown to the surface in inextricable confusion all forms of life that had existed between the surface and the lowest ooze. At first there was nothing but a welter, a blind, confused struggling. Now, slowly, those who possess character and purpose are beginning to establish themselves. In spite of the handicap imposed by the widespread feeling that Hopewell may be only a temporary bubble, in spite of the still constant shifting of the population, here today and gone tomorrow, there are leaders who came with the first rush and who have stayed. Not least interesting is it to find that among them are some who are finding an opportunity to redeem past mistakes by present service, and at last about these leaders has begun to crystallize a public opinion that gives something to work with.

The question now is whether this new social and civic consciousness will grow rapidly enough to save Hopewell—always assuming that the war-time powder mills are to become peace-time dye works? In spite of the rush and vim of Hopewell's building, only a fraction of the city's area is covered. And of that fraction most is covered with flimsy board structures that must soon be replaced. Although substantial brick and concrete business blocks are being erected on some of the chief business streets, they are still few in number.

Hopewell as a permanent city is just at its beginning, and it is beginning badly. Its street system is poorly planned. Its lot units were designed to get the most money for the least land. The new business blocks are more substantial than the old, but they fill their lots, borrow light and air for their offices from neighboring lots. Even the best hotel in town gets light for most of its rooms from a narrow court.

The Chance for Democracy

Now that the frenzy of speculation is over, Hopewell has its opportunity to build in such a way that its future will be assured. Within a few years the thousands who live in the surrounding company villages must find new homes. Hopewell can have them if it makes itself fit for them. Foresight, such planning as the present street layout permits, proper regulation of buildings with an eye to future use instead of to past speculative land prices, a safe water supply, an extension of the sewer system, public schools in place of those now maintained by the company; with these both Hopewell and the company might watch with equanimity the rapid disintegration of Shacktown, the James river and B villages.

Autocracy, at least partially prepared for the emergency, knowing definitely what it proposed to do, has to date produced much better results on a temporary basis than unprepared, uninformed democracy. But democracy's chance to work on a permanent basis has now come.



EXTREMES OF WAR SERVICE

General Von Hindenburg, directing the German campaign on the East Front, and Ernest P. Bicknell, director Civilian Relief, American Red Cross, conferring on relief in Poland. Von Hindenburg stands in the center Mr. Bicknell at his left

The Battlefield of Poland

By Ernest P. Bicknell

DIRECTOR OF CIVILIAN RELIEF, AMERICAN RED CROSS

THE story is told of a regiment of Polish infantry in the Russian army who charged a body of the enemy with fixed bayonets. Just before the shock of contact, each side discovered that the other was shouting a Polish battle-cry. In an instant, so the story goes, every bayonet was lowered and the men on both sides, inspired by a common impulse, fell upon their knees.

I do not know whether this incident is true, but it well illustrates the spirit among the conscripts of the country which has been compelled to bear the brunt of the eastern campaign. Forced into a struggle not of her own making and in which she had little interest, compelled to divide a million of her sons between the two great contending armies, and, finally, to see her own land selected as the battleground, its peaceful and helpless people driven into exile, its towns and villages destroyed, its farm lands devastated, its mills silenced, its commerce paralyzed, the horrors of pestilence and famine let loose; this is the tragic fate of Poland. Belgium and Serbia fought for life and for liberty, with powerful friends as allies.

Poland fought as a vassal state, without heart, without hope, her own land the inevitable victim, no matter which side won the victory.

To fully appreciate the depth of Poland's tragedy it is necessary to recall that sad day in her history, more than a century ago, when her country was seized by Russia, Prussia and Austria and parcelled out among them. Although this division of territory compelled allegiance to three different masters, it did not divide the unity of the Polish people, who from that day have continued to regard themselves as one nation in spirit, sympathy and mutuality of interest.

And yet in this war none of the contending armies which have destroyed Poland has felt hostile toward her. As a matter of fact, every one of the three principals in the eastern war zone has desired her favor. An official of the German government said to me, with a cynical smile, that Germany, Austria and Russia were trying to convince Poland that each was her only true friend. While such a statement as this must have seemed a grim jest to the scattered, broken and

perishing Polish people, in fairness it should be said that the devastation in Poland was not a deliberate policy, but the result chiefly of the gigantic military operations carried on in Polish territory, as the huge armies surged back and forth alternately winning and losing.

Caught Between Two Armies

THE SAME REASONS, however, which led these great countries to seek Poland's favor led them to suspect her friendship and aroused a sense of jealousy and distrust. Instead of laying court to her by means of conciliatory and sympathetic measures, these conflicting sentiments led each of the aspirants to adopt an attitude of sternness even while professing friendship.

When the Russian armies were forced backward out of Poland they drove before them many hundreds of thousands of Polish noncombatants, fearing that they would prove friendly and helpful to the German and Austrian invaders. On the other hand, the German and Austrian armies upon occupying Poland dealt harshly with the Poles, because the latter were subjects of an enemy country, and were, therefore, suspected of hostility. Thus, amid professions of good will, Poland suffered as though she were the enemy of all three of the great nations which fought across her territory.

As early as January, 1915, when the Teutonic forces had occupied only half of the territory of Russian Poland, and before the city of Warsaw was lost to Russia, the Central Citizens' Committee of Warsaw, composed of a group of intelligent and public-spirited Poles, had made a study, at the suggestion of the American ambassador in Petrograd, of the losses which Poland had suffered within the territory at that time occupied by the German and Austrian armies. This estimate, prepared with much labor, showed that of the twenty-seven thousand villages included in the occupied section, more than five thousand had been damaged by the fighting, and that of this number, about one thousand had been completely destroyed.

Losses in the open farming country were proportionately as great as in the villages. Items in the damage wrought by military operations consist in the injury caused by the digging of trenches and the tearing up of the ground by the explosion of shells. Through this cause alone the committee estimated that the farm lands upon which actual fighting occurred lost 25 per cent of their value. The Russian armies were said to be no less responsible than the invading forces for this huge devastation.

Without minutely analyzing the elaborate report of this committee, its estimate of losses in the occupied part of Poland up to January 1, 1915, was 698,767,000 roubles. Since a rouble is the equivalent, roughly, of fifty cents in United States currency, the loss thus reached a total of three hundred million dollars. If the finding of the central committee may be taken as approximately correct at the time it was made, now, almost two years later since Warsaw and many other large cities, as well as the entire remainder of Polish territory, have been conquered by the central powers, after many months of titanic military operations, the aggregate of losses must reach billions of roubles.

But the property losses, huge and crushing as they are, do not constitute Poland's chief appeal to the sympathy of the world. That lies in the story of the shattering of a peaceful and industrious people, its young men forced to engage in a fratricidal war, its old men, its women and children homeless, starving, dying, scattered to the four winds, huddling among the ruins of their villages, trailing in pathetic thousands along the country roads, their way marked by the graves of those who succumbed, moving in a vast and hopeless migration into

the far distances of Russia, the prey of disease and despair. Of all the helpless, unearned suffering, of lonely uncounted death, of the pitiless clutch of circumstance which this war has produced, no desolation, unless it be that of the Armenians, equals that of Poland.

Moved by a desire to alleviate this suffering of the Polish people, the Rockefeller Foundation War Relief Commission traveled from Holland to Berlin early in January, 1915. The commission at that time consisted of Dr. Wickliffe Rose, director-general of the International Health Commission of the Rockefeller Foundation; Henry James, Jr., manager of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, and myself, as national director of the American Red Cross. Colin Herrle, of the staff of the Red Cross, was secretary of the commission.

At Berlin the American ambassador, James W. Gerard, who was of invaluable assistance in all the negotiations that followed, brought us promptly into communication with representatives of the German government, where our desire to be of some help to the Poles brought an immediate and hearty response. In order to simplify preliminaries, Dr. Theodor Lewald, a permanent under-secretary of the Department of the Interior, was authorized to represent the German government in all its relations to our undertaking. Dr. Lewald had made several visits to America and as the German representative at the St. Louis exposition had remained in the United States for more than a year. His excellent command of the English language and his knowledge of and friendship for the United States enabled him to give us most efficient and intelligent help.

It was obvious that the first preparatory step must consist in a journey into Poland for personal observation of the condition of the Polish people, the means of transportation, communication and distribution. Because of the lack of railway facilities, it was necessary that travel in Poland should be by automobile. The trip was begun about the middle of January, the party consisting of the members of the commission, Dr. Lewald and two military officers, who accompanied us as guides and interpreters.

A Journey Through Poland

WE FIRST VISITED southern Poland, where agriculture is of secondary importance and where the population is chiefly engaged in mining and manufacture. No fighting had occurred in this region, but all the mining machinery had been destroyed as a military measure, and all manufacturing had been stopped for lack of raw material. Local relief committees had been formed in the chief centers of population, and thousands of unemployed workmen and their families were receiving food daily from soup kitchens and other relief distribution centers. The absence of food supplies was due largely to the fact that the normal agricultural crops were insufficient to meet the usual demands of the people, and lack of transportation facilities prevented the bringing in of supplies from other parts of the country. Small amounts of flour and meat were permitted to be sent in from Germany for distribution.

From this part of Poland we traveled northward and eastward, zigzagging backward and forward in order to obtain a comprehensive idea of the needs of the country.

In the city of Czenstochowa we found a population of ninety thousand, half fed, idle and depressed. Mill owners were allowing their employes six kopecks per day, equivalent to about three cents in United States currency, for each member of a family. Such supplies as were to be purchased commanded abnormally high prices. Great misery existed throughout the community, and it was clear that unless some

systematic provision for relief was made, actual starvation would result, with its inevitable accompaniment of disease. Mortality among the children and the aged was reported to have reached an alarming rate, although no statistical information was available.

But in order to fully appreciate the conditions prevailing in Czenstochowa and other cities of Poland, with the exception of Warsaw and a few of the more important places, it is necessary to have in mind a picture of the civic characteristics which prevailed in those communities even in normal times.

Russian Poland for more than a century has had no vestige of self-government. All her government officials, in both provinces and municipalities, were Russians (not Poles) appointed by the Imperial government at Petrograd, to which these appointees owed their first allegiance always. Taxes were levied primarily for the benefit of the Imperial government, the needs of the taxpayer and of the local community being always of secondary importance. Although the mayor of a city was assisted by an appointed advisory council of citizens, they possessed little power. Authority to expend money for the benefit of the city had first to be obtained from Petrograd. Applications for such authority usually waited long for an answer, and were often refused. For example, the mayor and council of the city of Lodz, with more than a half million population, were not permitted to expend more than \$150 for municipal purposes without special authority from the Imperial government.

The result of this system of rule from the outside by outsiders was everywhere obvious in Czenstochowa, as well as in the other Polish cities which we visited. Czenstochowa had no paved streets. At the time of our visit the streets were deep with black semi-liquid mud. Sidewalks were narrow, broken, uneven or absent. There were no street lights at night, save from a few scattering lamps in the central square fronting the public buildings. The city possessed no public water supply, no sewers, no street railways, no telephone system, no fire department, and no public schools. The use of the Polish tongue was forbidden in private and parochial schools.

Censorship of Religion

SUBSTANTIALLY 80 per cent of the Poles are Roman Catholics, and a constant source of friction and repression was to be found in the fact that the Russian government, of which the state church is the Greek Catholic, exercised complete control over the Roman Catholic priesthood. A priest might not go from one community to another without a special pass from a government official. A Pole could not study for the priesthood without government consent, and was dependent for appointment to service and to promotion upon governmental approval. This rigid control of the Roman Catholic church in Poland by a government which is anti-Roman Catholic in sentiment has been an obstacle to the development of that church along the lines of greatest helpfulness to the people.

Add to this picture of the physical and civic backwardness normally existing in Czenstochowa the complete idleness of its 45,000 industrial operatives, and reduce the food consumption of the entire city to 50 per cent of its normal amount, and you have a combination of conditions which can but crush the spirit of a people and lead inevitably to a breaking down of vitality and to a mortality which must swiftly carry off the weaker members of the population.

The city of Kalish, close to the German boundary, had been one of the more substantial and prosperous cities of Poland. When the conquering German army entered Kalish it was

charged that some of the citizens fired upon the troops from windows and cellars, and, pursuant to its policy of inflicting swift and drastic punishment for this offense, the Germans had burned a large part of the central business section. This was the only instance of this character which we encountered in Poland, a fact which may be taken as an indication that the Polish people did not so strongly resent the incoming of the Germans as did the people of Belgium.

Of the many cities and towns visited, Lodz was the largest and most important. This city is the site of a vast textile industry, which, like the industries of all other Polish cities, was brought to a complete halt by the war. Food supplies were brought into Lodz from the surrounding country and from Germany. Great distress was apparent among the population. Stories were told of instances of starvation, and it was related that a small child had been found dead of starvation in the street a few days before our arrival.

A Diet of Potatoes

LODZ, with its greater population and concentration of wealth, possessed a few paved streets and street-car lines, but lacked sewers and had no public fire department. Here, as in other cities, the large employers of labor had united in a system of very small payments to their idle employes. In addition to this means of assistance, food distribution centers had been established in which many thousand persons were fed daily. A short time prior to our visit to Lodz the bread supply had entirely failed, and for a period of ten days not a loaf was to be had. Fortunately, a supply of potatoes was available, and this vegetable was for several months the principal, and at times the only, article of food to be obtained.

The important part which Poland's potato crop had in maintaining the population, and the circumstances which made this crop available, form an interesting chapter in the war story of the eastern front.

In the spring of 1914, the usual large acreage of potatoes, from which vodka is distilled, had been planted in Poland. After the outbreak of the war, the Czar issued his decree prohibiting the manufacture and sale of alcoholic spirits in the Russian empire. This decree put an immediate stop to the vodka industry. Later in the autumn, when the invading German army had established itself in Poland, the people who still remained harvested the potato crop, which, many times greater than would normally have been consumed for food, provided not only what was needed in the country districts and what was used by the occupying army, but a sufficient quantity to permit large shipments to the cities. It thus came about that the Czar's edict, which at first had seemed to promise the ruin of a flourishing industry, saved, in fact, many thousand lives.

When we traveled through Poland in the month of January, huge piles of potatoes still remained untouched in the fields, where they had been thrown up into heaps and covered with earth to prevent freezing.

While in Lodz we were the guests at dinner one evening of General Von Mackensen, who had command at that time of the German armies in central Poland. The general, with his staff, had taken possession of the one modern hotel in the city. Von Mackensen is tall, rather thin and angular, with a long, drooping mustache, an aquiline nose and a piercing eye. He impressed us as being a man of extremely alert mind, keen, shrewd and incisive. He was affable, manifested much interest in our errand to Poland, and heartily promised to promote our objects in every way possible. On the following day he arranged a conference for us with a large group of citizens of

Lodz, who represented the business and professional life of the city.

The Duke of Saxe-Coburg, whose intimate kinship with the royal house of Great Britain must have made his position in this war most difficult, was an officer on General Von Mackensen's staff and was also much interested in the plans for helping the Poles. It was he who presided over the conference on the following day, when arrangements were made for the creation of a General Citizens' Committee to look after all classes of citizens, without regard to race or religious belief.

That the German military authorities were not always gentle, however, in dealing with the people of Lodz may be illustrated by the following story, told me by a prominent resident of that city.

To provide for additional German troops a demand was made on the mayor for one thousand mattresses, to be delivered to the military authorities on a certain date. When the day fixed came round the mattresses were not delivered. The mayor explained that no mattresses were to be had in the city. The municipality was thereupon fined twenty thousand rubles, and the mayor was again ordered to provide one thousand mattresses not later than another specified date.

Again the time limit expired without the mattresses. Again the mayor explained the impossibility of obtaining them. Then late one night a military guard seized the mayor, with two or three other leading citizens, and forced them to go from house to house, routing people out of their beds and dumping the mattresses out of the windows. Before morning the requisite number was obtained.

While in the hotel at Lodz one day I came face to face with a young man who suddenly put out his hand and said heartily:

"You look like an American."

"I am," I replied. "And what are you?"

"An American," he said. "My name's Wilkins. My wife and baby are at home in Philadelphia."

"What are you doing here? And why the uniform?"

"I am in the Flying Corps," he said. "I had been flying in the States for several years, and when the war broke out it seemed to me a good chance to get some valuable experience, so I came over and entered the German service. I was born in Germany, and have always liked the German people."

"What sort of service can you give up here in the interior of Poland?" I inquired.

"Well," he said, with a laugh, "just now I am engaged in flying over Warsaw and dropping a bomb every day at two o'clock."

I expressed my surprise and horror at this statement, and called Wilkins' attention to the fact that he was destroying the lives and property of innocent and helpless people who were not taking part in the war, and were in no sense to blame for existing conditions.

"Well, you see," he said apologetically, "I fly very high and cannot really see what happens, but I don't suppose my bombs do much damage. All I want to do is to throw a scare into 'em."

The Sequel in Warsaw

TO COMPLETE THIS STORY, I must carry the reader forward three months, when, by traveling into Russia, we visited the city of Warsaw, which lies about sixty-five miles northeast of Lodz, and which at that time was still in possession of the Russians.

The day after our arrival we called upon the American consul in that city, Hernando De Soto. We found Mr. De

Soto in a much disturbed state of mind. He said with great vigor that he was strongly dissatisfied with conditions in Warsaw.

"The thing I most object to," he said, "is the fact that every few days a German aviator flies over Warsaw and tries to drop a bomb on the American consulate."

"But, Mr. Consul, you don't really mean that?" we inquired with some incredulity.

"I do mean it—every word of it," he said, with emphasis. "Here, come with me."

He led us from his office to a front room, and pointed to a large hole in the street in front of the building.

"Now, you see that hole down there? An aviator dropped a bomb there the other day and broke every window in the front of my house. Come back this way."

We followed him back to a window in the rear of the house, where he pointed into a great court or open space, and again said:

"Do you see that hole and those scars on the walls? Well, an aviator dropped a bomb *there* the other day and broke every window out of the back of my house."

Later inquiry showed that many of the bombs which had been dropped by German aviators on Warsaw had actually fallen within a few blocks of the American consulate, not of course intentionally, but because the consulate was near the railway station, from which departed trains carrying troops and munitions to the front, some twenty-five miles west of Warsaw.

Warfare Behind the Trenches

BUT TO RETURN TO LODZ. As we traveled eastward from here we came one night to the little town of Lowicz, which had been partly burned. The towering church on the square had been pierced by shells, and the entire scene was one of desolation. Five or six miles to the eastward the German and Russian armies were engaged in constant battle, so that the steady roar of the distant guns could be heard distinctly.

Toiling through roads deep in mud, an endless procession of heavily laden wagons wound through the streets of Lowicz, carrying munitions and food supplies to the troops at the front. Other endless processions of returning wagons moved in the opposite direction. Every road was choked. As the densely dark night came on, drivers equipped themselves with torches, or men on foot carrying torches walked beside the horses to show the way. The shouts of the men, the creaking and clanking of the wagons, the intermittent glitter of the lights upon the guns or helmets of the soldiers who marched beside the wagons, the impenetrable blackness of the night on either side, save where the moving torches gave momentary glimpses of burned and shattered houses, left upon my mind an indelible picture of warfare immediately behind the trenches.

No place could be found in Lowicz in which we could eat or sleep. The German commander at Lowicz, nervous and overworked, told us of his difficulties. Supplies were not coming through promptly; conflicting orders were causing confusion; not enough teams and wagons were to be had; his superiors were unreasonable in expecting him to do more than was possible with his facilities.

When he had relieved his mind in this manner and was feeling somewhat better, we discussed the condition of the Polish people who still clung to their homes in Lowicz. He expressed great sympathy, and said that he had made a special effort to provide employment for them, as otherwise they would be in danger of starvation. Finally he used his military telephone to call up the headquarters of the commander of the forces which were fighting in that sector of the battle

line, to inquire whether he could give us accommodations for the night. On receiving a favorable reply, the officer gave us a guide, and we departed. As we slowly groped our way along the winding, muddy road the horizon ahead of us was continually lit up by flashes from bursting shells, like heat-lightning in summer.

At ten o'clock we reached the military headquarters of General Von Morgen, a splendid chateau of gray stone in the midst of a forest, which had formerly been the country place of a Polish prince who had fled into Russia as the German army advanced. Immediately upon our arrival we were conducted to the great state dining-room, where General Von Morgen and his staff were at dinner.

In looking about the dining-room, in which were fifty or more officers in uniform, I observed that without exception every one wore an iron cross. Most of these decorations were the iron cross of the first order, worn from a ribbon in the buttonhole in the coat, although those worn by General Von Morgen and several of his officers were of the second order, which is pinned upon the left breast and denotes a much greater service or higher display of courage. No one may be decorated with the iron cross of the second order until after he has received the cross of the first order. It has been stated that since the beginning of the war the Kaiser has bestowed the decoration of the iron cross in more than four hundred thousand instances.

On the following morning General Von Morgen invited our party to visit "the front," where very heavy fighting had occurred a few days before, in the course of which the German army had made a slight advance and pushed a part of the Russian line eastward in such a manner as to form a fighting line semi-circular in shape, with a radius of about two miles. In the center of the semi-circle stood the Polish village of Bolimow, which had fallen into German hands in the course of the preceding week.

We were provided with horses and an escort, and rode away over the frozen ground, in the brilliant sunshine of a perfect winter day. The roar of the firing gradually changed from the continuous monotonous sound which reached the chateau until, as we approached the village of Bolimow and passed through the line of batteries, the detonations of the larger and smaller cannon and the sharp and rapid rattle of the field guns and rifles became clearly distinguishable. Finally we entered the semi-circle of trenches, with the firing on all sides of us. Our guides took us directly to a church, in whose steeple, at an elevation of perhaps one hundred feet, had been established a military observation post. From this point we were able to obtain a view of the entire battle-field.

The Pageantry of War

TO THE WEST were ranged the German batteries, thundering away in turn, each gun emitting a slight wreath of whitish smoke as it discharged its shell. To the north, east and south the shells from the German batteries were exploding above the Russian lines. We could note the discharge of the guns of a battery to the rear, and then, turning quickly, could see the shells explode above the trenches.

Although the sun was dazzling, each shell as it exploded gave an instantaneous, brilliant flash, like a miniature bolt of lightning. Following that, a small, compact ball of smoke slowly unfolded into a tiny, snow-white cloud, which drifted away on the breeze and vanished. In the distant trenches the movements of the German soldiers were clearly visible. Little could be seen of the Russians, who were behind the embankments of their trenches. High in the heavens a huge observation balloon hung almost motionless, the sun glistening

upon its sides. Presently above the roar of the guns could be heard the high, rapid note of the discharge of an engine, and an aeroplane sailed above the lines.

The scene was stirring, vivid, impressive. It was the pageantry, the romance of war. While observing it, we scarcely thought of the tragedy which underlay it.

Leaving the tower, we descended and went around a corner of the church. There a group of soldiers was busily engaged in digging graves, which were perhaps six feet wide and five feet deep. The bodies of four men were laid side by side upon the earthen floor of each grave. There were no coffins, no winding sheets. Each poor fellow was laid to rest in the same soiled and tattered uniform which he had worn when he fell. Attempt was made only to compose his limbs. When the grave had received its occupants, a strip of cotton cloth was quickly spread across the four upturned faces, and the grave was filled. We thought of the folks back home praying with straining hearts for the safety and happy return of those young men.

The Dead and Wounded

WE WALKED about the little village, and found that every house was a hospital. Ambulances were constantly arriving from the trenches, bearing the wounded. Men whose injuries permitted made their way back to the village on foot. As we walked the road from the village toward the trenches we met many soldiers, dragging themselves back for treatment. Some had shattered arms, others wounded shoulders, and many had been wounded about the head.

Steadily the shells continued to flash against the sky and to unfurl their snowy banners in the sunlight, but the romance and the pageantry had vanished for us.

Leaving the village of Bolimow, we rode for some time along the edge of a forest. Presently our road led in among the trees, and we discovered, to our surprise, that a great army camp, containing thousands of men and horses, was so cleverly concealed among the foliage that we had not suspected its presence, though we had been skirting along its very edge for perhaps half a mile.

The army in the forest was not under tents, but had erected shelters of wood, which had been covered with earth, and the earth in turn with the boughs of trees and with dead leaves gathered up from the ground. Several soldiers occupied each of these shelters or dugouts, while larger structures, concealed in the same manner, were used for officers' quarters and such gathering places as were necessary. The horses were protected in the same manner. Moreover, as we went farther through the forest we came upon huge Austrian guns, so cleverly hidden that we should not have noticed them had not our attention been called to their hiding places.

Later in the day, upon our return to headquarters the German officer who rode beside me suggested that we look at the bulletin board posted at the entrance of the chateau, where the latest official bulletins from all the belligerent countries were posted. At my expression of wonder, the officer pointed to a slender pole standing among the trees, scarcely noticeable—a wireless station from which were obtained direct all the official announcements given out by the belligerents.

He explained further that by tacit agreement the warring nations on both sides have set aside a certain hour of the night for each of the countries to give out its wireless statement to the world. When the hour comes for Germany to issue her nightly official bulletin, all the other countries keep out of the way and allow Germany the uninterrupted use of the atmosphere of the world until her time is up. Then the next

country in turn sends out her message, and so on until all have had their chance.

In the far interior of Poland, in the midst of a great forest, that modest wireless station reached its long arm up into the air and drew down one by one the messages which told the progress of the war, as they swept across the night, from the Eiffel Tower, from England, from Italy, from Germany, from Austria, from Russia. The quiet German soldier who sat in his little office in the wireless station knew exactly the moment at which he would begin to receive the message from each of these countries. The officers in this remote spot discussed at the breakfast table exactly the same news which the people of New York read in their morning papers.

This incident brought vividly to mind the significance of wireless telegraphy. The censor may prevent unwelcome messages from entering his country by telegraph line, by cable, by post, or by messenger, but he cannot prevent wireless messages from coming freely across his frontier, to be read by any who care to intercept them. Here is an instrument for the dissemination of information which cannot be restricted by frontiers, destroyed by armies or suppressed by statute. There is challenge and hope in the fact.

In our travel through central and northern Poland we came upon many destroyed villages, whose sites were marked only by tottering chimneys. Many wretched groups of refugees were seen tramping through the country, carrying upon their shoulders their small belongings. Some were camping about meager fires, built beside the roads.

I shall not soon forget one group which we passed on a stormy afternoon. We were traveling westward on a broad highway, our car caught fast in a slow-moving procession consisting of miles of army transport wagons returning from the front for additional loads of supplies. The other half of the roadway was occupied by a similar procession, miles in length, of loaded army wagons, traveling toward the front. In the irregular and bumpy depression which skirted the roadway we came upon a little group of refugees, an elderly woman and four or five young children. The group had paused beside a crude, low wagon, and while one of the children held the head of the half-starved horse, the woman had climbed upon the wagon and was laboriously endeavoring to replace the lid of a small coffin which had evidently been jolted off by the uneven character of the road. As we passed on out of sight, the woman was still working clumsily at the lid of the coffin, while the shivering, half-clad children endeavored to shield themselves from the cutting wind by huddling close together behind the scant protection of the open framework of the wagon.

In all the cities and towns of Poland we discovered an almost total absence of money. The banking institutions were all branches of great mother banks in Petrograd. When the German invasion began, therefore, the bankers gathered

together all the money and securities at their command and fled with them to Petrograd. The Polish cities were thus left in a peculiarly helpless plight. In substantially every city an attempt was made to create a medium of exchange by issuing notes of various denominations, guaranteed in each case by the city which issued them. These notes, which in America would probably be called scrip, were ordinarily referred to as "bonds."

For purely local business transactions these bonds served their purpose very well, but a great disadvantage lay in the fact that they had no purchasing power outside the limits of the city which issued them. When arrangements were considered for sending food supplies from Germany into Poland to be sold, the plan had to be abandoned because the money which the people of the Polish towns could pay for such supplies had no value in Germany.

This situation became the subject of many conferences and extended negotiations between representatives of Polish cities and German bankers, the attempt being to establish some system by which the bankers might be given such guarantees by the Polish municipalities as would justify them in accepting bonds issued by those municipalities. The introduction of German and Austrian currency into Poland went on slowly through the occupying armies, and this gradually had a tendency to provide Poland with a suitable medium of exchange.

On leaving Poland we stopped a day in the city of Posen, which was at that time the headquarters of Field Marshal Von Hindenburg, who was established in the Kaiser's great stone palace, one of the most imposing buildings of the city. In dress and in manner the field marshal was simplicity itself. There was not visible a trace of pomp or ceremony. The massive frame of this man, who, next to the Emperor, is the most conspicuous personage in the empire, his rugged features and piercing eye, all spoke of power and driving force. But his voice was low and his words few.

Our conversation was not extended, but was as free and direct as might be expected in a call upon an American business man. General Von Hindenburg assured us that we might rely upon his interest and active promotion of our project for helping the Polish people. We had previously been informed that permission to undertake this work in Poland would have to be obtained from him, and his very prompt and hearty promises of sympathetic co-operation were most encouraging.

From Posen we returned to Berlin and entered upon a series of conferences with the representatives of the German and Austrian governments in an attempt to prepare a plan for the relief of Poland which would be acceptable to those governments and practicable of execution by a relief organization which we were to form, bearing the name of "The International Commission for Relief in Poland."

[Mr. Bicknell's next installment will tell of subsequent developments in the history of war relief on the Eastern front.]



POLISH REFUGEES WHOSE HOMES ARE SHATTERED AND COUNTRY INVADIED



UNION OF STONEMASONS READY TO MARCH IN THE COMMUNE CELEBRATION OF ORIZABA

Behind the Drums of Revolution

The Labor Movement in Mexico as
Seen by an American Trade Unionist

By John Murray

AROUND the long room with their backs to the wall sat some fifty men of every type bred in Mexico, the Mexico that mixes its fraction of Spanish blood with a hundred Indian strains. I had been escorted into the assembly room by a committee made up of Saviñon, the printer; Sonoqui, the railroad conductor; Magaña, the salesman; Fernandez, the fireman, and Roa, the carpenter. My International Typographical Union card was duly inspected and by a vote of the Comité Revolucionario de la Casa del Obrero Mundial I became a member of the revolutionary committee of Mexico's largest and most militant labor organization.

The Casa del Obrero Mundial (the House of the Workers) with its fifty thousand members scattered throughout the various cities of the Republic had given its adherence to the Constitutionalist government and so when, in 1915, Obregon went north and Zapata entered Mexico City, the leaders of the organized labor movement of Mexico, their

wives and children, were hurried on board trains and given shelter in the Carranza-governed city of Orizaba, 80-odd miles inland from Vera Cruz. In all there were some six thousand of them, the cream of Mexico's skilled mechanics and their families. If Zapata had caught them they would have been shot.

For a week I sat in the daily sessions of the Comité Revolucionario listening to speeches and the passage of resolutions that had but one historical counterpart, namely, the Paris commune.

Carranza sent his military representative, Colonel Ignacio C. Enriquez (now governor of the state of Chihuahua) to the comité to ask for the quick enrollment of the unions in the army of General Treviño and in a few hours I saw the mustering in of the *gremio* (union) of stonemasons, the same union that I afterwards visited while they were fighting in the trenches at Ebana, in the heart of the oil fields of Tampico.



THE CHURCHES OF ORIZABA

The Revolutionists have turned them into schools, printing offices and union headquarters

The drums of the union, lettered with puzzling black figures, attracted my attention when the red-bannered organization stood in line at the station of the Ferrocarril Mexicano ready to entrain for Vera Cruz, and so I questioned one of the drummers about them.

He pulled the sleeve of his companion, turned up his drum and began to laugh. "This North American comrade," he commented with twinkling eyes, "lacks religious education. He does not recognize the chants of the church." Then explaining to me: "This parchment on our drums came from the cathedral in Mexico, parchment on which the clericals had painted their chants. Now"—he played a tattoo with his fingers on the drum-bottom—"it sings the song of the revolution."

Years before I had visited Orizaba, in the days of Porfirio Diaz, the dictator, just after the big strike in the Rio Blanco cotton mills, when hundreds of workers, men, women and children, were shot down in front of the mill gates. The English superintendent took me through the great plant, with its eleven acres of machinery, under the impression that I was an American capitalist seeking fields for investment, and carefully explained that there was no such equipped mill in the round world. "Besides," he explained, "the labor market here is attractive; we pay men sixty cents, women twenty-five, and children fifteen cents a day." Then he added, "They are artists, too, these people, as you can see by the designs and colorings, which are all done by the natives."

The great strike with its bloody ending under the gunfire of troops took place in 1906, and now, March 11, 1915, Orizaba was celebrating its anniversary. To commemorate the death of the strike-martyrs, four thousand of us, led by the comité, marched to the little plaza in front of the mill gates and held a meeting with the mill hands, three thousand of whom afterwards joined the Casa del Obrero Mundial. It was a strange scene to one who had just come from the strike fields of Colorado, where a soldier in uniform had come to mean an enemy in the minds of the workers. I could hardly trust my eyesight, for there, before the gates of the Rio Blanco mill, were many soldiers and officers in the uniform of the Constitutionalist government mingling with the crowd and standing upon the speakers' platform, even at the very time when the workers were denouncing as "the three great enemies of the people, capitalism, clericalism and militarism." These men in uniforms listened and applauded, while I rubbed my eyes to prove that I was awake and not dreaming.

Afterwards, we marched in a long line to the little graveyard that rests at the foot of the snow-capped peak after which the town is named, Orizaba. On the grave of the

dead strike leader, Moreno, we planted a small tree, enticing some children to pat the earth down with their little brown hands so that the next generation might remember the place. Three great wreaths were placed on the small mound, one tied with red ribbons with gold lettering which read: *Los Obreros Norteamericanos a sus Hermanos Mexicanos—Rio Blanco 11 de Marzo de 1915.*

The Mexican printer, Juan Saviñon, called the stonemason, Hernandez, to his side and pointed out to me a red ribbon encircling his arm, on which was lettered *Grupo Francisco Ferrer Guardia—Fundadores de la Casa del Obrero Mundial de Mexico—Canteros y Albaniles.*

"The *Canteros* (stonemasons)," explained Saviñon, "are very proud of being the founders of the Casa del Obrero Mundial in Mexico City. Active organization began in May, 1911, and two years later headquarters were established at the Calle del Estanco de Hombres, 44, where we were joined by the union of shoemakers, the unions of tailors, carpenters, printers, and many others, making a membership of some four thousand.

"Under de la Barra we had a hard time, under Huerta it was worse, many went to jail, some were shot, a strike of the motormen was lost. Huerta closed the headquarters of the Casa del Obrero Mundial at the time of the taking of Torreon by Villa, and he also killed three of our comrades when we celebrated the first of May, in 1914, the day on which the Socialist Party was founded in Mexico City. We asked permission of the police to meet in the Alameda; we were told 'no', but we met just the same, the great crowd packing all in front of the monument of Juarez. Then cannon and soldiers were ordered out to overawe us.

"Even under Madero it was not always safe, for then our first paper, *La Luz* (The Light), was suppressed after being published three months. Then we printed *La Lucha* (The Struggle), and it ran for less than a year. Afterwards came *El Sindicalista* (The Syndicalist) and *Emancipacion Obrero* (The Workers' Emancipation), official organ of the General Confederation of Workers.

"When Carranza took Mexico City we moved to San Juan de Latron, No. 11. This was a big building that had belonged to the Jesuits. Carranza gave us typewriters, furniture, a big printing press, and also another headquarters for the women of the Casa del Obrero Mundial at Calle de 57. We had a fine library of over 12,000 volumes—not clerical reading, either, but all of the best Russian, French, Italian and Spanish authors and some German and English.



BELENE PRISON UNDER DIAZ RULE

Many political prisoners were here starved to death

"Then came the strike of the motormen and conductors in August. They won with a raise of 25 per cent and the right to buy their own uniforms wherever they pleased. The cars stopped running for five days. It was then that the government took possession of the lines and made Ramos director and employed none but union men. When the telephone operators struck the government also took over the plants and granted the men a 50 per cent raise in pay.

"It was the Casa del Obrero Mundial that stopped the people of Mexico City from flocking to the banner of Huerta when Vera Cruz was invaded by American troops. We printed a little pamphlet headed, 'People, Don't Be Fooled,' and scattered it all through the city's streets—it stopped Huerta's game and killed his last chance of rallying the people to his support.

"Obregon was wise. When the rich merchants and clericals refused to provide food for the starving people he decided to leave the city and let the aristocrats stew in their own juice."

In this fashion did the printer Saviñon make a terse, running story, as he saw them, of the high-lights of the revolution in Mexico City.

After Felix Diaz ran away, after Huerta fled, General Obregon held Mexico City for the Constitutionalist government. Meanwhile, Zapata was blowing up trains and generally demoralizing traffic in and out of the City of Mexico, so that bread was scarce and the people threatened with starvation.

The mills which ground corn for the public entirely failed to provide *masa* for the people, and women were making long trips into the country to get the wherewithal to make bread. Bakeries had notices posted in front of their shops stating that they had no flour. Only English biscuits sold in a few of the shops catering to the rich and were purchasable at a rate of from four to eight dollars a kilo.

Then it was that General Alvara Obregon, commanding the Constitutionalist troops in the City of Mexico, made a declaration that "the merchants did not accept the invitation which was made to them to assist the people in their dire need, and thus prevent violence." "The time has come," he added, "when the people may make use of a right (the right of revolution), which in other circumstances would be prohibited to them, and which any authority would have to oppose. Authority can never be the authority of anybody, but of justice only, and should dispense justice to persons or collectivities if they deserve it, but when one part of the



THE COTTON MILL AT RIO BLANCO

In the old days hundreds of strikers were shot here by Diaz soldiery

community turns away from justice and uprightness, the government should not defend it against a sacred right which it has placed in the people's hands."

Soon after, the Casa del Obrero Mundial met with Rafael Zubaran Capmany, minister of Gobernacion, and signed an agreement in which the Constitutionalist government officially recognized their mutuality of aims. Thousands of workingmen paraded through the streets of Mexico headed by the red flag and were saluted by the staff officers of General Obregon as they passed his headquarters in the St. Francis Hotel.

The following pact was signed between organized labor and the Constitutionalist government, the first time in history, as far as I am aware, that a national government ever entered into a working agreement with a labor organization:

It is plain why organized labor supported the Constitutionalist government in Mexico; food, guns in the workers' hands, opportunity to organize, to strike and raise the standard of living, all this was reason enough. But what inducement was it that persuaded middle-class Mexicans to become upholders of a governmental program that called for land nationalization and all the preliminary steps that led to a socialization of industry? I found scores of men like the Constitutionalist Secretary of State Cabrera; Secretary of Gobernacion Zubaran; the general who practically snatched Mexico from the reaction, Obregon; men educated in Paris and Berlin, like Atl and Rolland—all of that class which in every other country under the sun shys at the nationalization of anything and constitutes the most bitter enemy of militant labor organizations, here, in Mexico, falling over one another to propose new steps whereby the resources of Mexico could be put into the hands of the government.

Even during the reactionary government of Huerta his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Moheno, introduced a bill which called for the acquisition, by the Mexican government, of all the oil lands of Mexico and their exploitation as a government monopoly. Reason for this is not far to seek as, at the present writing, Mexicans have lost to foreign ownership more than nine-tenths of their country's oil fields. The total oil fields now operated in the whole of the United States amount to some 8,300,000 acres, whereas the oil fields of the Tampico district alone contain 5,000,000 acres. The Mexican Year-Book gives the total amount of capital employed in Mexican mining industry as \$647,000,000. Of this, \$500,000,000 is said to be American, \$87,000,000 English and \$29,000,000 Mexican. It is true that the Mexican government owns 51 per cent of the capital stock in the national railroads, but foreign capitalists own practically all



THE FATE OF STRIKERS

Six unarmed peons in the Cananea strike were hung in this fashion



COMMUNE CELEBRATION AT ORIZABA

In the little plaza under the monument of Juarez four thousand workmen held a meeting, which soldiers wearing the Constitutional uniform attended and applauded. Three thousand men joined the Casa del Obrero Mundial after the meeting

of the bonds. American investments in Mexico are estimated at from \$800,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000. With this understanding of how things stand, it is easy to grasp the Mexican middle-class viewpoint and the conclusion freely expressed throughout Mexico: "Better, government ownership than foreign ownership."

Even from the mouths of judges, judges that sit on what is Mexico's supreme bench, issue in a most unfamiliar strain dictums that show that their minds, too, are filled with the revolution. Said Roque Estrada, minister of justice in Mexico City, in speaking to the magistrates for the federal district of Mexico upon their taking the oath of office under the Constitutionalist government:

"You will say to me that there are articles to be adhered to contained in a book called 'Law'; but I must remind you that we are condemning and rejecting all that has previously taken place and that there exist no laws or regulations which bind us to any definite procedure, and so it becomes necessary to apply a strictly revolutionary spirit in order that the administration of justice may answer its purpose in fulfilling the aspirations of the revolution, which has now materialized into a government.

"You know that all social movement is represented by action and reaction; and it may be that in your work and in your broad judgment you may find at every step the criticism of public opinion, criticism which often represents a true social movement. I must say that these forces of action and reaction are strong and far-reaching because that which is known as 'established rights' is in opposition to revolution and against what we may call 'revolutionary justice.' We have the people hungering for justice.

"What is needed to attain the aims of the revolution, what the government expects of you, is reform, reform and reform, and never forget that in order to be consistent it is necessary for you to have at all times a settled conviction as to the foundation of justice."

Mexicans and Americans Strike Hands

THE INTERNATIONAL conference held in July in Washington between representatives of the labor movements of the two republics was not a mere utopian expression of fraternalism nor was it held solely for the purpose of averting war, although it was a deciding factor for peace, but grew from interlocking labor interests demanding organization along the entire border.

Great blocks of American capital invested in mines have become international investments, with holdings so colossal that they straddle the border, one foot in Arizona and the other in Sonora. Copper knows no boundary line and the mines and smelters of Bisbee, Douglas, Cananea and Nacozari ignore races and nations in their conquest of mineral wealth. Likewise, following the organization of mining capital, mine labor organized. Naturally followed the Washington conference, and naturally will come, sometime, complete international organization.

The mines employing the largest number of Mexicans in Arizona are those of the Clifton-Morenci-Metcalf district, where 5,500 Mexicans and about 2,500 Spaniards, Italians and Americans work. On September 10 of the year 1915 the entire 8,000 went on strike under the organization of the Western Federation of Miners. The demands of the miners were, to the mind of the state's governor, so plainly just that he practically took the side of the strikers and in a proclamation called for public donations of food to be made to the

families of the workers. With absolute unanimity the Mexicans struck and proved again that their spirit of solidarity is comparable with that of any nationality in the world.

It was on the border between Sonora and Arizona that the labor movement of North America and Mexico first joined hands, and for a most material reason, as was explained to me by a member of the Western Federation of Miners in Bisbee. He spoke frankly, and, as he is still organizing in that district, I withhold his name:

"In Butte the copper lays deep in the ground, much deeper than in Arizona, where it is nearer the surface; for this reason the copper industry is drifting south and will eventually reach its greatest production in Mexico. American mining interests know this and are hot after all the Mexican concessions that they can lay hands on. Cananea is the proof of what I am saying and the bloody Cananea strike of 1906 was really the first reaching over the border of the North American labor movement. Here is what happened:

"Before this strike, I had been collecting the dues of some of our Western Federation of Miners' boys who were working in Cananea and when I went over the border the Mexican miners would ask me, 'Why can't we get the same wages you Americans get?' I told them they could if they'd organize. So they went to it. The appointed day came and they threw down their tools; organized in a procession and in the course of their march through the town passed a lumber yard owned by Americans. At work among the lumber were several Mexicans and the procession halted and its leaders called to their fellow workers to come out. At this the lumber dealers turned a hose on the marching Mexicans, and when the enraged crowd made a dash for the yard the Americans answered with shots from their Winchesters. The end was the death of several Mexicans and the death of the lumber dealers. The strikers were unarmed, but in their rage at the shooting of their comrades used their miner's iron-pointed candle-sticks as daggers. Then the manager of the mines, who had been waiting for the opportunity called his cowboys into play and Winchesters mowed down Mexicans at every street corner.

"It was at this time that one American mining company got in its work and posted notices outside of its store at Bisbee stating that the Mexicans were killing the American women and children in Cananea. At the same time this company-store offered guns and ammunition to every one who would go across the line and fight. It looked like the first step in the annexation of Mexico. Many good miners in Bisbee, who now know better, fell for the bait, and, thinking they were out to help the women and children, marched on Cananea. When they arrived it was only dead Mexicans that littered the streets, for the cowboys had been given a free hand."

But there's another story that is really a piece of the same tale, although it happened years afterwards in the days when Madero triumphantly entered the City of Mexico as president. Here it is just as Joe Cannon, of the Western Federation of Miners, told it to me:



AN ELEVEN-YEAR-OLD LAD OF THE RED BATTALION, COMPOSED OF MEMBERS OF THE CASA DEL OBRERO MUNICIPAL



"In the month of September of 1911, the three of us went down into Mexico to see Madero. Mother Jones, Frank J. Hayes, vice-president of the United Mine Workers of America, and myself. First we saw de la Barra—he was the stop-gap president at the time when Diaz had fled and Madero was on his way to take possession of the presidency. But de la Barra gave us a mouthful of words and nothing more. Then we saw the Minister of Justice Calero, and he did better, promised that our organizers should have the protection of law if any *jefe politico* took it into his head to stick our union miners in jail. Finally Jesus Magon took us to see Madero, who had just entered the city for the first time after his election to the president's chair.

"Our mission was to get the consent and protection of the Mexican government to organize all the miners of Mexico. As you know, the labor movement is international and to organize Mexican workers is as necessary for our end as is the organizing of the workers in the United States.

"Mother with her white hair had, single-handed, commenced the fight for the imprisoned Mexican political refugees in the time of Diaz. Thousands of dollars contributed by the miners' organizations in the United States for the legal defense of these prisoners was the result of Mother Jones' pleadings to 'her boys' in the mines for 'her boys' in prison.

"Madero spoke good English and commenced with this question: 'What is your interest in the Mexican miner?' We told him that we were compelled to either fight to raise the standard of living of the Mexican miner or fight the Mexican worker that lowered our wage scale, and we preferred the first to the last. At this Madero warmed up and said: 'Not only will I pledge you my word that no objection will be made by the government to your organizing our miners, but I assure you that we want them organized; we want labor

IN THE
CHURCH AND
CONVENT OF
SAN JOSÉ THE
FAMILIES OF
THE CASA
DEL OBRERO
MUNDIAL
HAD LODG-
INGS GIVEN BY
CONSTITU-
TIONALISTS

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE CONSTITUTIONALIST
GOVERNMENT AND THE CASA DEL
OBRERO MUNDIAL

As the workers of the Casa del Obrero Mundial are supporting the Constitutionalist government headed by Citizen V. Carranza, we hereby declare that the following terms are to govern the relations between the said government and the workers and between them and it bearing on the manner in which the workers shall collaborate with the Constitutionalist cause. . . .

1. The Constitutionalist government reiterates its decree of November 4 of last year in reference to the improvement of the workers by the means of appropriate laws, enacting, during the struggle, every necessary law to carry out the said resolution.

2. The workers of the Casa del Obrero Mundial, with the object of hastening the triumph of the Constitutionlists, of the revolution and of disseminating its ideals touching social reform and avoiding unnecessary bloodshed wherever possible, hereby declare again the resolutions they have taken to collaborate in an effective and practical manner toward the triumph of the revolution, taking up arms both to garrison the towns in possession of the Constitutionalist government and to combat the reaction.

3. In order to carry out the proposed undertakings set forth in the two former clauses, the Constitutionalist government will attend, with all the solicitude it has used up to date, to the workers' just claims arising from their labor contracts with their employers.

4. In towns occupied by the Constitutionalist army, and, in order that it may be free to attend to the needs of carrying on the campaign, the workers will organize in accordance with the military commander of each place, to hold it and preserve order. In case of the evacuation of towns the Constitutionalist government, through the respective military commander, will advise the workers of its intention, giving them every facility to reconcentrate in the places occupied by the Constitutionalist forces. The Constitutionalist government in case of reconcentration will help the workers either by remunerating them for work actually done, or, under the caption of "solidarity," aid whenever work cannot be provided, so that they may attend to their principal means of subsistence.

to act collectively; we do not want blind revolt. Come down from the United States and organize all the workers in Mexico—you will be welcomed.' . . .

"Mother told him of the difference in wages paid the Mexican and American miners in Cananea—a matter of compulsion under Diaz—and Madero said: 'That's a condition that will not be tolerated as long as I am connected with the government.' The death of Madero was all that brought this international alliance of the labor in the two countries to a halt. But the halt is only temporary. Just as the American copper interests are forced to enter Mexico to keep step with the demands of the copper market, so the Western Federation of Miners and the United Mine Workers of America will be forced, likewise, to follow the mineral leads wherever they may run and organize the miners irrespective of national boundaries."

The Pan-American Movement

AS WILL BE SEEN by the text, the data relating to the condition of the Mexican labor movement was gathered by the

5. The workers of the Casa del Obrero Mundial will draw up lists in every town where they are organized, and immediately in the City of Mexico, which lists shall include the names of all their comrades who agree to comply with the undertakings stated in clause 2; these lists, immediately upon completion, shall be sent to the first court of the Constitutionalist government, so that this court may know the number of workers ready to take up arms.

6. The workers of the Casa del Obrero Mundial shall carry on an active propaganda to win sympathy for the Constitutionalist government among all the workers throughout the republic and the working-class world, pointing out to Mexican workingmen the advantages of joining the revolution, inasmuch as it will bring about the improvement the working class is seeking through its unions.

7. The workers shall establish centers of revolutionary committees in every place they deem it convenient to do so; these committees, besides doing propaganda work, will look after the organization of labor groups and toward their collaboration with the Constitutionalist cause.

8. The Constitutionalist government will establish, in case of necessity, labor colonies in the zones it may control to serve as places of refuge for the families of the workers who may have taken up arms or who may have in any other practical form shown their adherence to the Constitutionalist cause.

9. The workers who take up arms in the Constitutionalist government, and also the female workers who perform service in aiding or attending the wounded, or other similar service, will be known under the one denomination; whether organized in companies, battalions, regiments, brigades or divisions, all will be designated as "reds."

Constitution and Reform—Salute and Social Revolution.

RAFAEL ZUBARAN CAPMANY.
RAFAEL QUINTERO.
CARLOS M. RINCON.
ROSENDO SALAZAR.
JUAN TUDO.
SALVADOR GONZALO GARCIA.
RODOLFO AGUIRRE.
ROBERTO VALDES.
CELESTINO GASCA.

VERA CRUZ, February 17, 1915.



BEFORE DOLORES CHURCH, NOW OCCUPIED AS A PRINTING OFFICE BY DR. ATL, IS GROUPED A CORPS OF WOMEN TRADE UNIONISTS

free assemblage and free speech. With this belief the executive council of the American Federation of Labor had, at a critical juncture, asked for the recognition, by the United States, of the Constitutionalist government of Mexico.

Since the Washington conference a decree has been issued by Venustiano Carranza in Mexico which has shaken the freedom of that country to its foundations, and increased internal revolution in the southern republic. This decree was issued on August 1 last and contains the following clause:

"Article 1st. The DEATH PENALTY shall be applied, not only to disturbers of the peace mentioned in the Law of January 25th, 1862, but also to: First: Those who may incite workmen to strike in factories and concerns devoted to public service, or who may engage in propaganda to that end; to those who may preside at meetings where such strikes are proposed, discussed or approved; to those who may defend or uphold the same; to those who may approve or subscribe thereto; to those who may attend said meetings, or may not withdraw from the same as soon as they learn their purpose; and to those who strive to render the strike effective after it once has been declared."

As soon as the news of this decree came to the United States, President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, went to Atlantic City and made protest to the American-Mexican Joint Commission against this edict of General Carranza.

Whatever the course of the governments may be, the course of the Pan-American labor movement is clear; its aims and ideals are thoroughly understood by the organized workers of both Americas.

With the agreement reached at the Washington conference last July, this international organization became a living thing. The next and crowning act will be the Pan-American Federation of Labor. Whatever the developments at Mexico

author in Mexico during the summer of 1915. Complete report was made to President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, by the author in the fall of the same year, and on July 3, 1916, in Washington, D. C., there was drawn up and signed by members of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor and delegates from the organized workers of Mexico a compact, the first clause of which reads:

"The undersigned, the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, and the representatives of the organized labor movement of Mexico express our deep gratification in the consummation of this conference which we hope and believe has laid the basis for better understanding and has welded ties that shall bind together the workers of our respective countries."

It was the belief of all the participants in this historic conference in Washington that the pact signed in Vera Cruz, the year before, by representatives of Mexican organized labor and the Constitutionalist government would be the means of dealing out even-handed justice and protect the Mexican labor movement in its inherent rights of organization,



COMITÉ REVOLUCIONARIO

This body makes the rules and resolutions for fifty thousand Mexican trade unionists

City the Mexican labor movement is a factor in organizing the Latin-American countries in this labor league of the western hemisphere. The following letter of credentials from Alvarado, the governor of Yucatan, was brought to the conference in Washington last July:

To Diplomatic Representatives and Consuls of Mexico in the United States and South America:

The bearers of this letter-credential are the citizens Carlos Loviera, chief of the Department of Labor of this government, and Baltazar Pages, editor-in-chief of the daily, *Merida, La Vos de la Revolucion*, who are going, first, to the United States to confer with the labor leaders Gompers, Debs, Murray, Wright, and others, in order to obtain credentials which, united to those credentials that they already have from the labor organizations of this state, will accredit them as representing the Mexican workers in an excursion of Constitutionalist propaganda throughout the Republics of Brazil, Argentine, Chile and Uruguay.

The object of this excursion is to facilitate the formation of a Pan-American Federation of Labor, which has been the project of the North American labor leaders referred to, and, at the same time, to move public opinion in favor of our

cause, which in the opinion of our laborers, and the one that signs this, is the cause of international Socialism.

It is certain that if the Mexican revolution does not receive the support that can be given to it by the radical elements abroad, socialists, free-thinkers, syndicalists, etc., it is because its true program and revolutionary character is unknown. The citizens Loviera and Pages sustain relations with the most important elements of the Spanish-American labor movements, they are trained writers and speakers who know our problems and have appreciation of the great politico-social crisis, and are therefore armed to carry out a work of this kind.

Therefore I beg of you, that in the manner expressed, the citizens Carlos Loviera and Baltazar Pages receive from you the moral and material support necessary for their mission, and in granting this you may rest assured that you are serving the interest of the Constitutionalist cause.

The latest reports from these delegates commissioned to travel through the Latin-American nations is that they have been received everywhere with enthusiasm. In all the countries of South and Central America their propaganda for the ideals of the Pan-American Federation of Labor has been welcomed by the working people.

COMMON WELFARE



THE MONTH

RUTH LAW, a mere feather even in the "lighter sex," broke all American records and all records for women on November 19 by flying a biplane 590 miles without coming down. She has only one serious competitor—the cost of living. The latter is suspected of being a craft lighter than air, a high-flier free of the attraction of gravitation and rapidly mounting to a place among Professor Lowell's inhabitants of Mars.

A homely measure of the altitude of the cost of living, more understandable than the technical "index numbers" of wholesale prices usually quoted, was furnished last week by the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. The association gave out a comparison of the cost of a typical food order for a workingman's family in November, 1915, and in the same month of 1916. The total increase was almost 30 per cent. Some common articles in the list had doubled—potatoes increased 114 per cent. The association, which luckily for the poor is not bound to live on a salary, must raise \$35,000 extra this year to pay the food bill for the families in its care and the inmates of its institutions.

As to causes, there has been more or less general understanding that cheap

money meant dear goods; that war increased consumption, trampled grain fields and took the best of the young men of Europe out of agriculture. But beyond that, the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome, founded by David Lubin, of California [see the SURVEY for January 16, 1915] has issued a report showing that short crops of cereals are common to almost the whole world. Russia, which alone has a sizable surplus, is unable to get her wheat to market. There is, moreover, the difficulty of transportation, due to the heavy shipments of munitions for export and back of that to the curtailed car-building program of the railroads during their hard times preceding the war. These make for a real local shortage in some commodities, such as coal in and about New York city, where there is the further ugly charge of an attempt to corral the supply and boost prices. And New York has also the extra cent a quart for milk, which the recent milk strike added to the price paid by dealers to farmers—a penny which the milk companies promptly added to the retail price.

So it is that in England and France there is talk of following Germany's example in taking charge of the food supply and issuing bread-cards. While in New York the three-pound rye loaf of the East Side, which still sells for eight cents, weighs only a pound and a quarter now and the grocer will cut it for you into halves or even quarters. Grade B milk is ten cents a bottle. A rise of fifty cents or one dollar a ton in coal at the mine is the excuse for adding a nickel to coal by the bucket—which adds up to five dollars a ton.

The poor are feeling it keenly and many families ordinarily unafraid of charity are believed to have been forced down close to the poverty line. A few cents more on bread and meat and they must seek relief. But so great a rise makes itself felt far up in the economic scale, as provident loan societies, some savings banks and the loan departments of life-insurance companies can testify. The clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers,

salesmen, small shopkeepers, many skilled workmen, have not generally shared in the great profits and the increased wages which have come in some industries.

Thus there has been a great increase in cost of living, but no recent increase in the pay of the large classes represented by the man who wrote this piece, the girl who typed it, the man who set it on a linotype, the man who printed it, the girl who bound and wrapped it, the postman who delivered it, nor those others who contributed indirectly to its making, through securing and recording and accounting for each reader's subscription, through stoking the furnaces which heat office and print-shop, or operating elevators which lift them or street cars which carry them home—no, nor for the woman who cleans up nightly in their careless wake and scrubs the floor they have tracked over. Old Mother Hubbard had nothing on her.

On the other hand is the big new crop of millionaires, dealing in munitions and other articles of export, who have swelled deposits and resources of the nation's banks to the greatest in their history. And with their fortunes have gone unprecedented increases in wages in certain industries. In Massachusetts 40,000 operatives of the Amer-

New York Evening Journal



THE STAFF OF LIFE

New York Tribune



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AT DEALERS

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ican Woolen Company and the Arlington Mills have a 10 per cent increase. In New Bedford 33,000 cotton workers recently received their third advance this year, amounting to 27½ per cent increase over former earnings. In Augusta, Ga., 1,400 in the cotton mills will earn 10 per cent more. The Glove Manufacturers Association, of Gloversville, N. Y., is willing to pay \$250,000 or \$300,000 more a year to retain its daily output of thumbs up.

On November 22, the United States Steel Corporation announced its third raise within the year, totalling 33 per cent and costing the company \$28,000,000 a year. Immediately the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company followed with its third increase, giving to the 5,000 men of the Pueblo plant an additional 10 per cent. The Republic Iron and Steel Company, and the Brier Hill Steel Company raised 11,000 men 10 per cent, and the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company was expected to grant a similar advance. In Wilmington, Del., 3,000 employes of the Atlas Powder Company received a bonus of 10 per cent of their year's wages. Further south in Lexington, Ky., 3,500 coal miners laughed the wolf from the door with another 10 per cent increase. In Milwaukee, in Racine, in San Francisco and in Kansas City gains have been coming to lumbermen, box makers and railroad men.

And some few have noticed that their office forces must pay for bread what the coal miner pays. The Consolidated Gas Company in New York city has declared a 7 per cent bonus for 17,000 workers earning \$3,000 yearly or less. The Eastman Kodak Company, of Rochester, N. Y., has provided for clerks earning up to \$50 a week; and 3,000 to 4,000 office men of the Westinghouse Electric Company have been given a boost.

GOVERNMENT INTERVEN- TION IN PRICES

IN SPITE of these increases, however, for the general public there is a sense of crisis in the air.

In the face of such need there has been a scurrying about to propose remedies—"something must be done and done quick"—much as in the first weeks of an unemployment crisis. The most pretentious plan is that of Congressman John J. Fitzgerald, of New York city, who announces he will press for the passage of a food embargo act immediately after the opening of Congress next week. Quite at the other end of the scale from such a national scheme are the tests now being made in Chicago, through which the health commissioner proposes to disclose how little food will suffice to keep body and soul together.

Most of the proposals strike at the cost of distributing food, which the experience of cooperative associations here

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and abroad has shown to be a major factor in retail prices. Thus Commissioner John J. Dillon, of the New York State Department of Foods and Markets, who made a study in Europe of marketing and cooperative agencies, recommends for New York city adequate and convenient terminal facilities for food and provision for auctioning farm products. Another has proposed that food be brought down the long stretch of Manhattan Island by night freight trains on the subway instead of by plodding wagons. And Mayor Mitchel has made public a letter in which he tells the coal companies that, unless he is convinced they are doing their utmost to get coal to bucketful buyers at a fair price, he will set the city's ash-carts at delivering it. Private citizens have offered to supply a fund for selling coal at cost, he says; carts dump at the waterfront, where the coal arrives, and go back empty to collect ashes in the very tenements where the coal is grievously needed.

The trend of all these plans, it will be noted, and of many others, is toward government interference in the high cost of food. In previous crises it has tended more toward urging the formation of private cooperative enterprises and of enabling consumers to deal directly with producers, through parcels post deliveries or the famous public markets established by Mayor Shanks in Indianapolis four years ago.

New York got an illuminating idea of the cost of hauling and delivering food when the recent milk strike brought out that the milk farmers get only 40 per cent of the retail price; in household terms, 4 cents on a 10-cent bottle of milk. Mr. Dillon has arranged, through his state department, for a real contribution to cooperative experience. After January 1, he has announced, the neighborhood butcher shops of New York city will sell grade B milk, shipped in by the Dairymen's League, at eight cents a quart. The theory is that tenement mothers will take home their milk along with the chuck-steak, and thus save the expense of the wasteful competition of carts from all the milk companies traveling the same routes.

WHAT IS A FAIR PRICE FOR COAL?

THE most far-reaching plan of all is that of the federal Trade Commission which has under way a study of the whole vast industry of mining and marketing coal. The purpose is to find answers to two questions: What is a fair price for a ton of anthracite coal? What steps, if any, should Congress take to secure the delivery of coal at this fair price?

Never before has the national government sought to determine what should be paid for a given commodity



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by the consumer, upon a basis of the actual cost of production. The nearest analogy is the treatment of the franchise-holding public utilities, such as gas, electricity, water and street-railway service, by municipal and state governments. In these cases the public assumes the right to regulate the selling price after a full inquiry into the cost of production.

While the federal Trade Commission has not yet formally decided upon the details of its procedure in the coal inquiry, it appears to be determined upon one principle of action—that the coal industry differs from most of the productive industries in its primary character. It considers that coal, petroleum, timber and hydro-electric power are natural resources, and that the industries built upon the marketing of these natural resources must be treated differently than are industries built upon mechanical or chemical processes in which raw materials are not so great a factor. While the coal industry is not yet declared to be a public utility, it is at least in a "twilight zone" which may be changed at any time into public control.

Anthracite goes by the hodful into the homes of the people. Bituminous coal goes by the carload into power-plants. Any stoppage of either supply of fuel becomes a public calamity, whether it be due to famine prices or to shortage at the mines. Hence the commission will devote a year to studying anthracite in eastern Pennsylvania, where 94 per cent of it is produced, and bituminous in half a dozen states. In both cases the task is undertaken in the belief that social and industrial welfare will be served by public regulation of the nation's fuel supply. Whether regulation shall be exerted through an enlightened public opinion, a legal control of prices, or through the purchase of the business itself by the public, will be left to Congress to decide.

But the commission is not primarily interested in demonstrating that the increase in prices established last summer was out of proportion to the wage increase. That was but one of many steps in the upward path of retail prices and stock market quotations. The government now is undertaking to find out what the service performed by the coal companies in getting the fuel from the earth into the hands of the consumer is actually worth.

Attorney-General Gregory is chiefly responsible for the inquiry. On May 6 he sent to the federal Trade Commission a letter urging that the then proposed raise in the price of anthracite be scrutinized in the public interest. He cited the three general advances in wages since January 1, 1900, with accompanying increases in the price of coal. And he suggested that, in the event of another increase, the commis-



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sion "institute a searching investigation into the operations and accounts of the great producing companies for the purpose of ascertaining all the facts upon which such increase in price may be based, including the relation between any increase in the cost of production due to advance of wages and the increase of profits caused by the increase in price."

The commission promised to look into the situation if the price of coal should actually be advanced. Now the advance has taken place and the inquiry is on. A petition to similar effect from the annual convention of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor made little impression on Congress. But when Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska offered in the Senate on June 22 a brief resolution asking the federal Trade Commission to make an inquiry such as had been suggested by the attorney-general, the resolution was adopted.

How far the commission will probe into wages of the million employes in the coal industry has yet to be developed. Facts as to wages and hours of miners and transportation workers will be presented, both from an inquiry into the history of the business year by year, and from public hearings in the mining and marketing centers. The relation of wages to prices will be made the subject of a special section of the report. It was because the coal companies raised the price of anthracite last summer following a grant of higher wages that the investigation is being made.

For more than a year past the commission has been at work on timber. It has brought forward the exhaustive study of the timber and lumber industry made by the former Bureau of Corporations, and has cooperated with the Bureau of Forestry in seeking to determine a fair price for lumber. At the same time it has been working on petroleum—the cost of pipe-line transportation, of oil production and of distribution. And the Bureau of Forestry has compiled a report upon the recent concentration of ownership of hydro-electric power throughout the country in the hands of a few corporate groups. This is in line with a report on water power made by the Bureau of Corporations in 1912. In each instance the investigations have endeavored to show the actual relation of the operating companies to the public. In each report has been an implication that the public must exert a better control over the industry, or must itself compete in the development of natural resources.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION FOR THE NEW CONGRESS

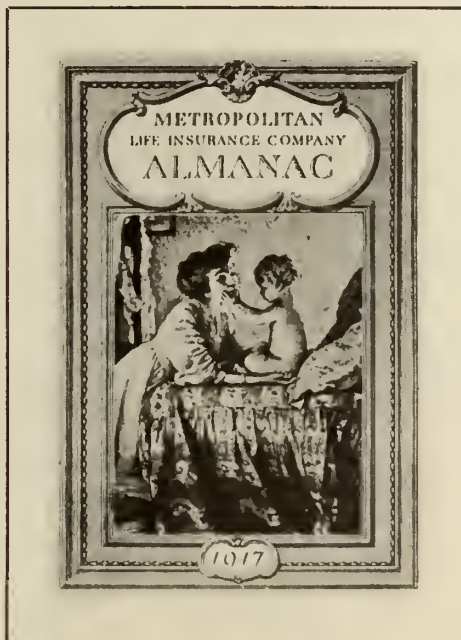
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it will clinch a reputation for enacting important social legislation. Among the measures are several especially endorsed by labor. The vocational trade training bill, urged since 1910, received a unanimous vote in the Senate during the last session, which adjourned in mid-summer, but was blocked by Representative Mann of Illinois in the House. It proposes a federal board of vocational education, to help states in providing vocational education. It carries graded appropriations reaching \$7,200,000 annually the ninth year after it becomes effective, \$4,000,000 of which will be used for salaries of teachers in agricultural, industrial and trade subjects. The bill aims to stimulate rather than support vocational education by providing that to avail themselves of federal grants, states must appropriate sums equal to the aid from Washington.

The convict labor (Hughes-Booher) bill occupies a favorable place on the calendar in both houses, while the bill for a bureau of labor safety has already passed the House. The former prohibits interstate commerce in convict-made goods, thereby striking a blow at the system of contract labor in prisons. The latter creates a division of labor safety in the Department of Labor under a commissioner at a salary of \$5,000 a year. Its purpose will be the study of labor safety plans and devices not covered by the Bureau of Mines or the Interstate Commerce Commission. An attempt will be made by the American Federation of Labor and the American Association for Labor Legislation to have restored a clause stricken out in the House last session, which would extend the function of the bureau to studying and reporting on vocational diseases.

At least four health bills will come up again in this new session. A notable one is that adding divisions of mental hygiene and rural sanitation to the United States Public Health Service. With about 250,000 insane persons and 300,000 mental defectives in this country and with rural health conditions affecting over 50 per cent of the population, the need is obvious for a central health bureau where systematic studies into these and related subjects may be conducted.

Another bill to promote efficiency in the public health service provides for the appointment of a surgeon-general who has been trained in national health administration as well as in hygiene and in disease prevention; secures a permanent position for this chief officer in the service at the expiration of his term of office; simplifies the promotion of assistant surgeons and makes possible the appointment of five additional professors. As at first drafted, the bill put Public Health Service officers on the same basis as officers of the Army Medical Corps and the Army Board by providing commutation for these officers

when traveling on such assignments as poliomyelitis duty in New York and quarantine duty in New Orleans. This section, however, was dropped in the bill passed by the House and reported in the Senate.

The Gandy bill, prohibiting traffic in peyote among the Indians, and the Thompson bill amending the Harrison drug law to include peyote, are both scheduled for consideration. Likewise is included a bill providing for a national leprosarium to take care of persons afflicted with leprosy and to prevent the spread of the disease.

The immigration bill, which passed the House last session and is among the unfinished business of the Senate, again promises to be the center of vigorous opposition. It would provide that an alien must be able to read in his own language, raise the head tax from six dollars to eight dollars, and tax children under sixteen years who come with their parents. Most important of all, it not only requires steamship companies to deport aliens who come in violation of the law, but to refund passage money to such immigrants.

The American Union Against Militarism and other peace organizations will attempt to have repealed the "joker" in the national defense act, passed at the last session, empowering the president in time of war to set going conscription of American citizens between 18 and 45 years of age.

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force as is redemptive to the individual. War, however, is destructive to the individual. Political objectors are not accepted as members of the fellowship. Industrial radicals, who would shoot a "bloody capitalist," even though they refuse to sanction the present conflict, are ruled out. Sein Feiners are not members. But all those who hate war as the means to an end of any conflict—they are the conscientious objectors.

Various fates are allotted the objectors as they are tried before military tribunals. Military duty, making ammunition, or partisan ambulance work, the defendant always refuses. Civil duty he will accept. According to Mr. Richards, the tribunals in any case feel that some sacrifice is necessary. Hence the lightest decree sends the man and his conscience at least twenty-five miles from home. If he happens to be an excellent school teacher, they make him a gardener, and many a good gardener has become a bad school teacher. He is forbidden to address public meetings or to write the newspapers; he is given a shilling a day and no pension; he is not allowed to leave his position nor is he allowed to strike. Some are sent to work in Holland, others are rebuilding France, and many are in the Friends' ambulance corps, which picks up wounded German soldiers as well as the French and English.

A group of fellowship members were assigned to road building, on the supposition that the road was for civil use. Upon discovering that it was purely for military purposes, the men struck and were of course imprisoned.

Two thousand of them, according to Mr. Richards, are suffering all manner of torture in prison for refusing various kinds of work. Today their treatment is cruel to the last degree, he says. They are put in military straight-jackets, whipped, and sometimes scrubbed with a stiff brush until the skin peels. Some are given sentences for ten years. Not long ago, he charges, thirty-six were sent to France, sentenced to be shot. This sentence, however, was revoked.

Though the influence of the 50,000 conscientious objectors may be of little power now, Mr. Richards believes their present attitude will be a nucleus of great force in the reconstruction to come. They are proving day by day the strength of their hatred of war, and their hatred of "that attitude of mind which insists upon treating nations as persons, and which at the same time by order and drill and slaughter, stamps out the personality of individuals."

COMPULSION IN AUSTRALIA AND CANADA

COMPULSION as a factor in American life seems to be the text this year of the New York Academy of Political Science. Their spring meeting hinged on the question of compulsory military service; the meeting this

fall on compulsory arbitration, bringing together last week the testimony of men who have played an outstanding part in industrial mediation and conciliation in this country.

The representatives of labor who spoke left no doubt as to the trend of union sentiment. Peter Brady, secretary of the Allied Printing Trades Council of New York, told the university men to get it out of their heads that any law could successfully interfere with giving "of labor where you please, when you please and under what conditions you please." W. S. Carter, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, said that the brotherhoods would never submit to compulsory arbitration as long as arbitration boards were constituted as in the past in railroading.

There was marked divergence in the counsel from Commissioner William Lee Chambers, of the federal Board of Mediation and Conciliation, and Oscar S. Straus, chairman of the Public Service Commission of the first district of New York. In summing up his views, Commissioner Chambers said: "From the experience of the United States Board of Mediation and Conciliation, it may fairly be deduced that the time and occasion have not yet arrived when the principles of compulsory arbitration should be attempted by legislative enactment." Mr. Straus, on the other hand, held that while the tendency has been to increase government supervision over railroad operators, the tendency had been in the opposite direction with respect to railroad operatives. This he characterized as retrogressive.

The academy was fortunate in bringing together two men who have carried out the most exhaustive inquiries as to the experiments in industrial government in Canada and Australasia—Victor S. Clark, of the Carnegie Institution at Washington, formerly of the federal Department of Labor; and Prof. Matthew B. Hammond, member of the Ohio State Industrial Commission. The statements of both tended to explode notions which—the wish fathering the thought—have gained fresh currency.

Thus, Professor Hammond, who spent a year in Australia and New Zealand, made short shrift of the notion yearned after by employers, that compulsory arbitration puts an end to strikes. It acts as a deterrent, but has by no means eliminated them; and indeed the record in those states where the compulsory feature is absent, is, if anything, better on this point than in those where it is employed.

Professor Hammond stated that it is an open question whether the compulsory feature, the legal power to enforce, through fines and imprisonment, will remain a permanent part of the Australian system of trade boards. If he must choose between the anarchy which

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exists in certain industries in this country and compulsory arbitration, he would choose the latter; but he does not regard it as the most important or suggestive factor of the Australian trade board system. The essential factor has been the principle of extending government regulation over industry—an extension which, from the trade-union standpoint, has shortened hours and improved conditions; and from the employers' standpoint has created standards which have prevented undercutting by ruthless competitors.

Professor Hammond pointed out that the Australian labor leaders cannot understand why American labor is opposed to their system; and Dr. Clark discounted the notion, current in labor circles, that the rank and file of Canadian workers are against the industrial disputes act which requires a period of waiting while public inquiry is in process, before either strike or lock-out can take place in the public service. In contrast to the Australian system, either the union or the employer can reject the findings, and resort to strike or lock-out thereafter.

The Canadian Federation of Labor has come out against the act, but the trades represented are, with few exceptions, not those involved in the public service. Similarly, the various international railroad labor organizations with headquarters in the United States and branches in Canada are naturally disposed to resent the Canadian act, which may hamper simultaneous activity by the Canadian members of their organizations. While both employers and employes have in given instances resented the act when a decision in a particular trade dispute went against them, Dr. Clark believes that the majority of both employers and employes in the public service are in favor of it. There is no specific movement for its repeal; the legislative program is to clarify and strengthen it at the close of the war. A tentative revision of the law has been drafted.

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tion of trades unions; the public *must* yield in its indifference to the conditions under which human work is done; the business man *must* yield in his opposition to 'social uplift' in industry; and the social reformer *must* yield in his indifference to efficiency and discipline in modern production.

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AMERICA'S CHANCE TO SPEAK FOR PEACE

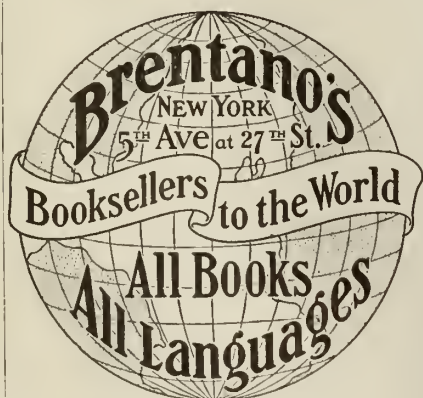
REPORTS from California indicate that, as in the case of domestic politics, public sentiment on the Pacific Coast is taking the bit in its teeth with respect to immediate action by American people and government looking toward the end of the war. Edward Krehbiel, Alvin H. Johnson, Austin Lewis, David Starr Jordan, Prof. Arthur Upham Pope and others have organized a California branch of the American Neutral Conference Committee, the chief object of which is "to support our government in any effort it may make towards a joint and lasting peace."

Mass meetings have been held, organizations addressed and stirring accounts of the agitation have crowded into the war news on the front pages of the newspapers. Favorable action has been taken by the central labor bodies which practically committed the labor movement to the cause; Archbishop Hanna has given it his endorsement, the women's clubs are reported as taking it up; and the Neutral Conference Committee's petitions are being circulated in everything from mass meetings to barber shops.

Austin Lewis made report of the campaign at a meeting of the central organization, American Neutral Conference Committee, held in New York last Saturday. Dr. Jordan, Jacob H. Schiff, Hamilton Holt, James J. Walsh, Mrs. Henry Villard, Charles L. Bernheimer and Rebecca Shelley were among the speakers; and steps were taken looking towards the organization of a New York branch.

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Government of what the nation is fighting for and a conference to secure "a just and lasting peace." This last was recently made the subject of a widespread peace negotiations petition signed by 150,000 English citizens.

The sentiment was repeatedly expressed at the meeting that the war is becoming one of attrition, and that when, in these winter months, the German people come fully to realize what Verdun has meant, when the people of England and France come fully to realize what the Somme campaign has meant, a recoil is bound to come.

As Dr. Walsh expressed it, there is no chance of affecting the winter's campaign; but in the next three months, before the spring campaigns are launched, with the same promises as those held out a year ago, and with the same stupendous wastage of human beings, we have an opportunity during which the American people and the American Government should dare to act. The general hope was expressed that with the political campaign showing the lay of public opinion, President Wilson would at last feel that he could approach the European situation from a new angle and employ other methods than the ordinary channels of formal diplomacy.

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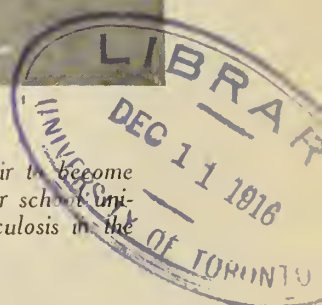
THE SURVEY

Courtesy National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis



THE CHILDREN'S HEALTH CRUSADE

December 8 is Children's Health Crusade Day in Tuberculosis Week. The crusade bids fair to become a permanent all-the-year-round part of tuberculosis work. The Open Air Crusader in outdoor school uniform, shown above, rode for the Marion county, Ind., Society for the Prevention of Tuberculosis in the Indianapolis Disease Prevention Parade



THE SURVEY

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CHARLES P. TREVELYAN is in the English House of Commons. When the war broke out he resigned from the government, and became one of the founders of the Union for Democratic Control. Mr. Trevelyan has addressed an open letter to the American public, which he has sent by hand messenger to the American Neutral Conference Committee. Through the secretary of that organization, Rebecca Shelly, it has come to the SURVEY. Page 261.

BY day a shipowner and man of affairs, by night a workman in the slums of Whitechapel, Charles Booth managed to be an explorer and student of sociology, an administrator and a charming companion all his life. Page 267.

BETWEEN the months of July and November, Boston lightened the sentence of Van Kleecck Allison, guilty of distributing contraceptive literature, from three years to sixty days—so fast did birth-control propaganda lose its horror in that New England town. Page 266.

WHETHER or not the child be given culture in vocational schools; whether or not the student be urged to join a union, the radical movement in education is a movement toward truer democracy. Page 273.

PRESIDENT WILSON presses in his message for the enactment of his full program of the eight-hour day and enforced arbitration of railroad disputes. Page 274.

CITIZENS will become live wires if dynamite civics is taught in the schools. The teacher can start the current by bringing the children into contact with police, street cleaners, and the city hall, rather than with too many text-books. Page 270.

LED on by two militant organizations of women—workers and consumers—a country-wide movement is heading up for an eight-hour workday for all women. Page 275.

REAL cooperation between masters and men is the fruit of the Joint Board of Control in New York city. Page 277.

THE prison honor system has arrived—it's the subject of a movie. Page 278.

ASAND pile for grown-ups is something new in recreations. But along Lake Michigan there are twenty miles of sand in which both father and mother and all the children can dig wells or study the evolution of the earth's surface. Chicago citizens are urging the government to buy this sand-dune region for a national playground. Page 263.

CITY housekeeping, from sweeping out unemployment and poverty to pensioning civil servants, was discussed during Municipal Week at Springfield, Mass. Some dozen civic organizations met together and thrashed out common problems. Page 264.

PROVIDE for vagrants when there aren't any vagrants is the paradoxical advice of Alexander Cleland, secretary of the Joint Committee on Prison Reform. Mr. Cleland, who once hit the road himself as a volunteer hobo, thinks tramps should be redeemed while jobs are abundant. Page 268.

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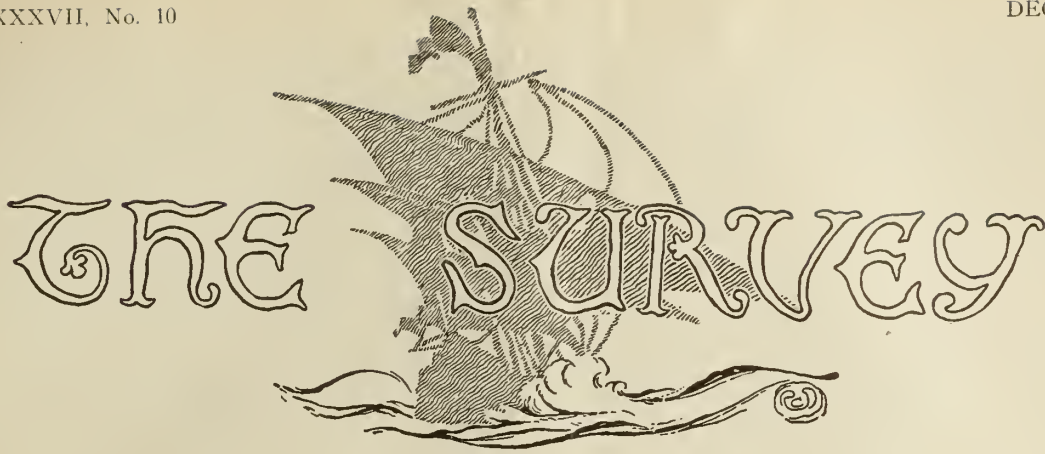
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Hands Across the Sea

An Open Letter to Americans

By *Charles P. Trevelyan, M. P.*

IN the week when Europe was rushing down into war, before I believed that my own country would become involved in it, I spoke at a dinner of the Mayflower Club in London. I said that, if the catastrophe did come to Europe, the Mayflower would become a name of even greater meaning to the world. For the one hope for the preservation of our western civilization would be the United States. And now as the war months lengthen into years I know my prophecy to be true. The relative strength of America grows as the vitality of Europe is ebbing away. It is not the loss of money and of credit. It is not only the waste and desolation of provinces during the war and the economic catastrophes and political upheavals which will everywhere follow in its wake. It is not only the millions of dead and maimed among the young men. But it is the complete collapse of the old national standards.

Three years ago no Englishman would have believed that even the stress of a great war would make it impossible to know the truth about the failure or success of military or diplomatic efforts of the government; that news would be officially suppressed and garbled; that newspapers would print just what government censors told them and no more. Nor would anyone here have believed three years ago that nearly two thousand Englishmen would have been imprisoned for conscientious refusal of military service, some of them condemned to death, and only respited at the last moment, and many bullied and tortured by the military. These things and many others are the price of a war like this.

After the war tyranny and militarism may possibly be burnt up in the wrath of instinctive popular reaction in Germany and Great Britain. But in Germany they will cling with fierce tenacity to their old strongholds and in Britain to their new-found opportunity. It is in this struggle that the profound effect of America may be felt with its unbroken tradition of liberty, its existing democratic success, its faith in peace. If in these things it remains faithful, it will not only secure its own immense destiny, but remain a beacon to the old nations in the hour of their agony and despair.

But there is practical and immediate help which America can be giving to the world, beyond the ultimate force of its example. It is that about which I chiefly wish to write. Americans must by this time be chary of believing the press

of the belligerent countries. But there is nothing about which less truth is told than about the real feelings of the belligerent peoples. The newspapers only represent what they would like them to be and the more imaginative section of the ruling class still think they are. But that picture bears not the slightest relation to the truth. Probably the people of Great Britain are the least weary of the war. We started the richest of the warring nations. So we are still. Owing to the prodigious credit there is a fictitious prosperity created by high wages which prevents the positive want which in Germany and Austria accentuates the other catastrophes of war.

Until the battle began on the Somme the idea of the wholesale slaughter of the British youth had not entered into the ordinary calculations of Englishmen. But even so, the war weariness is rapidly becoming universal in Great Britain. It is not that a movement for peace at any price either has existed or has begun to exist. Those who, like myself and Messrs. Snowden, Ponsonby and Ramsay Macdonald, have for months been pressing in the House of Commons and out of it for an early effort at negotiations, have no more desire than the wildest warmonger that the war should end before Germany is ready to evacuate France and Belgium and by acts acknowledge the abandonment of all designs at aggression or aggrandizement. Meetings such as we hold to discuss what line a reasonable peace should follow are now attended by increasing multitudes of attentive people. In the great industrial centers—Yorkshire, Wales and Glasgow—there is never any disturbance. There is simply a clearly increasing desire for the government to negotiate a peace if it can. And there is nothing which has given such a stimulus to this feeling as the interview of Lloyd George.

For the first time a responsible British statesman openly avowed his belief in a prolonged war of attrition. Coming immediately after the gravity of the British losses on the Somme had begun to give the British public some notion of what a war of attrition meant to them, many moderate supporters of the war have begun to think seriously whether it is not time for the government to formulate its real objective and see how nearly the Germans are prepared to meet them.

If I were asked to briefly define the attitude of the mass of my countrymen I would say that they are heartily sick of the war; that they are not aware of the weariness of the Ger-

mans and the willingness of the German government to negotiate, and that consequently they regard peace as hopeless and therefore are not yet prepared to advocate it. But if once it were brought to the consciousness of ordinary Englishmen that Germany were ready for a reasonable peace, to abjure her conquests and above all to evacuate and help to compensate Belgium, a rapid and radical change would appear in popular opinion. At the moment it is clear that the belligerent governments will not have mediation.

But what I have said suggests that there is another possible function for neutral governments besides trying behind the diplomatic scenes to bring the proud governments together. Those governments all eventually watch and fear public opinion. The art of forming, deluding, changing and enraging public opinion has been cultivated during the war by the authorities of every belligerent country as a principal department of their activity. The hatreds of the peoples have been cultivated by the exaggeration of every wrong act and the suppression of every decent act of the enemy. For, in the last resort, the continuance of the war depends on hate. If, however, some voice so loud that it reverberated across the seas, so important that the censorship could not exclude it, *spoke not to the governments but to the peoples*, a change would begin to come. Suppose that to the British people, for instance, an American president were to be able to say in quite simple and direct language that Germany was ready to give up Belgium and France if the British government would negotiate. First would come a roar of indignation from the reactionary British press. The government circles would shudder at the lack of diplomatic reserve. There might be no open response at once. But from the day of the utterance public opinion would begin to form on the irrefutable knowledge that a peace could be obtained satisfactorily on the question which was most vital to the British people. This indeed asks the American president to risk his possible value as a backstair diplomat. But American presidents are apt to believe that the common-sense of common men can make better judgments on vast issues than even well-meaning rulers. They apply that faith in their own political crises. Perhaps they might help our poor European world by trusting the soul of our common folk.

It is possible that it might be said in objection to my view that President Wilson has already tried and failed to obtain response from European opinion. In May he announced the willingness of America to abandon the old policy of isolation and to cooperate in ensuring the peace of the world. It is true that this great historic utterance was treated with strange neglect by the belligerent governments. Its meaning was distorted by the European press. It seemed to be seed falling on hard ground. Only those of us who in these dark days had our eyes on the international picture are fully grateful yet for that pronouncement which at once gave us hope. We know

that the better desires of our own British statesmen had presented international cooperation as the hope of the world at the end of the war. Mr. Asquith and Lord Grey of Falloden had mentioned it. It had been left to us to preach it incessantly in these war days. No member of the government or of those busy only with the war ever spoke of it again. But to us all it was a great beacon of hope that the American government had officially declared itself for the creation of an international system and announced its willingness to cooperate. We regretted that there was no immediate recognition of this policy by the British government. But they are laboring in heavy waters. And while half the Cabinet is talking about continuing the war by economic means as soon as the military operations cease, it is hard for the more rational half of the Cabinet to talk about the League to Enforce Peace. But Lloyd George's declaration in his interview against the mediation of America or any other neutral nation was so direct a rejection (perhaps unintended) of the American offer that discussion began. Lloyd George was forced by myself in the House of Commons to give a tardy recognition of the value of the President's offer. And a few days later Lord Grey made a franker and more hearty acknowledgment of the possibilities opening out after the war, as a result of the new policy.

Great Britain is now aware of the hope offered to the world by the President's speech and by the acceptance of the policy by both parties in the presidential struggle. But our people do not yet fully see its bearing on the conclusion of the war.

What is it that we seek, what does saner opinion seek in France, Germany and elsewhere? It is security—security for which the nations are crying. They fear to sheathe their swords if they do not see security looming in the near distance. But what offers security except this very league of the nations which European statesmen will only think of as an expedient to be considered after the war is over. My countrymen do not yet see—but they will if you are persistent—that your approval of the League of Peace amounts to American cooperation in the objects for which they profess to be fighting—a secure civilization. Sooner or later your espousal of that plan will affect the course of the war. It will shorten it. They do not yet see that your plan ought to be the first of the terms of peace.

Is it altogether impossible that, as the war drags on wearily for the next few months, the newly elected president should be insisting more and more on the value of the new American policy until it becomes the plain hope of salvation for Europe? It needs to be repeated. For in these days the essence of a democratic appeal is that it should be incessant until it is fully understood. If this message is heard in loud and ever louder tones across the Atlantic it will end by being the policy of the world. It will take the place of the fury of war denunciation, of the threats of annihilation and of the ravings of revenge, of which we are all so weary here.

Surcease

By Ernest M. Hunt

WHENCE goes the army of the liberated souls
Released by shock of cannon?

If I call them,
Will they leap back to this war wracked world and smite
their deceitful chiefs?

But each soul answers mine: "I am at peace."



SAVING THE DUNES

The Plan to Establish a New National Playground on the Shores of Lake Michigan

A LONG the shores of Lake Michigan in Indiana lies a narrow strip of rolling, sand country, about twenty miles in length and from one to one and a half miles in depth. It is the region traveled over by La Salle and Marquette. It was the home of the Pottawattamie Indians, who still put in their claim of ownership based on a peace treaty of 1783. Now it stretches away uninhabited, a tempting area for land speculation and industrial enterprise, near to such commercial and manufacturing centers as Chicago, Illinois, and Gary, Indiana.

For more than a decade the sand-dune district has been the resort of the scientist, the student, the wanderer seeking solitude, and the lover of the austere. The beauty of the dunes is mysterious, whether they lie under the blazing sun of summer or are swept by the boisterous winds of winter.

Within recent years social workers have realized the present—and far greater future—value of the region as a breathing spot and playground for the millions of people dwelling along its fringe.

Foreseeing the absorption of the dunes by industrialism, all these lovers of nature and of man joined together several years ago to urge the purchase of this tract by the nation as a playground. At first they demurred against public agitation, fearing that publicity would enhance the value of the land by calling the attention of owners to their properties.

In 1915, however, at a small meeting held at Henry Booth House, Chicago, the "still hunt" method was discarded as futile and public agitation for a national park was advocated. The newly formed Conservation Council of the nature and walking clubs of Chicago and vicinity was utilized as a medium for "saving the dunes."

Soon after, the committee became aware of a similar movement started in Indiana radiating from Gary to South Bend and even to Indianapolis. The two groups cooperated and planned a mass meeting in July near Mount Tom in the heart of the dunes.

Notwithstanding the terrific heat many hundreds attended this meeting. Messages of encouragement were received from the East and West. A provisional council was appointed to prepare a tentative organization which, after numerous meetings at Gary, materialized into the National Dunes Park Association, "to secure, establish, improve and perpetuate a public national park or parks along the southerly shore of Lake Michigan in the state of Indiana."

Through Senator Taggart, of Indiana, chairman of the National Parks Committee of the United States Senate, a resolution was passed by the Senate on September 7, 1916, directing the Secretary of the Interior to investigate and report to Congress at its next session the advisability and cost of securing, by purchase or otherwise, the sand-dune district.

The last achievement of this vigorous movement was a pub-

lic hearing recently held in Chicago before Stephen T. Mather, assistant to the Secretary of the Interior in charge of the national parks. The breadth of interest which the dunes project has encountered was shown by the great variety of organizations represented at the hearing, including such different types as the Chicago Association of Commerce, the Geographical Society, the American Civic Association, the Federation of Woman's Clubs. Teachers, artists, business men, research scientists, authors, social workers, joined in the plea that the United States save this unique piece of land from being commercialized and destroyed by "people who only have dollars for eyes to see with" and who, to save a few pennies a carload, are removing thousands of tons of sand from a region all too accessible for their purpose, but impossible to duplicate in educational and recreational value.

Great scientists of Europe have ranked the sand dunes of Indiana with the Grand Canyon and the Yosemite in scientific importance. At the hearing Prof. T. C. Chamberlain, of the geology department of the University of Chicago, emphasized the chance to see in the dunes the "assorting, selecting and rearranging processes" which control the evolution of the earth's surface, and which, usually consuming slow centuries in small changes, here work swiftly before our very eyes.

The action of wind and water upon soil, the spectacular moving, year by year, of sand hills until they have covered whole forests, the adaptation of vegetation to this shifting anchorage are all to be seen on the dunes. They are a picturesque "battleground between plant life and the elements." They are also a common meeting-ground, because of peculiar climatic conditions, for trees and flowers from all directions: desert cactus and arctic bear-berry, swamp, forest and prairie plants. The vegetation attracts a great variety of birds,



NOT SNOW-SHOEING, BUT SAND-SLIDING

which, if the region were owned by the government and protected by the national preserve laws, would take refuge there in vast numbers. It is invaluable, for these reasons, as a science laboratory, and is in wide use by hundreds of student groups.

Zonia Barber of the University of Chicago, and Dr. Otis W. Caldwell of the Geographical Society showed how the dunes can likewise supply that most necessary side of elementary education, so meagerly offered in the machinery of a great city school system and too often put in the category of a fad: the opportunity for the free normal use of the five senses, for "objectified concrete situations out of which we may train our children."

Organized education is not alone, however, in its need of the dunes. Chicago, which is within two hours' railway journey of them, ranks thirty-eighth among American cities in park area per capita. Boston has twelve thousand acres in parks. Chicago, with nearly three times Boston's population, has less than five thousand acres. Gary, with its 50,000 inhabitants, with its seven miles of lake front completely cut off from the use of the people by commercial interests, is at the very margin of the dunes.

A. M. Knott, former mayor of Gary, with others, urged the need for accessible and interesting forms of recreation. The dunes, he said, are available the year round for excursions and week-end trips. They have no "closed season." The long beach, the high sand hills, the wealth of beautiful wild flowers and trees, make them a playground for the people that is full of resources and charm.

The city of Chicago has already accomplished a good deal in weaving its varied types of people together into one fabric through its recreation center system. The tangible means of contact with the national government, which federal ownership of the dunes would give, led Abraham Flexner to insist,

in the hearing, that the saving of the dunes would be a great unifier of the heterogeneous nationalities in our industrial centers. And reaching out even beyond this present influence was the significant statement of Lorado Taft, the sculptor: "We owe much to the next generation. If art stands for anything, or if beauty stands for anything, it is simply because it binds generations of men together."

To convey the stirring spirit of this meeting will be the difficult task confronting those who plead the cause before Congress at its next session. Hitherto the national preserves have been carved out of land already owned by the government, except in the case of the forest of great trees in California, which William Kent, when the government failed to take initiative in the matter, gave to the nation. Other small tracts have been secured by executive purchase and gift as "national monuments."

All of the sixteen national parks, except the one at Hot Springs, Arkansas, are west of the Rockies. As Professor Cowles said, in commenting on this fact, "the name of the department controlling parks may have to be changed from the Department of the Interior to the Department of the Exterior, if it continues to place its parks on the fringes of the country only."

The department now has, in the National Park Service, created by Congress August 25, 1916, the first definite organization through which the parks can be administered and the interests of the people in regard to them promoted. The country is fortunate in having a man of such ability and vision as Secretary Mather at the head of this service. But before he or the Department of the Interior can do anything to keep for public use this wonderfully interesting section of Lake Michigan's shore, Congress itself must be made to understand the need for the saving of the dunes and must act on the question of its purchase.

Municipal Week at Springfield

By John Ihlder

THE tendency toward the amalgamation, coordination or cooperation of hitherto independent agencies which has been so notable in other fields, as that of the public health agencies, was perhaps the most significant feature of Municipal Week at Springfield, Mass., November 20-25. The National Municipal League and such more or less closely affiliated organizations as the Intercollegiate Division and the Civic Secretaries' Committee of the league, and the City Managers' Association, joined conference forces with the Municipal Research Conference, the Training School for Public Service and such local bodies as the Massachusetts Federation of Planning Boards, the Massachusetts Civic League, the Massachusetts Single Tax League and the Western New England Chamber of Commerce.

There can be no question as to the great interest that this coming together of civic forces aroused. As one indication, the newspapers of Springfield devoted more space to most of the organizations individually than they were likely to get when meeting by themselves, and the total publicity was almost overwhelming.

Neither is there question that the delegates, distracted though they were by the necessity of choosing between two or three meetings, found the conferences more interesting than usual. Discussions were more spirited because of the presence

of distinguished men who would not have come except for some particular meeting in which they took part. Opportunity was thereby afforded to meet people whom ordinarily one could see only by attending many conferences in widely separated cities. Parenthetically it should be said that the word "expert" was publicly denounced at one of the sessions and the word "specialist" acclaimed as its successor.

So strong was the sentiment in favor of an even closer coordination of the different agencies that at one of the sessions of the National Municipal League it was resolved to appoint a committee to consider the feasibility and practicability of closer cooperation. This resolution was adopted after H. S. Gilbert, of the national Short Ballot Association, had warmly advocated a plan of amalgamation and Raymond B. Fosdick, of the Rockefeller Foundation, in discussing the plan, had committed himself to an advocacy of combining at least to get better publicity.

At a later meeting where the activities of the league and ways to improve them were discussed, Richard S. Childs proposed that the league extend the scope of its activities, either with or without a change of name, to include county, state and even national as well as municipal governmental questions. There was, of course, division of opinion, but after a spirited discussion the whole question was referred to the executive

committee with instructions to present a report at the next conference.

Quite as significant as this expression of a desire to extend the league's activities to new governmental fields while at the same time coordinating them with those of other organizations, was the tangible evidence offered by the program that the always rather indistinct line between civic and social work is becoming more indistinct.

Cities as Social Workers

LAWSON PURDY, president of the New York city Department of Taxes and Assessments, in his opening address as president of the league, dealt with three subjects that during the past year have received much attention from municipalities: municipal bonds, pension systems for employes, and the New York districting ordinance. He closed by saying that these subjects might seem dry were it not that they bear so directly upon the lives and welfare of men and women.

His pension proposal, he indicated, might be extended far beyond the ranks of city employes. After calling attention to the inadequacy of most of our present pension arrangements and to the burden of pension payments in Europe—"the present proportion of the active payroll paid in pensions in the French National Civil Service is 17 per cent, in the Austrian 33 per cent, in that of Berlin, 37 per cent"—Mr. Purdy proposed a new plan. He would create a capital fund, the principal of which shall never be spent, by making a contribution on behalf of every employe to this capital fund annually. The essence of the plan is the preservation of the capital fund intact forever and its constant increase.

When an employe reaches 70 years he is entitled to retire and draw a pension. His pension would be the earnings of his own contributions, plus his share of the earnings of persons of the same age who had died before him. He would also be entitled to a per capita share, together with all other pensioners, of the income of the general endowment which would be created by the death of all persons of a year-class.

An actuary has calculated that on the basis of a \$100 annual contribution for each employe this would yield the pensioner at 70 years, \$1,228 a year; at 75 years, \$1,678; at 80 years, \$2,191; at 90 years, more than \$15,000. After the fund had been in operation some time the annual increase would not only pay pensions, but the annual contributions as well. If this is not done, but the whole amount available is paid out in pensions, then after the fund has been in operation 100 years the pensioner who lives to be 90 may receive an annual pension of \$41,568.

Mr. Purdy suggested that if it is deemed undesirable to pay pensions of \$40,000, the amount might be regulated in accordance with contracts made with employes on entering the service.

The last evening meeting of the week had even more of a social slant than any of the preceding sessions. Allen T. Burns, of the Cleveland Foundation Survey, dwelt at length upon the relations between private and public welfare activities, and Mary K. Simkhovitch, of New York, advocated a reorganization of municipal charity departments so that they might fight poverty instead of merely alleviating its effects. As the health department does preventive work, so should the charities department, she held.

The first duty of a charities department would be to know the extent to which poverty exists, the second to establish a bureau of prevention. This would include the study and furtherance of social insurance, the removal of unemployment, especially seasonal employment, and include an industrial report in which would be a public statement of wages paid in

the industries of the community. Such publicity, Mrs. Simkhovitch said, would tend to reduce the most shameful inadequacies of wage payment and draw public attention to the fact that where wages are inadequate the community has to make up the deficit in the care of those who are broken down by an inadequate standard of living.

The officers elected for the coming year were Lawson Purdy, president; Clinton Rogers Woodruff, secretary, and George Burnham, Jr., treasurer.

The City Managers' Conference was a disappointment to those who attended, hoping to gain definite and new knowledge as to the government of cities. Though not so academic as last year's conference, it did not produce much of value and the city managers themselves, with one or two exceptions, did not show to advantage in comparison with such a group as that of the Municipal Research Conference.

City managing is, however, still a new profession. Most of the cities which have adopted it are small and a considerable proportion of the managers are young engineers who are just beginning to make the acquaintance of their administrative problems. So in their discussions they showed an inability to grasp such distinctions as that between a budget and piecemeal appropriations. One of those who attended their meetings said that they showed an inclination to follow the example of the conference of governors, which apparently felt that only a governor was qualified to address it and which consequently died of dry rot. The city managers, however, did a little better than this. On their way to Springfield they visited New York, where they were given some plain and simple talks by Lawson Purdy and others, and on their last evening in Springfield they held a banquet, after which they were addressed by two local officials and Morris L. Cooke, former director of public works in Philadelphia.

The Conference on Municipal Research developed a spirited debate between William H. Allen, of the Institute for Public Service, and E. P. Goodrich, of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, on the question whether a citizen agency should issue a report of activities. Dr. Allen was of the opinion that the bureau has information regarding the Riverside Drive improvement which it should have made public. At the succeeding evening meeting a resolution was adopted holding that "as citizens' agencies, municipal-research organizations can not consistently make the publication of facts contingent upon confidential relationship with public officials, or upon questions of political expediency."

Value of Publicity

THE DEBATE began when Mr. Goodrich said that personal contact with public officials was more to be desired than publicity. He was asked if, in case a public official were investigated and mended his ways, the report should be published. He believed not. He was then asked what should be done if the official refused to mend his ways. Mr. Goodrich was inclined to think he would still refrain from publishing the report and so antagonizing the official. He said that Chamberlain Bruère of New York had told him that three borough presidents in New York who were investigated by the research bureau, had been impeached on the information so secured. Dr. Allen thereupon gave vigorous expression to his opinion of the bureau's policy and declared that "not since we started, fifteen years ago in New York, has the public been so helpless as to facts."

The conference decided to organize on a permanent basis under the title, the National Federation of Governmental Research Agencies, and elected L. D. Upson, of Dayton, president; P. O. Dustin of Springfield, Mass., secretary.

Aside from this debate on publicity, the liveliest meeting of the week was that of the National Municipal League on Political Parties in City Government: A Reconsideration of Old Viewpoints. Prof. Charles A. Beard of Columbia University began the reconsideration by declaring not only that non-partisanship in city politics is out of place, but that it is non-existent. To prove his point he went over the records of so-called non-partisan campaigns and listed the party names, ranging from Citizens' Party and Good Government League to Fusion tickets. This was bad enough, but he then went on to say that our political morality now is no higher than it was fifty years ago and declared that if no band of forty thieves is now disposing of New York street car franchises it is merely because 95 per cent of the franchises have been granted and made perpetual.

Prof. A. R. Hatton of Cleveland at once challenged this statement and pointed out the great-difference in the terms

upon which franchises are granted now in cities other than New York from those when the forty thieves gave away the Broadway franchise.

Housing and city planning occupied a considerable proportion of the delegates' attention. The Massachusetts Civic League held a meeting devoted entirely to housing and the Massachusetts Federation of Planning Boards held its fourth annual conference. While in both of these conferences stress was laid upon the situation in Massachusetts, a good deal of it was of general application. New York's districting ordinance appeared and reappeared at session after session, not only at the meetings of these organizations, but at those of others, until even the New Yorkers began to feel that it was receiving too much attention and time after time declared that what has been done in New York must not be imitated; the underlying principles are universal, their application will not fit.

The Allison Case

By J. Prentice Murphy

GENERAL SECRETARY BOSTON CHILDREN'S A D SOCIETY

IN July of this year Boston had the subject of birth control presented to it for serious and also sensational consideration because of the arrest of Van Kleeck Allison, recently a student at Columbia University, who had published in the *Flame*, a periodical of which he was co-editor, an extract from one of Dr. William J. Robinson's books dealing with a phase of birth control. This issue of the *Flame* attracted the attention of the district attorney of Suffolk county and also of the police who arrested Mr. Allison, charging him with disseminating birth-control literature contrary to a Massachusetts statute. Later this charge was supplemented by further charges to the effect that he had given birth-control information to certain people who had called at his office; and still later the district attorney charged that he had distributed pamphlets dealing with the subject of birth control to factory girls in different parts of the city.

Mr. Allison freely admitted that the first two indictments were true. The first excited much comment because the quotation from Dr. Robinson's book is very well known to medical men and to social students. The second was based on the fact that he gave a pamphlet, containing contraceptive information, to a detective in disguise who claimed that he needed this information because of a very critical home situation. Mr. Allison also admitted that he had given pamphlets to two or three other people who came to him when he thought, after careful conversation with them, that they should have such information. The third charge, concerning factory girls, Mr. Allison has absolutely denied, and all of his friends, including many very influential people in Boston, fully believe his statement.

The trial in the Municipal Court was sensational. The district attorney, Joseph C. Pelletier, in summing up the case for the commonwealth, declared that this was one of the most far-reaching cases that had ever been brought to the attention of a Boston judge. In the estimation of many who attended the trial, Mr. Allison was not given a full opportunity to explain his side of the case. He was found guilty and sentenced to three years at Deer Island, which is the House of Correction for Boston.

An appeal to the Superior Court was taken by the attorney for the defendant, George E. Roewer, Jr., a very careful and sane man, who was counsel for Giovannitti and Ettor in the trial that took place in the old Massachusetts town of Salem growing out of the famous I. W. W. strike. The hearing of the appeal in the Superior Court was scheduled for November 20, and a great many people, holding various opinions as to birth control, awaited it with interest.

Subsequent to Mr. Allison's arrest and conviction in the lower court, there was organized in Boston a Birth Control League. The object of the league was not necessarily to defend Mr. Allison, but to make clear to the citizens of Boston and also to the state at large the real meaning of birth control, and to refute in every possible way the district attorney's repeated statements that birth control was a filthy subject and that no clean-minded person could possibly believe in or follow its teachings. The league, in spite of a very marked spirit of conservatism on the part of Bostonians and in spite of great hesitancy on the part of many who are actively engaged in social work and allied professions, has grown and won the interest and support of a very influential and respected group of ministers, college professors, lawyers, teachers, doctors, social workers, business men and others.

Instead of a long and sensational trial in the Superior Court, the district attorney compromised with Mr. Roewer, *nolle prosequing* some of the charges against Mr. Allison and agreeing to a sentence of sixty days in the House of Correction. This is, of course, tantamount to a complete vindication of Mr. Allison on the third and more serious charge, which he has always denied. It does mean that he is held technically guilty for the distribution of information of which a great group of intelligent and socially-minded people in Massachusetts and other states have knowledge and consider it ethical to follow. The sixty-day sentence has now been appealed to the Supreme Court, so that within a very short time the full Supreme Bench of the state will be given the opportunity of passing on the question of birth control.

The principle of free speech has been involved in the trial and has had many staunch and fearless defenders. Special

credit should be given to a small group of educated women coming from several professional groups, who refused to be daunted by the threat of unfavorable publicity in their efforts to see that the subject of birth control was presented to the community as something that serious and clean-minded people could consider without contamination, although they might in the end be opposed.

The Massachusetts statutes concerning the giving of contraceptive information differ from the New York statutes. It is possible, according to the judgment of certain reputable lawyers, for a physician to give contraceptive information to a patient when he deems this a necessary thing. It must be given by word of mouth. Anything appearing in writing or

the giving of any article that would tend to prevent conception is forbidden by statute.

The newly organized league is planning an active and dignified campaign of publicity for the coming winter. Mrs. Oakes Ames is to be president of the league, and Mrs. Southard, the wife of Dr. E. E. Southard, director of the Boston Psychopathic Hospital, is to be vice-president. The league has had offices for some time at 36 Bromfield street, Boston.

The league immediately after the trial issued a statement to the effect that it has established that the abstract discussion of birth control is not an actionable offense. Hereafter, it contends, birth control may be discussed by anybody in the state and no criminal action taken.

Charles Booth

An Appreciation

THE student impressed by the scope and extent of the work of Charles Booth as recorded in his epoch-making volumes *Life and Labour of the People in London*¹, finds it hard to realize that this labor of love, which to most men would have sufficed for a life career, was performed by a busy shipowner and man of affairs, handicapped by lack of physical strength.

Charles Booth, whose death in London has just been announced, possessed qualities which marked him not only as a born leader, but as a pioneer. It is to men of his type that Great Britain owes her lead in the commerce of the world and her intellectual greatness. His indomitable energy, the keenness of his intellect, the extent of his knowledge, his versatility, which shone out in flashes of wit and sarcasm, could not fail to impress all who came in contact with his many-sided mind.

I well remember a trip in his company to Dundee some ten years ago, to see the launching of the *Lanfranc*, built for the steamship company which bears his name. At the station hotel in Edinburgh breakfast on a dull morning was made a thing of lasting memory by his scintillating fun on no weightier topic than that the American was eating a light continental meal while the third member of the party, British to the core, was enjoying a heavy American breakfast. He was the chief figure on the stage as the great steamer, the largest product of the local busy ship-building industry, left the ways. At the following lunch in the sail-loft his address, graceful, modestly delivered and full of interest, held the strict attention of one and all, from the humblest shipwright to the officers of the municipality. Afterwards the homeward trip when he discussed American politics, economics, finance and home problems of government, seeking as well as giving information and expressing judgments founded on intimate experience and study, made the afternoon one long to be remembered.

It is rare that the man who achieves great success in his vocation can turn to other pursuits and maintain the same high standard of endeavor. But of Charles Booth it can be said that the variety of his interests and the breadth of his outlook made it possible for him to excel in many fields.

Early in their business career, the late Alfred Booth, his older brother, created with him, through their combined

energy and vision, the Booth Steamship Company, towards whose upbuilding each contributed his special gifts.

More than a generation before the great European conflict had waked the United States to the commercial possibilities of South America, the Booth Steamship Company was carrying on a profitable commerce with the Amazon ports. Manaos, a thousand miles from the coast, and Iquitos, the Atlantic port of Peru, in their harbor works as well as in their shipping, bear witness to this pioneer enterprise.

As one of the heads of Alfred Booth and Company of Liverpool, bankers and shipowners, Charles Booth helped to control not only a wide carrying trade, but large and varied manufacturing and commercial enterprises, which brought him in



CHARLES BOOTH, 1840-1916

¹Life and Labour of the People in London, by the Rt. Hon. Charles Booth, Macmillan, 1889-1903; First Series: Poverty, in 4 volumes; Second Series: Industry, in 5 volumes; Third Series: Religious Influences, in 7 volumes.

close contact with the two Americas, India, China, Australia and other parts of the world. The well-deserved reputation of the Booth Line, the loyalty of its men, and the high credit of the firm are evidences of the success of the business founded by Alfred and Charles Booth.

To the student and social worker Charles Booth is best known by his study of life and labor in London. To this monumental work, while engrossed with business cares, he for long years devoted his surplus energy. Shipowner by day, he became by night the student and investigator in the clothes of a working man at his rented room in the slums of Whitechapel. Gradually he employed a large corps of investigators who worked under his supervision and carried out his plans.

Of this phase of his life the *New York Evening Post* says: "He was eager not to understate the ghastly facts that lay beneath the surface of his general conclusion that over 30 per cent of the people of London were in too great poverty to allow the maintenance of normal physical efficiency; and yet he was esteemed for the caution and weight of his utterances. He avoided exaggeration and hysteria as carefully as he sought

the truth. His data were derived in part from the minute records of school-board 'visitors,' in part from relieving officers and the Charity Organization Society, and in part from systematic researches directed by Booth himself. His volumes contain as documentary evidence specimen pages of the notebooks in which, family by family, street by street, industry by industry, his corps set down the information found. He tried to bind himself to describe and not to teach, to chronicle and leave the remedy to others."

Public honors came to him in recognition of his work. He was appointed Privy Councillor and was a member of the Tariff Commission of 1904. He received honorary degrees from Cambridge, Oxford and Liverpool, was a fellow of the Royal Society and belonged to many other learned bodies.

Charles Booth was an explorer, a student, an administrator, a charming companion, a keen and successful business man—whose achievements justified his confidence in his own views and policies. He was one who shone not less in public than in a family circle whose devotion completed the good fortune of a full and rounded life.

F. B. K.

The Time to Deal With Vagrancy

By Alexander Cleland

SECRETARY JOINT COMMITTEE ON PRISON REFORM

THE time to mend a road is when the traffic is lightest; the time to repair a roof, when it does not rain. The same wisdom makes the present the time to establish industrial farm colonies for tramps and vagrants in the populous states of this union. The reason is the simple one that there are no tramps or vagrants, or very few, who could now be sent to such colonies.

So few men are out of work today that the ranks of the vagrants are greatly thinned. The hobo is having a good time. A million or so of industrial drifters, odd-job men and part-time workers are benefiting from prosperity and have been reabsorbed into the industrial army. Men who have been tramping from city to city and state to state, looking for work, who have hung around municipal lodging houses waiting, often in vain, for an hour's labor at twenty cents, are now sought for, advertised for, given steady work at \$3 a day.

This situation will last only until the end of the war, or until a year or so after, for even when war orders stop it will take some time to fill up shops and warehouses with merchandise. Within a year, however, our domestic stocks will be filled up again, immigration will likely be under way, and we shall be back to the old predicament of having more men than are needed.

Shall we wait for that day to come before we provide for it? If we get our farm colonies into operation now, when the number of applicants will be small, we can try out various methods of conducting them and select the most desirable. We shall then be ready when the number of applicants rises. It will be better to get the plan into running order while the situation is manageable than to wait until the old confusion and congestion are upon us again, demanding hit or miss methods for remedying them.

The fundamental principle in dealing with vagrants is to deal with them according to their different characters and needs. They fall, roughly, into three groups.

The real hobo is the first group. He is the man who goes

about hunting for work. He has not been able to fit himself securely into our industrial mechanism and he drifts about over the country wherever he thinks he may be able to find a job. He may look for apple-picking in New York, orange-picking in California, harvesting wheat in Kansas, or cutting ice or working on the railroad here, there and anywhere. He forms a great, silent army—so great that he has established definite routes for travel. He may enter and leave New York city, for instance, mainly over the Lehigh and Lackawanna roads, getting off or on at Newark; or over the New York Central, getting on at 125th street. He has developed a freemasonry of the road; he knows and passes on to his fellows all imaginable information about wages, chances for work, cities it is not safe to ride through, what roads must be watched for detectives, what ones have friendly trainmen. Hobos are men of all trades, all ages, all degrees of skill, but they actually want to work.

The tramp makes up the second class. He is the man who wants to wander, not to work. He might be called the idle poor, for except for his poverty he has some of the characteristics of the idle tourist. He wants just to roam around, and in this fat, careless country he finds it quite possible to do so.

The third group comprises those vagrants who are physically or mentally incompetent. The first five or ten men one might find belonging to this group may have got into it for as many different reasons. The reason may be drink, or drugs, or tuberculosis; it may be sheer constitutional inferiority, either mental or physical—the result of generations of overwork and undernourishment. The man may be simply burned out by the work he has done, possibly at an early age. One of the most completely used up men I ever saw was twenty-nine years old; he had been working since nine in a Pennsylvania glass house, overheated and then chilled, with long hours.

It is easy to see that the same work, offered to these three classes of vagrants, would be differently received. Suppose

Photo by Hine



NIGHT BREADLINE (INTERIOR) AT THE BOWERY MISSION, DURING HARD TIMES

a citizen, moved by newspaper accounts of the misery of the unemployed, offered the next vagrant he saw fifty cents and his dinner to shovel the snow on his walk. If the man were a tramp, he would shovel for a few minutes and then stick the shovel in the snow bank and move on to look for a dinner with no shovel attached—and the citizen would say that it was clearly no use trying to help such men. If he were an incompetent vagrant, he would shovel fiercely for an hour and then either faint or stagger away exhausted—and the citizen would say that he could find work if he were fit to do it. The hobo would put the job through and then hunt for another yard to clean.

Vagrancy is a hole that cannot be mended when the weather is bad. Emergency relief is almost always unsatisfactory. We expect waste in dealing with a Johnstown flood or a Baltimore fire or a San Francisco earthquake. It is not possible on such occasions to ask many questions if people are to be kept alive. Just so, a community faced suddenly with ten or twenty thousand homeless, starving men cannot be particular about the work it gives them or the conditions it attaches to its succor. There is no help for it if all sorts and conditions of men are lumped together in emergency lodging houses and elsewhere, if men who loathe charity and men who loathe work are treated exactly alike. But a crisis that can be foreseen can be guarded against, and does not justify waste and inefficiency.

Our past methods of dealing with vagrancy have been hideously expensive, largely futile, and even cruel in their blindness. Take New York alone, for example. The State Board of Charities estimates the annual loss to the state from vagrants at \$2,000,000. This includes the railroad accidents of which they are the victims, the petty thefts they commit from chicken-coops and clothes-lines, the larceny or even burglary from houses and barns and boxcars and railroad stations, and the cost of caring for them in jails and lockups. The vagrants constitute a terrific drag on the progress of the state both in the charitable and penal cost they entail and in other results that cannot be counted up in figures—the drink habit, the drug habit, the disease that is caught here and passed on there, and, worst of all, the deadening of initiative and the paralysis of will that comes from endless failure and loss of self-respect.

In spite of all this, and in spite of numerous European examples, Massachusetts is the only American state that has established a state institution for tramps and vagrants, at Bridgewater. Agitation for colonies has reached varying acuteness in a number of states. Illinois has discussed the matter. New York actually has a law authorizing the building of a colony and defining the persons who shall be sent to it and how they shall be committed, but the colony itself awaits establishment.

Now is New York's opportunity. As a result of the legislative authorization in 1911, 820 acres were bought in Dutchess county. Four legislatures have since been asked to make appropriations for starting the colony, but they have failed to do so.

The New York act provides that any person over twenty-one who is adjudged a vagrant or tramp may be committed to the colony. "Reputable workmen temporarily out of work and seeking employment" may not be committed. No one can be sent for a definite term. Eighteen months is the maximum for those who have not served previous prison sentences, two years for those who have. Anyone may be paroled or discharged at any time during his sentence.

The benefit to the tramp and the incompetent of such a farm would be large. The tramp would not only be obliged to work; he would be kept (within the maximum sentence) until he gives evidence that he has acquired a working habit. He would also be built up physically. At first there would be ground to be cleared and buildings to be erected; after that, farm work to be done. For the physically and mentally incompetent (and there are many paranoiacs among vagrants) the steady outdoor work, regular diet and regular sleep would rebuild many. Others could be sifted out and sent to proper state custodial institutions. For the hobo the farm would do nothing, except make the public understand the difference between him and the tramp, and make it easier for him to get work.

A concerted effort ought to be made to obtain funds for this colony from the next session of the legislature. The Joint Committee on Prison Reform, the Prison Association of New York, the City Club of New York, and other civic bodies agree that it is desirable. Now is the time to start it. Will New York take the lead?

Dynamic Civics

How the Child in Our Schools May Be Taught Power in Citizenship

By *Edward E. Hill*

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THE reader of this article will not find in it any new ideas of an explosive nature, as its label might seem to indicate. Dynamic civics is here used as a term better adapted than the more familiar "community civics" to express a method in the study and teaching of social conditions and activities, especially political activities, that is calculated to generate power in citizenship. The teaching of civics consciously to this end is a growing feature of school practice and is bringing a needed enrichment to the curriculum.

Dynamic civics lays emphasis upon the work of government rather than the details of its machinery. This is its first principle. Why do we have this thing that we call government? What brought it into existence? Without going into its origin, its continued existence can be explained and justified only upon these grounds, that it serves human needs and promotes human progress. It may have originated in a brute force or crafty cunning that enabled one individual to gain a mastery over his fellows, in the family instinct where the exercise of authority is tempered by a sense of paternal responsibility and softened by some feeling of filial obligation and gratitude, or in a sort of half-conscious realization on the part of a number of individuals that they might work together to advantage to promote their common good. But whatever its origin—the essential question that we are now concerned with is how it acts to enlarge human happiness. Any fruitful study of civics must be based upon an understanding and experience of social and individual needs.

This does not mean, of course, that the teaching of civics is to begin with a scientific analysis of human wants. Such a method is possible only with mature and advanced students. But the civic training of the child should begin with the everyday experiences of home-life before school age is reached. In his home-life the child may become aware of the fact that his parents are doing things for him and that he in turn owes them obedience and certain little services. In his relations with brothers and sisters and playmates he also learns his lessons of mutual dependence and helpfulness. The dawning consciousness of these reciprocal relations and his active participation in them is the beginning of civic knowledge and training.

When he enters the school world the circle of these relations widens. It includes now not only the members of his family and the few playmates of his home-life, but teachers, principal, janitor, classmates and others. And so the circle of his civic experiences continues to enlarge. He comes to know the function of the policeman, garbage man, fireman, postman and other public officials, and something about the work of the milkman, carpenter, shoemaker and other tradesmen who are ministering to his daily wants. By the time he reaches the fourth or fifth grades he becomes interested in the organization of activities such as the postal system, the life-saving service, the fire and police departments, and two or three years later he is able to comprehend

to a considerable extent the organization and workings of the different units of government of which he is a member, local, state and federal.

But throughout the process the emphasis has been upon the work of government rather than the details of its machinery. Not that a knowledge of the organization and machinery of government is unimportant, but, like any other machinery, its real value can be estimated only by the work that it turns out. It cannot be judged properly as an abstract thing, as an end in itself.

In the second place dynamic civics seeks to find as many points of actual contact with social activities as is possible, to substitute whenever practicable first-hand knowledge and experience for the text-book, lectures and outlines. Its tools are experiences, observations, reports, discussions and actual practice. It also gathers its substance from the daily papers, official reports and current magazines. Not that the text-book has no place in this subject as it has in other fields of educational work.

Next to the teacher the text-book is, without question, the most important agent in the educational process, but its function is frequently unduly magnified. It is placed before the awe-struck student as the sum and substance of all that has been said or can be said upon the given subject—the final authority upon the matter. It is fed out to him, perhaps I should use the more pedagogical expression, "assigned," in regular and measured quantities and if the given text-book happens to be, as is too frequently the case, only a collection of dried-out material designed primarily to fatten the pocketbook of an enterprising publisher or tickle the vanity of a painstaking compiler, whose name appears on the cover and title-page as its "author," the weary student is likely to finish the course in the given subject with a feeling that he has been stuffed with sawdust.

In the study of civics, at any rate, the text-book should be used as a means of suggestion and direction rather than as a catechism, as a cold-storage plant, to be drawn upon only for material which is not convenient elsewhere in fresh supplies. A face-to-face talk with a policeman, garbage man, shoemaker or carpenter is far more interesting than second-hand statements found in text-books, or pamphlets, or made by the teacher. The inside of an engine-house, a life-saving station, or a blacksmith shop is far more impressive than lessons learned from books. Visits to headquarters of political activities, such as the town or city hall, village, city, county and, whenever possible, state and national institutions, courts, legislative bodies, conventions, polling places and other political gatherings, tend to make civic life a real thing to the minds of students. Moreover, knowing how and where to get fresh material on a subject and the habit of going after it is more important even than a knowledge of the material itself.

It is not contemplated, of course, that all the students of all the civic classes in a city shall visit all of these places. Such

a thing is manifestly impossible. It would be an unwarrantable encroachment upon the school program, the time and strength of teachers and pupils and an intolerable nuisance to those engaged in doing our civic work. A few trips planned for each class or committees from the class are sufficient to stimulate the appetite for this sort of thing and to start the young citizens in the right direction. Nor will these visits, if properly distributed and timed, prove any hardship to the selected hosts. The writer has taken classes upon scores, if not hundreds, of these trips and has yet to meet with the first act of discourtesy or the first symptoms of impatience or unwillingness to "tell us all about it."

Joint-Ownership of Property

A THIRD PRINCIPLE involved in the dynamic teaching of civics is the aim to impress upon the mind of the pupil something of a sense of joint-ownership in public property. He is a joint-heir to a vast estate and a partner in big undertakings. Streets, boulevards and bridges, public buildings, parks, museums and libraries are a part of this estate. He is a part owner also of great natural resources, although a large share of this portion of his birthright has been sold by the trustees of his estate for a mess of pottage. Inventories of these properties and a study of their management, the expense of maintaining them and the returns from them, social and individual, help to give a sense of dignity to citizenship and a feeling of responsibility which can hardly be secured in any other way.

As an instance of this may be cited a case where a gang of boys had long been making itself a nuisance in their neighborhood by breaking the globes in the street-lamps. This seemed for some reason to be a favorite amusement. The boys were finally brought together by a well-disposed gentleman for a heart-to-heart talk. A discussion of such questions as the following: Why do we have street-lamps? Who pays for putting in these lamps? Who is injured if these lamps are broken and whose business is it to help to protect them? seemed to bring these boys to their senses, and public property in that vicinity was found to be much safer.

Another fruitful line of study under this same head is the question of the enlargement of some of the plants that are a part of our common estate. The city, for instance, owns the streets, paying for their construction and maintenance usually out of a general tax levy. Why should the city not own and run the street-car lines on the same basis? The city owns and operates a public plant to supply water to all of its citizens. Why should its inhabitants not supply themselves in the same way with gas and electricity? As a nation we have a great plant for handling our letters, papers, magazines and even merchandise to a limited extent. Why should the government not also handle our telegrams and operate the telephone system? Why should we not, as a people, own and operate our great public thoroughfares—the railroads? Would it not be possible and profitable for us in many ways to enlarge our plants for furnishing public service? The function of the teacher is not, of course, to stuff pupils' minds with dogmatic conclusions, but to stimulate interest in these questions and lay a foundation for intelligent investigation.

A historical background is of fundamental importance in dynamic civics. Political institutions, laws and governmental machinery are not static in their nature. They were not handed down to man written upon tables of stone, the final and unchangeable fiat of an omniscient and omnipotent creator. As we have them today they are the product of human experience, the fruits of an evolutionary process whose dynamic force

is to be found in man's struggle to satisfy his desires and to realize his ideals. They are still in the process of making.

That over-conservative attitude of mind which looks upon the constitution of the United States as the offspring of some supernatural wisdom and regards such time-honored institutions as trial by jury, forms of court procedure and laws guarding the "rights" of private property, freedom of contract, etc., as too sacred to be tampered with by present-day criticism, has seriously retarded our progress. It has made us complacent and self-satisfied with the political achievements of our ancestors, while other nations have outstripped us in the realization of some of the very ideals which our forefathers first conceived of and left to us as a heritage and a responsibility.

The cure for this excessive conservatism, perhaps we might diagnose it as a type of political locomotor ataxia, is the historical treatment of civic study. The student of civics should know something of the origin and development of customs, laws, institutions and social problems as we have them today. He must have a longitudinal as well as a cross-sectional view of his subject. A simple comparison may help to bring out more clearly this idea.

A man of ordinary intelligence can jump aboard one of our great modern locomotives and in a few minutes' time learn to manipulate certain handles so that he may send the engine forward or backward at his will. For a time he may get along all right, but let anything happen to the mechanism and he is helpless. The services of the skilled engineer now become indispensable because he knows not only what levers and buttons to manipulate, but he knows every part and connection of the engine. If an expected result does not follow the movement of a given lever he understands just where to look for the trouble and how to remedy it.

But even the skilled engineer, if his knowledge has been gained entirely from a study of his own engine and a mastery of its parts is bound to have a very narrow notion of the possibilities of steam engines. If we are looking for a really progressive engineer we must find the man who is acquainted with all the fundamental principles upon which steam engines are built and is familiar with the history of their development. To him the engine that he may happen to be running, no matter how wonderful in its mechanism or how efficient in its workings, is by no means the final product along this line. It is only the latest step in the long evolution of locomotives and is likely itself to become junk in a few short years in competition with never-ending improvements. As perfect as it may seem to others he knows that it still has certain limitations and is thinking, always thinking, how he may overcome them.

The Practical Politician

THESE THREE CHARACTERS typify three characters in political life. The first is the average voter. He goes to the polls, marks his ballot, places it in the ballot-box and comes away with a cheery impression that he is helping to run the ship of state. But the practical politician knows better. He can scarcely hide a sarcastic smile at the conceit and ignorance of the man who seems to think that levers and buttons in the form of tickets and ballot-boxes are all that there is to political machinery. Like the skilled engineer, our practical politician knows well every detail in the political organism that he is working. Not the smallest screw, or wire, or bolt, or rod in the caucus, the primary, the convention, the election or any other part of the political machinery ever escapes his attention. If anything goes wrong, if his faction is beaten at

the primaries, or his party at the polls, he can lay his finger on the exact spot where the trouble lies. His engine is soon fixed up and he is off on his trip.

But, like the skilled engineer, too, his ideas of government are likely to be very narrow if his experience and vision are limited to that particular political machine which he happens to be running. If we are to have a progressive politician—a statesman, we must have a man who knows not only political institutions as they are today, but one who is also acquainted with the principles that lie back of these institutions and the history of their development. Dynamic civics must be civics with a historical background.

Closely connected with this principle is another upon which American schools must lay stress, the cultivation of an understanding and an appreciation of American ideals. It is not enough that the citizen acquire a knowledge of his social environment as it now is and a habit of acting helpfully within that environment. It is not enough even that he know how political institutions about him came to be what they are, social progress demands yet more than this, it calls for a power to set up ideals, a power to conceive something better, nobler, higher than that which now exists. A vision of certain ideals and a determination to realize them are the forces that must work in our national life to cause civic growth.

And what are these ideals? They have become such commonplaces upon our tongues that they have almost become rubbish in our minds. Freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of action and of opportunity, how ordinary these expressions sound to most of us today! But how full of meaning were they to the brave souls who saw them at first only as beautiful human dreams and commenced the long struggle to give those dreams reality! Certainly one of the first duties of the civics teacher is to find some way to impress upon the mind of his pupil something of the meaning of these great blessings which as yet are fully enjoyed by only a part of us and only partly enjoyed by most of us, and to inspire in him a determination to work without ceasing to the end that all of these blessings shall be enjoyed by all of us.

To secure and insure these blessings our forefathers laid the foundations of two great institutions, democratic government and a free public school system. A long record of political history had impressed the lesson that it is not safe to commit the reins of governmental control unreservedly into the hands of the few. To secure equal rights and equal opportunities for all we must have a government that is responsible to and under the control of all. That we have not yet realized our ideal of democratic government needs hardly to be stated.

We seem to have escaped kings and lords only to fall a prey to conscienceless political bosses and piratical captains of industry. This pessimistic view, however, may be dispelled by a brief survey of our political history, which reveals the fact that democratic government, not only in form but as a force in protecting and serving the masses, has made steady progress in our country from the time when it first began to take root in the soil of Virginia and New England.

Democratic government alone, however, is not sufficient to secure the blessings of liberty and that equality of which our forefathers dreamed. The ignorant man, no matter under what form of government he may live, is restricted in his thought and speech. He is hampered in all his activities and social relations by his lack of knowledge and inability to think constructively.

Real freedom can come to the individual only through a knowledge of truth—through education. In order that this might be within the reach of every one, the fathers of our republic, with rare vision, when they laid the foundations of a democratic state also laid the foundation of a great free public school system. The free public school is our best guarantee of equal opportunity, efficiency and democracy. Any civic instruction that fails to impress upon the minds of young Americans the importance of these national ideals and the work of these two great agencies through which we are coming to realize them, falls far short in its function.

To sum up briefly, then, the aim of dynamic civics is to bring the student into direct contact with civic realities, to impress upon him the sense of dignity and responsibility that comes with a consciousness of joint partnership in great enterprises, to cultivate in him an open mind and progressive spirit toward civic questions, and to inspire him with a vision of our civic ideals.

These principles are not anything new. They have been embodied more or less in the work of all progressive teachers of civics and to some extent in our better text-books on this subject. Recently they are finding a fuller expression in what is known as "community civics," of which Henry W. Thurston of the New York School of Philanthropy and Arthur W. Dunn of the United States Bureau of Education have been perhaps the chief exponents. Mr. Thurston's *Outlines for the Teaching of Civics*, published by the Chicago Normal College, and Mr. Dunn's little text-book, *The Community and the Citizen*, as well as his pamphlets, *Civic Education in Elementary Schools as Illustrated in Indianapolis* and *The Teaching of Community Civics*, issued as *Bulletins 642 and 650* of the United States Bureau of Education, show how the principle of dynamic civics may be effectively employed from first grade to college.

The Radical Movement in Education

By Max Loeb

MEMBER CHICAGO BOARD OF EDUCATION

INDUSTRIAL education is now having its day at court. The German idea of specific training for specific occupation has been taken up with enthusiasm by American educators. There is now hardly a city of any considerable size which has not vocational courses and the accompanying equipment in the public schools. Vocational guidance is not yet so firmly established, but beginnings have been made.

Bureaus of vocational guidance are in existence in Chicago, New York, Boston, Omaha and other of the large cities.

Vocational education suffers from the danger of over-emphasis. It is difficult to maintain the proper balance between the vocational and cultural studies. One is apt to overshadow the other. Hence the insistence of labor leaders that the cultural studies be not neglected in schools giving

vocational courses. Clear-sightedly, they want the child of working parents not only to be trained for a practical occupation, but also fitted to raise himself above the economic level of that occupation.

The teacher of vocational courses can not escape the assumption of a definite attitude toward the boy's work and work-associations after he leaves school. How shall the twig be bent? The decision is an important one. Shall the boy or girl be encouraged to accept worshipfully conditions as they are, or shall he be encouraged to explore, to criticize, to lay aside reverence for authority and deal mercilessly with facts?

The Teacher's Influence

TAKE A CONCRETE CASE: Shall the teacher advise the boy to join a union, or shall he advise him against it? Or shall he say nothing? Even if he states no definite opinion, on what side shall his influence lie? The attitude of the teacher is apt to have a lasting effect upon the intellectual processes of the boy or girl, particularly in the formative adolescent period when he is particularly amenable to the suggestions, spoken or otherwise, of an elder, clothed with authority.

Complaint is made that our modern schools are turning out radicals. The complaint is amply justified, and thanks be for it. It is a blind teacher, indeed, who, in preparing a boy or girl to be an efficient worker, does not also train him to insist upon the collection of a proper reward for his work. "Not only to serve more efficiently, but to collect justly for his services." This is the unspoken, but the underlying message which reaches the youngster who goes through a course of vocational training in our public schools.

Vocational training is exceedingly practical. Preparation for a particular job and the job itself are not far apart. The scholastic and the practical almost meet. The boy and girl, therefore, unless of very limited intelligence, can not escape the industrial problem. It is all about them. Realization comes that soon they must take some stand—either be with the union movement or against it—and not indifferently let the torrents sweep past them.

As intelligence increases, so does discontent with things as they are. The child, when he comes to realize the existence of poverty, of crime, of disease, of social maladjustment generally, awakens to the fact that civilization is not far from its swaddling clothes, and has still a considerable distance to travel. His enthusiasm for practical reform, when once it is borne in upon him that thousands of people live poorly, and eat inadequately, and are sometimes even without employment, is far greater than that of the adult who knows by experience how slow are the steps in progress.

Increased intelligence, however, means more than comprehension. It involves new taking-account of one's self—determination to live fully, not only life's enjoyments, but also its duties and responsibilities. It involves in equal measure, appreciation of that in our social organism which is good, that which is just, that which is well done.

Our public schools are the chief agencies in increasing the child-intelligence. They do this not only by imparting information, by disciplining the mind, by opening new areas hitherto hidden, but also by thrusting the individual into a crowd and thereby awakening his powers of observation and giving him eagerness for competitive effort. They make him inclined to think for himself, to search out motives, to insist upon his rights, to be self-reliant, and, above all, reluctant to make up his mind on a given issue until both sides have been

heard. If his training seems to give him a tendency toward cynicism and toward suspicion of motives, it should be remembered that this is the obverse of a virtue—namely, the desire to get at the bottom of a matter even if it be necessary to question long-established conditions in the search for truth.

Vocational guidance bureaus are excellent institutions if they do not degenerate into mere employment agencies. They must have the courage to speak out against an employment when conditions are hopeless so far as promotion, a decent wage, or the ordinary canons of health are concerned. The radical movement in education is toward the fearless, outspoken expression of unbiased opinion. That vocational course is a failure which turns out a boy or girl who is servile or a toady, no matter how efficient he may be. The instruction has been poorly given if the working boy or girl in the trades does not see the advantage to himself and to society in association with his fellows in labor unions—in order that he may get from industry that reward which can only be wrung from it by collective bargaining. Some employers who have interested themselves in vocational training are unaware of its real significance. Many, however, far-sighted and fair-minded, are encouraging industrial education without deceiving themselves as to its true content. They are those who are satisfied to give to employes the same right of cooperative action which they have insisted upon for themselves.

Within the last few months a national organization of teachers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has come into being. Local branches are being established. The compelling force which is causing this association is the need for cooperative thought and action, and the enormous advantages, as a practical strength-giving agency, of affiliation with labor unions. "The shabby skirts of gentility" are no longer drawn away at the thought of affiliation with the plumber or the carpenter. Both are wage-earners, although in different fields. It has been truly said that teaching is a profession and not a trade. Yet even professions must organize, if without such organization they find themselves thwarted and repulsed in the effort to improve the conditions under which they must practice their professions. The actors have seen this truth, and their strongest association, in point of numbers, has formally affiliated with the national labor organization. In some cities, like Chicago, the teachers' unions are active factors in the life of the community.

Modern Education

THE RADICAL MOVEMENT in education is a movement toward truer democracy. It uncovers the intellectual snob who sneers at business; it bows the head of the man of affairs in respect to the scholar. It takes the academician into practical life. It makes him sought for by men who formerly dismissed him with the phrase "impractical." It trains the youngster, not aimlessly, but with definite aims and purposes. It makes him self-respecting and determined to insist upon his rights, not only in private life, but as an economic factor in industry. Suffrage, and the agitation for it, are aiding this modern voice in education to gain a steadily larger hearing. Women, it may be said, less often allow motives of commercial expediency, or irritation at individual cases of privilege abused, to obscure their vision of simple, elemental truths. Reciprocally the movement is helping suffrage, for under its influence the young mind becomes impatient of opinions founded only upon tradition, and bases its acceptance or rejection of a theory or principle upon readily understood facts of everyday life.



COMMON WELFARE

THE PRESIDENT ON LABOR DISPUTES

THAT President Wilson is fully aware of organized labor's opposition to any plan designed to curtail its right to strike is shown by the language used in his annual message to Congress, delivered on Tuesday. That he has made up his mind to disregard that opposition is equally evident. The message is devoted chiefly to the questions raised by the railway strike crisis of last August, and on which no action was taken by Congress.

The message calls attention to the six recommendations made at that time. These included the enlargement of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the establishment of the eight-hour day "as the legal basis alike of work and of wages," the creation of a commission to study the effect of the eight-hour day in railway transportation, the approval by Congress of the consideration by the Interstate Commerce Commission of an increase in freight rates, the prohibition of strikes on the railways until after an investigation of the controversy has been made and giving the President power in case of military necessity to take over and operate the railroads and to draft employes into service for that purpose.

The President stated that the second and third of these recommendations have been acted on, and the fourth he did not care to urge. The other recommendations, however, were "very earnestly" renewed.

It is the fifth recommendation that has aroused the opposition of all classes of organized labor. This reads as follows:

"An amendment of the existing federal statute which provides for the mediation, conciliation and arbitration of such controversies as the present by adding to it a provision that, in case the methods of accommodation now provided for should fail, a full public investigation of the merits of every such dispute shall be instituted and completed before a strike or lockout may lawfully be attempted."

In renewing this recommendation the President apparently took cognizance of the objections, raised by spokesmen for labor, to "involuntary servitude," for he said:

"I would hesitate to recommend, and I dare say the Congress would hesitate to act upon the suggestion should I make it, that any man in any occupation should be obliged by law to continue in an employment which he desired to leave.

"To pass a law which forbade or prevented the individual workman to leave his work before receiving the approval of society in doing so would be to adopt a new principle into our jurisprudence which I take it for granted we are not prepared to introduce. But the proposal that the operation of the railways of the country shall not be stopped or interrupted by the concerted action of organized bodies of men until a public investigation shall have been instituted which shall make the whole question at issue plain for the judgment of the opinion of the nation is not to propose any such principle.

"It is based upon the very different principle that the concerted action of powerful bodies of men shall not be permitted to stop the industrial processes of the nation, at any rate before the nation shall have had an opportunity to acquaint itself with the merits of the case as between employe and employer, time to form its opinion upon an impartial statement of the merits, and opportunity to consider all practicable means of conciliation or arbitration."

Whether this recommendation and the other one, also opposed by labor, to give the President power to draft men into railway service in case of military necessity will cause a rupture between the President and the organized labor movement of the country is one of the interesting questions that will be answered when the new session gets under way.

The message favors the passage by the House of the vocational education bill which succeeded last session in the Senate.

SOME EFFICIENCY PLANS FOR CONGRESS

ALONG with the return of almost equal numbers of Democrats and of Republicans, with a few spokesmen of lesser parties, the recent election is believed to have assured a revision of the rules of the national House of Representatives for the new Congress which meets a year hence. Political engineers call the machinery of the House efficient from the point of view of the small group of committee chairmen of the party in control, but from any other viewpoint inefficient and socially dangerous.

How Congress muddled along with its appropriation bills and its political speeches, all unmindful of the railroad situation, until there came the threat of a nation-wide strike, is history. There is a very real and immediate connection between House rules and the breakings-away from "orderly procedure" which marked the adoption of the Adamson law. The rules permit a handful of men to block public business. Until the rules are changed and Congress is set free to do its work, the slowly gathered forces outside Congress will resort of necessity to their own means to gain expression.

Between twenty-five and thirty members—Democratic, Republican, Progressive, Independent, Socialist, Prohibitionist—are counted on by the National Voters' League as being ready to join in the rules fight. Their demands will include: That hereafter, every proposed change in the rules sent to the Rules Committee of the House shall be reported back within a limited number of days, abolishing the autocratic control by the Rules Committee over the business of the House; that every committee shall choose its own chairman, instead of having him appointed by the majority members of the Ways and Means Committee; that all committee meetings shall be public, taking away the power of chairmen to misrepresent the attitude of themselves and the other members as to bills coming before them, thus assuring that humane legislation, long

made the football of congressional politics, will be heard on its merits and in the open; that unnecessary committees be abolished, including the familiar instance of the Senate Committee on Rail Routes to the Atlantic Seaboard, which has had no meeting in thirty-seven years but has three clerks.

The National Voters' League, which has conducted a campaign against spoils control of Congress for the past four years, is this week holding its annual meeting in Washington. It proposes to get into touch, during the coming months, not only with the members of the next House who are willing to demand rules reform, but also with the organizations that may affect the policy of the regular leaders of the parties in Congress. If the organized farmers, organized shippers, organized workers, organized professional and other groups who want an efficient Congress can be marshaled in support of a definite program of House rules, not even a coalition of the spoils beneficiaries in both parties can stay the new order.

The league will tackle, also, the lack of a responsible budget system. Congress will spend most of the session begun this week in the discussion of appropriation bills. In this discussion, original work of value to the country will be comparatively slight. Heads of executive departments could have prepared the estimates, defended them before the fiscal representative of the Cabinet, and he in turn could have presented the whole schedule to Congress in such a way as to save weeks of discussion. At the same time, the adoption of a budget system would take away most of the present power of committee chairmen to control appropriations, and hence to exercise the influence that radiates from the "pork-barrel."

Lynn Haines, executive secretary of the league, examined the subject matter of the 6,848 bills introduced in the House in the first seven days of its session last December. Of the whole number, 758 were public bills and 6,090 were "political" bills; that is, there were 4,144 devoted to pension matters, 191 to the changing of military records as a means to securing pensions, 1,037 to claims, 453 to local improvement projects, and 265 to miscellaneous local matters. The proportion of local bills increased slightly during the session, for which the total number of bills introduced reached 20,000.

If Congress is to study the railroad problem before the country is paralyzed by a strike, and if laws are to be passed dealing with all of the complex details of vocational education, immigration, arbitration of industrial disputes, prohibition, woman suffrage and a score of other social issues in orderly fashion, then someone else must argue those 4,144 pension claims and the 453 local



THE MAN WHO IS OUT IN THE WET

demands for dredging rivers and building postoffices.

During the past summer the teachers of government in most of the high schools of the country have been kept informed by the National Voters' League of the development of the movement for a more responsive Congress. Professors from some forty universities and colleges have signified their interest. Clubs and public forum groups have made the House rules the topic of discussions, from Maine to California. Mr. Haines' book showing the workings of Your Congress under the committee system has been taken into the colleges as a text. Editors in most of the large cities have given their endorsement to his *Searchlight on Congress*, a monthly analysis of the work of Congress.

It was in the *Searchlight* that the word "mawsh," made from the initial letters of the words, "Might as well stay home," was first used. Richard S. Childs of the league's executive committee coined the word to describe the 90 per cent of the members of the House under the present scheme of control. The remaining 10 per cent were the machine leaders on the one hand and the little group of independents on the other.

"The only direct condemnation implied in 'mawsh,'" says Mr. Haines, "is that the member meriting that characterization acquiesced in the conditions

which made him a figurehead, that he did not rebel and demand his independence."

A list of the members of the present House, state by state, was published in October, giving to each man the estimate placed upon him under this standard of judgment. It was effectively used by the opponents of men in both the "machine" and the "mawsh" categories. Among the men who will join in the movement next session to change the rules, and thereby permit Congress to rid itself of spoils control, will be some of these very members in the "mawsh" class. They were unwilling to rebel against organization rule, but they will vote to prevent the renewal of the old impossible condition.

A NATION-WIDE DRIVE FOR THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY

"I DON'T think anybody's got a home any more," said Bella Donna, a waitress, testifying of the need of an eight-hour day for women. "You all come into the restaurants for your meals. Then for twelve hours and more we're cleaning, and scrubbing, and digging for you and feeding you, all for the measly sum of \$5 a week.

"I have an arch in my foot now that cost me twenty dollars, and all of us girls suffer from varicose veins. It's the constant tramp, tramp, tramp and

the hett of the trays we carry. The girls say to each other over and over again—why isn't there a law? The sales girl and the factory girl have laws. Why are we classed as domestics? Aren't we selling food the same as the girl sells ribbons over the counter? Why ain't there a law?"

This was at the opening meeting of the eight-hour conference for women, held in New York last week. It is one of a series of interstate conferences in which the Woman's Trade Union League and the National Consumers' League are cooperating to induce the women of the nation to press for the eight-hour day for working women. Forty-two legislatures will be bombarded and Congress will be faced with the question of a national amendment.

Besides the waitress, Mary Thompson, a textile worker, talked of her twenty years in the mills. At the age of eighteen she came from Scotland, full of enthusiasm at entering a free land. She saw the stars overhead as she entered the harbor on that first night, she said, and the lights moving to and fro, and went to sleep thinking, "All is well."

But in Ludlow, Mass., where she began to work in the spinning department of a jute mill, "the eye-openers came." "I was sick 'way down into myself," she said. Women whose job it was to lift heavy materials all day long left one day before to give birth to a child and were back at work within a week. "Why should they not have time to help form the character of a child as well as having to slave for it?"

More impersonal talks were given at the Saturday morning session. Mrs. Florence Kelley, general secretary of the National Consumers' League, said in part: "Graded by our enforcement, we in New York state stand close to the bottom of the list of the states having such laws. The non-enforcement of the fifty-four-hour law is notorious. The 5 o'clock closing hour for the children below the age of sixteen years is in parts of this city almost a mockery of their need of rest and play and further education. Few employers pay fines; no employer is in any jail or penitentiary for any offense against this law. Suits are either not begun, or are so ill prepared that they are lost, in spite of the disposition of the courts in recent years to sustain these laws, following the Supreme Court of the United States and the Court of Appeals of New York.

"For this there is at present one sole remedy—publicity. It must be known to every wage-earner in New York that this state pays a million dollars a year for the administration and enforcement of its labor laws. It must be known that the executive head of the Labor Department under the Industrial Commission, who receives a salary of \$10,000 a year, is named James Lynch; that

the head of the legal division of the Department of Labor is named Edward P. Lyon; and the attorney whose duty it is to carry on prosecutions in the courts is named Frederick H. Cunningham.

"Laggard servants of a negligent public can be made to do their duty, to fulfill their oaths of office, only when the public exchanges negligence for vigilance."

Lee K. Frankel, treating the eight-hour day from the employer's point of view, urged a more flexible standard—for some industries eight hours was too long, for some too short. Melinda Scott, president of the Woman's Trade Union League of New York, returned: "I think eight hours is long enough for anybody to work. We're goin' in for eight hours now, but when we get eight hours we're goin' in for six, and when we get six we're goin' in for four."

"What has been the effect of shortening the working day?" asked Prof. Frederick S. Lee, of Columbia University. "That it has eliminated the effects of extreme fatigue seems to be proved by the facts that the shortening of the day has resulted in improved health of the workers and marked moral and social improvement, such as is shown by decrease in intemperance and crime, better living conditions, greater efforts toward education, greater intelligence and greater industrial efficiency."

This is the moment, the delegates feel, for a drive upon the various state legislatures and a drive upon Congress, simultaneously. The government and the country generally have sanctioned the eight-hour day for men and have recognized the rights of the child. "It would be an amazing inconsistency if Congress should say that it can do for men and children that which it is unable to do for women," said Mrs. Kelley.

CLEVELAND'S MERGER OF SOCIAL FEDERATIONS

THE Cleveland Welfare Council voted on Tuesday to merge with the Cleveland Federation for Charity and Philanthropy in a new, all-comprehensive organization entitled the Cleveland Welfare Federation. The merger already had been ratified by the federation's trustees.

To the fifty-seven federated organizations, including most of the voluntary philanthropies of Cleveland making a general appeal for funds, thus have been added practically all agencies, public and private, philanthropic, charitable, civic or semi-civic, interested in the common welfare. Among the organizations thus added to those already federated are the Federated Churches, the Catholic diocese, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Federation of Labor, the Chamber of Commerce, the Cleveland Foundation, the city departments of Public

Welfare and Public Safety, Western Reserve University, Case School of Applied Science, the public schools, the public libraries, the Y. M. C. A. and the Single Tax Club.

In addition to keeping up the central collection of funds as before, the new federation will stress the elimination of duplicated social effort, the common education of the public in social matters, and the unification of social endeavor. Possible friction between the aims of the old federation and of the welfare council is thus eliminated and possible duplication of effort between the two prevented, it is believed.

The new body will be governed by a board of twenty-one trustees, elected by representatives of the federated agencies. Not more than one-third of these trustees will be professional social workers, and no social workers will be on the auxiliary financial board which will raise and distribute the joint funds.

The Cleveland Welfare Federation will correspond in many respects with the Council of Social Agencies of Cincinnati. The Cincinnati council, however, adopted financial activities after being organized on a social basis, while the Cleveland federation is the direct outcome of financial organization.

THE NEW HEAD OF THE ROCKEFELLER FUND

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR., will soon retire from the presidency of the Rockefeller Foundation and George E. Vincent, president of the University of Minnesota, will take his place, according to announcements made at the offices of the foundation within the past fortnight. Jerome D. Greene, secretary of the foundation since 1913, will withdraw from that position for reasons that are described as personal, and Mr. Vincent will become the chief executive officer of the foundation. Mr. Rockefeller will assume the new title of chairman, and will continue to be chairman of the executive committee.

These changes, it is declared, do not in any way foreshadow changes of policy of the foundation. The retirement of Mr. Rockefeller is said to be due to his desire to be relieved of some of the work that, as president, he has been called upon to do. Both he and the board of trustees further desire that the presidency shall be the chief executive office of the foundation, and it was with this in view that Mr. Vincent was chosen. The latter will, therefore, assume portions of the work hitherto done by both Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Greene. Mr. Greene has not resigned his membership in the board of trustees, and continues, also, to be a trustee of both the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research and the General Education Board.

Mr. Vincent will give a share of his

time to his new duties after January 1 and will devote full attention to the foundation's work from the middle of May on.

As president of the University of Minnesota since 1911, Mr. Vincent attracted national attention to his work in the field of educational administration. This is one of the largest and most progressive state universities. Prior to 1911 he was for four years dean of the faculties of arts, literature and science at the University of Chicago. His father, Bishop John Heyl Vincent, was one of the founders of the Chautauqua Assembly in 1874 and the son also has been active in Chautauqua work. He was editor of the Chautauqua Press for one year, and has been vice-principal of the Chautauqua System since 1888 and president of the Chautauqua Institution since 1907.

He received an early training in sociology, having held successively the positions of fellow, assistant, instructor, assistant professor, associate professor and professor in that subject. Mr. Vincent is fifty-two years old. He is the author of *Social Mind and Education*, and with Prof. Albion W. Small wrote *An Introduction to the Study of Society*.

The Rockefeller Foundation is the most wealthy of the three independent philanthropic boards established by John D. Rockefeller. Its funds and reserves in 1915 were placed at over \$101,000,000. In that year it spent \$1,360,000 itself and appropriated \$3,354,000 to other organizations. The purpose of the foundation, in the words of its charter, is "to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world," and it was established "in order to provide an agency, not dependent upon the life of any individual, which should deal with the problems of philanthropy in accordance with the principles and methods most approved in each generation."

ENGLISH QUAKERS IN WAR TIMES

THE Society of Friends in England is just now stirred in matters both of international relations and, even more, the relations between capital and labor. The special yearly meeting called to discuss the military service bill is described as one of the most impressive gatherings held under shadow of the war. Without any particular summons there arrived in London from all over England about four hundred men of military age. A sympathetic account of what followed reached America in a letter recently received from an English Quaker.

"Many of them seemed mere boys. They sat patiently there, quite unanimous in their intention to go to any lengths to preserve the religious free-

dom of this nation in the crisis that had come to it. They were extraordinarily simple, quiet and unemotional, but all that one had heard of the early days of Christianity—of its unheard-of position in relation to the powers that be—became irresistibly vivid in one's mind. That primitive Christianity in its essence was intensely alive today was borne in on one.

"My mind is a skeptical one, desperately inclined to see both sides and find action difficult, but one could hardly have such an experience and remain skeptical. Those boys are now scattered—in prison, in non-combatant camps, digging potatoes in remote corners of the country, cried down and scorned—but they are, I feel sure, only growing stronger and stronger, taking their sacrifice as simply as the best of the soldiers at the front, and the future is with them. I wish that you could have seen it.

"Do you know Meredith's poem?

I am in the deep woods
Between two twilights,
I know that the dawn is before me
And behind me many days
Not what is o'er me."

"And do you remember the last four verses where the meter changes and he flings out the brave man into the future? I have thought so often of that poem in the two years of this war. Nothing expresses better the spirit of those with 'the forward view.'

"It is very difficult to gauge the temper of England. One would have far more confidence if one had more trust in the leaders. But Lloyd George, who is incomparably our greatest man, is more Welsh than the Welsh! Where he will be standing when disarmament comes is quite beyond the wit of man to imagine—quite beyond his own power to divine for himself, I fancy. I often wonder if all his leadership and brilliant organizing power will be found then on the side of the high Tories, with conscription and protection as his war cries!

"I have been desperately busy . . . and then working in London on a committee for the better training of social workers, and on one of the innumerable government committees—on the position of women in industry. Just about one-quarter million more are in industry than there were two years ago. The issues raised on the side of capital and labor are very thrilling to consider.

"The Society of Friends has sent their newest venture in war relief to Russia. I think that international peace relations may be indirectly but surely helped by this exodus of young Friends to help in foreign countries, France and Holland, Corsica and Serbia, and now Russia. We suffer more absurdly than you people across the Atlantic can really realize

from insularity, and I think that these men will insensibly learn much by this intimate contact with peoples of different nationalities at a time like this, when intercourse is very real."

WHERE UNION AND EMPLOYERS COOPERATE

SIX Years' Work and Progress of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control is the title of a recent pamphlet history of the remarkable experiment in cooperation between strong employers' associations and a militant union in the clothing trades of New York city, that has been going on since the great strike of 1910. The achievement recorded is the more remarkable because of the friction between the two parties over nearly everything else.

The board withstood the long strike of 1913 and many smaller brushes between employer and employed. It functioned even through the stormy time of last spring. And at the end of that long struggle, when all else of a friendly nature between the two sides went to pot, the joint board remained.

The report is written by Dr. George M. Price, director, who has characterized the board as "an experiment in industrial self-control." It is the only one of its kind in all American industry, and it is made possible by the high degree of organization in the trade.

During the strike of 1910 Benjamin Schlesinger, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, said: "Thousands and tens of thousands of people employed in our trade are working under the most unsanitary conditions."

The report itself says regarding the earlier days: "With the exception of a few of the larger and more pretentious cloak shops in the Fifth avenue district, the large majority of the shops were in a bad sanitary condition. The press frequently had descriptions of the bad conditions, the workers complained of these conditions, and most of the manufacturers admitted that the complaints were justified. The number of small shops on the East Side was very large; the safety of buildings was entirely neglected; the meager inspection of the state was a farce; the shops were dirty and neglected; of fire protection there was hardly any; home work was the order of the day, many cloakmakers were in the habit of taking a lot of garments with them to be finished at their homes; the East Side was full of so-called sweatshops."

The board set to work to bring air and light, greater cleanliness and more health in general into the factories.

It had, of course, no legal status and no power of entry into the lofts. "The detective method of inspection had to give way to the more rational preventive method of investigation," says the re-

port. The inspectors, therefore, "were instructed that their status was purely educational and advisory, that they were sent to the shop to point out to the owner and to report to the board such defects and neglects in safety and sanitation as must be readily remedied by personal effort either of the employers or of the employes, or by the cooperation of both." The employer is persuaded by letter or by personal interview to make improvements, and as a final means he is disciplined by the association; the workers are taught by dodgers and noon-time lectures. A "sanitary certificate" is the apex of reward for a spotless shop, and very nearly 50 per cent of the factories can now boast one.

The fire hazard is the greatest evil against which the board must struggle. The terrible tragedies which have occurred, and the agitation by the joint board have resulted in some improvements. The appointment of the State Factory Investigating Commission of 1912 was instigated by the board. It is continually bringing illegalities before the eyes of the labor department of the state and the fire department of the city. An inspection of 928 buildings in 1915, however, showed conditions still to be ominously unsafe. But about 56 per cent of the workers in the two trades are given fire drills, and the board has recently formed its Loft Certification Division. As leases expire and the trade is driven from Fifth avenue by the Save New York Committee, this division will guide the employers to safer quarters.

"With the strenuous work of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control during its six years of existence," says the report, "we have not as yet been able to reach the ideal and to make all in the shops of the two industries perfect in safety and sanitation. . . . The standards were intended to be just a few steps in advance of the legal rules and regulations, just as far as an enlightened industry, in its own pride and determination for improvement has been willing to advance and progress. . . . The progress already made must be followed up and greater progress achieved in the same lines of endeavor."

THE PRACTICE OF DISTRICT NURSING

THROUGH cooperation between municipal Health Department, Woman's Club and Infant Welfare Society, of Jacksonville, Fla., needed sanitary legislation has been passed and seven public health nurses have been secured, with twelve hoped for by January 1.

The plan of work, as described by Dr. C. E. Terry, health officer, is to district the city, assigning one nurse to a district, colored women working in the Negro sections. Excellent Negro nurses have come from Freedman's and Lincoln hospitals and from the Henry

Street Settlement in New York city. Dr. Terry believes that "four calls from one nurse will accomplish far more than one call from four nurses." The mother of a family will talk more frankly to one nurse as she becomes better acquainted than she will to several. And responsibility for all aspects of the family's health has, he believes, an excellent effect on the work of public health nursing. It demands a broadly trained nurse, gives her wide experience, adds variety to her work and extends the scope of her opportunity.

"Our nurses do practically all our epidemiological work," said Dr. Terry. "A case of diphtheria is reported. The nurse calls at once, even before the inspector, takes cultures from every member of the household, except the case already determined. She explains to the family why everything is being done and shows them the importance of every precaution. When the sick child has recovered, before quarantine is lifted, the nurse again takes cultures to make sure that no one has become a 'carrier.'"

"The country has hardly begun to perceive the importance of the nurse in public health work," continued Dr. Terry. "The supervisor should supervise. No man can successfully supervise nursing work. That's a woman's task. The supervising nurse must be in close accord with the objects of the department and in direct conference with the health officer. But she should have the responsibility for the nurses under her."

THE SOCIETY TO PREVENT HEART DISEASE

FACING, in New York city, a higher death-rate from heart disease in all its various forms than even from tuberculosis, the Society for the Prevention and Relief of Heart Disease was organized last week by physicians, teachers, members of the health and education departments of the city, and many interested citizens. Its work will be directed at first especially to schools and workshops. Hundreds of workers suffering from organic heart disease could continue at work without injury if arrangements were made by employers to reserve for them the tasks to which their condition leaves them suited. This is already being done in a number of instances.

That nearly 20,000 school children with weak hearts should have to climb four or five flights of stairs several times daily to reach their class-rooms, obviously should not be allowed. But whether they are to be spared by the installation of elevators or by the reassignment of class-rooms, leaving the first and second stories for the handicapped children, is one of the problems the society has set itself to solve.

In connection with several hospitals, classes have been opened. That at Belle-

vue, for example, has been organized for some time. Those at Postgraduate, Roosevelt, St. Luke's, and Lebanon, are only of recent establishment, and other hospitals are planning them. The purpose is to teach cardiac workers how to keep in proper condition. It is believed that the work of the society will rapidly extend to provide for hospital care for little children, and playgrounds with complete supervision.

The new society has as its president, Dr. Louis A. Connor. The executive secretary is Miss M. L. Woughter.

INDIANA'S THREE-PLY SCHOOL SURVEY

THE vocational surveyor is abroad in Indiana. In city, town and rural district unusual questions are being asked about the training that workers can get in their jobs, about the extent and uses of apprenticeship, about part-time courses and evening schools, about the real value of the much-vaunted "school of experience" and that other school sometimes coupled with the black term "academic."

This inquiry is two-edged. From it Indiana is expected to reap great gains, to enlarge the opportunities she gives her youths for industrial training and to make that training more effective. From it, also, the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education is expected to get material and inspiration for its meeting in Indianapolis next February. Two years ago the society met in Richmond, Va., after an intensive study of that city, and last year in Minneapolis after a similar study there.

Three kinds of surveys are being made in Indiana: one of a large industrial community like Indianapolis, one of a small community like Richmond, and one of rural communities like Jefferson county, which includes a town of 10,000 population.

The survey is being made under the direction of the State Board of Education. Its purpose is stated to be "to find to what extent the worker can get on in his job, to what extent the industries may give special training which they do not now provide and to what extent the schools can be a factor in providing that training."

"Out of the findings," says Charles A. Greathouse, state superintendent of public instruction, "Indiana expects to develop a program of vocational education that will take several years to work out completely, but that will put Indiana in the forefront of American states."

TRADE TRAINING PLANS FOR ENLISTED MEN

TUCKED away in the army bill passed last May is an unostentatious paragraph providing that in addition to military training, soldiers while in active service "shall hereafter be given the



PRISON REFORM MADE REALISTIC

A new motion picture film contrasts sharply the old way, with its men in stripes in charge of armed guards, and the honor system, which permits the men wholesome recreation. The film stops short of the latest development—self-government—most conspicuously carried out by Warden Osborne at Sing Sing

opportunity to study and receive instruction upon educational lines of such character as to increase their military efficiency and enable them to return to civil life better equipped for industrial, commercial and general business occupations."

For several years proposals have been made that a greater measure of vocational education be given to soldiers in the army. Several of these proposals have had as their avowed object the increasing of enlistments. Members of the general staff of the army have been among those who saw in such education an argument for the recruiting stations.

Others who have made such proposals have put the matter on another ground. They have contended that the government ought to prepare men in military service for more effective wage-earning when they return to civil life.

Senator Hoke Smith introduced an amendment to the present army law that was based largely on this second argument. It contained no plan for carrying the proposal into effect, however. His amendment was superseded by the present provision, which was drawn by Secretary of War Baker after conference with representatives of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education.

Relations with Mexico have made it impossible since the passage of the law, says the War Department, to put the provision into effect. Meanwhile the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education has suggested that before definite steps be taken a commission should be appointed to formulate the best plan for supplying this training. Several questions should be considered by such a commission, says the society: how far can army posts be used as schools? To what extent can old soldiers' homes, now rapidly becoming vacant, and existing trade schools

and other educational institutions be utilized? How many civilian instructors shall be employed? Should vocational training follow military instruction or be given simultaneously with it? What are suitable subjects for instruction, and what shall be done with the products of these industrial classes of soldiers?

The commission, in the society's opinion, ought to consist of seven members: a progressive employer, a representative of organized skilled labor, an educator "constructively inclined toward vocational education," three representatives of the army, and a representative of agricultural interests.

THE PRISON HONOR SYSTEM IN A MOVIE

"**H**OW an Official Should Do His Duty" might be the title of a movie film that is shortly to be presented by the Fox Film Corporation under the name, *The Honor System*. The play deals with old and new prison conditions, and in the course of it a large and decisive-looking gentleman, whose make-up strongly suggests Arizona's big-hearted, prison-reforming governor, George W. P. Hunt, walks into a prison where the inmates are treated brutally and threatens to "turn it upside down" if an inmate for whom he has asked isn't produced immediately.

The crafty warden tries to substitute another prisoner for the one desired, but makes the mistake of picking a lusty black, whereas the man asked for is at least several shades paler in hue. The governor, who has never seen the prisoner he is seeking, clinches the error by pointing to the number on the prisoner's back, which is not the number of the man he is after.

The right prisoner is finally led forth from the dungeon where he has been confined for punishment. From this

dungeon no prisoner has ever come out alive. In it a snake is shown crawling in and out of a skull, which is all that is left of a former inmate. Another inmate, half-crazy, dies in the dungeon, and his body is left, without burial, to rot.

The meeting between the governor and the prisoner, who falls weeping on the governor's breast, is the beginning of the change. A new warden is put in charge and the honor system installed. The governor has to carry his fight for the new system to the legislature, and makes a speech in which his final argument is the introduction of the prisoner whom he found in the dungeon, and whose body, marked with lashes, astonishes the legislators.

With the honor system, the successful workings of which are shown, come also better conditions generally. The men have more freedom and are given wholesome work. The scene of most of the film is in Arizona, and the two prisons shown are in that state.

Some of the conditions under the old system may be put down as hardly typical. One of these is the dungeon with snakes, skull and a perfect death rate, and another is the warden who treats his prisoners cruelly from preference. The more likely explanation of the brutalities of the old system is that they resulted from fear, that warden and keepers alike believed they had to beat subjection into their charges in order to save their own lives. On the whole, however, the film shows many true things, and should go far toward educating those who seek a realization of what prison reform means.

The play was shown before the recent meeting of the American Prison Association in Buffalo and has been privately exhibited a few times. It will go upon the road, according to announcement, in a few weeks.

Book Reviews

SOCIETY AND PRISONS

By Thomas Mott Osborne. Yale University Press. 246 pp. Price \$1.35; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.45.

Self-government for Criminals



While Mr. Osborne was preparing his Dodge lectures at Yale this year, he was turning over in his mind a novel experiment. He was planning to present to his audience two groups of young men, one a group of men recently graduated from college, the other a group of men who had served several terms in prison. His purpose was to ask his audience to pick one group from the other. The idea was never carried out, but if it had been, while it would have accomplished little perhaps of scientific value, it would have had one desirable result. It would have brought home to many in the audience, if not for the first time, at any rate with a sharpness that they would not soon have forgotten, the discovery that a so-called criminal can look very much like any respectable member of society, and that to suppose there are necessarily stigmata of crime, easily detectable by observation, is open to grave doubt.

Mr. Osborne himself in these lectures, now published in book form, is wholly at odds with the entire Lombroso theory of a criminal type, and quotes Goring, the English investigator, effectively in opposition. He goes further than personal appearance, and ridicules one after another many notions, nonsensical and otherwise, put forward to explain crime and criminals. One of these is: "The disease of criminality has one absolutely unailing, positive symptom, which is crime." Similar unhelpful statements could be made about diphtheria, typhoid fever and tuberculosis. We get about as far with this sort of statement, as Mr. Osborne truly points out, as we do with Mr. Crothers' illuminating discovery, when he asked several learned persons what is a "tuffet," after reminding them that

"Little Miss Muffet
Sat on a tuffet"

—that a "tuffet" is precisely "the kind of thing that Miss Muffet sat on."

Mr. Osborne's own conception of crime is familiar enough. He is not sure there is any better way to express it than in the words of the book of Job: "an iniquity to be punished by the

judges." And as for criminals, they are merely human beings who have committed such iniquities. He pleads for a little common sense in the matter, and says:

"These men have more than their share of the weaknesses, follies and vices of humanity; but they are by no means lacking in the virtues. Some have low ideals and coarse habits; some are passionate; some are brutal; some are selfish and inconsiderate; some are diseased; some are mentally defective; but all men with these evil characteristics are not in prison. In the world outside we revere simple goodness; we honor truthfulness and sincerity; we love loyalty and the glorious capacity to live and, if necessary, to die for a friend. All these virtues in their intensest form we find inside the prison."

It is doubtful if there is any more exciting story anywhere than that of the beginning of the Mutual Welfare League in Auburn Prison. Suggested by a prisoner in the first place, formed with the help of prisoners, shaped by their counsel and subjected finally to their ratification, the league was born, as all democracies are born, in the midst of fear, hopefulness and misgiving. Inmates who took part in its formation felt themselves to be pioneers of new democratic institutions. They argued its powers and merits as the constitution of the United States was once argued, and there were flashes of eloquence that would not have seemed out of place in the convention that discussed that historic document.

Feel, if you will, what Mr. Osborne and others must have felt after the first meeting of the league, when an unexpected test was made. The men had been back in their cells about an hour when—but let Mr. Osborne tell it:

"As I am about to leave the prison and stand chatting with Richards at his desk in the back office, the electric lights begin to flicker and die down.

"Richards and I have just been talking of the great success of the league's first meeting and the good conduct of the men. 'Now you will have the other side of it,' says Richards. 'Listen and you will hear the shouts and disorder that always come when the lights go out.'

"Dimmer and dimmer grow the lights, while Richards and I listen intently at the window in the great iron door which opens onto the gallery of the north wing.

"Not a sound.

"The lights go entirely out, and still

not a sound. Not even a cough comes from the cells to disturb the perfect silence.

"We remain about half a minute in the dark, listening at the door. Then the lights begin to show color, waver, grow lighter, go out altogether for a second, and then burn with a steady brightness.

"I look at Richards. He is paler than usual, but there is a bright gleam in his eyes. 'I would not have believed it possible,' he says impressively; 'such a thing has never happened in this prison before. The men always yell when the lights go out. In all my experience I have never known anything equal to that. I don't understand it.'

The league, with its courts, inmate control of minor discipline and self-government features, Mr. Osborne points out, is not identical with the "honor system." The essence of the latter is the replacement of a brutal autocrat with a benevolent autocrat. Even at its best, the honor system, he says, "is one in which the head of a prison establishes directly, with each individual prisoner, relations of selfish mutual advantage. The warden makes an agreement with John Doe, convict, by which the warden agrees to allow John certain privileges or favors and expects favors in return." If we omit the word "selfish," this may stand as a true statement. The relationship under the honor system is wholly a personal one between two individuals. There is no self-government, no training in the duties and activities of citizenship.

Traditional methods of punishment, the stupidities of the old penology, the infelicities of courts and criminal trials, are described by Mr. Osborne with much humor and pathos, with a great deal of wisdom and penetrating exposition of the new penology. Until a more scientific treatise on the new reforms can be written, his book will fill a needed place in the developing literature of the subject, and will always be an absorbing story of the beginnings of those reforms by the man who played the largest part in getting them started.

WINTHROP D. LANE.

VOCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

By Harry L. Hollingworth. D. Appleton and Company. 308 pp. Price \$2; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.13.

Brains and Business



A summary of studies in educational and experimental psychology with a bearing on vocational problems forms the basis of this book, which is both very readable and sufficiently technical. The general reader will find the experimental and statistical methods so simply and clearly explained that the technical summaries

can be easily followed, while at the same time results are presented in sufficient detail for the specialist on the subject.

The attempt to control events by means of a knowledge of personality is traced from the primitive phases of magic through the somewhat less primitive aspects of phrenology and physiognomy to the various methods now used in trying to furnish a more scientific basis for the vocational analysis of the individual. Psychographic methods are presented such as that of Toulouse, in which a very careful and complete study—medical, experimental, and social—is made of men of genius in various fields; that of Seashore, in which a complete experimental study of a given ability (in this case musical ability) is carried out, and the much less satisfactory attempts at a general analysis of occupations on the part of psychologists and educators.

Of the small beginnings made in the direct application of experimental tests to vocational problems, Professor Hollingworth considers most promising that of the somewhat random application of varied tests to large numbers of individuals, with a view to deriving a scientific basis for judgment as to how useful tests will be. A warning, particularly needed, is that "it is undesirable that public expectation should be strenuously directed toward the laboratory until it has done more than the outlining of a series of problems and the initiation of preliminary efforts toward their solution."

An interesting portion of the book is that dealing with the significance of school marks. Various statistical studies of school marks, from the elementary school on through college, are summarized, which all go to show that superior mental ability as indicated in school marks displays itself early in the elementary grades, tends to remain constant throughout the high school and college, and is a real prophecy of success in future careers.

In conclusion, the author points out that while the level of mental ability required for various types of work is gradually being established in experimental terms, there still remains the larger task of deciding, on the basis of such factors as social ability, moral qualities, opportunity, and interest, just which of the multitudinous possibilities in occupation an individual shall select. Moral and social abilities can still be graded only according to someone's judgment. They are not as yet open to experimental investigation.

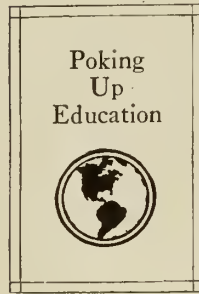
Mrs. Hollingworth contributes to the book a chapter on the vocational aptitudes of women, which is a vigorous protest against the point of view that women are, by virtue of sex, vocationally fit for but one occupation.

The bibliography in the appendix is very well selected, but shows signs of

haste in preparation, since some references are incomplete and others are inaccurately stated.

HELEN T. WOOLLEY.

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL
By Walter S. Hinchman. Doubleday, Page & Company. 232 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.07.



This volume belongs to the American Book Series—a library of good citizenship. The theme is that parents and teachers must learn to cooperate sympathetically and scientifically in order to achieve "productive education" for the boys and girls in the schools. Through ignorance, vague contempt, or lazy overconfidence, parents often thwart the efforts of the teachers. On the other hand, teachers lose their grip on human realities, and so fail to win the cooperation of the individual parent and of the voting, tax-paying public. The faultily educated pupil pays the penalty for the mistakes of both; the American public pays the largest educational budget in the world, and the teachers complain justly of being underpaid.

The great error, Mr. Hinchman feels, is the failure to recognize the basic principle that all true education is growth, and that all growth is, and by nature must be, productive. The child is not a passive bit of intellectual clay to be molded by the teacher's hand; he is a creative intelligence that must give out as much as he receives.

Mr. Hinchman declares that every subject in the curriculum should be so taught as to have some cultural and some disciplinary value. Schools should be conducted to provide the practical training formerly given by home "chores"; to transform alien spirits into true Americans; and to give exceptional advantages to those gifted children who should become the leaders in the next generation.

Of the teachers who must accomplish all this, Mr. Hinchman says: "Except for a handful of glorified exceptions, we have among our teachers fewer really first-class men, men of outstanding ability, than are to be found in such professions as law or medicine." The prevailing mediocrity is caused by the unfavorable conditions of the work, he thinks. The salary scale should be lengthened, the hours of teaching should be cut down, a higher quality of work should be required, and the teacher should be encouraged—even forced—to adopt productive avocations.

Since Mr. Hinchman has written, and probably will write, a number of volumes, one wishes that he would arrange his material more logically, improve his

diction and sentence structure, and avoid such lapses in common sense as this solemn query, addressed to parents: "What sort of English do they (the children) talk during the 144 hours each week (out of 168) when they are not in school?" Are the poor things supposed to "talk" good English even in their sleep?

The author offers insufficient defense for some of his most radical ideas, like his prophecy that the sexes will soon be segregated, and the suggestion that beginning teachers be paid only \$300 a year, in order to pay \$5,000 to the men at the top. On the whole, the book deserves the attention of those teachers and parents who have recently begun to study the school problem, for the central idea is excellent.

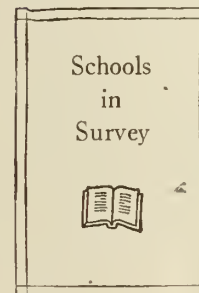
ELIZABETH HODGSON.

SOME PROBLEMS IN CITY SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

By George D. Strayer. The World Book Co. 234 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.

THE PORTLAND SURVEY

By Ellwood P. Cubberley. The World Book Co. 441 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.



If you are a writer and you come upon a criticism of another writer's style, you are quite likely to be interested. If you are an engineer and the bridges of a fellow engineer are praised or blamed, you study the matter carefully. If you are neither, but merely one who loves a clash of wits, you may look on from mere general interest in an intellectual combat.

If you are a teacher, ought you not, by the same token, to be interested in the report of a school survey, and if you are a layman ought you not to care what is going on in the schools? Such, at any rate, seems to be the assumption of the World Book Company in publishing these reports of school surveys in Butte, Mont., and Salt Lake City. Why, they seem to ask, shouldn't a teacher in Chicago or a superintendent in Alabama be concerned to learn that Butte shows an extraordinarily large number of non-promotions among its children, and that this seems due to the emphasis laid on memorizing facts rather than on "capacity to undertake the work of the next grade"? Why, too, shouldn't a layman in Detroit be glad to learn that the superintendent of schools in Salt Lake City has pauperized instruction by over-emphasizing "the so-called fundamental school subjects" to the neglect of other important things? Such discoveries may arouse new interest in similar questions at home.

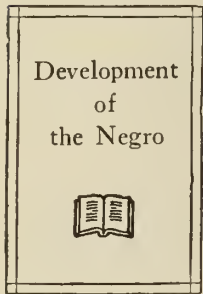
These volumes do more, however, than to present the measured conclusions of educational experts on two city school systems. They suggest, throughout, the light in which educational affairs ought to be viewed and some of the standards that ought to be universally applied. They deal with administration, finance, school building and teaching efficiency; they point out the good as well as the bad. The Salt Lake City study discusses tests for measuring the value of instruction and explains the methods and use of such tests.

Both studies present the views of outside critics called in by the school authorities of the cities studied, the modern method of finding out what is wrong with the work you are doing.

WINTHROP D. LANE.

AMERICAN CIVILIZATION AND THE NEGRO

By C. V. Roman. F. A. Davis Company. 434 pp. Price \$2.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$2.66.



I feel somehow as though Cotton Mather would write such a book as this were he a present-day American Negro. There is the same tendency toward unusual words, the same rhetorical treatment, the same discursiveness. Perhaps the same basic psychology was back of the pedantry of both authors. In his desire to show that an American scholar could produce as good a book as an Englishman, Cotton Mather may have cultivated his pedantic vein in the same spirit in which Dr. Roman manipulates unwieldy words to show that the Negro in America may attain as large a vocabulary as his white brother. From the literary point of view the result is not unfortunate, as Dr. Roman never becomes ridiculous, and there is a quaintness of phraseology which tempts one to quote extensively, especially since common sense continually gleams through the exotic wording.

On the whole, the book contains much matter of permanent value and presents the case for the Negro with fairness. Its chief value is documentary, as showing certain present-day tendencies. Of these the most important discussed is the growing race pride of the Negro. The author summarizes his conclusions thus: "The Negro will continue to grow in ethnic consciousness, and teach race pride until he produces a racial scholarship that will bring him that positive assurance of a respectable seat in the hierarchy of civilization as a distinct racial entity, and not as the tolerated contamination of some nobler race."

Dr. Roman has an interesting chapter on the adjustment of the Negro to new conditions, in which he illustrates the

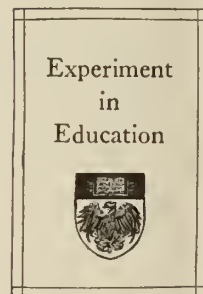
obvious truth that a transition period is unpleasant in its outward effect on racial as on individual life. He says: "There are distinctive slave virtues that are not virtues in freedom. All observers see that the Negro is throwing off the former; only those associated with the best of the Negro race know that he is putting on a glorious substitute, the virtues of a free man."

I once heard a learned professor at a sociological conference prove that race had nothing to do with the prejudice against the Jew. He proved that the Jewish race had such exceptional talents that prejudice against it was impossible and that ethnologically there was no such thing as a Jewish race. Dr. Roman has therefore sinned in good company in proving too much by the anatomical method.

"Anatomy," he writes, "discloses no distinctively human structure that is not common to the species wherever found, neither does it discover a single structural characteristic peculiar to any one variety." Later comes the italicized statement: "The Negroes, whom it is desired to place at the bottom of the human scale, are in many respects much more removed from monkeys than the purest whites." JOSEPH GOULD.

THE SCHOOL AND SOCIETY

By John Dewey. University of Chicago Press. 164 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.10.



No other American work on education has had greater influence upon parents and others outside the school than Dewey's *The School and Society*, originally published in 1900. The experiment at the University of Chicago which this book has represented and reported was the inspiration and source of Mr. Wirt's Gary System, so that a new edition is especially timely when the ideas it presents are under consideration in the reconstructing of the educational forces of our largest city.

In addition to the original sections—among which is that early discussion of "waste in education"—there are five chapters taken from the records of the experimental school. These have long been out of print in America and are available only in an English edition. Taken together they furnish the best statement available of the practical workings of democratic elementary education. They deal with "the psychology of elementary education," "Froebel's educational principles," "the psychology of occupations," "the development of attention," and "the aim of history in elementary education."

As the author states in a foreword:

"The educational point of view presented in this book is not so novel as it was fifteen years ago." The pioneer stage is passing and the social forces of American communities seem more ready than ever before to adopt the experimental basis in education—the only basis compatible with progress in democracy. FRANK A. MANNY.

BOOKS RECEIVED

CHARTISM AND THE CHURCHES. By Harold Underwood Faulkner. Columbia University Studies in Political Science. Columbia University Press. Longmans, Green & Co., Agts. 153 pp. Price, \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.32.

THE CHARTIST MOVEMENT. PART I. By Frank F. Rosenblatt. Columbia University Studies in Political Science. Columbia University Press. Longmans, Green & Co., Agts. 248 pp. Price, \$2; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.09.

THE CHRISTIAN ACCORDING TO PAUL. By John T. Paris. The Association Press. 129 pp. Price, 50 cents; by mail of the SURVEY, 54 cents.

DR. J. B. CRANFILL'S CHRONICLE. Written by himself about himself. Fleming H. Revell Co. 496 pp. Price, \$2; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.22.

THE DECLINE OF THE CHARTIST MOVEMENT. By Preston William Slosson. Columbia University Studies in Political Science. Columbia University Press. Longmans, Green & Co., Agts. 216 pp. Price, \$2; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.08.

DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE. By John A. Ryan. The Macmillan Co. 442 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.61.

THE HOME SCHOOL. Riverside Educational Monographs. By Ada Wilson Trowbridge. Houghton Mifflin Co. 98 pp. Price, 60 cents; by mail of the SURVEY, 66 cents.

THE INSTITUTIONAL CARE OF THE INSANE IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. Vol. III. Edited by Henry M. Hurd. The Johns Hopkins Press. 880 pp. Price, \$2.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.80.

THE NEW FRATERNITY. By George Frederick Gundelfinger. Published by the New Fraternity. 301 pp. Price, \$1.35; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.45.

POLAND'S CASE FOR INDEPENDENCE. By the Members of the Polish Relief Committee. Dodd, Mead & Co. 352 pp. Price, \$3; by mail of the SURVEY, \$3.12.

THE PREVENTION OF DISEASE. By Dr. Kenelm Winslow. W. S. Saunders Co. 348 pp. Price, \$1.75; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.85.

PROPERTY AND SOCIETY. The National Social Science Series. By Andrew Alexander Bruce. A. C. McClurg & Co. 150 pp. Price, 50 cents; by mail of the SURVEY, 55 cents.

THE SEXES IN SCIENCE AND HISTORY. By Eliza Burt Gamble. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 407 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.

THE SLAVERY OF PROSTITUTION. By Maude E. Miner. The Macmillan Co. 308 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.60.

IN SPITE OF THE HANDICAP. By James D. Corrothers. George H. Doran Co. 238 pp. Price, \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.34.

THE TYRANNY OF SHAMS. By Joseph McCabe. Dodd, Mead & Co. 296 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.

THE WAR AND HUMANITY. By James M. Beck. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 322 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.60.

THE INTELLIGENCE OF THE FEEBLEMINDED. By Alfred Binet and Thomas Simon. Translated by Elizabeth S. Kite. Published by the Training School at Vineland, N. J. 328 pp. Price, \$2; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.14.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTELLIGENCE IN CHILDREN. By Alfred Binet and Thomas Simon. Translated by Elizabeth S. Kite. Published by the Training School at Vineland, N. J. 336 pp. Price, \$2; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.14.

AN INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT. By B. J. Palmer. Universal Chiropractors Assoc., Davenport, Iowa. 206 pp. Price, \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.06.

GIRLHOOD AND CHARACTER. By Mary E. Moxcey. Ahington Press. 400 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.

PATRIOTS IN THE ASKING. By Jonathan F. Scott. D. Appleton & Co. 263 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.60.

WOMANKIND. By Wilfrid Wilson Gibson. The Macmillan Co. 39 pp. Price, \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.04.

Conventions

FOR BETTER HOUSING

MAYOR JAMES H. PRESTON of Baltimore celebrated the meeting of the twelfth Maryland Conference of Charities and Correction in his city by announcing the appointment of a housing commission to draft a housing chapter to be incorporated into the present building code.

The state conference itself, writes J. W. Magruder of the Baltimore Federated Charities, was one of the most successful ever held, both in point of attendance and of enthusiasm.

Unusual interest attached to a discussion of cooperative vocational training at the great Sparrows Point steel plant just outside of Baltimore in view of the recent purchase of this plant by Charles M. Schwab and the \$50,000,000 enlargement already begun there. A wage-earning community of more than 15,000 people is to be created within about two years, making a new center in the state second only to Baltimore city in size.

Despite a declining morbidity and mortality rate in tuberculosis, it was pointed out that there is no corresponding reduction among the Negro population, due to the congested and unsanitary conditions in the segregated areas given over to them. If benefits in the way of water, sewerage, light, sanitation, cleanliness and the like that the white community enjoys for the taxes it pays were allowed the black population, the speakers prophesied a noticeable improvement in health conditions among Negroes.

Warden William H. Whittaker of the District of Columbia Workhouse, and Warden John F. Leonard of the Maryland Penitentiary, had a friendly tilt, the latter drawing the line on the almost unlimited abandonment of bolts and bars, which has been accepted at Occoquan; though it was recognized by Warden Whittaker that bolts and bars can not be thrown into the scrap-heap so long as a prison is located in the heart of a great city, as is the Maryland Penitentiary. A part of the plan, it was agreed, must be a prison colony out in the open country.

At a conference on infantile paralysis, according to Dr. Magruder, it was brought out that in Baltimore there had been less than 200 clearly defined cases of poliomyelitis, and that of this number those left in a dependent condition were so relatively few that no general relief fund for the purchase of braces and other supplies would be necessary, as in

large cities like New York. As a result of this discussion, the health commissioner had withdrawn his recommendation to the Board of Estimates for a \$5,000 appropriation for special needs of infantile paralysis patients.

George S. Wilson of the Children's Board of Guardians of the District of Columbia was elected president of the next conference, to be held in Wilmington, Delaware.

A significant change is in the name of the conference itself. It is now called the Conference on Social Work, and includes Maryland, Delaware and the District of Columbia.

ALLIES OF LABOR

THE growth of the National Consumers' League from initial days when its function was "teaching and preaching brotherhoods and sisterhoods" to its present position of country-wide power was traced by Newton D. Baker, president of the league, at the seventeenth annual meeting of the organization in Springfield, Mass., November 15. Mr. Baker dwelt upon the importance of the legal defense of labor laws before the United States Supreme Court after that significant day in the year 1908 when, upon the invitation of the Attorney General of the State of Oregon, Louis D. Brandeis appeared before our highest national tribunal and created a new method—that which we have come to call the "atmospheric" method of trying cases.

For the coming year, reports Mrs. Florence Kelley, secretary of the national league, a new feature of work is indicated by the resolution that was passed in the conference, suggesting to President Wilson that he include in his legislative program a bill modeled on the federal child-labor law, to establish the eight hours day for women who work on goods subject to interstate commerce. A second resolution pledged the league to support any bill appropriate to this purpose which may be introduced. A third resolution recommended to the hundred consumers' leagues in many states that they continue the efforts begun in 1910 to promote laws for the shorter working day, during the coming winter, when forty legislatures will be in session.

A joint session held in cooperation with the New England Conference on the Shorter Working Day gave an opportunity for women and girls employed in the textile trades and the telephone service to make vivid and appealing pleas

for legislation shortening working hours at the earliest possible date, as well as for the organization of women in industry.

Mrs. Davis R. Dewey, woman member of the Massachusetts State Board of Labor and Industry, called the attention of both organizations to a vice common to many laws limiting the working hours of women. This consists in bestowing upon a state commission power to extend the working day, in the case of seasonal trades, beyond the limit specified in the statute.

Candy, glass eyes, baby carriages, traps for wild beasts, costly jewels, Easter bonnets, and many other objects are put forth as seasonal products whose makers should be granted exemptions, according to Mrs. Dewey. Granting and refusing them, she continued, is a difficult task for state commissions, because the opponents of lengthening the working day are always in danger that at the expiration of their first term of office they must give way to more pliant officials. Mrs. Dewey therefore besought the advocates of the eight hours law to oppose all exemptions, and to urge that if any are provided, the responsibility for them be shouldered by legislatures and the terms clearly placed in the statutes. The National Consumers' League endorsed Mrs. Dewey's position.

The recent action of the Supreme Court of the United States in ordering a reargument of the Oregon minimum-wage case reminded the league, writes Mrs. Kelley, that this is the third annual meeting at which it has been necessary to provide for the nation-wide, active work which will follow a favorable decision. In case of adverse action by the court, a still greater effort would ensue, for it would then be necessary to amend the federal constitution.

The reason for the reopening of the Oregon case, which was argued by Justice Brandeis in 1914, is the presence on the supreme court of two justices to whom the case is new—Charles Evans Hughes, who was then sitting, being now succeeded by Justice Clarke, and Justice Day, who was then absent by reason of illness, having now recovered. Justice Brandeis cannot take part, because he appeared in behalf of the law, both supervising the preparation of the brief and making the oral argument. By invitation of Attorney-General Brown, of Oregon, Felix Frankfurter, of the Harvard Law School faculty, will assist in the reargument of the case.

INDIAN WELFARE

"SUFFICIENT to say that if the government were as active in the protection of Indian citizens, full-bloods and minors, as it is in the suppression of liquor, in pushing its health propaganda and enforcement of school attendance, the millennium in Indian affairs would certainly be here."

This was the opinion expressed by Warren K. Moorehead, of the Board of Indian Commissioners, in an address at the Lake Mohonk conference this fall. Mr. Moorehead gave instances of regrettable opposition to measures which would make for Indian citizenship and progress, especially in Minnesota and Oklahoma.

A report from Dr. L. W. White, superintendent of the Indian school at Lac du Flambeau, Wis., developed the theme that the "Indians are no longer a vanishing race." The campaign started by the energetic Commissioner of Indian Affairs to save the babies and send the children to school was bringing a new era of vitality to the Indian—a campaign doubly necessary, while nearly three-fifths of the Indian infants were dying before the age of five years.

With the frankness that characterizes most of the discussions at Lake Mohonk, the need of a more settled policy in the administration of Indian affairs was definitely pointed out. It was stated that the government made promises which it did not keep; that there were needless delays in the administration—due perhaps to excessive routine—due also to unsettled policies.

In summarizing the aim of the conference, a platform was adopted recommending the following courses of action for Indian betterment: First, improvement of sanitary conditions; second, a closer degree of cooperation among the various missionary bodies; third, a definite legal status for the Indians; fourth, adequate academic, industrial and moral education for all Indians, together with the privileges and duties of citizenship; fifth, a reorganization of the administration of Indian affairs and the revision of Indian law.

The conference also urged that necessary aids to the welfare of the Filipinos—sanitary, social and economic—be not abandoned with the withdrawal of American administration from the Philippine Islands.

THE UNNECESSARY EVIL

THE annual meeting and conference of the American Social Hygiene Association was held jointly with the St. Louis Social Hygiene Society and the Committee of One Hundred in St. Louis, November 19, 20 and 21, the first meeting of the American Association to be held west of the Alleghany mountains.

The public meetings were crowded and eager men and women listened for hours or frankly discussed what a few years ago would have been considered a subject to be shunned. Prostitution was condemned from the point of view of medicine, morals and religion, and the methods of attacking its ravages were explained by those most competent to speak.

Education, public-health measures, better living and working conditions and the constant repression of commercialized vice can and will prevent or reduce prostitution, it was said again and again. The policy of segregation was most vigorously protested by every speaker.

Addresses at each of the four public meetings considered definite aspects of social hygiene. These were the "new public conscience," "health aspects of social hygiene," "ways and means of public education," and "the repression of commercialized vice."

Out of the meetings came the formation of the Missouri State Social Hygiene Association, organized to coordinate the efforts of the several local societies in Missouri and to cooperate with the American association.

At the business meeting, Charles W. Eliot was reelected honorary president; Abram W. Harris, president; David Starr Jordan and Bishop Walter T. Sumner, former active vice-presidents, were made honorary vice-presidents.

TRACHOMA AND TRADITION

A LARGE gathering of people, not only from New York city, but from nine different states, met in the New York Academy of Medicine, November 24, at the annual meeting of the National Committee for the Prevention of Blindness.

Dr. John McMullen, who made the main address, told how the little hospital for trachoma patients at Hindman, in eastern Kentucky [see the SURVEY for March 18, 1916], has outgrown its facilities and has reproduced itself in six other centers—three in Kentucky, one each in Tennessee, West Virginia, and Virginia. In a year's routine examination of 18,000 persons, said Dr. McMullen, 1,280 cases of trachoma were found, chiefly school children who had been infected from the old people at home—long-standing cases, many of them now hopelessly blind. The more

than 19,000 people who came to these hospitals last year were given 112,000 treatments, and 1,687 were operated on.

Out into the districts the nursing service has spread, finding new cases, following up old ones, teaching hygiene in many matters. One nurse rode on horseback more than 4,000 miles when weather made passable roads. Confidence of the people was won by such visits, yet slowly won. The mountain tradition still is that "if you go up to the hospital, doctors put you to sleep, and only one person in a hundred ever wakes up again." This tradition Dr. McMullen learned from a young man whose first words on coming out from the anesthetic were, "Well, I did wake up, after all." He had taken the supposed one chance in a hundred, not caring whether he "woke up again" or not, so wretched was he, and blind, and "on the county" as a pauper.

Some idea of the energy of the national committee may be gathered from the brief statement by Edward Van Cleve of the year's work:

During the year the committee has published 300,000 pieces of literature, contributed to magazines and newspapers a score of articles (most of which have been copied many times), sent its exhibits into 46 cities and towns in 21 states, added about 150 subjects to its list of lantern slides, delivered or arranged for the delivery of more than 100 lectures, visited and served in person 10 states, corresponded with every state in the Union and with European countries, South America, the Philippines, China, South Africa, India and Australia. The committee has also studied the results of constant attendance at the movies in producing eye-strain; made an intensive examination of eye hazards in industries; built two five-panel exhibits, one on trachoma, another on industrial eye hazards; and published much information on the subject of the conservation of vision.

<h2>Communications</h2>

"BEETERS" AND SUFFRAGE

To the Editor: Some of your anti-suffrage subscribers have been patiently waiting for comments on Florence Kelley's unfortunate editorial of July 1 on the little Colorado "beeters," and it was a pleasure to find in your issue of September 9, so courteous and satisfactory a letter as the one signed Marian M. Whitney. Mrs. Kelley's reply, which follows, however, is neither satisfactory nor convincing. Her great work entitles her to generous considera-

tion, but it does not justify her in her attitude toward a great body of earnest women whose convictions differ from hers.

Anti-suffragists do not find "solace" in the suffering of little children, nor in any evil condition in equal-suffrage states; but they do rightly rejoice over every good law in a man-suffrage state which their non-partisan power has helped to bring about; and they do rightly resist every attempt to wrest that power from them. There is no proba-

bility, arguing from any known fact, that woman suffrage would have improved any condition in New Hampshire. All signs point to a contrary conclusion.

I do not think that any anti-suffragist will cancel his or her subscription to the SURVEY because of its bias, as some suffragists did when you courageously published John Martin's articles; but we do want fair play. After all, we are all wishing for the same ultimate good—on Consumers' League boards, Civic Leagues, Child Labor committees and scores of others; and even Mrs. Kelley, I hope, welcomes the good accomplished without the ballot.

CARRIE E. B. NEILL.

(Mrs. Albert B. Neill)

Saxton's River, Vt.

COMMUNITY CHRISTMAS

To the Editor: Will you please insert in the SURVEY a paragraph about the community Christmas tree, saying that detailed information as to how to have one in your town will be gladly sent, if the request, accompanied by a stamped and addressed envelope, is addressed to the Tree of Light Committee, P. O. Station G, New York city. Letters in response to last year's notice in the SURVEY are still coming in.

THE TREE OF LIGHT COMMITTEE.

New York.

MONTANA IT WAS

To the Editor: May I call your attention to an error on page 171 of the SURVEY for November 18? You say that Rep. Jeannette Rankin is from Wyoming. She is a resident of Missoula, Mont., and has been elected a representative-at-large from that state to Congress. In 1912 Miss Rankin did most effective work as the representative of the suffrage forces of New York state at Albany. She won the respect of even our bitterest opponents in the legislature by her devotion and tact, while she was working for the passage of the suffrage amendment. I believe this was Miss Rankin's first practical political work. With her experience to help her and her splendid enthusiasm she went back to her home in Montana and led the forces there to victory in 1914. It will be a great advantage to Congress, as well as to Montana and the whole country, to have so able and fine a woman in the councils of a national legislative body.

HARRIET MAY MILLS.

Syracuse.

HEALTH INSURANCE

To the Editor: Mr. Andrews tells me that my report (the SURVEY for November 11) of the discussion on health insurance held in Cincinnati during the recent session of the American Public Health Association has caused confusion in the minds of readers of the

SURVEY on one very important point, the question of the separation of function between the medical men who take care of the insured sick and those who pass upon claims for sickness and also act as supervisors over the medical service given. Mr. Andrews says that that is provided for in the "model bill" and that had he been present at the first part of the meeting in Cincinnati he would have made this clear. I am sorry if my report of the discussion resulted in obscuring the issue and I should like to make it plain now.

The important point in my mind, and in the minds of many of the physicians who spoke, was this: that in some way, not provided for by any measure as yet formulated, the work of the one we may call the referee—who passes on claims—should be linked up to the existing public health agencies. In the "model bill," both attending doctor and referee are paid by the carrier. If it were possible to have the referee paid by the state and officially connected with the public health group, there would be a surer guarantee of disinterested and efficient medical service and a greater emphasis on preventive work.

ALICE HAMILTON.

(Hull House)

Chicago.

WITH APOLOGIES

To the Editor: May I ask you to correct a statement in your issue of November 18? On page 168 a list of the institutions giving courses in public health nursing is given in a form likely to impress the reader as exhaustive. The Chicago School of Civics is not included in the list, although it offers two courses, one lasting a year and one a four months' course beginning March 5. In fact, in the issues of August 5, 19 and September 2 appeared an advertisement containing the following statement: "Special Course for Public Health Nurses," and in the issue of November 4 one containing this statement: "Special Course for Public Health Nurses, March 5 to June 23." The former advertisement referred to the one-year course, and the latter to the short course.

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE.

(Chicago School of Civics
and Philanthropy)

Chicago.

WARDEN OSBORNE

To the Editor: After having read Mr. Lane's article in the SURVEY for October 28 and Mr. Peabody's statement and Mr. Lane's reply in the issue for November 25, I feel constrained to enter a protest. This protest, by the way, registers the opinion I have heard expressed more than once by gentlemen whose opinions we are bound to respect.

The substance of my protest is that many readers (myself included) find

neither pleasure, interest nor profit in the exchange of personalities that occasionally find a place in the columns of the SURVEY. Such readers object to the sort of long-drawn controversy that arose between Frank P. Walsh and the editor of the SURVEY, and again this present exchange of animus on the part of Mr. Peabody and Mr. Lane.

Can we not have the facts in full, without having to suffer the rather presumptuous interpretation of a man's psychology? Many of your readers and loyal friends must object to the tone of both Mr. Lane's and Mr. Peabody's articles. It would, I think, be safe to place the data of important situations and events before the subscribers of SURVEY, and permit us to interpret them for ourselves. For this sort of service we depend on the SURVEY.

WALTER CLARKE.

(Hull House)

Chicago.

To the Editor: It seems to me that Mr. Lane's article upon the subject of Thomas Mott Osborne's resignation from Sing Sing is the height of bad taste, besides being a menace to a great movement. I do not agree with the estimate of Mr. Osborne which is put before the reader. But, if I did, I should not consider the present the time in which to make public such statements, nor the SURVEY the proper medium for them.

In almost every case Mr. Osborne's accomplishment is in itself a refutation of the charges which the account put upon him—but I am writing, not to prove Mr. Lane in the wrong, but to register a vigorous protest against such an attitude in the SURVEY. Mr. Osborne has left Sing Sing prison. He will carry on his great work by lectures and by writing. Everyone who is interested in prisons is eager to help him, and it seems to me a doubtful help to point out what errors we think he has made in the past. There is a mean spirit in that, whether or not our assertions are true, and it seems peculiarly unkind in dealing with Mr. Osborne, whose genius consists in knowing how to let bygones be bygones. I am hoping to see a more friendly treatment of Mr. Osborne in an early SURVEY.

LOUISE BURLEIGH.

Cambridge, Mass.

To the Editor: In regard to the article in the SURVEY, The Retirement of Thomas Mott Osborne, by Winthrop D. Lane, I will say in a general way that I do not agree with the impression which, in the minds of many of Mr. Osborne's friends, this article conveys to the public. I consider Mr. Osborne's work a most important reform in a direction where it is particularly needed. Mr. Osborne has devoted at least five

years of his life to this work without remuneration or personal advantage.

A few years ago the conditions in Sing Sing were very bad, and while the physical conditions are necessarily still much below what they ought to be, the condition of the men in every respect has been vastly improved. I paid a short visit about a week ago to Sing Sing and, although Mr. Osborne has been away from there for a few weeks, the conditions are first class, which speaks particularly well for his work and system, showing that it does not depend upon his presence or upon the action of any one man.

No one, of course, can be expected to be ideal and not make some mistakes, especially under such trying circumstances as Mr. Osborne experienced. There have been various elements working against him and this is not only in his imagination, as intimated in the article. He has been unjustly accused and indicted. He, together with his friends, have fought it out and shown him to be in the right. It is not to be wondered at, perhaps, that he should be somewhat over-suspicious, that this difficult problem cannot be worked out very well with half-hearted support, but his good side overbalances any slight errors which he may have made.

As I expressed some time ago, I do not consider his work any further an experiment but it has proven a great success. It is fortunate that he has undertaken the wardenship of Sing Sing even under the difficult conditions, as that was the only way in which the matter could have been carried out as it has. I hope he will continue his activity in this splendid and important work and that he will go out to all parts of the United States to proclaim this great reform.

ADOLPH LEWISOHN.

New York.

To the Editor: I was astounded at your printing in full the article on Osborne by Mr. Lane. Its brilliancy as a piece of literary work makes one shrink all the more from certain parts of its indictment. True his facts may be, but a decent sense of reticence before naked truth, a magnanimity in the face of reverence—producing genius such as Mr. Osborne's—is what most of us expect from the SURVEY. Every thoughtful reader of the newspapers has perceived gradually that, like many men of prophetic vision and profound sympathies throughout history, Mr. Osborne has lacked the executive ability to work into harmony with existing conditions the ideals which he has blazoned into being. He has executed enough, however, to give courage and faith to other wardens who can carry out the work Mr. Osborne has not only planned but truly begun. One

does not expect the moon to be an electric street-lamp.

What social worker could go on with his or her work if such an indictment should be served publicly on the faults which everyone has? One strong worker is notorious in her circle for never finishing anything she undertakes; another for sapping like a sponge the best of everyone who works with him and then throwing each worker aside with no regard for the individual. All who work with these people mourn their faults, but speak very low of them. Time brings perspective; why not wait a bit to let it before issuing such crass proclamation of Mr. Osborne's sins?

MARY B. FULLER.

Fredonia, N. Y.

To the Editor: I want to thank and congratulate Mr. Lane on the Osborne article. I am an old friend of his and have, like you, a high opinion of him and his work. But I think Mr. Lane has written one of those really judicial and discriminating articles that so rarely get into print and so seldom please the partisan of either side. Never mind. You have given truth.

RICHARD C. CABOT.

Boston.

To the Editor: Into the prison problem there stepped a few years ago a man destined to exert a great and abiding influence throughout the whole wide prison field. This man was not a dreamer but a man of affairs who dreamed great dreams, not a sentimentalist save as a man is a sentimentalist who suffers himself to be touched to love and pity for his fellowmen. Into this work he stepped with the prestige of high character and the authority that ever clothes the unafraid soul.

He saw a great evil and promptly set out to destroy it, and it, in turn, set out to destroy him. He saw that nothing could be done for the men in prison as long as the prison was managed chiefly in the interests of political parties and their hangers-on. He set out to destroy this profitable but foul partnership. And he was denied—denied by those who should have supported him loyally, and by the meaner, lesser breeds who fought for their imperiled revenues. It has been a sordid, sorry spectacle from which he has emerged unscathed and undishonored.

On the larger side of his work, the constructive side, he has been fought less, but even here he has not been wholly understood and therefore little furthered. Herein is revealed what I call the "crime of prisons"—the crime of enduring things because they fit into our preconception or because they profit us materially. As long as it was merely urged to remove the stripes from men's uniforms, men lightly assented to the

change, but when it is proposed, as some years ago it was proposed by prison experts gathered in the International Congress at Washington, to do away with the half-old and half-new superstition that there is such a thing as a criminal type, even they who are willing to let the stripes go insist upon the retention of the criminal type. Men acquiesce in the passing of the lock-step, but when Thomas Mott Osborne proposed that men shall be helped not only to drop out of the lock-step but to step back into the march of normal life, then suspicion and fear paralyzed the souls of men. The solitary cell might go because it was revolting to men's sense of decency, but when he urged that the cell block go—then came the rub, for the cell block represented capital and investment of money which must not be touched under any circumstances. The foundations of society must not be assailed whatsoever wrongs they shelter. Public welfare may never demand the sacrifice of private interest. This it was that lay back of much of the response to Thomas Mott Osborne.

For two things Thomas Mott Osborne has stood in our generation in the treatment of the prisoner—the meeting of certain needs in the lives of men, their inner life and their outer life. He has worked at both ends. He has sought on the one hand to resocialize the ways of men within the prison, to rehumanize their outlook. On the other hand, he has sought to re-energize men's will—their will to do the right. In other words, Osborne has faced the problem at both ends, seeking as far as it is possible to give to men even within prison a right environment, and, on the other hand, to help men to rightness of will.

No man can hope to be of service in dealing with the problem of prisons unless he follow the example of Osborne. He may seem for a moment to pass beyond the range of the prison problem, but a generation hence, when the newest age for the prison shall have dawned, men will understand that the largest contribution to the solution of the problem was made by a man who gave himself with wisdom, with statesmanship, with dedication to the twofold work of saving men for themselves and of saving the world from the crime of prisons that are prisons and nothing more.

STEPHEN S. WISE.

(Free Synagogue)
New York.

[It is entirely natural that some of those who have stood shoulder to shoulder with Warden Osborne against attack from one quarter and another should lump any appraisal of his work from a disinterested standpoint, with the manipulations of those political, personal and self-interested forces which from

the first have striven to undermine his regime at Sing Sing.

It is perhaps inevitable that others should be pained and hurt, and this, especially if it be true of Mr. Osborne himself, we very deeply regret.

It is understandable that some should feel that the old punitive system is so entrenched in custom, public opinion and law that the champion of the new order should be underwritten in his every act—regardless of the fact that in prison reform, as in municipal reform, durable progress can come only through welding the newer ideals to sustained execution.

It is understandable that others should feel that the bulk of inertia and skepticism, the repressive and reactionary dead weight in our social life, is so great that anyone is disloyal to democracy who by open discussion gives currency to its shortcomings as well as its promise—regardless of the fact that to give over discussion of such a creative experiment in self-government as that at Sing Sing, solely to its unquestioning friends and its sinister enemies, is to invite disaster.

A larger faith in democracy, both in its methods and in the ability of people to judge of them, relies upon intelligent and informed discussion by growing bodies of men and women—upon the constructive criticism, the convinced backing, of just such people as make up the rank and file of SURVEY readers. When we turn from principles to their application, the characteristics of Mr. Osborne's wardenship described by Mr. Lane were in evidence a year ago. Their discussion then would merely have played into the hands of those who were charging him, for reasons best known to themselves, with felony and misdemeanor. There was prospect that with these charges disposed of, a new execution of the Osborne program, either at his own or at friendly hands, would render these questions of application obsolete.

His resignation in October, whatever the provocation (and the provocation was real if not compelling), called for stock-taking by those who were following the movement. The agitation of some of his friends for his reinstatement in administrative position made such stock-taking of practical concern to those who might break with them in practical judgment, but who as seriously wished to conserve the foundations he had laid. We felt that it was a service due SURVEY readers to interpret the situation as we saw it, and any discussion of results was in this case inevitably bound up with the factor of personality. Mr. Lane's analysis, grounded on first-hand observation, was a sincere, accurate and courageous piece of reportorial work and has the endorsement of the editor of the SURVEY.

There is no occasion to go into this

analysis more fully, or even to disentangle certain false impressions drawn from it. There is every occasion to spread the things Mr. Osborne has stood for, to stand out against any crippling of the remarkable program which he launched at Sing Sing, to interpret the message and leadership of the man. As one correspondent puts it, "The general public interest in Mr. Osborne is one of the finest things in American life today." The positions taken do not discount our earlier estimates of his powers, or the practicability of his program, any more than it is necessary to boom Mr. Edison for municipal lighting commissioner to prove that electricity is revolutionizing the world or giving light for a man's eyes.

Our prisons are the last strongholds of political exploitation of state institutions. Sing Sing has been a mighty fortress of reaction, despair, bitterness, misery, hatred. Mr. Osborne drove a great wedge of hope through its outer walls. As his associate, Warden Derrick, on leave of absence for a year from the Ione Reformatory of California, was, last August, brought in by Mr. Osborne and his friends to organize in this old prison of the East that transformation which he had wrought in California and which had won the backing of Governor Johnson and the people of the most progressive state in the Union. As former superintendent of the prison school at Auburn, later as an active lieutenant of Mr. George and Mr. Osborne at Freeville, Mr. Derrick proved at Ione that the self-government principle can be worked out in a state institution, hitherto wracked by food riots, brutal repression and political manipulation. It is up to the people and the state administration of New York to see that he is given as free a hand in wrestling with the larger situation at Sing Sing.—EDITOR.]

"MAGDALEN"

TO THE EDITOR: I am often impressed with the fact that we would-be reformers rarely are able to see more than one side of a condition—the side with which we sympathize. Having just read "Magdalen" in your issue for October 7, I am deeply but sadly impressed by the story of Violet's experience of life; and yet, with all my sympathy for her fate, the appeal being so presented as to condemn "vain, sinful man" indiscriminately is unjust. Violet's case is weakened by such wholesale condemnation of all mankind, because she assails men for doing just what she has made a business of inviting them to do. And her beguilings must have been persistent, as she claims to have "made" as much as \$125 in a week.

To accomplish this wholesale result, how many boys and men must she have "solicited"? She must have prostituted

herself constantly and by preference—and then in a torrent of abuse she says that all men are alike, all base, all prostitutes like herself. There is no decency among men and conditions are wholly the fault of men. This is the tone of nearly all articles that take up sex problems. The girl or woman is invariably the one wronged.

But is not there another side to the story? Can any man look backward and not recall times when he has been tempted by advances from the other sex? Not long since a young man from a country town came to Boston to live. He confided to me his perplexity as to women he met socially. Within the month three young wives—very happily married, so he supposed—had offered themselves to him at different times; had secretly solicited his sexual attentions. Had he consented, he would have become "a villain" and the women would be "wronged."

Look about among gatherings of young folk. Are not the girls dressed to suggest and invite immoral thoughts and sex attentions? Are not many of them, and of older women, constantly on the alert to win the attention of men, and to almost any length? And if the boys or men yield to these more or less open invitations to familiarity—or worse—the men are reviled by the very women whose invitations they accepted, as in the case of Violet.

Men often merit condemnation—too often. But in stating a case it is wiser and more helpful to consider "both sides" of the sex problem. It is wiser and more helpful to start with the "wronged" sex and inspire in it a finer self-respect, self-reverence, self-control, and an abhorrence of all dress and conduct that invite the very wrongs of which the other sex is so indiscriminately accused.

W.
Framingham, Mass.

TO THE EDITOR: Our correspondent "W" has apparently failed to realize that "Violet" was depicting the morality of men as impressed upon her in her degradation. She was not blaming men in her remarks, she was merely describing them as she found them. When we realize that prostitution is a regular paying profession with a certain class we must admit that it comes under the law of supply and demand. Surely it is men and not women that create the demand and make of it a trade that pays. Prostitution would be unimaginable if it were not subsidized by men. Possibly it is because we have only during the past few years come to recognize prostitution as dependent upon men's rather than women's morality, that only during that time has progress been made toward the solution of the social evil.

EDITH HOUGHTON HOOKER.
Baltimore.

JOTTINGS

USING the dragging trolley strike as a timely illustration, the League for Municipal Ownership and Operation in New York city, of which Frederic C. Howe is president, announces a campaign to secure municipal ownership and operation of public utility corporations.

EVERY United States soldier in Mexico and every marine stationed throughout Haiti and San Domingo will receive a Christmas box, if plans of the American Red Cross do not miscarry. General Pershing has said that pipes, tobacco, cigars, pocketknives, stick candy, writing material, handkerchiefs and "light novels" would make suitable gifts. Each Red Cross chapter has been asked to aid in collecting such articles.

THE bill "to promote the efficiency of the federal Public Health Service," mentioned in the SURVEY for December 2, provides for the appointment of the surgeon-general "from among officers of the corps not below the grade of surgeon." At present, so far as the law is concerned, the President may appoint any physician in the United States. It has been the practice, however, for several years to select the surgeon-general from among the higher officers of the service, and to make this practice permanent is one aim of the bill to come before the Senate this session.

SOCIAL legislation for the year 1916 forms the major part of Bulletin No. 76 of the National Conference of Charities and Correction (15c a copy, 50c a year, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago). This summary of the work of the eleven legislatures which were in session this year takes the place of the reports from states formerly given verbally at the conference itself. It makes no reference to the broad program of social legislation enacted by Congress and it appears in the eleventh month of the year. But it is nonetheless a concise and useful summary.

THE Washington State Conference of Social Welfare, through its secretary, the Rev. Sydney Strong, of Seattle, has arranged a state-wide series of local meetings to recommend a legislative program or platform, for discussion at the meeting of the conference in January. At that time the conference will recommend to the legislature for the united social workers of the state, a definite series of measures with the backing of the organization. This is thought to be far superior to the present system of placing social welfare measures before the legislature through local bodies from various parts of the state.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, a school for Negroes in the metropolis of the only state having over a million Negro population, is celebrating this year its semi-centennial anniversary. Chartered "for the Christian education of youth," the university has been unsectarian in its influence and has advocated the liberal education of Negro youth "for service among their people, chiefly as teachers." It has over 500 pupils and thirty-eight teachers and officers, graduates of Yale, Harvard, Columbia and other colleges. The school is largely dependent upon contributions and an endowment of \$110,000 which it is trying to in-

crease to a half million. Many prominent educators and others, North and South, have endorsed its work.

LAST week, at a meeting of the Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association of New York city, it was voted to demand the resignation of Belle Israels Moskowitz as chief clerk representing the manufacturers in their relations with the union, and of Julius Henry Cohen, counsel. The charge against both was apparently that they have been too liberal in their views, and not sufficiently devoted to the sole interests of the manufacturers. As a result, the president, vice-president, treasurer, secretary and several members of the executive committee resigned and the outcome may be two new organizations, one of dress, the other of waist manufacturers. So far the occurrence has had no effect upon the workers, for the protocol in all of its terms is binding as heretofore.

THE St. Louis Society for the Relief and Prevention of Tuberculosis is using in the Christmas Seal Campaign this year, a poem written by Jerry, a ten-year-old boy in the open-air school:

"Now, if there's a present goin' round,
There's just one thing for me,
Ask Santee for one new lung,
A right one—mine's T. B.

"T. B. is what skinny folks has,
It kills us poor, weak boys.
So, in your prayers remember me.
I wish you a thousan' joys.

"A Merry Christmas to you all,
A song I've often sung—
But don't forget dis skinny kid,
And pay for his new lung."

"THE thing," as it is called, was found posted at a mine in the South, copied and taken to Boston. There social workers have shared in the three private printings which are distributing it. Under the title, "Booze," "the thing" reads as follows: "Start a saloon in your own house. Be the only customer (you'll have no license to pay). Go to your wife and give her two dollars to buy a gallon of whiskey (this looks cheap, but it often costs the dealer less) and remember there are sixty-nine drinks in a gallon. Buy your drinks from no one but your wife, and by the time the first gallon is gone she will have eight dollars to put into the bank and two dollars to start business again. Should you live ten years and continue to buy booze from her and then die with snakes in your boots, she will have enough money to bury you decently, educate your children, buy a house and lot, marry a decent man and quit thinking about you entirely."

ANOTHER step in the development of the work of the superintendent of the poor of Westchester county, New York [see the SURVEY for November 4], will be taken January 1 when John R. Shillady will be added to Supt. V. Everit Macy's staff as "director of outside activities." On that day also Mr. Macy will cease to be known as superintendent, and will become county commissioner of charities and corrections. One of Mr. Shillady's first undertakings will be to develop greater cooperation among the social and business organizations in the county with the county almshouse, hospital and penitentiary. He will also aid in the follow-up work with dependents and delinquents, and in the study of causes of destitution already begun, and will do publicity work. Mr. Shillady has been secretary of the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment in New York city since its start in 1913, fol-

lowing his earlier social work in Buffalo and as secretary of the former Industrial Board of the State Department of Labor.

A CHANCE to buy luncheon and afternoon tea and do your Christmas shopping early, not to mention being waited on by real girl college graduates, was presented to the inhabitants of New York city throughout "College Settlement Week." The occasion was a benefit sale by the various college clubs belonging to the College Settlements Association, on behalf of the New York College Settlement. Twelve colleges now have membership in the association. In Bryn Mawr 53 per cent of the student body belong to the club, at Mt. Holyoke 500 out of a student body of 800, three-fourths of the student body at Elmira, and at Wells practically the entire college has joined. The other colleges having chapters are Wellesley, Smith, Vassar, Radcliffe, Goucher, Swarthmore, Adelphi and Barnard. Four cities have college settlements, Philadelphia, Boston, New York and Baltimore. An exhibit of the work of these settlements, presided over by Dorothy Baldwin, the new organizing secretary of the association, was a feature of the "week" in New York.

INDUSTRIAL tension in Everett, Wash., where the sheriff and a posse of citizens had a battle with a force of I. W. W. men, has been relieved by the calling off of the strike of shingle-weavers. These men, who saw and pack shingles, belong to a union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and the coming of the I. W. W. men was entirely independent of their plan of campaign. When the shipload of industrial workers from Seattle approached the wharf at Everett two weeks ago, and were driven off after men both on the wharf and on the boat had been killed, it was feared that rioting would break out if picketing were kept up during the trials, about to begin, of some of the I. W. W. men. It was in recognition of this situation, and "for the good of the community and the moral advancement of unionism," the Rev. Edgar M. Rogers, of Everett, writes the SURVEY, that the strike was called off. A group of clergymen of Everett joined with some business men and with the president of the Washington State Federation of Labor and the president of the International Union of Timber Workers in advising the men to declare the strike at an end.

THE experimental program for community organization of the National Social Unit Organization will be tried out in Cincinnati. This program, described in the SURVEY for April 22, is based on the district idea in social work and makes its approach through public health, with the child as the point of attack. Cincinnati was desirous to be the scene of the experiment and possesses many of the qualifications wanted by the organization. Its municipal hospital and municipal university bear organic relation to the city government. The medical members of the Board of Health are elected by the Academy of Medicine and the school system shows a genuine tendency toward community action. Over thirty social agencies are federalized for budgetary purposes, and the Council of Social Agencies is one of the foremost bodies of this kind in the country. Many Cincinnati social agencies have expressed themselves as eager to see the experiment carried out there. A special committee of the Municipal Committee on Tuberculosis has already gone far toward educating the community to the desirability of health centers, a vital element in the program of the social-unit organization. The work will be started January 1, under Wilbur C. Phillips and Elsie La G. C. Phillips, secretaries.

PAMPHLETS

- A COMPLETE NEW SET OF LAWS FOR THE WELFARE OF ALL MISSOURI CHILDREN. Prepared by the Missouri Children's Code Commission. Secretary, Manley O. Hudson, State University, Columbus, Missouri.
- LIST OF REFERENCES ON CHILD LABOR. By H. H. B. Meyer and Laura A. Thompson. Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor. Price 20 cents. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.
- ALABAMA'S PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM. A comparative study. Issued by the Department of Education, Montgomery, Ala.
- SCHOOL LAWS. Enacted by the Legislature of Alabama, 1915. Department of Education, Montgomery, Ala.
- THE NEW YORK STANDARD COMPENSATION POLICY. By Walter G. Cowles. The Travelers' Insurance Company, Hartford, Conn.
- INDEXES OF NUTRITION AND GROWTH. By Frank A. Manny. Reprinted from the *Modern Hospital*. Bureau of Welfare of School Children, Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, 105 East 22 street, New York City.
- HOSPITAL AID FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN. Facilities and Procedure for Tonsil and Adenoid Operations in New York City Hospitals and Dispensaries. By J. H. Berkowitz. Bureau of Welfare of School Children, Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, 105 East 22 street, New York City.
- THE HART, SCHIAFFNER AND MARX LABOR AGREEMENT. By J. E. Williams, Sidney Hillman and Earl Dean Howard. Hart, Schaffner and Marx, Chicago.
- THE WISCONSIN COUNTY TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR TEACHERS IN RURAL SCHOOLS. By W. E. Larson. Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior. Price 10 cents. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.
- LAND TENURE IN THE UNITED STATES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ILLINOIS. By Charles Leslie Stewart, University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences. Price 75 cents. University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- DRESSMAKING AS A TRADE FOR WOMEN IN MASSACHUSETTS. By May Allinson. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Price 20 cents. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.
- RAILROAD LABOR ARBITRATIONS. Prepared under the direction of the United States Board of Mediation and Conciliation, by W. Jett Lauck. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.
- FIVE HUNDRED PRACTICAL QUESTIONS IN ECONOMICS. For use in secondary schools. By a special committee of the New England History Teachers' Association. Price 25 cents. D. C. Heath and Co., Boston.
- BOILER SAFETY ORDERS. Issued by the Industrial Accident Commission of the State of California. State Printing Office, Los Angeles.

LIBERTY AND DISCIPLINE. A Talk to Freshmen. By A. Lawrence Lowell. Price 25 cents. Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn.

WESTCHESTER COUNTY BUILDING COMMISSION REPORT. Westchester County Research Bureau, 15 Court Street, White Plains, N. Y.

NOTES ON CLASSIFICATION OF COMMON RODENTS. By Heber A. Longman. Federal Quarantine Service, Melbourne, Australia.

A LIVING WAGE BY LEGISLATION. The Oregon Experience. By Edwin V. O'Hara, Chairman Industrial Welfare Commission. State Printing Department, Salem, Oregon.

THREATENED STRIKE OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES Hearing before the Committee on Interstate Commerce. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

CONGREGATIONALISM AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN. Published by Congregational Educational Society, Michigan Congregational Conference and First Congregational Church, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

THE INTEREST OF THE COMMUNITY IN CANCER. By Louis I. Dublin. Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York City.

THE IMPROVEMENT OF STATISTICS OF CAUSE OF DEATH THROUGH SUPPLEMENTARY INJURIES TO PHYSICIANS. By Louis I. Dublin and Edwin W. Kopf, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York City.

FACTORS IN AMERICAN MORTALITY. By Louis I. Dublin. Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York City.

MORTALITY FOR EXTERNAL CAUSES AMONG INDUSTRIAL POLICYHOLDERS OF THE METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, 1911-1914. By Louis I. Dublin. Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York City.

OCCUPATIONAL MORTALITY EXPERIENCE OF 94,269 INDUSTRIAL WORKERS. By Louis I. Dublin, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York City.

A STUDY OF 1,153 CASES OF SCARLET FEVER. By Louis I. Dublin. Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York City.

TOPICS FOR FIRE PREVENTION MEETINGS. National Fire Protection Association, 87 Milk Street, Boston.

CONSTITUTION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS OF THE EARTH. Pamphlet Publishing Company, Fall River, Mass.

REPORTS RECEIVED BY THE JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE OF FUNDS FOR JEWISH SUFFERERS, 52 William Street, New York City.

THE PRESIDENT'S MEXICAN POLICY. Interview with Franklin K. Lane. Manifest Destiny, Speeches by General Venustiano Carranza. THE RELIGIOUS QUESTION IN MEXICO. Open letter to Monseigneur Kelly by M. C. Rolland. A RECONSTRUCTIVE POLICY IN MEXICO. By M. C. Rolland. Published by Latin-American News Association, 1400 Broadway, New York City.

COMPARATIVE SUMMARY STATEMENTS OF THE EXPENSES OF VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK FOR THE YEARS 1914-1915. Bureau of Municipal Investigation and Statistics, New York City.

RESCUE AND RECOVERY OPERATIONS IN MINES AND AFTER FIRES AND EXPLOSIONS. By James W. Paul and H. M. Wofflin. Published by the United States Bureau of Mines. Price 25 cents. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

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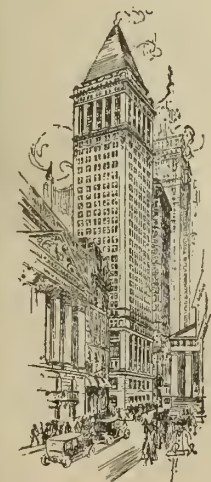
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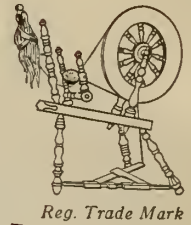
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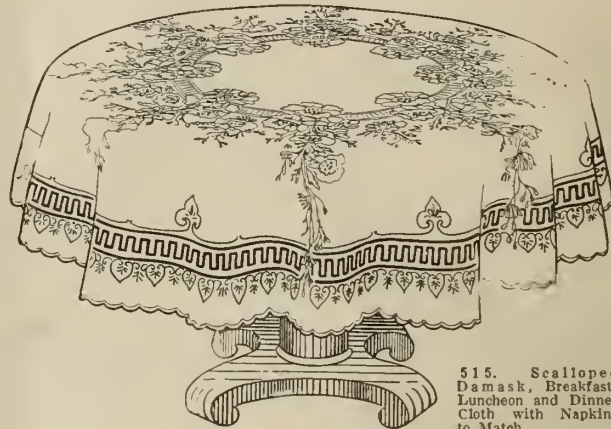
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SANTA CLAUS AT HIS BENCH

Age serving youth in the Old Men's Toyshop of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. [See page 309]

THE SURVEY

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WARDEN MOYER, the new man at Sing Sing, is rated an open-minded conservative. The governor and superintendent of prisons who put him in power, are believed to be hostile to self-government of prisoners. Friends of the Mutual Welfare League, therefore, are engaged in watchful waiting. Page 291.

SOcial insurance, until recently the poor relation of labor legislation and social service, showed a great body of enthusiastic friends at the conference held last week. Page 295.

THE Woman's Peace Party, with Jane Addams once more able to be in the chair, has charted its course for the new year. Page 307.

HENSLEY, M. C., defeated for his pacifism, left his mark in a clause of the naval appropriations bill that opens the door for disarmament after the war. Page 308.

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PROBATION is really reducing the prison population in New York. Page 311.

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POOLOOMS, a rough-house room, a gymnasium, and a dance hall, take the bitterness out of staying after school for the boys and girls of Milwaukee. Such attractions have even tempted year-old babies into classrooms. Indeed, Harold O. Berg, supervisor of the extension department, has made the whole family comfortable in a schoolhouse. Page 298.

OUT of the frying pan into the fire of politics will be a hard jump for women unless they get into training early in the game. The Minneapolis Bureau of Municipal Research is fitting women to compile budgets and administer city departments. Page 300.

WITH a drum corps, Roman candles, and a parade, social work may cease to be the self-imposed task of the few, and become community expression. John Melpolder suggests that religious and political fervor be infused into civic activities. Page 303.

"TRY it on the dog" is a maxim social workers have put into practice. The health records they recommend keeping in the industrial world have proved practicable when adopted by their own organizations. Page 305.

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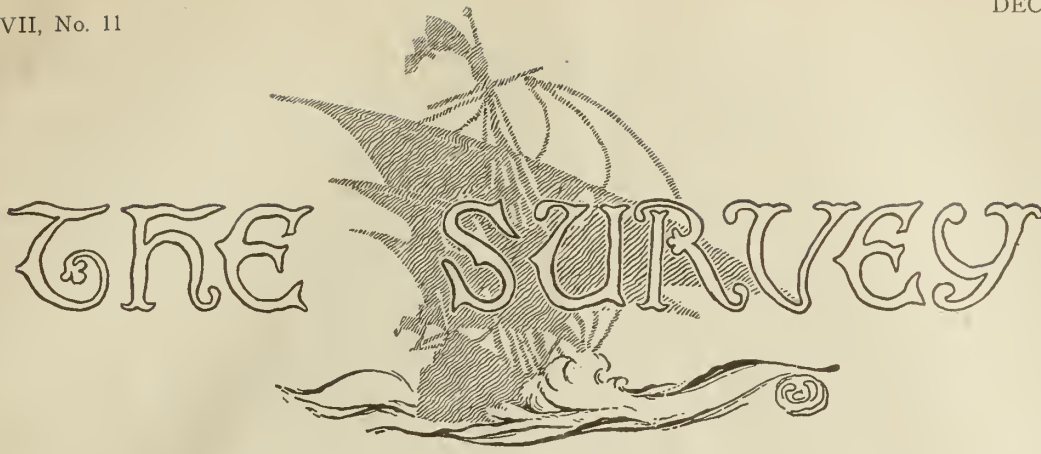
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Sing Sing's New Warden

By Winthrop D. Lane

OF THE SURVEY STAFF

IF William H. Moyer, ex-warden of the federal penitentiary at Atlanta, had been made warden of Sing Sing ten years ago or any time before the advent of Thomas Mott Osborne, he would, in all probability, have been regarded as an advance over the customary type of administration of that prison. His appointment last week puts into his hands the most hopeful, most delicate, most far-sighted experiment in reforming law-breakers that has been given to this generation to try out. With an instinct that is itself evidence of the spread of new prison ideas, the people of New York have sharply challenged the intent back of this appointment. The new warden and the state administrators will be judged not by the surface smoothness they may give to prison routine, not by the number of escapes they may cut down or the orderliness of prison life, not even by other and half-way measures of reform, but by their conservation of the self-government program that is already producing not only good prisoners but good citizens at Sing Sing.

I

Mr. Moyer starts out with the handicap that his record at Atlanta has been gone over and various charges relating to his treatment of prisoners have been exhumed by the press. These, whatever their truth, can but render more difficult the establishment of normal relations with the men in his charge.

William H. Moyer became warden of the Atlanta penitentiary in 1903 and resigned on request of the Department of Justice in March, 1915. Eighteen months earlier—or after a full decade of service—his administration had been sweepingly attacked in a series of newspaper articles by Julian Hawthorne, who served a term there for misusing the mails. Hawthorne charged that the food furnished the prisoners was inadequate, that punishments were out of proportion to the offenses committed, that favoritism was practiced among employes and prisoners, that medical attention was inferior and that there had been waste and inefficiency in the construction of the prison, in much of which Mr. Moyer had employed inmate labor.

An investigation was ordered by Attorney-General James C. McReynolds and was conducted by A. J. McKelway, southern representative of the National Child Labor Committee, who was appointed a special agent for the purpose.

Mr. McKelway completely exonerated Warden Moyer. A hearing was held before Mr. McReynolds and Mr. Moyer was retained.

Some time later seven guards who intimated that they had been discharged by Mr. Moyer because they discouraged a petition asking for his retention framed a series of questions in which they cited a number of instances of alleged brutality and neglect of prisoners during his administration. These charges have been published in the newspapers since Mr. Moyer's appointment to Sing Sing. The truth of their accusations has been denied by Mr. Moyer's friends and so far as is known they were not cited as the reason for his subsequent removal in 1915.

Two explanations of the latter have been given. One is that the change was a political one. This is the version given out by the New York State Department of Prisons at the time of Mr. Moyer's appointment to Sing Sing. The other is that he had lost his grip on the prison and prisoners at Atlanta and that although his resignation was not the result of any specific charges against him, a new administration was believed necessary for the good of the institution.

II

A review of Mr. Moyer's record shows that he was not a stand-pat warden. He was never a leader of reform, but he seems to have been a slow adapter of whatever methods he thought had been tried and found good. One of his chief objects during the first half dozen years of his wardenship was to reduce the cost of food per prisoner, and he took an evident pride in accomplishing this result. Yet he had not been in the prison two years before he asked for a school teacher to relieve the chaplain and educated prisoners from the whole burden of teaching inmates, and a few years later he declared:

"It has never seemed to me to be either wise or prudent to receive ignorant citizens here, obtain from them a maximum of manual labor, and then return them to their former homes just as ignorant as when they left there, and I have tried, with some success, to remedy this condition."

As late as 1908, Mr. Moyer believed that the letter-writing privileges were "entirely too liberal," and he recommended that first-grade men be restricted to one letter every four

weeks and second-grade men to one every eight. The next year he urged the enactment of a law that would provide "a sufficient number of rifles and pistols of the latest approved pattern, together with a sufficient amount of serviceable ammunition to thoroughly equip each United States penitentiary."

Beginning in 1910, Mr. Moyer persistently advocated the payment of small wages to prisoners and their dependents and declared that the harm done by the government in shutting up the bread-winners of families, without providing for the support of those families, quite offset the good it did by protecting society from the criminals themselves. He urged the extension of parole to life prisoners two years before this was authorized by Congress, and claims to have assisted in drafting the amendment for that purpose. Prisoners at Atlanta were accustomed to regard Mr. Moyer as the member of the parole board most likely to deny their applications, but Mr. McKelway found that this was not true.

In 1913 Mr. Moyer became an advocate of the indeterminate sentence and in 1914 added probation to the reformatory mechanism that he had come to believe in. He had previously introduced a great number of minor changes into the life of Atlanta prisoners that had for their object the break-up of deadening routine, the better physical care of the inmates, and the humanizing of personal relationships. Stripes gave way under his régime to a uniform of light blue, and the practice of sewing a man's number into the back of his shirt, like a brand of fire, was discarded. Weekly interviews with the warden were allowed, and plain paper instead of that bearing the name of the prison was supplied for correspondence with friends and relatives. Conversation during meals was introduced, Mr. Moyer believing that Atlanta was the "first institution of its kind to grant this privilege."

A Saturday half-holiday, with baseball in the yard, was accorded, and later on a mid-week half-holiday was added. The publication of a prison newspaper by inmates was begun and a prison orchestra was built up, which played to the prisoners during their midday meal. Mr. Moyer seems to have believed strongly in the uplifting influence of music, for he instituted the custom of allowing all prisoners who owned instruments to play for an hour in their cells each evening, and the resulting "harmony of sweet sounds" is said to have been audible half a mile away. A library was another of the humane influences he fostered. He added the services of an oculist and a dentist to those of the prison physician, and seems to have taken great interest in improving the care of tuberculous patients.

One of the chief reasons given by Superintendent Carter for the appointment of Mr. Moyer to Sing Sing is the experience he gained at Atlanta in applying the labor of inmates to prison construction. Mr. Moyer has himself described the concrete wall enclosing the penitentiary grounds, which was built by prisoners, as one of the largest solid pieces of concrete construction in the world. He used inmate labor also in erecting the main cell building, the entrance gateways and in grading the prison grounds. As a result of a suggestion from Mr. McKelway he developed a prison farm outside the walls of the penitentiary and employed several hundred inmates there substantially upon their honor.

In 1914, as president of the Wardens' Association, which is affiliated with the American Prison Association, Mr. Moyer said concerning the causes of crime:

"Looking at the problem fairly and squarely, and with an open mind, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that social conditions are either directly or indirectly blamable for most

of the blasted lives that make the criminal history of any country."

He has not, however, shown any particular grasp of the psychopathic factor in penology, which is yearly assuming greater importance. In the same year he wrote:

"In every penal institution of this kind [Atlanta penitentiary] there are two classes of prisoners—those who are responsive to reformatory treatment and those who are unresponsive to such treatment. . . .

"After giving this matter much consideration I believe that the best results will be obtained if all of the prisoners who are responsive to reformatory influences are maintained in one institution and all of those who are unresponsive to such influences are maintained in another institution, and I therefore respectfully recommend that the necessary separation of classes be made as soon as practicable."

Such easy separation of the sheep from the goats may contain a germ of truth concerning the modern theories of classification of prisoners, but it can hardly be called an adequate statement of the complexities of that classification.

On the whole, this record indicates capacity for growth, but contains no experience with self-governing prison groups. How far Mr. Moyer's adaptability, if possessed in the measure indicated, will carry him in grappling with the delicate and technical problems of self-government, remains to be seen.

The warden of Sing Sing has a larger task than the development of kind treatment and the extension of the honor system. He must open his mind to the progress of democracy among convicts. He must regard his prison population as a body politic, and while no one contends that all prisoners are mentally equipped to benefit from self-government, the warden of Sing Sing must accept the fostering of that experiment as the prime obligation that he bears to the people of the state. He must cease to think solely of the personal relations between him and individual convicts and he must think of the relations between one convict and another, between one convict and the whole group of convicts. He must prepare men for citizenship by letting them be citizens. So far as the physical conditions of the plant allow, he must provide opportunity for the free expression of will, capacity and judgment. He must make his institution a community and he must beget a community aim and consciousness.

This is the task that Mr. Moyer has before him at Sing Sing. In entering upon it this week, he has, if he can hold them, the services of a deputy whose retention may hold sound hope for the continuance of self-government and the realization of its highest usefulness. Mr. Derrick has had four years' successful experience in developing self-government at Lone reformatory in California. He came to Sing Sing in August, on leave of absence for a year, to try out the plan on a larger scale and with adult criminals. He has been promised a free hand under the new warden to continue his work. If he receives it, none will rejoice more fully than the friends of the movement already begun there.

III

But the progress of the self-government program at Sing Sing hangs on more than deputy or warden. It hangs on the policies of the state prison department and the state administration.

Mr. Carter, the state superintendent, has shown no real grasp of the self-government method. There is practically no difference, he has said, between it and the honor system as practiced at another state prison, that at Comstock, N. Y. It requires no deep study of penology to know that the one method involves only a personal relationship between

the warden and individual men, whereas the other binds all the prisoners together into a group-conscious community and aims to promote good citizenship by practicing it.

What, too, is to be thought of the well-grounded rumor that Charles F. Rattigan, warden of Auburn prison who helped Mr. Osborne found the Mutual Welfare League, is slated to be removed, and that George W. Benham, a former warden of Auburn, is to take his place? Mr. Benham is a Republican leader in Cayuga county, and Mr. Rattigan is a Democratic appointee.

Governor Whitman, too, has not been reassuring in his public utterances regarding the new reforms. Speaking before the American Prison Association in Buffalo recently he gave as one reason for his belief that he knew something about how prisoners ought to be treated the fact that he had, directly or indirectly, caused thousands of criminals to be sent to jail, and he added that "in swinging away from the brutal it is not necessary to swing into the maudlin. An extreme of punishment is no less dangerous than an extreme of mollycoddling.

It is possible to think of the rights of the prisoner without forgetting the rights of society." And again he coupled his assurance that he believed in prison reform with the comment that "the solid rock of any sound system of prison reform is iron discipline."

Sentences like these, coming from the governor of New York at a time when less informed people are applying the same words to the Sing Sing experiment, give little cause for optimism. It is not too much to say that Governor Whitman holds the immediate future of prison self-government in his hands. What happens at Sing Sing will affect other states and other countries. The question in which the people of New York are vitally interested is whether he and his state superintendent of prisons possess the knowledge and sympathy necessary to give that experiment freedom to prove its usefulness. The present appointment is at best a missed opportunity to give the people of the state a guarantee that that will be done. Rather it is a challenge to public vigilance.

Spokesmen of Submerged Peoples

The Conference of Oppressed and Dependent Nationalities

By Bruno Lasker

A CONFERENCE was held in Washington on December 10-11 "to develop through the American representatives of the oppressed or dependent nationalities an American international policy with reference to these nationalities." Its proceedings were marked from beginning to end by an optimism which stands in considerable contrast to the assumption frequently voiced of late that the American people have become indifferent to the woes of the conquered nations of Europe.

This optimism was the more remarkable since most of the speakers—fifteen of them represented each a dependent nation, though nearly all were American citizens—had to unfold stories of persecution dating back long before the outbreak of the war of the nations, many of them over periods of generations and even centuries. There would thus at first thought seem little likelihood of active intervention on behalf of these peoples now when their struggles are so largely obscured by more dramatic events on the principal stages of the war, and by the lack of communication.

But there are two good reasons for sensing the break of a new dawn. The first is that this war has swept the United States into the very center of world relationships and made it necessary for her government to acquaint itself with European problems and to come to some decision upon their solution. The other is the enormous influence which this country will have in the council of the nations after the war, as the great money-lender whose wishes—whether considered reasonable or not—must to some extent at least be respected by the greater powers if they do not want financially to be left out in the cold.

Such political and financial reasons apart, there was also a general feeling that the narrow national selfishness which has tainted the utterances of so many influential advisors of American foreign policy under the strain of present dangers to the peace of the country, will give way to a more open, more consistent and more popular demand for the exercise of American influence on behalf of the smaller nations. The ap-

parent indifference of the American people to the wholesale deportation, imprisonment, starvation and massacre of many of the finest peoples of Europe, the impossibility of even getting adequate publicity for their wrongs and for their appeals to America through the press, as compared with the general public indignation under much lesser provocation in the past, cannot, and must not, be accepted as symptoms of moral decay but rather of a passing pre-occupation and fear.

The conference owed its origin to a resolution passed at last year's women's peace conference at The Hague, pledging each national group to organize public opinion in its own country as regards the rights of nations to control their own destinies and determine their own institutions. The American delegation to the congress after the war, to be held simultaneously with the official diplomatic peace conference, felt the need for its own instruction, not in the fundamentals of American traditional policy with regard to the dependent peoples of Europe, which are well understood, but in the peculiar circumstances of each of these peoples which must influence the best solution of its individual problem.

Such instruction the conference provided in abundance. Though chosen for their personal competence rather than as representative of recognized groups of hyphenated citizens, the speakers succeeded in conveying eloquently, and in most cases fairly, the necessary knowledge of historical, ethnological, political and economic facts pertinent to the situation. It is difficult to single out from so much material of vast and abiding human interest the most significant data. An attempt to draw conclusions from it concerning a wise American policy with regard to the several problems of statesmanship involved would be wholly premature.

The story is often told of the Irish immigrant who entered a strong protest at Ellis Island on being temporarily confined with "them foreigners." We rarely think of the Irish as a foreign people in the same way as we think of Bohemians, Jews or Poles. A long history of persecution has made them look upon America as their natural second home. Francis

Hackett gave a masterly exposition of the case for American intervention on behalf of Ireland; but he warned Americans not to overestimate their moral influence with foreign powers until they should set their own house in order. Admitting that the United States government has proved its capacity for international disinterestedness, he could not pronounce it innocent of traces of imperialism.

The helplessness of all dependent people in a capitalistic age is illustrated, he said, by the existence in our midst of twelve million Negroes, who, whatever may be said about their status and condition, are not "free" in any but a superficial estimation. Legislative change in Ireland will no more make the Irish free than the political emancipation of the Negro has secured for him the full opportunity of development which thousands of Americans have died to give him. It is difficult for any government to appraise the conditions of well-being for a minority population in a foreign empire. Complete political separation often is not the only or the best aid to its rehabilitation. As England has failed in her government of Ireland by every test that can reasonably be applied, so she will fail again if the liberation of the Irish people does not include the substitution of other economic relationships for the present sordid capitalistic basis of their exploitation.

Senator La Fontaine did not dwell upon the present political dependency of Belgium, which he looks upon as purely temporary with no conceivable element of permanency after the war. He, too, pointed to economic difficulties as those most likely to require the serious attention of American sympathizers with Belgian independence. That country could not against its will be incorporated in the German empire; but it could be obliged to enter a central or, in the case of a decisive victory by the entente powers, a western European *zollverein*, inimical to the development of its industry and commerce.

He instanced Switzerland and Belgium as examples of successful racially composite states, proving to the world that a complete separation of peoples divided by different origin, language, religion and historical experience is not essential to national cohesion under all circumstances. He even counseled a judicious system of deportation—within the same country—with exchanges of land to the advantage of all concerned, as a justifiable possible means of ensuring the fullest cultural and economic development of a composite people where, as in some parts of Hungary and Macedonia, the mixture of populations extends even to the unit of the village community.

The failure of European diplomacy with regard to Albania and the suffering of that old and brave nation during the present war formed the subject of an illuminating address by Father F. S. Noli, the editor of an Albanian daily paper in Boston. "The Albanians," he concluded, "appeal to the civilized world for independence in the name of peace, justice and international morality. These words do not mean much to war-maddened Europe now, but they will deeply be meditated by all the belligerents when they are cooled off by the disastrous results of this most expensive slaughter. And these words are prized above all else by the neutral, humane, peace-loving, justice-loving and justice-imposing United States of America."

One of the most moving contributions to the discussions was an appeal for the Syrians by Mrs. Layyah Barahat, of Philadelphia, herself rescued as a child, so she explained, from the relentless Turkish extermination of her ancient race by the pennies collected in American Sunday schools. Both

she and Miran Sevasly, of Boston, who spoke on behalf of the Armenians, were convinced that no reform of Turkish administration ever will or can stem the persecution of Christian peoples under Moslem rule. The disruption of the Ottoman empire, not only in Europe, but also in Asia Minor, was demanded by other speakers also as the only possible guarantee that wholesale slaughter and starvation will cease.

This was the only instance of an apparently unanimous desire of American representatives of European peoples for the complete defeat of one of the parties to the present struggle. Dr. Kasimir A. Zurawski, of Chicago, in spite of a fire of cross-examination after the conclusion of his address, maintained an attitude of confidence in the central powers as guarantors and maintainers of Polish independence. He took the stand that Poland already was a free nation, not by virtue of any autonomy granted her by Germany, but by that of her victorious uprising against Russia, recognized by the central powers as an established fact. To him nothing short of a complete national independence of the Polish state could ensure permanent peace in Europe.

The Letts, on the other hand, and the great majority of Esthonians, represented at the conference by John Schmidt, of Chicago—peoples that have suffered for centuries by a feudalism imposed upon them by German barons—see the means of salvation and of a great cultural development in a grant of full local autonomy and parliamentary representation within the Russian empire. Other component peoples of Russia—Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Finns, as represented by Mary Jurgelionis, of Chicago, Miroslav Sichinsky, of New York, and Aino Malmberg, of Finland—were unanimous in their desire for the creation of separate state units, variously defined in accordance with different interpretations of history, different estimates of population statistics and different experiences of common life with other races under the same despotic foreign yoke.

The case of the Croats was presented by Albert N. Weber, whose narrative of Austrian oppression and political dishonesty led up to a strong plea for American intervention. Quoting an utterance by President Wilson to the effect that it is the right of every people to choose the sovereignty under which it wants to live, he claimed this was all the Croats were asking, in the sincere expectation of support not only from their American brothers but from the American people as a whole.

The Jews were represented by two speakers. Mr. de Hass pleaded the cause of Zionism and Simon O. Pollock, in an eminently sane and convincing address, insisted upon the essential need for the exercise of American influence on behalf of the Jewish population which will and must remain in Russia. He brought much evidence to show that Russians and Jews can live peaceably together, that every persecution of the Jews has been inspired by the government alone under the influence of some definite political motive, and that the strongest guarantees for the unhampered and peaceful development of Jewish culture, institutions and industry in a free and constitutionally governed Russia are to be found in the fervent advocacy of Jewish rights in and out of the Duma by the leaders of Russian liberal democracy. "There are two grounds upon which the liberal Russian urges equality for the Jews: one ground is purely humanitarian; the other is based upon sound economics."

Charles Pergler, of Iowa, spoke for an independent Bohemian-Slovak state. The Austrian empire never can become, he urged, a federation of autonomous states. It is a survival from the feudal age which so long as it lasts must endanger

the peace of Europe. "The federalization of Austria and the safeguarding of the rights of Slovaks in Austria could be achieved only at the point of allied guns. This is no easier and perhaps decidedly more difficult than to dissolve Austria and get rid of the problem forever."

It may appear from this recital of the aims of the various national groups as though the conference had been a series of destructive accusations and passionate appeals for American participation in a general splitting of Europe into numerous small, independent states. But there was also throughout the discussions, more difficult to convey in a brief report, a pervading feeling of tolerance, a recognition of the perplexities which beset any possible plan of harmonizing these various aspirations, a sincere desire for solutions which will prove permanent and beneficial not only to this or that nation but to the world at large.

At the closing session—which, by the way, ended with an ovation to Jane Addams, who was present at most of the proceedings—Prof. William I. Thomas, of the University of Chicago, summarized the theories of nationalism which underlay many of the speeches made. It was a conference of real good fellowship. Spontaneously there arose from it a wish for a more enduring organization to work out a plan of American policy with regard to the dependent and oppressed nations. Late on Monday night a committee was formed to collect and digest further evidence and to prepare a program of principles of national autonomy which Americans might urge as an effective basis of world peace, a program which should be brought to bear upon the peace conferences after the present war and sufficiently universal in application to unite in common action all sections of progressive and democratic public opinion in this country.

Social Insurance a Live Issue

The Discussions Last Week at the Washington Conference

By Edward T. Devine

THE international conference on social insurance which was to have been held in Washington in 1915 was made impossible by the international war, but a partial substitute has been found to be possible in a Conference on Social Insurance called by the International Association of Industrial Accident Boards and Commissions. The word international in the name of this association means merely that neighboring commissions on this continent are included in the membership of the association. The federal government acted informally as host, addresses being made by President Wilson and Secretary of Labor Wilson at a meeting over which Secretary of Commerce Redfield presided; and Royal Meeker, commissioner of labor statistics, held the laboring oar in arranging and carrying out the plans for the conference.

The outstanding fact about social insurance is the enormous increase of public interest in the subject since the first conference on social insurance was held a little over three years ago, under the auspices of the American Association for Labor Legislation, in Chicago. At that time there were a few lone voices in the wilderness; now there are hundreds of advocates, scores of vocal opponents, a definite cleavage of opinion within the ranks of organized labor, and an eager awakening interest on the part of lawmakers, newspapers, relief societies, churches, and the public. For this advance, Dr. Andrews and his associates on the social insurance committee of the Association for Labor Legislation deserve the chief credit.

The program of the conference in Washington last week was made up chiefly of two main sets of discussions, sharply distinguishable from each other. The larger number of papers dealt with workmen's compensation for industrial accidents. In this field the time for agitation has passed and the problem is one of perfecting a still cumbrous and tentative administrative mechanism. The papers were therefore naturally by experts, and they dealt largely with technical subjects of immense interest to commissions and to those whose interests are affected by the compensation laws in the various states. An amazing number of such papers was presented, probably as many and perhaps as valuable as would have been likely to have been presented in a real international conference on social insurance,

although they came from less experienced and in some cases less eminent specialists than might have been furnished by European countries where compensation laws or laws providing for insurance against accidents have been longer in force.

There is some validity in the distinction pointed out by Magnus W. Alexander, of the General Electric Company, that compensation for accidents is not, strictly speaking, analogous to and therefore not a precedent for other kinds of social insurance. In the case of industrial injuries, employers have themselves the chief responsibility for prevention, or, when that fails, for compensation. Industry, in that form of insurance, is not used to enforce a general social obligation, as in the case of sickness and old-age insurance, or even more obviously in the case of maternity insurance, which has no especial relation to industry and is not a risk exclusively for those whose incomes are less than twelve hundred dollars. Unemployment insurance may be regarded as occupying middle ground in this respect between compensation for accidents and health insurance.

The second feature of the conference to which reference has been made was the educational discussion of various forms of social insurance concerning which as yet no laws have been passed in this country, except laws for the appointment of investigating commissions. These papers and discussions, dealing less with technical questions of administration and more with fundamental problems of social philosophy, were the more interesting to the general public and offered a wider range for forensic oratory. From this point of view the most interesting and impressive part was taken by the veteran leader of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel W. Gompers, who, in the presence of cabinet officers and after President Wilson had extended his greetings, solemnly warned his countrymen against the infringement of liberty involved in compulsory social insurance against sickness and unemployment. Earlier in the conference, William Green, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America, the largest existing trade union, had told the conference that on this subject there was difference of opinion in organized labor, as among doctors, and that for his part he saw no way of dealing with the social

problem of sickness and old age in workingmen's families except by the application of the compulsory principle.

The most comprehensive argument against non-contributory old-age pensions was made by Mr. Alexander, who in 1908 was chairman of the first state commission—that of Massachusetts—to be appointed to investigate this subject. The commission, as is well known, advised against old-age pensions, and further study seems to have confirmed Mr. Alexander in the conclusions which he and his colleagues reached on the subject at that time. Mr. Gompers, however, as well as Secretary Wilson and other speakers of the conference, advocated old-age pensions, and others who would probably not favor non-contributory old-age pensions are ready to include complete insurance against invalidity, even when this results from old age, as a part of a system of health insurance.

Dr. Richard C. Cabot, of Boston, genially expressed agreement with everybody who had spoken at the conference with the single exception of Frederick L. Hoffman, of the Prudential Insurance Company, whose preference for commercial insurance and for private charity to meet exceptional cases of distress won for him this unique distinction. Dr. Cabot thinks that advocates of social insurance will probably be disappointed in the extent to which their measures will insure efficient prevention of disease. But he thinks that it will have a beneficial effect on the organization of agencies for the public health as a whole, and especially that it will stimulate members of the medical profession to keep better records through the public inspection to which health records will necessarily be subjected under a system of social insurance.

Lee K. Frankel, of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, presented some fundamental considerations in health insurance. He sought to bridge the difference between advocates and opponents of compulsion by proposing universal rather than compulsory insurance, with the principle of individual option and initiative in the place of legal compulsion. Dr. Frankel's method of doing this is highly ingenious and is suggested by the so-called elective compensation schemes. He begins with the idea that the right to work and to give work are privileges or franchises which the state gives to its citizens, and that the state may impose a tax for the exercise of these privileges. By the manipulation of this tax the state will create a motive for insurance sufficient to make it universal, while still not legally compulsory.

Obviously this is analogous to the withdrawal of the common-law defences from those who refuse to elect to come under a compensation system. Professor Freund would no doubt call the one as he did the other "the bartering of justice." Moreover, in the case of employers' liability there was no doubt that the defences which it was proposed to barter

were actually there. Whether as much can be said for the idea that the right to work and to give work are in the nature of franchises conferred by the state on its citizens seems at least doubtful. There are those who think that the right to work and even to "give work" are both historically and logically far beyond the province of government. It is a slender basis on which to build an alternative system of universal social insurance. The point seems not to have received at the conference the attention which its importance deserves.

Without attempting to enumerate the numerous excellent papers dealing with various aspects of compensation laws, attention may be called to Prof. Willard C. Fisher's somewhat staggering list of defects and suggested changes in workmen's compensation laws and to the extended review of existing agencies for health insurance made by Edgar Sydenstricker, of the Public Health Service.

Among the most highly appreciated contributions to the discussions of the conference were those of Mary Van Kleeck, of the Russell Sage Foundation, on insurance for wage-earning women, and Edith Abbott, of Hull House, on the operation of the funds to the mothers' act in Illinois. Miss Van Kleeck insisted on agitation of the great need of higher wages for women workers and a whole-hearted campaign for shorter hours. If a system of health insurance will enlighten us as to disastrous conditions and will stimulate the enforcement of laws establishing higher standards of sanitation and places of employment, more preventive health work in industrial communities, better dispensary service and better care of women at the time of childbirth, it will be a social gain to enact it. This, or something like it, was indeed the keynote of the whole conference. Julia C. Lathrop, chief of the federal Children's Bureau, declared that, next to the grace of God, increased income is essential. Miss Abbott closed her report with a similar plea.

Advocates of various forms of social insurance came back again and again to the idea that an insurance system is justified only in so far as it will contribute to health, education, income and higher standards of living; while the comparatively few opponents could make headway only by attempting to point out that other methods, such as the inculcation of thrift and greater emphasis on family solidarity, would be speedier and more effective routes to the same desirable goal.

Omission of specific reference to other addresses and papers from this obviously fragmentary review of the conference should not be taken as an indication of their lack of interest and scientific value. The proceedings of the conference will be published as number 212 of the Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, or number 10 of the series on Workmen's Insurance and Compensation.

The Scarlet House

Sing Sing No. 65368 in the Star of Hope

I WENT into a Scarlet House—
 "A charnel place," they said.
 "Where Hope and Faith and Charity
 Were numbered with the dead."

I heard within this House of Sin,
 A lilting note so clear—
 So frail and sweet it seemed to me
 'Twas wrong to cage it there.

I saw a figure in a cell
 Who prayed beside his cot,
 With lips so filled with holy thought
 I envied him his lot.

I met within this scarlet place,
 "A man without a soul"
 Who shared with me ('twas all he had)
 The bread from out his bowl.

I passed me from the Scarlet House,
 And wrote upon its wall:
 "If this is sin that man has judged,
 Then God shall judge us all."

HOWEVER roundly Germany may deny that it began the war; however soundly spokesmen for the Entente may maintain that it never can win it, the Teutonic peoples have staked their claim to the first daring official move to end it.

Pending the publication of the exact terms which the United States, Spain and Switzerland are asked to transmit—if, indeed, exact terms are offered—immediate discussion is bound to center around such questions as the sincerity of the German Chancellor's proposal to enter forthwith into negotiations for a lasting peace; whether the proposal is for home consumption, under pressure of a rising public opinion in Germany against prolonging the war; whether it is for neutral consumption, in order to clear Germany's skirts of responsibility for another twelve months of battle and perhaps another tryout of "frightfulness"; whether Germany can afford to be magnanimous in view of the Rumanian victories and the occupation of foreign territory east and west; whether she is seeking to clinch such gains as she has before a collapse; or whether, after all, the move is to be taken at its face value, as that of a government which is not afraid to face realities and sees that further prolongation of the war will cost unutterably and get nowhere for friend or foe.

Disregarding these controversies, it may be of some service to approach the situation from another angle and show its relation to the peace movements which have been going on since the war began. For unquestionably the development of minority groups in each of the belligerent parliaments, the spread of petitions, the persistent protest, imprisonment and exile of conscientious objectors and other peace radicals in England, Germany, France, Austria and Russia; the shuttling back and forth of unofficial mediators and neutral messengers who have brought them tidings of each other and have brought to civil leaders in each country the knowledge that the outgivings of the enemy war party (spread by the press of the home war party) did not sum up the total of public opinion—unquestionably all these things have played a part in leading up to the psychological situation which made it possible for the moderate group in Germany, represented by Von Bethmann-Hollweg, to broach peace; which will in turn make for the crystallization of civil public opinion among the Allies, however rigid and denunciatory the first official reactions are to the German overtures. When the history of the war comes to be written, these obscure peace movements may be found cast in the part of the mouse in the fable, gnawing at the meshes of militarism which have bound all Europe.

However that may be, let us look at

FIRST IN WAR FIRST IN PEACE ?

The German Overtures

the German move in relation to certain working principles which have become more and more clearly defined as the peace movement has gained headway. In the first place, we find the German note criticized in newspaper parlance as so much "bunk" intended for public consumption. There is at least a kernel of truth here. The overtures *are* public. They break with the old traditions of conventional, cautious diplomacy which have kept the Washington administration from risking an open failure by calling a conference of neutrals, by publicly asking the belligerent countries to state their terms, or by itself proposing an initial basis for coming together. They break with the precedent of the negotiations leading up to the settlement of the Russian-Japanese war—a settlement, incidentally, which ended a particular war in the East, but left no security as against future wars there; rather, left a situation which, as Chinese leaders tell us, may in the end turn the Chinese from a pacifist to a military people and give a new content to the "Yellow Peril." Such secret diplomacy wholly disregarded public opinion in Russia as a force to be reckoned with by the Russian government in deciding whether it would or would not parley. The new peace movements ground their faith on the people back of the governments.

IN the second place, leaving all questions of terms aside, the German move opens way for negotiation rather than military advantage as a method of settlement. This, in the new view, is fundamental. The "lockjaw," as Stephen Phillips called it, of trench warfare has had its counterpart in men's minds. When the Allies have been losing ground, as in the Russian invasion and as now in Rumania, peace movements in America have been denounced by the English and French press as an ill-concealed attempt to give Germany the spoils of a temporary victory. When the Allies have made gains, as in breaking the German offensive at Verdun or in forcing the German lines on the Somme, the peace movement has been attacked as an attempt to save Germany from a thrashing.

There has been a natural cause for this feeling, aside from the widespread conviction among English and French people that they are fighting for liberty

and democracy and that if this war is not won by the complete defeat of the Germans the fight is lost for all civilization. Candid English visitors to this country within the past year—members of Parliament and others—have freely said that they did not believe Germany could be invaded. But they have pointed out that any government in Paris or London which took steps to bring peace, or to start negotiations, would be thrown out over night by the extreme war party. The same has at different times been true in Berlin. The question is how far the German government—more strongly entrenched than any of the others, and buttressed by recent success at arms—will break this tension all around and create a situation in which all of the war cabinets will have to put their cards on the table. Only recently did Englishmen and Frenchmen learn explicitly from a statement in the Russian *duma* that one of the goals they were fighting for was the turning over of Constantinople to Russia.

In an address this last week before the conference of oppressed nationalities in Washington, Prof. Thomas pointed out that in the old polity of international relations—which has had its culmination in the present world war—each country has had to work out efficiency and national cohesion or go down. The crudest, cheapest, easiest force to bind people together is enmity of another people. Thus we had—in each country at the outbreak of this war the visualization of some other country as aggressor; the defense of the homeland and its ideals as the watchword; the fanning of hatred; the blurring of specific ends.

A different situation will present itself when such affirmative ends are wrested from the silence of governing groups and spread before the people; set forth specifically enough so that they may be compared with the claims, however exaggerated, of the other side. Such a situation gives hope of the development, in open discussion, of great modes of civil opinion which will prove as effective as the Von Tirpitz and Northcliffe groups have been in the dark. Such a situation changes the basis of settlement from temporary military advantage to what a whole people are willing to fight for to the limit.

IN other words, such a situation may lead to a war of attrition—not of men and munitions, but of public policies. If we are to heed the constructive peace movements, the solvent of conflicting territorial and other claims rests not in weighing one against the other, the force back of one against the force back of the other, but in lifting the plane of settlement to a new and larger level. Thus the Allies are struggling, Mr. Asquith said in his Guild Hall speech

(Continued on page 317)



A WORKINGMEN'S EVENING CLASS IN AMERICANIZATION

Staying After School

By Harold O. Berg

SUPERVISOR EXTENSION DEPARTMENT, BOARD OF SCHOOL DIRECTORS, MILWAUKEE

OUT in Milwaukee they do not spend much time in discussing the question of "the ideal community center" nor do they debate whether centers should be municipally financed or supported by membership dues, whether the emphasis should be placed upon recreation, upon education, or upon civic and forum activities, whether to cater to the young people hoping that their presence will sooner or later attract the parents, or vice versa. The great question in Milwaukee has been how to get the school open at night for recreation purposes and keep it open.

The subject of recreation is really a question of leisure. Some people want to spend their leisure otherwise than at games and entertainments. Therefore, with this conception of filling in leisure time by wholesome recreation, semi-educational in nature, seven Milwaukee schools and one special building are at present being used as social centers, while nine others are open for evening schools which may conduct recreational activities.

The wider use of the school plant was achieved by a state law which authorizes boards of education to establish and maintain evening schools, social centers, library branches, etc., by means of a special 2 by 10 mill tax, provided the question passes a referendum of the people. Milwaukee adopted the policy of using its schools for social centers, believing that supervision of recreation is an educational problem and that civic economy demands a more open use of the public schools. The school house is usually the neighborhood center from a geographic standpoint. It ought also to be the focal point of the neighborhood from a civic and community standpoint.

A social center housed in the school building has at its command hundreds of the world's best advertisers—children. Each social center in Milwaukee issues a weekly newspaper which is carried into the homes by the children of the regular

day school, and thereby proves itself a marvelous connecting link between the school and the home—a link sadly missing in many educational systems.

Each of Milwaukee's three full-time centers, which are open five afternoons and six evenings a week, is under a director who devotes his whole time to the work, either in actual charge of the center or in studying the places of amusement and housing conditions. The part-time centers, those open only four evenings a week, are directed by day-school principals, paid according to attendance. This plan arouses greater effort to attract the community to the center. Indeed some of the principals have developed the work to such a degree that the school board has now authorized a full-time assistant for the social and the organization end.

The varied kinds of activities, the different ages and types of people dealt with, make the selection of all these workers a matter of extreme importance. The success of a class or a club depends not only upon the ingenuity and the brains of the one in charge, but, to a great extent, upon his heart and soul. Hence the supervisor who is allowed to select his assistants on the basis of personality plus training and experience is far more able to surround himself with a capable, desirable corps than the one who must confine his selection to a civil service list of those measuring up to rather stereotype qualifications.

Contrary to general opinion, the schoolhouses were easily adapted to social center work. The assembly halls were fitted for athletic games and gymnasium work by screening windows and lights, stripping the floors for indoor baseball, basket ball and volley ball. The working boys of Milwaukee are not found to be particularly fond of formal gymnastics after a hard day's work, so athletic games are featured. The girls have shown a distinct inclination for club, wand and dumb-

bell drills, aesthetic dancing and folk dancing. In the gymnasium classes and athletic games segregation is at all times maintained with the exception of the boys' match games on Friday night, to which girl spectators are admitted.

In this same hall dancing classes and socials are held on Saturday evenings, the banner night for the low-class dance hall with which the center is competing. These socials are not public and the halls are closely supervised. No one is admitted unless known to the director or introduced to him and vouched for by someone whom the director knows. A register is kept of everyone attending the dances. A young man leaving the building is asked to take his hat and coat and is not allowed to return that evening. This regulation discourages going out for a smoke or for refreshments. The dancing is made self-supporting by a nominal charge of five cents for the dancing class and ten cents for the social.

Hallowe'en parties, Japanese parties, St. Patrick's parties and the like are often given to increase the attendance at these Saturday evening centers. During the past year the crowds grew so large that it became necessary to limit the attendance to three hundred at each of the various centers, and to open for dancing six other schools, making thirteen in all.

Both the aged grandfather and the infant asleep in his go-cart are found in the audience at the bi-weekly five-cent entertainments of moving pictures, dramatic, literary, and musical numbers which are given by neighborhood talent. It is planned to conduct these entertainments under ideal conditions, each school being furnished with one of the best moving-picture machines on the market, large stages with curtains, and footlights. To meet the fire ordinance the moving-picture machines are housed in concrete booths. Since one of the great evils of the moving-picture show and the public theater is the promiscuous seating of the audience, segregation is carried out at the entertainments by reserving one section for parents and their children, escorted and unescorted girls, and another section for men and boys. No children under fourteen years of age are admitted unless accompanied by their parents, with whom they are required to sit.

The common practice of allowing dancing after an enter-



GAMES FOR THE YOUNGER ONES

tainment is strictly forbidden, since a dance following a public performance means a public dance. A small charge of five cents makes a more appreciative audience and places some of the expense where it partially belongs.

Every Saturday afternoon entertainments are given for the school children. One cent is charged, and the receipts are used to defray the cost of the moving pictures and musician. The large attendances have made two entertainments an afternoon necessary, one for the boys and one for the girls. Three films are shown and the remainder of the program consists of story telling and other numbers that appeal especially to children.

Over two hundred dollars has been spent for slides on geographical and historic topics. The children of the neighborhood schools are given a special invitation to attend these entertainments when the stereopticon or moving-picture numbers pertain to any particular topic which they are studying. The center then becomes an auxiliary of the regular school work.

This spring, by a unanimous vote of the school board, the assembly halls of all schools were opened for political meetings during the municipal campaign, and the results were such that the school board again opened them during the state and national campaign.

Thus the assembly halls, as a rule the most expensive but least used rooms of our schools, are virtually in use every evening of the week.

The basements of the schools are partitioned off into rooms and made pleasant by whitewashing the walls, painting the cement floors and brilliantly lighting with electricity. Where not enough basement rooms are available, class rooms are used. Desks are screwed in threes to wooden strips, or runners, making it easy to slide them into the corridor so that the room can be used for dancing, sewing or debating. One of these rooms is then used as a library or reading room, and has, in my estimation, a far greater future than the isolated library. The patrons of a library, as a rule, are readers. Rarely does an individual—a non-reader—drop in to make a survey or to satisfy his curiosity. But the participation by an individual in his favorite pastime other than reading in a building containing library features will make it easy to bring him to the reading room. The books are furnished by the public library. The librarian tries to cooperate with the regular day school in directing the reading of the children along historical, geographical and literary lines.

Certain periods are set aside for story telling. With the cooperation of the public museum, courses are given in birds, Indian life, minerals, etc. Every library is furnished with a phonograph. The school board has purchased \$500 worth of records. An effort is made to acquaint the children with the



ONE OF THE POPULAR POOL-TABLES

great musical artists, composers and compositions, the different kinds of musical instruments, the different musical combinations—duets, trios, quartets, etc.—in short, the object of the course is to create a love and understanding of good music. The prevailing foreign language of the neighborhood is catered to through books and periodicals.

One room is equipped with three pool tables. Since no boys under sixteen are admitted, the frequenters of this room are usually already expert in the game. It is generally crowded—so crowded that one principal recently asked for bleachers. The pool tables are the connecting link between the neighborhood gangs and the center.

To maintain interest in the minor games such as dominoes, checkers, various card games, parchesi, odd pins and the like, there are bi-weekly center tournaments and monthly inter-center tournaments.

The "rough-house room" has its lights and windows protected by screens, and here the boys and girls work off some of their superfluous energy in the low-organized games, requiring little skill and team work and much energy. Even the toughest boy is relieved by this play and becomes transformed into a peaceable and docile citizen.

As a club room for organizations such as science clubs, boy scouts, camp-fire girls, athletic clubs, mothers' clubs, news-boys' clubs, afternoon and evening sewing classes, millinery classes, etc., a sixth room is fitted up. Some day this may be used as a smoking room for the men, with settees and arm-chairs in the adjoining corridors.

The spacious kindergarten room is used for the adult glee clubs, dramatic clubs, orchestras, bands and civic clubs which may meet in the building. Young people of talent—literary, dramatic, musical, etc., have been taken thus from meeting-places not conducive to the best morals.

Every person entering the center is directed to a wardrobe room by the doorkeeper. Here outer hats and wraps are

checked without charge. Relieving a person of his outer garments in this manner has a tendency to make him feel more at home and to induce him to prolong his evening visit.

In the same building are conducted evening classes in English for foreigners. One center had an attendance of three hundred such students. Naturalization classes are also conducted. Milwaukee contains hundreds of men who have not taken out their second papers and who dread the ordeal of the examination required. They welcome the opportunity to be instructed in the lines of elementary history and civics. These evening classes serve as a nucleus for the organization of various clubs.

At the end of the social center season, each center holds a closing banquet for all the members of its organized activities. This year a total of over three thousand sat down at the various banquet boards on Saturday evening, April 29. Addresses were made by prominent citizens, numbers were rendered by the center dramatic, literary and musical clubs, and the evening closed with dancing.

This year the dramatic clubs and musical organizations united in two grand concerts—twenty-four organizations, composed of 491 persons, participating. The combined audiences numbered eighteen hundred.

Too often young people go to ruin because of parents' implicit faith in them and readiness to believe their accounts of where they spend their evenings and the kinds of recreation offered them. To prevent young people from using the social center as a dodge, cards are issued to those whose parents demand them, upon which the doorkeeper writes the director's name, the name of the young man or woman who is asking for it, the date, the hour of his or her arrival and the hour of leaving. Thus any parent may know the exact whereabouts of his son or daughter. This is freely advertised in the newspapers and is mentioned to the parents at all entertainments.

"Come Out of the Kitchen"

By Mary Ray

MINNEAPOLIS BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH

Wanted: Women with experience in politics to organize caucuses throughout States preliminary to spring primaries.

Wanted: Women with secretarial and political experience to accompany women candidates on campaign tours; experience in public speaking also desirable.

Wanted: Woman secretary for East End Woman's Club with practical understanding of municipal government and ability to present voters' problems.

ADVERTISEMENTS of this and like nature represent the future needs of our nation when the doors of political life are swung open to women. With the enfranchisement of the women of the United States will come the demand for capable and politically tutored organizers of the feminine electorate.

The wide-awake women, now on the firing line of the suffrage movement, once the battle is won, will have to work strenuously to educate politically the newly made, lukewarm voters. Equal-suffrage propagandists of today must become the leaders of the enfranchised host of tomorrow.

First among the activities of such leadership comes an educational campaign. Thousands will need instruction as to the fundamental powers and functions of government—national, state and local—as to the basic issues represented by rival

parties, as to the factors involved in communal problems, and as to the personal capabilities and political inclinations of those in the limelight of politics. The channels for such instruction will be the press and the platform. Second comes the organization of the women into effective voting units. This means holding caucuses to put forward candidates and to arouse enthusiasm for the success of issues. Are there the suffrage enthusiasts sufficient in number or fitted by training to inaugurate an educational campaign of such dimensions and to set going the wheels of complicated yet centralized organization? Great ardor for the cause or extensive reading in the field do not suffice. Mere enthusiasts or political or economic theorists will not answer. What is needed is actual contact with public officials, work with departments of government, and a first-hand knowledge of the administration of public affairs. Where is it possible to obtain such training today?

On the top floor of one of the tallest buildings of Minneapolis, commanding a view of the length and breadth of that metropolitan, prosperous Western city and immediately overlooking the City Hall, is the Bureau of Municipal Research—a part of the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association.

The purpose of this bureau is to promote efficient and economical government in the city of Minneapolis and in the county of Hennepin. To this end the bureau is endeavoring, through cooperation with public officials, to secure the adoption of scientific methods of accounting and administration, and to collect, classify, analyze, correlate and interpret data with reference to the conduct of public affairs.

In cooperation with the public, and in its behalf, the bureau is attempting to secure constructive publicity in matters pertaining to municipal problems and so to interpret the facts as to secure popular confidence in the activities of officials and a more intelligent support for legitimate municipal projects and administration. It acts as a clearing-house and point of contact between the citizens and their public servants.

For women, here is the oasis for political experience in a desert of political inexperience. Here young women are employed to work independently or with other members of the staff in various city departments. They are allowed a portion of their time to supplement this practical training with reading to learn from students in public service and from the experiences of other cities. They give their time gratis for the first few months in return for the training they receive. A few examples may show more concretely the work and its connection with the entrance of women into public life.

For two months this summer, one of the young women helped in the compilation of the city budget and attended hearings before the Board of Tax Levy which acts upon the budget. It was the most scientific statement of the city's financial requests ever prepared. Budgets for national, state and municipal expenditures are sorely needed today. A segregated budget means economy instead of extravagance, and financial responsibility and the proper use of funds instead of financial irresponsibility and graft. May it not be that women will put up and win the fight for budgeting public expenditures?

Another woman served as secretary of the Citizens' Milk Committee. This committee of thirty public-spirited citizens, representative of both consumer and producer, prepared an ordinance on milk which is to be submitted to the City Council shortly. It is considered the model for the country. Here is experience in legislation, both drafting and passing, that would be useful to those who aspire to sit in our lawmaking bodies. Likewise, here is experience in organization, for the secretary divided the committee into sub-committees and then unified their action for a common end.

Young women are participating in the surveys and constructive work for several city departments. In this way they learn not only the A B C's but also the X Y Z's of departmental administration. Moreover, they become acquainted with the latest business methods and know by experience the principles and administrative details that make for efficiency and economy.

They discover how to collect and make useful information



The self-release of woman: an interpretation of the age-long struggle as conceived by Tyra Kleen, the Swedish painter who is now in the United States.

relative to civic administration. For instance, different kinds of ordinances are indexed and kept up to date. Again, questionnaires are prepared and sent out. The information obtained is put together in such a way that the mistakes and merits of one city as compared with others are evident at a glance. In other words, the women are taught where and how to obtain accurate information and in what ways to present the information that it may be easily intelligible. This kind of training would be particularly useful to those on whom the burden of educating the voter-fledglings will fall.

For practice in public speaking it is planned to require each woman to give weekly a twenty-minute speech before the staff. When they are deemed proficient, they will be used to give talks before women's clubs. This will bring the city's problems directly before interested groups, and will be a part of the general constructive publicity of the bureau.

Leaving aside the question of suffrage for a moment, we may consider other lines of work in which public-service training would be useful. A most striking feature of the trend of political thought and action is the constant cooperation of the citizens with the government through various organizations. Ballot associations, educational associations, legal aid societies, civil service reform leagues, foundations for special research, housing reform associations, civic clubs, health associations, commercial organizations, recreation associations, societies for the reform of the judiciary, local improvement associations and tax associations, all welcome the services of those with expert knowledge of the structure and operations of government. There is high reward for special training and intimate dealing with administrative problems. Women with such knowledge have, therefore, a large unexplored field before them.

THE SANDWICH-MAN

By Lucy Jackson

WHAT makes this glow in the sordid street?
In coat and cap of gorgeous yellow
This is indeed a splendid fellow!
Splendid?—perhaps,—but look at his feet.

His boots are now mere shreds of leather;
And under the cap, unshaved and weary
His face peers out, eyes pale and bleary.
God knows, between him and the weather

There's little more than the boards he wears,
As he shambles along, remote from it all!
"To-night! Eight sharp! Fifty cents! At The Hall!
A supper and dance! One flight upstairs."

WOOD CARVINGS OF A PEASANT LAD



THE CHRISTENING

SELF-TAUGHT, starting life as a joiner, Axel Peterson, a Swedish boy of lowly birth, took to carving for his own amusement. Little figures, gaunt and gloomy or stout and sunny, village types as he found them ready to hand, he carved in crude, unconventional fashion. Then groups—weddings, games, christenings, funerals, trials and the like, incidents in the common life of the common folk—came from his talented hand. In the ugly irregularity of his method there is something peculiarly suggestive of the hardship and monotony of the life of plain people. These wood carvings, which were part of the Swedish art exhibition shown at the Pan-American Exposition at San Francisco, are now being shown in a traveling exhibit in various cities from coast to coast.



THE VILLAGE TRIAL

Democratizing Social Welfare Efforts

By John Melpolder

GENERAL SECRETARY, SOCIAL SERVICE BUREAU OF WAYNE COUNTY, INDIANA

THERE are some people who give freely of their time and money to further the interests of social welfare; there are those who give only of their money, but depend upon others to give their time; and there are those who give neither of time nor of money, through lack of vital interest in social welfare.

Now social welfare work benefits all in the community. So there are those who earn what social benefits they and others receive; those who purchase at list-price or at a discount what benefits they receive by free delivery; and those who are wholly beneficiaries of their fellow citizens' sense of social responsibility. In other words, we have ideal citizens, paying citizens, and dependent citizens.

It is not necessary for this purpose to put into approximate figures the relative numbers of citizens constituting these three groups in the average community, for it is well known that the first group of ideal citizens is usually very small, that the second group of paying citizens is somewhat larger, and that the third group of voluntary social dependents is composed of the great mass of the people.

When we consider the dangers of pauperizing a community, our minds jump at once at those unfortunates who through promiscuous almsgiving have been encouraged to become social dependents. But what about the pauperizing of our well-conditioned people who remain, voluntarily and without compunction, dependent upon the small group of public-spirited citizens for their social welfare relief? The time has come to point out definitely that not only the applicant for charitable relief presents an abnormal social phenomenon, but also in the same degree does the prosperous man, "concentred all in self,"

" . . . With soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native"—town.

When we speak of organizing the community forces for social welfare, we usually have in mind the organizing of that little group of social workers, both paid and unpaid, who are already hard at work to improve the community. We point out to these workers the waste in money, time and effort involved in individual and limited group enterprises, and we demand that these workers get together, that they cooperate, federate, centralize their activities.

Not Fans but Players

WE THINK of organization in this respect as we do of the organization of a baseball team. We want coordination, team play, *esprit de corps*. But we lose sight of the one important fact that social welfare work is not to be the task of the few players out in the field while the thousands of fans in the grandstand and in the bleachers are to be solely engaged in exercising their vocal organs; but that social welfare work is to be the work of the community, for the community and by the community; in other words, a community enterprise.

What needs to be done, then, is to organize the community itself for community welfare, to democratize social welfare efforts, to bring together into one united force the

present workers with the shirkers, who are not now a force, but a load. What we want the public to get away from is the idea that social welfare work is the pet enterprise of an aristocracy of superior social intelligence, of an oligarchy of altruistic social uplifters. This can be done only by developing every individual and group interest into the common cause of a community enterprise for social welfare.

We boast of our democracy, but it must be admitted that there is nothing so undemocratic in our community life as our individualistic and haphazard efforts for social welfare. Exception to this statement may be taken by a director of some social welfare organization, who considers himself as serving a democratic movement in a representative capacity. But if such a director will figure out the percentage of the adult population in his community that contributes to his organization, which usually does not exceed 5 per cent, and if he will then compute the percentage of this 5 per cent that was in attendance at the annual meeting at which he was elected a director, which most likely was less than 5 per cent of the contributors—then he will begin to realize that he actually represents this so-called democratic movement by virtue of the choice of 5 per cent of the community, or of about two-tenths of 1 per cent of the population, or of about two out of every one thousand persons in his town.

The Pet Family Charity

HOWEVER, even such a group enterprise has possibilities of expansion into a democratic movement, unless it is managed by a close corporation of fossilized directors who consider that they have preempted the field. But the most undemocratic and the most hopeless situation presents itself in that of the pet charity of some particular family that wishes its benevolence to remain distinctive and exclusive, and therefore will not permit its interests to lose their individuality by being incorporated with the common cause of a community enterprise.

Such an individual project represents the aristocratic attitude of wanting to do things *for* people. It is a survival of the spirit of a benevolent feudalism, which is considered quite proper even in democratic America by those who act on the principle that rank imposes obligation upon *others*. Such a family says, in actions, if not in so many words, "This enterprise is ours, was established by us, and is being largely [or entirely] maintained by us; therefore, we reserve the right to stipulate for all time the conditions upon which this work shall be conducted." When such a family affair thwarts the community will and prevents or upsets community enterprise and control, then immediate advantages should be considered only in their bearing upon true and ultimate values.

The time has come when social work must cease to be a self-imposed task of the few, and must become the crystallization of the community conscience, the expression of community aspirations. The few must reach the conclusions, and act upon those conclusions: that the pioneer work has practically been finished; that the principles, aims and methods are pretty well understood; and that if their value is not thoroughly

appreciated by all, it is due to the fact that many have had no part in the work, have not learned to do by doing.

The time has come when the relatively small group of present workers must no longer occupy a place above or beyond the community, but behind the community, pushing the community into action, and shooting over the heads of the community with their larger-caliber guns only when serious difficulties cannot be overcome except by this method. The success of a social welfare undertaking is not to be judged solely by the results, but also by the number that helped to accomplish these results. A social task crudely performed, but performed by the community is infinitely more effective than the same task performed exclusively by a few trained social workers and their directors with the technical skill and finesse of modern scientific social welfare methods.

But is community action really possible? Can a community ever be considered in fact, as in ideal conception, as an entity possessing a conscience and a will, and capable of clear thinking, logical reasoning and sane acting, such as the development of social welfare work requires? Isn't the community, after all, composed of such various elements, each of them controlled by such special interests, that its citizenship has collectively nothing in common but its corporate name and boundaries? In relation to social welfare work, it must be admitted that a comprehensive social program cannot be drafted that will receive the unanimous approval and support of all in the community. Neither can a proper sequence of social welfare activities be hoped for even when one effort at a time be considered and undertaken.

But one community effort at a time is possible when the importance of such an effort for the moment at least appeals to the community, and that is the one fact to be considered to the exclusion of all others in the development of social welfare work as a community enterprise. When we speak therefore of organizing the community forces for social welfare, we really mean the focusing of the community's attention upon some particular community problem and the organizing of the community to solve that problem. Back of it all, of course, remains that group of social welfare promoters and engineers engaged in surveying the situation, collecting and compiling the data, agitating the question, organizing the forces, and reducing to a practical working basis the desires of the community, but at all times maintaining a democratic working relationship with the community.

Roman Candles Fizzle

BUT HOW can the community be induced to express itself? The first step invariably suggested to obtain such an expression is to call a citizens' mass meeting, with the usual spectacle of a citizens' mass formation reduced to the scattered ranks of the few social welfare veterans accompanied by their wives or husbands in honor of this special occasion. Now if this were a political affair, a drum corps, a parade, roman candles, and a silver-tongued orator would be considered indispensable. Or if this were a religious affair, a specially built tabernacle, a sawdust trail, a chorus of several hundred trained voices, and a Billy Monday would be depended upon to attract and to inspire the mass. But this is a civic affair, *i. e.*, an affair combining politics and religion in their broadest and most beneficent aspects; therefore, such methods would be inappro-

priate—with the result that the mass fails to materialize.

Now such a failure is usually interpreted as a lack of public interest in social welfare, whereas it should be accepted as a failure on the part of the promoters to comprehend the one simple fact that any show would meet with failure without a long and painstaking period of rehearsals before the opening night. No sooner is one political contest settled than the organization work for the next is at once undertaken; while a Billy Monday requires a long period of preparatory stage settings, his unique and world-wide reputation notwithstanding. The fact is that a mass meeting is usually the last thing to be thought of to obtain a popular expression or to arouse a general interest in an undertaking for social welfare.

Reaching "the Silent Vote"

FOR THREE or more decades social workers have been engaged in social welfare laboratory work, and they have been the chief sources of social betterment information and inspiration. Often they have been compelled to fight their battles single-handed, because they departed from old, established beliefs, customs and methods. As a result they are ever subject to criticism, and, being humanitarians, these social workers are sensitive to this criticism from those whom they seek to serve. So it often happens that these social workers pay more attention to their critics than to those who represent what has come to be known in politics as "the great silent vote." The silent vote is the vote of that great middle class which at all times has furnished the sane and practical thinkers and workers for any cause. Neither spectacular nor exclusive methods appeal to this sensible type of citizenship, but a cause that assumes the character and dignity of a democratic community enterprise and that presents a practical solution for a serious community problem will receive their backing and cooperation. Through them the community must be reached. But how can they be reached?

Commercial clubs have their committees on health and public welfare; central labor unions have their civic committees; ministerial associations, denominations, churches and church societies have their social service committees and classes, some of them using even specially prepared text-books and manuals; the lodge spirit is going beyond the restrictions of a limited lodge brotherhood; even the practical politician has much to say these days about social justice, and the social worker receives now a far more ready cooperation from public officials than heretofore; while the public press, of course, remains as one of the most important social welfare agencies. These are the forces that help to socialize the community and these are the forces that are ready for the social welfare promoter, to be organized and help to put over any social betterment effort as a community enterprise.

It is immaterial what the first community undertaking for social welfare may be. It may be a clean-up and health campaign, an investigation into housing or vice conditions, the establishment of social centers in the public schools, parks and playgrounds, or a tuberculosis hospital. Whatever the first undertaking, the all-important thing is that the community's attention is being focused upon some particular phase of social welfare work, that the community is being put to work, and out of this one community effort other efforts naturally develop.

The Health of Social Workers

Some Results of Medical Examinations

By Joseph J. Weber

NEW YORK STATE CHARITIES AID ASSOCIATION

IN the belief that there were possibilities of working out certain common office problems in the United Charities Building in New York city, through a cooperative committee, several of the larger organizations in the building turned their attention to the medical examination of their employes and its bearing upon their health and the efficiency which comes only with good health.

Several of the organizations already had some policy of medical examinations. Just what were these policies? How did they work? Were the results helpful alike to employes and organizations? In order to obtain comparable data, a uniform questionnaire was filled out by five social service agencies—the State Charities Aid Association, the Charity Organization Society, Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, Russell Sage Foundation, and Survey Associates, Inc.

The questionnaire included the general character of the examination, its result and the physician's report; the frequency of the examinations; the desirability of having the employe examined by his private physician; the responsibility of the employer in seeing that the treatment prescribed is carried out; the measures taken to safeguard the health of the employe as a result of the examination; the number of days lost because of illness, and the cost of medical examinations to the organization.

In one organization the policy of medical examination had been in force four years and seven months at the time this study was made; in three, over three years; and in one, exactly one year.

Their experience shows clearly that it is best to have prospective employes take the medical examination before they are engaged. Where this is impossible, the engagement is made subject to the results of the examination. In this way, if markedly unfavorable physical conditions are found, the chief executive of the organization, in conference with its medical examiner, can determine whether the person may be given some form of work other than that originally assigned him, or whether it would be better to advise him to seek elsewhere for employment that would not be detrimental to his health.

All organizations definitely urge that the examination be made by the organization's medical examiner. They do this for three reasons: It insures an examination by an expert general diagnostician. Many physicians skilled in treatment are not first-class diagnosticians; in the absence of accurate diagnosis, subsequent treatment does little good and may even do positive injury.

The "Company" Physician

IN THE SECOND PLACE, the examination will be made by a physician who, as one of his chief duties, has acquainted himself with the nature of the work of the organization he serves and the demands which it makes upon the health and strength of its employes—acquaintance which ripens with time and with constant contact with the work of the organization and its employes; whereas the employe, in going to his own physi-

cian, often either fails to give him this information as fully and accurately as he should, or, though he may realize the necessity of giving it, finds himself unable to do so for lack of exact data.

Finally, examination by the organization doctor spells uniformity of data valuable for purposes of statistical comparison. In the absence at present of any generally used uniform medical terminology, the practice of allowing private physicians to make the examinations and render reports makes uniformity of record exceedingly difficult and at times impossible. When, however, employes express a strong preference, four of the organizations permit an examination by the employe's personal physician, if approved by the executive head. Under these circumstances, the societies ask the employe to explain to his doctor fully the nature of his work and the demands which it makes upon his health and strength; they ask the physician to make any recommendations concerning the nature of the employe's work that seem to him desirable. An effort is also made to secure as uniform data as possible by having the physician report his findings, diagnosis and recommendations for treatment upon the organization's uniform record card.

Frequency of Examination

UP TO THE TIME of the completion of this study, none of these organizations required more than the initial examination, unless conditions were revealed that called for further study, occasional examinations or careful watching, or unless the employe showed symptoms of a breakdown, loss of energy or suffered from persistent colds. They are beginning, however, to realize that it is not sufficient protection, either to the workers or to themselves, to have employes examined only at the time they enter upon employment.

Since this study was made, one organization has adopted the principle of giving all permanent employes (those who have rendered six months or more of service) of more than 50 years of age, a yearly examination; those 40 to 50 years, an examination every two years; those under 40, an examination every three years. Exceptions, of course, are those cases needing more frequent observation. Another organization requires all employes over 40 to be examined yearly, while employes under 40 years are examined at intervals of two years, unless in any twelve-month period they have been absent on account of illness for ten days, when they receive a further examination.

Experience shows that employes are generally willing to take the examinations, even if at times it involves personal inconvenience. They see the value to themselves and their obligation to do all they can to keep themselves ready for efficient service.

The organizations make it clear to their employes that none will be discharged by reason of any physical condition requiring attention, unless such condition seriously interferes with their usefulness, or unless a change of work is advisable in the interest of their own health.

The examinations, in general, include a medical history, a

general physical inspection, including weight, height, age, temperature and pulse; examination of the heart, lungs, kidneys and other organs; upper air passages and teeth; special senses, including the use of the ophthalmoscope; and, finally, routine laboratory tests. The medical examiner of one organization includes in his general physical examination tests for blood pressure. The medical examiners of the four other organizations give blood pressure tests in instances where indications show they are advisable, as, for example, where there are symptoms of heart or kidney disease.

The results of these examinations may be briefly summarized. A total of 551 employes in the five societies referred to were examined—521 by the medical examiner of the organization, 30 by the employes' private physicians. These employes may be roughly divided into three age groups: under 21 years; 21 through 35 years; and over 35 years. The group 21 through 35 years had the largest number of actual cases of sickness or defects, 188 cases being reported from this group.

Most Diseases Preventable

PROMINENT among the reports may be noted first, the cardiac diseases, 39 cases; anemia, 36; tuberculosis, in all forms, 34; defective vision, 32. Affections of nose and throat were found in 21 cases; nervous tension and overwork in 16; defective hearing in 12; syphilis in 3. Occasional cases of tuberculous glandular disease, floating kidney, foot weakness, and spinal trouble were discovered. There was one case of mild gas-poisoning and one of melancholia. But the large majority of illnesses were of the preventable type, especially if given attention in their early stages.

Just what the practice of medical examinations means, can perhaps best be made clear by brief sketches of several different types of cases:

Miss Z, a clerk, was found to be suffering from extreme anemia. A tonic was recommended and faithfully taken, with marked results in improved health. In the spring and fall of the year, moreover, Miss Z also suffered from sore throat, which often kept her from the office. Upon examination the doctor recommended the removal of her tonsils. An operation was successfully performed and she has not been obliged to remain away from her duties since on account of throat difficulties.

Mr. X "had a cold." That he was really suffering from incipient tuberculosis would not have been discovered had he not been examined under the organization's system of medical examination. He was allowed a six months' leave of absence to go to a sanatorium. He returned with the disease completely arrested.

Miss C was found upon examination to have valvular disease of the heart. She was advised by the doctor to be extremely careful in her method of living, to avoid all hurry and overstrain. In order that she might carry out this advice, an immediate change in her work was effected.

Miss D was found by the medical examiner to have tuberculous glands. These with the tonsils were removed. She then took a three months' rest and at once began to show marked improvement in health. Now, after less than a year, she has gained considerably in weight and is in fine physical condition.

The findings of the medical examinations have led some of the organizations not only to assign employes to a different

kind of work in the organization, but, occasionally, employes have been advised to seek employment elsewhere, to secure a change in the character of their work. One organization, aside from medical treatment, has been led to give more continuous and specific attention to signs of overwork and to give vacations and make temporary changes in duty when apparently needed. Another has moved into offices having more light and in which it has better control of ventilation. Still another has established a lunchroom which practically meets all of its expenses. Special menus, selected from the standpoint of food value and economy, are prepared from day to day by a trained dietitian.

With regard to the responsibility of the employe in carrying out the physician's instructions, the organizations have found that, once the employe is instructed what to do, the responsibility should rest with him.

The cards and correspondence containing the findings, diagnoses and recommendations of the physicians are held in strictest confidence and are kept under lock and key in the offices of the chief executives. Where necessary, important suggestions derived from the medical examiner's report are brought by the chief executive to the attention of the head of the department in which the employe works, and such instructions given as are deemed wise, based on the recommendations of the physician. In order to keep an accurate record of the dates on which its employes are expected to take their periodical examinations, one organization has found it convenient to maintain a card catalog of the names of its employes, alphabetically arranged in a classification by months.

Health Bookkeeping

IN OTHER WORDS, a technique has been gradually built up in these organizations, which has gained by the process of comparing the experience outlined in this report. Yet even in these organizations health bookkeeping and supervision has still a very considerable distance to go before it approaches the financial record-keeping of these same societies. For example, only one organization could give the total number of days' work done by male and female employes, both temporary and permanent, during a calendar year and the total number of days lost on account of sickness by male and female employes during that year. Even in the one exception the total number of days' work done by the male and female employes was not given separately. During 1915 the employes of this organization did 607,176 days' work. Ten days were lost by male employes, of whom there were 42, or roughly two hours a year per individual; and 632 days were lost by female employes, of whom there were 176, or roughly 3½ days per individual. The importance of such health work, from the administration no less than the social standpoint to organizations largely served by women, seems clear.

That the medical examination of the employes of these five organizations has been the means of forestalling many a serious illness as well as of giving increased efficiency, resulting not only in lessened suffering but in a saving of expense far exceeding its actual cost, cannot be doubted. Surely some such plan would be of value to every large social service organization and even to smaller agencies through cooperative action.



COMMON WELFARE

THE WOMEN'S PEACE PROGRAM FOR 1917

IT was not so much the words that were said as the women who said them which made memorable the second annual meeting of the Woman's Peace Party, held in Washington, December 8-10.

At one small gathering were the five women whose influence is perhaps the most powerful in the country—Jane Addams, presiding officer of the conference; Florence Kelley, of the National Consumers' League; Julia C. Lathrop, of the Children's Bureau; Ella Flagg Young, former superintendent of Chicago schools; and Lillian D. Wald, of the Henry Street Settlement, New York city.

Business was the real reason the Woman's Peace Party foregathered in Washington. Therefore reports of local branches were the order of the day, ranging from New York city's showing of 1,500 members and a long list of activities to an account of a struggling western branch devoting its year's energy to getting a resolution against military training in schools through the State Federation of Women's Clubs.

Officers were elected, largely reelected, with the exception of Mrs. C. E. Cumberston, who will fill the place of vice-president which Mrs. William Kent resigns. Mrs. William I. Thomas will divide her time as executive secretary and as associate chairman to assist Miss Addams, the chairman.

Two sessions of the conference were devoted to the discussion of a congressional program for the year. The result was the adoption of thirteen propositions for sponsorship by the legislative committee. Part of the thirteen pertained to laws already passed or introduced—steps to be taken toward the repeal of the "draft" clause in the army reorganization bill and favorable action under the Hensley clause of the naval appropriation bill; toward securing an expression of the will of the people of the Danish West Indies before completion of the purchase of the islands and toward endorsement of the Susan B. Anthony suffrage amendment.

Other recommendations dealt with such new legislation to be urged as the creation of joint commissions representing Japan and the United States, and China and the United States, to meet issues arising between the Orient and America; the establishment of federal jurisdiction over alien residents in various states; and the formulation of the principle that foreign investments be made at the risk of the investor.

A few of the measures which the legislative committee will support were later embodied in resolutions covering the policy for the next year. Thus the party pledged its opposition to compulsory military service of citizens and to military training for minors, while the legislative committee will work to prevent the passage of any laws making such requirements. The party resolved, and the legislative committee will urge, that action be taken by the government to convene the third Hague conference at the earliest practicable moment.

Of particular timeliness was the resolution recommending that the next inaugural ceremony, instead of being a military pageant, represent the civic, social, educational, industrial, artistic and religious interests of the country.

Throughout the sessions of the conference, in the business routine, at the public mass meetings, in group discussion, the members of the Woman's Peace Party emphasized again and again their uncompromising attitude upon two principles. They condemned the disenfranchisement of women as delaying world peace, and with only a few dissenting voices placed their approval upon a constitutional amendment submitting the suffrage question to various state legislatures. And they condemned unanimously all attempts to menace social, industrial and political liberties by forcing compulsory military service upon the United States.

Yet even if the Woman's Peace Party is not pushing preparedness, it is, as Jane Addams pointed out in opening the conference, "cherishing hopes for the nation just as patriotic. Because we have the best development of our country at heart," she said, "we work for peace."

STUDENT DIPLOMATS OF THE AMERICAS

TO have the young men and women of Mexico and the United States walking about the campuses of our universities together, discussing sociology and history, assimilating the same ideas, would do more than any one other thing, the Friends feel, toward establishing harmony between Mexico and America.

The education of Chinese students through the income of the Boxer indemnity fund returned to the Chinese by the United States government some years ago, and the great Cecil Rhodes foundation, both contemplate a broader international policy. It was some similar arrangement with Mexico that the Peace Committee of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends had in mind when it sent a letter to the presidents of 508 institutions of higher learning in the United States. As a result, 47 colleges and universities are offering scholarships to Mexican students and all the answers are friendly and encouraging.

Stanley R. Yarnall, of the Friends School, Germantown, Pa., as chairman of the committee, has had eager replies concerning the plan from Andres Osuna, director general of public education for the Federal District of Mexico, in which Mexico City is located.

The committee is not yet entirely confident, in spite of the willingness of our universities to cooperate. Definite information with regard to Mexican preparatory schools is lacking. Consequently it has been suggested that a normal or agricultural or industrial institution to train leaders for the Mexicans might be more efficacious. On the contrary, the original letter from the Friends' Committee to college presidents in the United States read:

"The statement has been made to us on good authority that 'several of the students who finish their studies in such institutions as the Escuela Nacional Preparatorie of Mexico have both character and preparation to enter colleges. They are good men of about 18 years of age, with knowledge equivalent to the average high-school graduates of the

United States.' Further information in regard to Mexican candidates for entrance into our colleges and universities may be obtained from Señor Andres Osuna, Director General de Educacion Publica, Mexico, D. F."

The Quakers look forward to a great foundation such as the General Education Board, or the establishment by some wealthy man of a large number of really permanent Mexican scholarships. Moreover, they would begin an interchange of visits by bringing immediately a delegation of Mexican educators to the north.

THE HENSLEY CLAUSE AND DISARMAMENT

BEFORE a recent conference of peace societies in New York, Lillian D. Wald, speaking for the American Union Against Militarism, of which she is chairman, introduced a resolution urging all the organizations represented to agree that securing the widest publicity and the earliest possible action "on the so-called Hensley clause in the naval appropriations act of 1916" is of paramount importance in their work for the year ahead.

Who is Hensley and what has he to do with peace?

Walter L. Hensley, of Missouri, was one of the "anti-preparedness" minority in Congress last year, the small group of Democrats who followed Representatives Kitchin, of North Carolina, and Bailey, of Pennsylvania, in opposing the big armament plans of the majority. They were overwhelmed, Congress having voted the largest war-preparation budget ever adopted by any nation in time of peace—\$662,476,512 for army and navy in 1916 against \$461,830,459 by England and \$293,181,125 by Germany in the year before the war. And they failed of reelection or even renomination.

But they left their mark on page 71 of the naval appropriations act of 1916, which requests the President to call the nations together to discuss disarmament and to organize for peace. These paragraphs, according to leaders of the Union Against Militarism, may yet go down in history as the great achievement of the Sixty-fourth Congress.

The Hensley clause requests the President "to invite at an appropriate time, not later than the close of the war in Europe, all the great governments of the world to send representatives to a conference which shall be charged with the duty of formulating a plan for a court of arbitration or other tribunal, to which disputed questions between nations shall be referred for adjudication and peaceful settlement, and to consider the question of disarmament and submit their recommendations to their respective governments for approval."

It authorizes the appointment of nine

citizens to represent the United States at such a conference and appropriates \$200,000 to carry out the plan. And it provides that if such an international tribunal is established before the naval construction provided for in the act is contracted for, "such naval expenditure as may be inconsistent with the engagements made in the establishment of such tribunal . . . may be suspended" by order of the President.

This final provision is hedged about with "ifs," but nevertheless many who have carefully studied the bill believe it vitally important. David Lawrence, writing in the *New York Evening Post*, said that these provisions "bind the chief executive to a definite step in foreign policy," and further "it is entirely possible that much of the money authorized for naval construction may never be spent." [See the *SURVEY* for September 2.]

The American Union Against Militarism hails the Hensley clause as "congressional authority for scrapping the dreadnaughts before they are built." "Here, indeed," writes Crystal Eastman, executive secretary of the union, "is a new precedent in naval bills: 'We authorize you to build these ships, but we authorize you also to try to get the other nations to stop building theirs; if you succeed, then *don't build ours.*'"

The union has set out to "let every despairing pacifist in the country, every exhausted anti-militarist, every lover of democracy, every radical, every man who objects to having the taxes wasted, every trade-unionist, every ordinary citizen who dislikes to feed the war-trust—let them all know that there is an 'if' in the huge naval program, that a good share of the \$315,000,000 can be saved to the people if we can hold up the new building contracts until an international understanding is under way. Under the

law, certain of the contracts must be let before March 1, 1917. But that gives us time enough to tell the whole world about the Hensley paragraphs and the practical hope they hold out for world-wide organized peace."

There is a fresh wave of discussion here and abroad of the terms on which the nations might organize to keep the peace. The most powerful peace organization of the day, the League to Enforce Peace, is solely devoted to advocating one specific set of terms. "But," the Union Against Militarism says, "all your plans must be submitted to an official conference of nations such as the Hensley clause provides for before they can become operative. Therefore, why not join with us in an effort to secure the earliest possible action on this clause?" The union points out that the Hensley clause has greater significance than unofficial proposals from any quarter; that the American Congress has, in fact, enacted "so far as we know the first piece of legislation looking directly toward complete world organization for disarmament and peace."

SERMONS AND HIKES TO SET BACK DISEASE

THE second annual celebration of "tuberculosis week," alias "health and happiness week," alias "disease prevention week" and many other "weeks" under as many titles, has been a country-wide success, to judge by early reports. The three feature days have been the Sunday, or Saturday before or after the week of December 2-9; Wednesday, medical examination day; and Friday, children's health crusade day, perhaps this year the most significant feature of the week.

As last year, many churches again cooperated. More than 75,000 requests for literature on this subject came to the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, including the "talking points on Tb," and the prayer written for the occasion by the Rev. Walter Rauschenbusch.

In Detroit, Richmond, several cities of Indiana and in other cities, the local medical society cooperated with the tuberculosis association in offering free examinations either at physicians' offices or at some special hall. In Oklahoma the state society helped to extend these examinations all over the state. There is reason to believe that a great impetus has been given to the practice of periodic examinations, by the observances of this day.

The Health Department of New York city observed in addition to these three days an "open window day," a "walk-to-work day" and a "sanitary workshop day." December 10 was "Sunshine Sunday"—at least in name. The "Finley hike," endorsed by John H. Finley, commissioner of education,



HEALTH DEPT. "LIFE LINES"
No. 2

**Become a fresh-air crank,
even at the risk of being
disliked. Better a live fresh-
air crank than an almost
lifeless hot-house invalid**

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, CITY OF NEW YORK

ONE OF THE HEALTH WEEK POSTERS



TWO BY TWO

NOAH'S ARKS, a whole fleet of them, are off on their Christmas voyage. Their havens are the stockings of many children. Their port of departure is the Old Men's Toyshop, opened a year ago by the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. Here about sixty men—some very old, some convalescent from illness but not yet able to return to their regular work—have been at work throughout the year making toys for the Christmas exhibition and sale. The carved animals variously mounted serve the twofold purpose of attractive, simple toys for children and employment for the old men who made them. Here is one thing, at least, that an old man may do rather than die.

*"What can an old man do but die
When all the dreams are fled,
When all the tasks are finished,
And all the friends are dead?"*

*For no one wants an old man
In all the busy town.
The Island is a lonely place
To watch the 'sun go down."
(Harry Lee.)*

was an eight-mile walk from City College to Yonkers. This attraction drew fully 800 men, women and children into the ranks.

Minneapolis had as a special feature an exhibit of activities of disease prevention, hospitals, child welfare. The City Hospital showed the Pasteur method of preventing cross infection in a hospital, how different patients were taken care of, and modern equipment in general. The aim was especially to show the public how to use the hospital.

An occasion which draws into its observance people of all ages, all occupations, all denominations, must, as the North Carolina State Board of Health says, be found to set back tuberculosis not a little distance.

LABOR ISSUES BEFORE CONGRESS

ORGANIZED labor appears to have won a point in its fight against the enactment of legislation proposed by President Wilson on December 5 in his address to Congress providing for compulsory delay of strikes pending official inquiry into the disputes involved. The House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, meeting on December 8, decided that all items in the President's program of legislation relating to the railroad crisis, should be first taken up in the Senate. There they will be attached to the bill already passed by the

House for the reorganization of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Announcement was simultaneously made by Samuel Gompers that the American Federation of Labor and the railroad brotherhood heads will seek to draft a bill for investigation of industrial disputes which will be submitted to the President and Congress. The purpose of this measure will be to guarantee the freedom of the workers in any industry to strike at any time, unless safeguarded in their relative strength against the employer during a period of truce. Labor officials hold that the Canadian industrial disputes act has merely served to protect employers in gathering their forces to resist a strike, and to break the spirit of strikers through delay of action. The bill to be offered by organized labor to President Wilson will not permit this.

Senator LaFollette, who is preparing an exhaustive argument on the railroad legislation, is opposed to the compulsory scheme. Senator Cummins declares that the plan will not work, as it conflicts with fundamental American ideas of the right of the individual to refuse the conditions of employment offered him. He argues that if a man may be forced by law to work during a period of inquiry, he may also be forced by law to work thereafter under conditions dictated by the inquiring body—in direct violation of the constitutional safeguard against involuntary servitude.

Relations between President Wilson and Mr. Gompers continue friendly despite the President's endorsement of a principle to which the whole labor movement is opposed.

The creation of a women's division in the United States Department of Labor, under the direct authority of the secretary of labor and outside the Bureau of Labor Statistics, is embodied in the Jones-Casey bill (H. R. 16358) reported unanimously by the House Committee on Labor with the endorsement of Secretary of Labor Wilson. It has the backing of the National Woman's Trade Union League, the National Consumers' League, the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the Women's Division of the National Civic Federation, representing in all over three million women. Their representatives in Washington are active in advancing it toward passage in the House.

In the formal report on the bill, submitted on December 5 by Representative Keating, it is explained that "the bill is designed to create a division charged with the duty of ascertaining and presenting facts concerning the work which wage-earning women in industry are doing, what they are getting for it, the conditions under which it is being done, and its effect upon the health of such women.

"The necessity for the establishment of the division rests mainly on three propositions:

"1. The growing army of wage-earning women creates problems in the industrial world of far-reaching importance to the public as a whole.

"2. Solutions of these problems can be effected only through the continuous and instructive studies which recognize not only the similarities but the essential differences in conditions surrounding wage-earning women and wage-earning men.

"3. The record of twenty-five years shows that without statutory existence the work of a division designed to ascertain the facts concerning women in industry cannot be continuous and coherent because its resources have been uncertain, its activities intermittent and its very existence a matter of chance."

The last paragraph sums up the reasons advanced for putting the division outside the control of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. That bureau is charged with never having given adequate attention to the interests of the women in industry. During the past two years the lack of harmony between the bureau management and the women who have attempted to make its Women's Division effective has led to the wiping out of the entire division through resignations. Secretary of Labor Wilson sent to the Labor Committee of the House a letter endorsing the new measure.

Possibilities of the enactment of a

minimum wage law for women in the District of Columbia are improved by the adoption by Congress on December 5 of the Keating-Kenyon resolution providing for a study of the cost of living for wage-earners in the district. Six thousand dollars is appropriated for this study, to be made by the Department of Labor.

The cost-of-living resolution was first introduced in the upper house by Senator Kenyon nearly three years ago. Although twice favorably reported from committee and once considered in a conference committee of the two houses as an amendment to an appropriation bill, it has until now been kept back for lack of unanimous consent. The Consumers' League, which was promoting the resolution, conducted a campaign of publicity and secured the endorsement of scores of civic and industrial organizations, most of which were represented at a hearing before the House Committee on the District of Columbia, on February 10. Mrs. Florence Kelley, representing the National Consumers' League, explained that the plan was to establish the facts upon which judgment as to the need for minimum wage legislation might fairly be based.

The House committee added to the measure a provision that the wages in the district be also studied. As this could not have been done within the appropriation, the Senate struck out the House amendment, and that action was confirmed by the House on the second day of its present session.

Whether the Bureau of Labor Statistics or some other branch of the Department of Labor will conduct the inquiry has not yet been decided. In so

far as possible, the cost of living previous to the recent general advance in prices of the necessaries of life will be ascertained, together with present costs.

Meanwhile, the House Appropriations Committee, through a subcommittee, has been working on various proposals for a horizontal increase in the salaries of government clerks. The 10 per cent increase, which is favored by most members of the committee, is conceded not to equal the increase in cost of food and fuel.

Postal clerks to the number of 40,000 are asking that their salary upon entering the service be made \$900 instead of \$800 a year, and that the limit of automatic increase be raised to \$1,500 from the present \$1,200. The commissioners of the District of Columbia have asked Congress to grant an increase of 20 per cent to all district employes now paid less than \$1,000 a year, 15 per cent for all between \$1,000 and \$1,500, 10 per cent for all between \$1,500 and \$2,000, and 5 per cent for all above \$2,000. Teachers, firemen and police are not included.

As the committees contemplate a horizontal increase of wages on the percentage plan, chances for advancement of the Nolan bill, providing a minimum wage of \$3 a day in federal employ, are not favorable.

MARY GOODE, FRIEND OF HAPLESS GIRLS

WHEN Mary Goode died the other day in New York a city magistrate bore witness to "the good she accomplished in the Night Court and with women returned from Blackwell's Island." Some of these women sent

flowers, but only the undertaker followed the hearse to the cemetery. Those in charge of her affairs believe money enough will be left to pay for the burial.

That was the end of Mary Goode. Her beginning was in a little town upstate. Without a family, or even relations, she was befriended by a Catholic priest, who had her taught stenography and later helped her find a position in New York, at which she made good. Some time after she had a long sickness, underwent an operation and, her few friends vaguely understood, opened a rooming house and prospered.

That was all until the lid blew off the Police Department [see the SURVEY for March 8, 1913]. Then it came out that Mary Goode's rooming house was a brothel. She had become the keeper of a rather small, high-priced house uptown. She had a bit of an education, a good business head and a fighting Irish temper.

For years she had paid for police protection through a political intermediary, a neighborhood bottler of beer. The price of protection rose greedily month by month, until Mary Goode and her girls made scarcely a living for themselves. Then, made bold by District Attorney Whitman's effective protection of the witnesses against Lieutenant Becker, Mary Goode broke every tradition of her class and squealed on the police. Her testimony before the Curran investigating committee was an important element in the purging, then beginning, which the Bureau of Social Hygiene reported two years later had practically eliminated police protection from what is left of commercialized vice in New York city.

In her unveiling of the police, Mrs. Goode—for so she was known—went first to a leader of the woman suffragists, saying that she felt a woman would understand better than a man. When this elected confidante sent her to the district attorney she had a definite plan to propose. Every man who touched vice, she said, grafted on it. Therefore put it in the hands of women. Let a committee of madams be officially appointed to run and regulate the business, paying regular license fees instead of graft.

She considered her occupation a legitimate business, an idea likely enough confirmed by the men she met in the course of it. And it had never occurred to her that any considerable number of people in New York held it illegitimate and wanted to do away with it altogether. Had not Mayor Gaynor just issued his statement deprecating the testimony before Alderman Curran's committee and declaring "outward order and decency" the city's ideal?

Mary Goode appeared occasionally thereafter as a bitter critic of the police, who hounded and raided her, she said, even while she was running a respect-



MONEY BY WIRE

Donors to the Cleveland Federation for Charity and Philanthropy were tripled in number by a telephone canvass during "Thanksgiving's Week." One thousand volunteer operators, working in relays, secured \$18,500 from 8,160 contributors among Cleveland's 45,000 telephone subscribers. Each operator had before her a printed statement of the "story" she was to tell. A telephone canvass has never before been carried out on so large a scale.

able lodging house. Then she dropped out of sight until her death opened the lips of Magistrate Henry Groehl to tell of the woman who, under a new name, had gone every morning to meet the boat which brings derelict women back from serving their sentences on the island, and every evening to the Night Court for Women. She had helped and befriended them and given them money from her slender purse.

A month ago she gave every cent she had with her to a girl in court and walked home in a driving winter rain. This brought on a severe cold, followed by pneumonia, and Mary Goode was snuffed out. During the two years of her service of contrition she had been a member of the Church of the Holy Innocents.

OUT OF WORK AND INTO SCHOOL

ON September 1, 1917, when the federal child-labor law goes into effect, 27,000 factory children, ten to thirteen years old, and 17,000 children in mines and quarries, aged ten to fifteen, will be out of jobs. Meanwhile the legislatures of some forty states will have met. What will these legislatures have done to prepare a welcome for the children in the schoolhouses hitherto closed to them—in some sections, never built?

Most of the factory children are working in southern states, over six thousand of them in North Carolina, nearly three thousand in South Carolina, as many in Georgia, besides others in Mississippi, Virginia and the states where the fourteen-year limit is not carefully enforced or the twelve-year-old children of the poor are exempted from it. The majority of these are in textile mills—silk, woolen, knitting and cotton—but cigar factories in Virginia, furniture factories in North Carolina, and the miscellaneous factories that have been growing up all over the South with the spread of manufacture may have their share of children under fourteen. It is well known that the enforcement of state labor laws has never been adequate in the greater part of the South, chiefly because of the refusal of state legislatures to appropriate enough for thorough factory inspection, so that even where there is a fourteen-year limit the twelve-year-old child is likely to be at work.

It is hardly fair, however, to imply that state enforcement is without effect in the South. For instance, Commissioner Watson of South Carolina reports this year that there are only 2,881 children twelve to fourteen years old in the mills of his state, 1,673 fewer than in 1909, and no children under twelve, the minimum age limit. After these figures were compiled the South Carolina legislature forestalled federal

regulation by adopting the fourteen-year limit, and it is probable that before next September the South Carolina mills will be practically empty of twelve- and thirteen-year-old operatives. But the fact remains that the federal fourteen-year limit will be felt chiefly below the Mason-Dixon line.

What will become of the children out of jobs? Some of the opponents of the federal law predicted in Congress that they would be "on the streets," that they would turn speedily into delinquents and criminals if they were removed from the moral atmosphere of the factory. Champions of the law suggested, on the other hand, that the children might go to school, as other twelve- and thirteen-year-olds have been known to do. This idea was not received with enthusiasm.

The sad truth is that it will probably be out of one job and into another for most of these factory children. The states most affected by the fourteen-year age limit are also the states with the weakest school laws and the least comprehensive child-labor laws. It will be perfectly possible, therefore, for the mill child who is fired the end of next August, out of respect for the federal law, to get a job in a bakery, or a laundry, or a store, or in any one of a number of local and unregulated occupations, and continue undisturbed his career as a wage-earner.

If his state school law requires only four months' school attendance a year, or exempts him from school for poverty, he can not be expected to waste much time getting an education. And if his state child-labor law says nothing against his working in a nice little "shin-parlor" or bakery, where federal inspectors never appear, he will certainly work there if they will take him on. It is to be hoped, however, that a flood of child labor in local industries may awaken the states themselves to the need of more thorough labor regulations and better school systems.

As for the 17,000 mining children, they presumably will find other jobs, too, since only 2,000 of them are under fourteen. The value of the federal law to them is that it takes them out of a very dangerous occupation and puts them into safe ones. The state that has the largest number of these children is West Virginia, with 1,839. Virginia has 621; Indiana, 585; Iowa, 340. The rest are scattered through the nineteen other states that have not taken children under sixteen out of their mines and quarries.

Besides the children thrown out of jobs there are over 100,000 children, fourteen and fifteen years old, whose hours of labor will be regulated. There are twenty-eight states that have not enacted an eight-hour day for children, and thirteen states that allow children to work at night. So the federal hours'

regulations will affect states from New Hampshire to Louisiana and from Connecticut to Oregon. In Pennsylvania alone there are 30,000 children who will go from a nine-hour day to an eight-hour schedule. There are over 20,000 children in the South who have been working eleven hours a day, but will work only eight.

PROBATION MAKING FOR VACANT CELLS

ONE of the first after-studies of men placed on probation, if not the first, is described in the ninth annual report of the New York State Probation Commission, issued recently. The number of cases studied is not large but the results are believed by the commission to confirm the view that when probation is efficiently done a large majority of men make good.

All cases placed on probation in Erie county in a single month in 1912 were selected for this study. These numbered twenty-eight. The study undertook to discover what had become of the men three years later. One had moved away, one had entered the army and one had died. There were twenty-five, therefore, who could be reported on.

Of these twenty-five, permanent improvement was found among seventeen. Two showed fair improvement, five had been rearrested and committed and one had absconded. Sixty-eight per cent, therefore, showed permanent improvement.

In only twenty-one of the twenty-eight cases did the men complete their probation and receive regular discharge, so that of those for whom the probation officers had had full opportunity to do constructive work throughout the probation period, 81 per cent showed permanent improvement at the end of three years.

A typical case of a man who improved is that of Michael ———, 47 years old, who had been arrested on numerous occasions, several times for assault, and who used alcohol to excess. He was discharged from probation in December, 1913, when he was earning from \$50 to \$75 monthly. In August, 1915, he was found in the same employment and earning the same wages. Police, neighbors and relatives declared that his habits had greatly improved, with noticeable benefit to his family.

The growth of the probation system and decrease of imprisonment in New York was emphasized at the meeting of state probation officers in Poughkeepsie last month. Homer Folks, president of the state commission and secretary of the State Charities Aid Association, pointed out that whereas on September 30, 1915, there were 11,907 persons on probation in the state, there were 13,361 on September 30 this year—an increase of 1,454. During this same period the

population of state prisons decreased from 5,401 to 5,053, and of Elmira Reformatory from 1,279 to 818.

Complete figures of penal and reformatory institutions for September 30 are not available, said Mr. Folks, "but the total population of county penitentiaries, New York city penal institutions, state reformatories for women and state institutions for juvenile delinquents showed a decrease of 1,005."

An even more striking instance of the effect of probation work was reported from Niagara county. The census of the Niagara county jail on January 1, 1915, was 135. A probation officer was appointed in March and the census immediately began to fall. On September 30 it was 73. On January 1, 1916, it was 68, and on June 30, 57, considerably less than half its population of last January.

"Good times with plenty of employment are undoubtedly an important factor in this tendency," said Mr. Folks. "No one can say how far it will go, but there is every indication that in a very few years the number of persons receiving extra-institutional treatment will be larger than the number of offenders within institutions."

Henry Noble MacCracken, president of Vassar College, pointed out that there is a correlation between the principles underlying probation and those that a modern university employs in administering discipline to its students.

POLIO POINTS ALL OVER THE COUNTRY

IN the *Public Health* report of November 10, the geographic distribution of poliomyelitis by states is carefully tabulated by Dr. C. H. Lavinder. If we take somewhat arbitrarily, says Dr. Lavinder, all the states which show a prevalence rate of over five per hundred thousand, we find that, roughly speaking, they form three groups. These are first, the New England and North Atlantic states; second, those stretching westward along the Great Lakes; third, those skirting the South Atlantic and Gulf coast. The prevalence of disease in these states is distinctly above that in the rest of the country.

The focus in New York city and vicinity stretched north and perhaps westward. Another focus in Minnesota, which appeared about the same time as that in New York, stretches eastward as well as west. No connection has as yet been traced between these two foci. A third, originating perhaps in Mississippi or Alabama, stretches northward to Virginia and Maryland.

The relation between the foci in these groups of states, Dr. Lavinder considers at the present time conjectural. The facts are, however, that the disease, which became epidemic in New York and Minnesota almost simultaneously,

reached its greatest prevalence in Alabama and Mississippi before it did in the states farther north, Virginia and Maryland. The presence of cases in California and in Texas, above the endemic record, deepens the suspicion of human contact along routes of travel.

Yet the human contact theory is not without difficulties, although the evidence thus far accumulated is greatly in its favor. Why, if the polio germ is spread through mouth-spray, are there frequent halts in the progress of the disease along routes of travel? One map from the Massachusetts Department of Epidemiology shows forty-eight cases in Adams and North Adams; only one in the three southern bordering counties, and then sixty-five cases in adjoining Pittsfield.

Similarly, the outbreaks in Minnesota, Iowa and Nebraska in 1908-10, were believed to be traceable to the 1907 outbreak in New York. Yet no epidemic occurred in Chicago, although a large proportion of travel from the east into those states passed. This year Illinois has shared in the outbreak, although, next to New York and New Jersey, Massachusetts has been the state to suffer most severely from poliomyelitis. Figures of the Massachusetts State Department of Health show that from January to November, 1,714 cases were reported. The most rapid increase in the number of cases has occurred during September and October, the incidence rising in Massachusetts as it declined in New York and New Jersey. A sharp and steady decline is now evident, however, even in this state.

TRAINING WOMEN IN UNION LEADERSHIP

THE School for Active Workers in the Labor Movement, conducted by the National Woman's Trade Union League at Chicago, grows apace. Opened in January, 1914, with one student, it has developed through nearly three years of experience a unique course of training for leadership in women's trade union organizations. The ever-increasing number of women entering every trade and the successful social uprisings of the workers in the sweated industries emphasize the need of this training, which the league undertook to provide at the initiative of Mrs. Raymond Robins, its president.

Mrs. Robins furnished its convention with the background for this action in a report in which she effectively detailed the movements in England to afford facilities for self-culture and organized educational advantages to wage-workers, beginning with the efforts of the Rochdale Cooperative Pioneers and culminating in the cooperation between the Workers' Educational Association and the universities of England and Wales. Her recommendations resulted not only

in the establishment of this school, but in the adoption of an educational policy for the league.

Three classes of students are received into the school: those whom the league asks to leave their trades to take the training to fit them to become organizers; those sent by their own unions or central labor bodies to improve their efficiency in working for the organization; those who come at their own initiative and on their own responsibility.

The academic work covers four months, the courses including, besides English, public speaking and other necessary preparatory work, the study and analysis of judicial decisions affecting labor injunctions, boycotts, etc., economic history and the history of organized labor, elementary economics and modern radicalism. Some of these courses are taken at the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy and the University of Chicago.

The eight months of field work includes the theory and practice of organization, attendance at meetings of unions and the Federation of Labor, conferences with their men and women leaders, analysis of trade agreements, writing for the press, study of police court methods, and instruction in suffrage and civic duties. Attention is given to health, exercise in the gymnasium and regular recreation. An extension department offers correspondence courses and public lectures. A group of the students is in residence at Chicago Commons.

Mrs. Robins thus states the school's motive and enters its plea: "Our day's work is in the main directed to the immediate aspects and demands of the struggle, but we cannot act wisely nor fully understand the meaning of the hour in which we live, unless we keep in mind the underlying cause for these conditions and the fundamental principles of justice. Today, as yesterday, 'where there is no vision the people perish,' and today, as yesterday, the spirit must be born to see the vision, to hold it, to live and die for it. To release and set free this spirit, so that it may achieve its purpose foretold in the hidden heart of man—to show the path of freedom, to bring hope, faith, courage to those held in bondage and crushed under the weight of wrong—and to give them the message, 'To you, too, has been given the dominion over life,'—this is our task.

"We therefore ask those who recognize in today's industrial struggle the challenge of democracy and those who believe that the great heritage of the past in thought and act, in history, science and poetry, belongs to all the people, to help us work out the most effective plan to meet the demands for further educational opportunity of the working women of America."

Book Reviews

THE IMMIGRANT IN ST. LOUIS

By Ruth Crawford, A. M. Studies in Social Economics, edited by the Faculty of the St. Louis School of Social Economy. Vol. 1, No. 2. Price \$5.00 net. St. Louis, Mo., 1916.

THE ITALIANS IN MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

General Survey by G. La Piana, prepared under the direction of the Associated Charities, 1915.

FOREIGNERS' GUIDE TO ENGLISH

By Azniv Beshgeturian. Price \$.75 postpaid. Immigrant Publication Society, New York, 1915.

IMMIGRANT AND LIBRARY; ITALIAN HELPS, WITH LISTS OF SELECTED BOOKS

By John Foster Carr. Price \$.35 postpaid. Immigrant Publication Society, New York, 1914.

MAKERS OF AMERICA

By Emma Lilian Dana. Price \$.50 postpaid. Immigrant Publication Society, New York, 1915.

GUIDE TO THE UNITED STATES FOR THE JEWISH IMMIGRANT

By John Foster Carr. Price \$.30 postpaid. Immigrant Publication Society, New York, 1916.

AT SCHOOL IN THE PROMISED LAND

By Mary Antin. The Riverside Literature Series. 104 pp. Price \$.25; Houghton-Mifflin & Co., Boston; by mail of the SURVEY \$.29.

INTRODUCING THE AMERICAN SPIRIT

By Edward A. Steiner. Fleming H. Revell Company. 274 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.10.

MODERN AUSTRIA: HER RACIAL AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

By Virginio Gayda. Dodd, Mead and Company. 350 pp. Price \$3; by mail of the SURVEY \$3.15.

JAPANESE EXPANSION AND AMERICAN POLICIES

By James Francis Abbott, Ph. D. The Macmillan Company. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.62.

THE INEQUALITY OF HUMAN RACES

By Arthur de Gobineau, translated by Adrian Collins, M. A. Introduction by Dr. Oscar Levy. G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price \$2; by mail of the SURVEY \$2.14.

Anything relating to racial varieties is of peculiar interest at the present time, when, no matter which way we turn we find race or nationality involved in the most serious problems of social and political life. We have before us a list of books and

pamphlets, taking up one and another aspect of that question, to which it is worth while to call the reader's attention.

First on the list is one of those detailed descriptions of foreign life in an American community of which we should have more. This is a study of The Immigrant in St. Louis, made by Ruth Crawford of the St. Louis School

of Social Economy. In it is presented in brief form the available historical and statistical matter bearing upon foreign settlement in the city, and first-hand studies of the principal foreign colonies. The study shows what happens to the immigrant on first arrival, points out the need of proper methods of reception and protection, describes the homes and the economic situation of the different nationalities, gives an account of them as they are dealt with by public or private agencies as dependents or delinquents, describing among other means of dealing with them, the Mullanphy Fund—a unique institution. (See THE SURVEY, May 1, 1915.) Of especial interest is a discussion of the problem of immigrant education.

Another community survey of immigrants is at hand in Italians in Milwaukee, prepared by G. La Piana for the Associated Charities of that city. This study makes a more definite impression than the St. Louis study since it is confined to one nationality. The confusion is therefore avoided that results when we try to follow—as in the St. Louis study—Italians, Greeks, Poles, Russians, Rumanians, Jews, Spaniards, Syrians, Croatians, Hungarians, Bohemians, and others successively through various chapters each devoted to a single topic like "homes," "occupations," and so forth.

The presentation as a background for the picture of life in this country, of the conditions under which the immigrant lived at home takes us a long way toward a sympathetic understanding of why people live as they do here, and how best to help them to live better.

As a help to the education and assimilation of our non-English speaking immigrants we should note the excellent publications of the Immigrant Publication Society. The St. Louis Survey graphically set forth the ill success of "a class of big men (who) listened in dull apathy to the stumbling efforts of a Greek waiter to read from Stepping Stones, Third Reader, concerning the trip of a camel across the Sahara Desert." Nothing of this sort will happen to the class that uses the Foreigner's Guide to English. This book takes for its subject matter the incidents of daily life that come most nearly and directly within the experience and interest of the working immigrant, and presents them through a simple conversational and graphic method.

Another useful book on the Publication Society's list is the one called Im-

migrant and Library: Italian Helps, for the assistance of librarians in selecting books for Italian readers, and in contriving ways of attracting them to the library. The greater part of the little volume is taken up with lists of books in the Italian language with brief descriptive notes, classified under various headings of general interest, such as Biography, Travel, Description, History, Fiction, Italian, and so on. Lists of books in English are not given because such lists are already available. These book-lists will be found useful not only by librarians in looking after the needs of Italians, but by social workers, and others, who have some familiarity with the Italian language and want to learn more about the Italian people.

A book to interest adult immigrants and to ground them in our national traditions is Makers of America, which gives an account in clear and readable English of the lives and deeds of Franklin, Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln.

The Guide to the United States for the Jewish Immigrant is a recent translation of a Yiddish edition, published some time ago. It contains the information most useful to a newly arrived immigrant—such as the conditions of admission to the country, to whom to apply for aid, where to go for work, about traveling in the United States, about schools and other educational advantages, how to become a farmer, how to become a citizen, and—of especial utility—a simple, non-technical statement of laws and ordinances that the immigrant is least likely to know about and most likely to break.

Next comes to our attention At School in the Promised Land, a selection of those chapters from Mary Antin's remarkable book of a few years ago, which deal with her school-days. The selections are presented for use as a school reader, among other reasons because, as is pointed out in the preface, "besides explaining to Americans the experiences, the hopes and the problems of immigrants, the author reminded the native-born of their priceless heritage of liberty and opportunity"; and because "the book had a special message to teachers in its amazing revelation of the power that lies in a teacher's hands, and of the results that attend a wise use of this power."

The St. Louis Survey gives us a picture of the foreigner as seen by the native: perhaps it is equally useful to show how the "native" looks to the "foreigner." This is the purpose of Introducing the American Spirit. "We are not loved as a nation," says Dr. Steiner, "largely because we are not understood, and we are not understood because we do not understand ourselves and we do not understand ourselves because we have not studied ourselves in the light of the spirit of other nations." So Dr.

Races
and
Customs



Steiner undertakes to give us a little of that light through the impressions of a certain visiting Herr Direktor, who is taken by the author on a personally conducted tour to note and admire various manifestations of the American spirit. We find it rather difficult to visualize the "spirit" through the bewildering succession of meals and railway journeys which seem to be the main medium for impressions, but there is here and there a suggestive bit of criticism, an illuminating pictorial flash—as in the chapter describing the meeting of the Russian priest, the American Y. M. C. A. secretary, and the Herr Direktor.

In the next book we go to look at the foreigner in his native country. Modern Austria untangles for us in a clear and interesting way the racial and social complexities in which a large proportion of our present immigrants are involved in their home-land.

The author is an Italian, and the questions are presented from an anti-Austrian point of view, but the spirit is eminently fair, and we can well believe the statement of the translator's preface that the author is "a keen observer and able student of political and social movements."

Japanese Expansion and American Policies brings before us another racial problem. Our fervor for "preparedness" is largely based upon fear of attack from one or both of two quarters—the west and the east—the German and the Japanese. The latter is a terror of longer standing, and the author in this book addresses himself to the task of clearing it away. Whether there is reason for it or not, and the author insists there is not, a spirit of fear, contempt and unfriendliness toward another people is an excellent basis for hostilities.

Why should we fight the Japanese? Dr. Abbott can think of but three reasons: first, that there should be acts of hostility toward American citizens in the Orient, which we should be obliged to take notice of. The chance of this is remote, as American tourists are well liked in Japan and well treated. Or, we might fight to maintain an open door in China, or to help China against an aggressive Japan. Neither of these reasons is likely to appeal to the American government or the American public as causes of war, as is shown by our action—or failure to act—in similar circumstances.

But perhaps the Japanese would fight us? This might occur in consequence of irritating state and national legislation. But if this happens it will be our own fault, Dr. Abbott thinks, because we can attain all necessary ends without arousing Japanese antagonism.

But might not the Japanese go to war with us in the natural course of national expansion? The discussion of this pos-

sibility is perhaps the most interesting part of the book. The argument is developed in the way made familiar to us by Mr. Angell—that it would be unprofitable to Japan to wage war upon us, and that it would be difficult if not impossible to finance such a war. It is admitted that nations do go to war under such conditions, but we are reminded that the Japanese are singularly cautious in their calculations, and mindful of the profit of their undertakings.

Refraining from irritating legislation and a contemptuous attitude toward the Japanese nation, whom we have every reason to treat as a friend, and to accept as an equal in the family of nations, does not mean, in the author's view, that we should permit unrestricted immigration from Japan. This would be undesirable, but he thinks restriction according to the Gulick plan of admitting immigrants of any race in numbers proportional to their countrymen already here would answer our purpose entirely, and give no offence to the Japanese because it would apply to all countries equally.

An attempt to discover the fundamental laws governing the life-history of races in general is made in *The Inequality of Human Races*, a translation of Count Gobineau's standard work, first published in 1853. Its timeliness now, according to the translator, is that of the prophet confirmed by the stride of events. The basis of Gobineau's creed was a belief in race and aristocracy as the first condition of civilization, a disbelief in the influence of environment, and a distrust in the efficacy of religion and morality. His theories fit in with the teachings of Nietzsche, Treitschke, Chamberlain and others to form the body of doctrine upon which the Teutonic mind has been feeding for the past sixty years to make it ready for the present conflict.

To confirm his powers of prophecy, it happens that the general trend of biological discovery does sustain to some extent his general theory of race today, as it would not have been sustained, say, twenty years ago, before Weismann and the resurrected Mendel had pretty well shattered the hypothesis of the environmental influence of heredity.

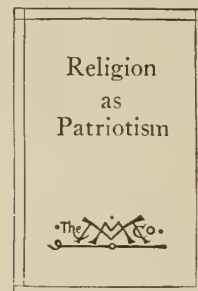
But after all, what does it matter what curious anticipations of truth Gobineau may have hit upon, since he lacked the scientific basis which gives value to the results of experimental biology today? For we must remember that this book was written six years before what we may term the beginning of the "modern era"—the publication of the *Origin of Species*, when the accredited method of studying humankind was by means of the "philosophy of history," with all its glittering ambiguities. And there is danger that the partial con-

firmation of some of the author's theories by modern science may lead the unwary to accept the others, not thus confirmed.

KATE HOLLADAY CLAGHORN.

THE RELIGION OF EXPERIENCE

By Horace J. Bridges. Macmillan Company. 275 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.



Not experiential religion, but the experience of mankind with religions is the concern of the lecturer of the Chicago Ethical Society, in his latest volume. The social significance of the book is its emphasis upon "religion and nationality." So interdependent are these to the author that the history of both testifies to the "sociological identity" between them. He therefore argues that a nation is and always has been essentially a church, and that a church fulfills its highest function and best perpetuates itself by molding the nation to the religious ideals and spirit of its own life. In noting how many of the functions being assumed by the modern state correspond to those hitherto considered exclusively religious and ecclesiastical, the author passes by the humanitarian service thus shared to point out the correspondence between their other prerogatives which he thinks will be "clear to all who are not hypnotized by names."

The state's registration of its citizens and the church's declaration of its watch over its members through baptism; civil and ecclesiastical marriage; surveillance over theological and political beliefs; and the imposition of certain exactions as conditions of eligibility for political office and ecclesiastical ordination, are cited as correspondences.

The modern nation, he claims, is dangerously inefficient because unaware of its true religious nature. On the other hand, he attributes much of the inefficiency and divisiveness of the modern church to its failure to see and teach that "patriotism is the highest application of the universal moral law and is identical with religion."

Differing though he does from all the churches, critical though he is of their beliefs and policies, yet he scorns as without any basis in history, or in contemporary experience, any suggestion either of the disappearance of religion or the superseding of the churches. Indeed, he would have the ministers of the churches and the churches themselves remand to other agencies most of their humanitarian ministries and social activities, in order to reserve themselves for the fulfillment of their primary purpose, which

is to idealize, inspire and dynamize the nation and its individual citizens.

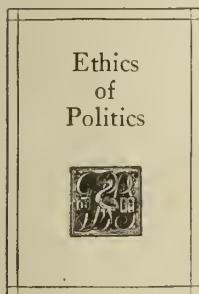
In so arguing, however, he seems to deprive them of the very means of applying and even initiating their social and civic ideals, especially in communities not well organized to these ends. He stoutly maintains that without these organized means, the new-born ideals and inspirations of the Christian church would soon have been lost in the "bog of oblivion."

Not since Elisha Mulford wrote *The Nation and The Republic of God* have religion and nationality been so vigorously and fundamentally identified and their interdependence so effectively reasserted.

GRAHAM TAYLOR.

POLITICS (Volumes I and II)

By Heinrich von Treitschke. The Macmillan Company. 406 and 643 pp. Price \$7 per set; by mail of the SURVEY, \$7.32.



In the two-volume English translation of von Treitschke's *Politics*, for which the Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour has written an introduction and President A. Lawrence Lowell a two-page foreword, we have an excellent opportunity to learn at first hand what

those doctrines are which have been so much discussed in the past two years. The work is worthy of a careful and open-minded reading, especially, as President Lowell intimates, the first three chapters and the last two.

The present reviewer has done no more than this at present, but he intends before many days to read also the intervening twenty-three chapters. What better commendation from a reviewer could any book ask? Mr. Balfour's introduction, entertaining as it is, should not be read in advance, if the reader wishes to be fair to himself. Fairness to the author does not matter. He is a foreigner, anyway, and has been dead for years; but if one is to enjoy reading a book, if he is to enjoy the process of forming his own conclusions, it is better not to start fresh from a verdict by an imposing authority that the author is inaccurate, that there is nothing profound in him, that he is abusive, that some of his blemishes may be due to want of memory or care, but that others are the offspring of invincible prejudice, that his inordinate self-esteem does not have the grace to appear in its most agreeable form, and that even his humor is not of the prophylactic kind. One

should not miss this introduction, but it should come after the book itself.

The view of the state set forth in these opening chapters is not in the least mystical. It is as clear as crystal and as concrete. The state is born in a community whenever a group or an individual has achieved sovereignty by imposing its will upon the whole body. It represents power. The consent of the governed is advantageous, but not necessary. The state is the people legally united, but not necessarily nor even normally on a democratic basis. The state is everywhere older than history. It is not something artificial and is not an organism. It is not founded upon contract. It is a legal personality. As a person it has a will. One of the few wise remarks that Rousseau ever made is that the general will is not to be identified with the will of all the people. The state has an independent force, and power is its characteristic attribute.

The state has no power to limit its own power. Treaties have no absolutely binding force, but are voluntary self-restrictions. The power which made may unmake them. No outsider can interfere. It is a point of honor for a state to solve for itself whatever difficulties may arise. The appeal to arms will be valid until the end of history, and therein lies the sacredness of war.

Without war, says von Treitschke, explicitly, no state could be. This is not to be considered a necessary evil. War is a uniting as well as a dividing element among nations. It is undoubtedly the one remedy for an ailing nation. It is war which fosters the political idealism which the materialist rejects.

There is another side of this philosophy. States are subject to a moral law. Truth and frankness have much more power than is commonly supposed. An instinct for truth is born within us. A state gains a moral strength from the confidence of its neighbors. Art is to be fostered. It is not a luxury, but is as indispensable to men as their daily bread. Compulsory education, which is only a phrase, should rather be called compulsory freedom. Moreover, the state is not to absorb the whole of human life. Liberty of the individual will grow with the growth of culture.

And with this inevitable reference to culture we might end the sampling of von Treitschke's crisp and provoking phrases. In addition, however, Americans should perhaps be warned that to him they are still colonists. The German-Americans who forsook their fatherland in 1848 were only radicals who in their vanity imagined that they were faced with a struggle like that of the

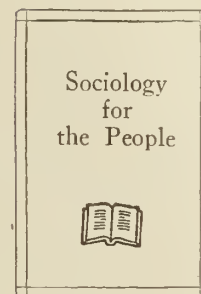
French Huguenots; but this struggle had only a subjective existence in their exalted imagination. It is foolish to admire them. Germans must always maintain the principle that the state is in itself an ethical force and a high moral good.

The book will be interesting to anyone, but it is especially recommended to all pacifists who are so only because they have never really faced the argument for aggression and war.

EDWARD T. DEVINE.

SOCIETY, ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

By H. K. Rowe. Charles Scribner's Sons. 378 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.



Sociology "must not be permitted to remain the possession of an aristocracy of intellect." For this reason the author has drawn a cross-section of society, concretely, so that it may be studied by the average person. The book presents an outline

of the activities of society in a readable form. It is comprehensive yet compendious. It will prove useful to pupils and general readers.

Excellent as it is in conception and execution, the volume falls into the errors almost unavoidable when one attempts to treat of a great variety of subjects.

To say that "crime calls for prevention and punishment" hardly accords with the statement that "retaliation is no longer the accepted principle; reformation has taken its place." It is accurate to say that punishment is still practiced. But in stating the principles of modern methods punishment should find no place.

The statement under the discussion of play that "control is held in abeyance; parent, teacher and constable leniently indulge the child," is not in conformity with the universally accepted theory that play must be always directed in constructive channels. That as yet too much liberty is allowed is a fact. But it is also true that this is recognized as a defect, that it may be considered as a passing phase and that modern interpretation and plans look to its gradual elimination.

Notwithstanding such errors, the book is worth while for students. It possesses a distinct advantage because it treats of facts and wastes no time in trying to establish a terminology.

E. T. HARTMAN.

Communications

"PENITENTIAL HYMN"

To the Editor: John Haynes Holmes' poem in the SURVEY for November 18 ought to be translated in all the languages of Europe and I trust it may be. It is splendid.

L. M. POWERS.

Gloucester, Mass.

BORDER IMMIGRANTS

To the Editor: I was much interested in the article by William E. Leonard in the SURVEY of October 28 last, in which he says that the influx of Mexicans into the border states is making a double race problem of increasing seriousness. When the tendency of the Latin races to intermarry with Negroes is considered, it will be seen that the problem is even more serious than it now appears. Telegrams sent to congressmen by a railroad running through these states, to the effect that it needed cheap Mexican labor in its business constituted one of the arguments against a recent restriction bill over the presidential veto. And except for a few people whose sentiment beclouds their reason, this is the usual line-up: those who want cheap labor and do not mind cheap citizenship against those who feel that we could do better without either.

JOSEPH LEE.

Boston.

NEW NAME WANTED

To the Editor: What shall be the name of the National Conference of Charities and Correction?

In the proceedings of the Indianapolis session, 1916, page 685, there is mention of the action of the business meeting of that session on the report of a special committee on change of name. That meeting accepted the suggestion of the special committee that "a change of name of the conference is desirable," and decided that there should be a postal canvass of the conference members, with the result published three months before the 1917 session, and that there should be a final preferential ballot at that session. The postal canvass is to give the names already suggested.

So far, the suggestions are as follows: The National or the American Conference or Social Welfare or Social Progress or Public Welfare; the National or American Welfare Congress or Conference or Public Welfare Congress or Conference; the American or National Conference or Council of Social Agencies; the American or National Confer-

ence for Social Service or for Social Betterment; American Sociological Conference; Social Workers or American Social Workers' Conference; National Conference of Social Workers or for Social Work; National Conference on the Community or on the Common Good.

If readers of the SURVEY can make any further suggestion for names of the conference, will they kindly send them at once to the undersigned, who is chairman of the special committee, at 18 Somerset street, Boston, in order that they may appear also in the postal canvass.

JEFFREY R. BRACKETT.

[School for Social Workers]
Boston.

TOPICS FOR 1918

To the Editor: The Committee on Organization of the National Conference of Charities and Correction for 1918, which reports at the Pittsburgh conference in 1917, is giving consideration to the selection of topics for the 1918 conference. May I take this means of requesting SURVEY readers to submit to the committee any suggestions which they may have as to topics which ought to be discussed?

Certain of the committees of the conference have been more or less permanent from year to year as representing well-established fields of work whose problems never exhaust discussion. There is room, however, each year for the discussion of certain problems which are of an especially timely interest, and which would not be suitable perhaps for inclusion in the program every year. Such topics ought to have a genuine national appeal and be of interest to the whole group of those who attend the conference. Suggestions may be mailed to the chairman of the committee at 105 East 22 street, New York City.

PORTER R. LEE.

[Chairman Committee on Program]
New York.

SCRUBWOMEN

To the Editor: How soon and at what price could you furnish 1,000 copies of the frontispiece from the SURVEY of December 2, showing the picture of the scrubwoman?

I should like to try to make it work for Chicago scrubwomen. I have no definite plans as yet, but for several years have wished more could be done for them. A large percentage of them support from one to a dozen small children and a sick husband or other

invalid member of the family. I have known of some very heroic cases. Perhaps you could say something in your next issue that would help scrubwomen all over the country. Elevator boys and day-light servants all are more or less remembered at Christmas, but the scrubwomen working at night are never thought of, and many of them do as conscientious work as can be found anywhere.

WIRT W. HALLAM.

Chicago.

POOL-ROOMS

To the Editor: I am writing for either material or information concerning the subject of pool-rooms, billiards and bowling-alleys. Have you literature which treats of these subjects in a truly scientific manner, rather than the "general" treatise which is so markedly denunciatory and not at all constructive in the real social sense? Nothing short of a critical, laboratory treatment of the main causes or reasons which impel boys to indulge in these games and frequent these places will suffice. Many of the so-called "surveys," which are not numerous as to this particular subject, are too vague, being neither accurate in statement, scientific in treatment nor illuminating in character. A great favor will be conferred to me, personally, sir, as also to a rapidly growing city, which is seeking both to adjust itself and regulate its equally rapidly growing problems. Surely there is need for intelligent community action here, with over 250 unlicensed and unsupervised pool-rooms, which are frequented by at least 25,000 young men each week of the year.

JOHN J. PHELAN.

Toledo.

A CHILDREN'S BUREAU

To the Editor: A reader of old newspaper files will soon discover that there is nothing new under the sun. For example, the New York *World* of July 27, 1866, published an editorial entitled A Children's Bureau. It appears that the Rev. Joel Lindsley, of Medina, Ohio, had beaten his small son to death with a shingle, because of the child's refusal to say his prayers. The father's statement after his conviction for manslaughter is as tragic a story as was ever written, his own plea being his "moral conviction" that the child should have been made to yield, the punishment being continued intermittently for some two hours, when the child died.

At the same time, a woman named Abrahams was being tried in Richmond, Va., for cruelty to her former slaves. Horace Greeley, in the *Tribune*, was making the Abrahams case a text for the continued operation of the Freedmen's Bureau, for the protection of the Negroes of the South. Manton Marble, in the *World*, opposing the Children's Bureau, made the Lindsley case

an example of the need of a Children's Bureau. He argued as follows:

"If there be any virtue in the interference of a central government to right social evils, where can the action of that virtue be more imperatively needed, where can it avert such awful calamities or work such blessed good, as in throwing about the tenderest years of white children at the North, safeguards at best as efficient as those which an excited philanthropy now demands for the feelings, the property and the persons of the emancipated Negro at the South?"

The irony of the editorial is apparent, but its logic was better than the editor realized.

A. J. MCKELWAY.

New York.

GIVING

To the Editor: A letter from T. D. A. Corkerell in your issue of August 26 moves me to add a word to the subject of Appeals. Surely there should be more in the relation of worthy object on one side and the giver on the other than the mere passing of money from one to the other, whether in large or small sums.

It has become a custom with some in the raising of considerable sums of money to follow a first appeal at intervals with one or two letters, perhaps insinuating that the first has been overlooked. The whole idea is too much like a summons to stand and deliver.

Now, I contend that, though such persons or charities as practise these methods may obtain all the money they need, they have dealt a blow to real charity. The object we should always hold high before us is to convince the individual or the public that the person or the project to be helped is so valuable or so pitiful that all who hear stop to give something, whether it be but the throb of sympathy, a dollar or a check for a large sum: thus do we educate ourselves and others into true neighborliness.

H. S. CUNNINGHAM.

Brookline, Mass.

FIRST IN WAR: FIRST IN PEACE

[Continued from page 297]

in 1914, to "destroy the military domination of Prussia." Conceivably, one way lies in a crushing German defeat, but not a few Englishmen are skeptical of this outcome. Conceivably, another way may lie in German victory coupled with a social revolution; but not a few Germans are skeptical of such an outcome if the war party is triumphant. Conceivably, there is a third way by which the people of western Europe could be guaranteed against German militarism, so as to permit England,

France and their allies to demobilize their vast armies, reduce their enormous military expense, and be secure in their liberties. With the mighty scheme of the German war party twice wrecked—at the Marne and Verdun—and with the counter ambitions of English and French imperialists faring no better, a settlement is conceivable which would take the threat out of every military establishment by taking the threat out of all. The proposal of international organization and progressive disarmament might so fire the hearts of men and women of all nations as to make even the travail of the last years seem not in vain, releasing them from the burden of war in peace and freeing them from their generation-long dreads.

Similarly, if we are to heed the constructive peace movements, the cause of the Belgians and Serbians cannot permanently be served without serving also the cause of the Ukrainians, the Letts, the Poles, and other oppressed peoples. Here again the settlement must be lifted to a new and common level, for so long as injustice and oppression toward any of the weaker peoples is permitted to any great power, so long is it potentially a threat to all, and to the other great powers. Nor will friction over colony grabbing and the exploitation of backward people be resolved by a fresh parceling of their heritage, but by a common undertaking for their protection, the conservation of their natural resources, and the open door.

Until then, the capitals of western Europe will not be safe from each other, nor the neutral nations from the consequences of other peoples' wars.

Therein lies the stake of the United States in a settlement radically different from the military one which closed the Napoleonic conflict—a settlement which will lay a new fabric of international relations, as the League to Enforce Peace and World Court propaganda want; which will in advance, as President Wilson and the more militant peace organizations urge, stamp that fabric with those principles without which a liberty-loving people would not for long tolerate local government or world government. Therein lies the significance of the Hensley clause (see page 308), empowering the President to call a conference of the nations.

P. U. K.

JOTTINGS

BOSTON is to vote on no-license on December 19. With Billy Sunday to help, there is said to be a fair chance that the city will go dry.

GOVERNOR HUNT both won and lost in Arizona. The final count on a very close vote is reported to show him defeated for re-election by thirty-two votes. But the referendum measure abolishing capital punishment, on which he has staked his political fortunes again and again, carried by 152 votes.

THE photographs used on page 175 of the SURVEY for November 18 were taken by Dr. W. W. Peters, of Shanghai, and reproduced by courtesy of the International Committee, Y. M. C. A.

THROUGH an unintentional and regrettable error the SURVEY stated last week that the summary of social legislation in 1916 in Bulletin No. 76 of the National Conference of Charities and Correction omitted federal legislation. As a matter of fact, federal is included along with state legislation under all of the classified headings.

"ENCOURAGE the shops that close early," says the Consumers' League of New York city, in sending out a list of twenty-four stores that will close to customers at six o'clock even during the Christmas rush, one that will close at seven, one at 9:45 and five at ten. Copies of the list may be had of the league at 105 East 22 street, New York city.

SIXTEEN lectures on mental hygiene were included in the public series offered this autumn by the New York city Department of Education. An attendance averaging over 200 and a readiness to question the speakers after a lecture indicate wide interest in the subject. The department has, therefore, asked the Mental Hygiene Committee to provide for two other series of lectures to be given in different sections of the city.

ECUADOR has recently limited the working day to eight hours for "every laborer, workman, clerk in store, office or industrial establishment, and in general, every employe of any kind." The text of the law stipulates the amount of overtime which shall be paid, includes exemption from work on Sundays and legal holidays, and compels the employer and the employe to give thirty days' notice "before making any change."

FORTY-FIVE different tracts of land have been offered to Dallas, Tex., for a municipal farm for misdemeanants. A campaign for such a farm has been conducted vigorously, and the city is said to have been won over to the idea. Two or three other cities and as many states already have such farms. Dallas may avoid issuing bonds through the sale of the present jail property, which the farm would render useless.

THE Armenian relief fund is to benefit from the sale of a volume of 130 Armenian poems, rendered into English verse by Alice Stone Blackwell. The book is just out, in time for Christmas. (Robert Chambers, Ford building, Boston, \$1.50.) Readers of the SURVEY will doubtless find some of these poems familiar through Miss Blackwell's article and translations of a year ago, *Songs of Exile*, in the SURVEY for December 4, 1915.

A SPECIAL section on public health has been opened in the Municipal Reference Library of New York city. Several libraries in the city have valuable collections of medical books; the Municipal Library is the only one specializing in subjects of public health to which the public has access. The collection was begun several years ago by the Department of Health, but has had no direct supervision hitherto. It will now be in charge of Sara N. Halliday, formerly librarian of the Lederle Laboratories.

ANSLEY WILCOX has been a trustee of the Buffalo Charity Organization Society since 1881 and president since 1906. To mark the tenth anniversary of his presidency he was presented with an illuminated scroll in which the staff joined in wishing him many years more and in pointing out that during those ten years the society grew almost as much as in the preceding thirty. The staff signatures run back to 1877, when Adam Meister began his service, lasting continuously to this time.

AT the Harvard-Technology School for Health Officers, the Duke of Sougkla, brother of the King of Siam, is taking the full course and plans to organize a national public health system on his return to Siam. Dr. Ettore Ciampollini, of Siena, Italy, has completed a medical course and is now adding this special study of public health. Another student is a member of the United States Medical Reserve Corps and others are health officers on leave or professors of bacteriology or sanitation.

BECAUSE of the prevalence of cholera in many places in Asia, the federal Public Health Service has issued special orders that steerage passengers arriving at United States ports from China and Japan shall be detained for bacteriological examinations. No passenger from these eastern ports is admitted until it has been determined he is neither infected with cholera nor a carrier of the cholera bacillus.

A "SCHOLARSHIP FUND SEAL" is being circulated by the National Association for the Study and Education of Exceptional Children to meet the special demands that infantile paralysis has made upon its work. Timely treatment and guidance, says the association, will overcome the handicap of ill health and the resulting mental warp with which numbers of children grow up. Officers of the association include Dr. Ira S. Wile, ex-President Taft, Charles W. Eliot, Commissioner of Education Claxton, Elizabeth E. Farrell, Dr. Maxmilian P. E. Groszmann.

THE Wisconsin State Board of Industrial Education has recently, it declares, carried continuation industrial schooling to every employe in Racine who wants it. At a meeting attended by the mayor and other city officials, representatives of the Central Labor Trade Council, employers of eighteen industries, the local Board of Education and the Industrial Board of Education, it was decided to add six new trades to the existing school courses and to establish continuation classes in the shops of three concerns that employ over 7,000 people. The existing central continuation school now gives half time or evening instruction to 2,000 workers.

DURING the coming year a special experiment in safeguarding the health of workingwomen will be made by the Women's Municipal League of New York city. Health is to be emphasized as one of the most important factors in vocational guidance and an effort will be made to promote a wider knowledge of personal hygiene among working girls. A doctor stationed at a large non-commercial employment agency will give every girl applying for work an opportunity to be examined and advised.

"Recently in a large department store," said Mrs. Henry A. Stimson, president of the league, "three girls dropped dead from heart trouble within a few days of each other. Since then the management of the store has inaugurated a system of physical

examinations for its employes to detect such physical defects in time."

GREATER NEW YORK, in its budget-making, seems to be missing a lesson of the infantile paralysis epidemic. It refused almost entirely the petition of the Department of Health for extended work in the Bureau of Child Hygiene. Additional medical inspectors, nurses, and six dental hygienists were asked for, to meet the need in schools and clinics of more preventive work. Only three hygienists were given, and some means for developing the school lunch work. Last year more than 200,000 school children were found to have some physical defect, in teeth, eyes and tonsils. Inadequate appropriations mean that there is but one nurse for more than 3,000 children; one doctor for more than 7,000; that only once in three years are all children examined, instead of once a year, as is done in many progressive cities and states, including New York state outside the city.

THE *Bulletin* of the New York Charity Organization Society has discovered "Jimmy Jones," who "holds the world's record for youth in teaching. Jimmy's father is sick with arthritis. His mother, who had supported the family of three until recently, is expecting a baby and can no longer work. We are now trying to take the place of the father and mother in keeping the home together. Jimmy, however, feels that he must do his share. He has been sparing his mother every unnecessary step—carrying coal and even scrubbing the floor; and he is only ten. His greatest achievement is a contribution of a dollar a week to the family treasury. Jimmy is exceedingly bright. A neighbor's child is not, and Jimmy is tutoring him in the three R's at a charge of a dollar a week. Too much work would be a bad thing for Jimmy, so we have made other arrangements for the scrubbing of the floors and have persuaded Jimmy's parents to let him join a boys' club. But Jimmy proudly continues to coach his pupil, to the great satisfaction of school teachers, parents, and everybody else."

THE Christmas holidays will see, if all plans go through, several motion picture theaters in Cleveland trying out model programs picked by the Civic Committee of the Cleveland Federation of Women's Clubs. Neighborhood groups in churches and school community centers are now being asked to support the films and enforce their use by the managers who arrange to use them. Volunteers are checking up on "first run" films and preparing data for the use of the Civic Committee in making up its programs. Films are being picked according to what is termed the "family standard." Other standards, such as children's will be worked out as opportunity presents. Bertelle Lytle, chairman of the committee, complains that no comprehensive standards of scenario, staging or other factors in the motion picture now exist beyond those of the National Board of Censors. Tentative programs were planned for last spring, but failed to make much of an impression, through a combination of small Holy Week attendance, lack of publicity and failure of managers to live up to their promises to show the whole program and nothing but the program.

ALABAMA has apparently heard often enough that she has a poor school system. She has been told that she is niggardly with her schools, that physical conditions in many rural counties are a disgrace, and that she is close to the bottom of the list of states in illiteracy. Her state superintendent of education, William F. Feagin, has been dingling this into her ears for several years and Alabama has apparently decided

that it is time to improve. When the voters of the state polled their opinions November 7, they carried by a majority of over 21,000 an amendment to the constitution that will enable much more money to be spent on schools than has heretofore been possible. Any county can now levy a special tax for school purposes not to exceed thirty cents on \$100, in addition to the tax already authorized, provided the voters of the county agree to do so at an election held for the purpose. Any school district, also, can levy a similar tax, provided the counties where it is collected are already levying as much as a three-mill school tax. A striking feature of the vote on the amendment was that fifteen "black belt" counties, which may not care to take advantage of the new tax-levying power, voted in favor of it.

THE non-competitive comity and cooperation between the schools of philanthropy, which have always characterized their relations with each other, have led to interesting exchanges within their teaching staffs. The example of Henry W. Thurston in going from the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy to the New York School of Philanthropy has been followed by interchanges between the Philadelphia, Chicago and St. Louis schools. Lydia C. Lewis has entered upon her work with the Chicago school as supervisor of field work, coming from the Pennsylvania School for Social Service, where she filled a similar position, as well as that of dean. Graduated from Swarthmore College, she worked with Mary E. Richmond in the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity for two years and afterwards pursued special studies at Woodbrooke, England, and at the University of Birmingham under Profs. W. J. Ashley and J. H. Muirhead. Lillian Wilder, who was graduated last year at the Chicago school, where she specialized in social investigation, has become supervisor of field work in the recreation department of the St. Louis School of Social Economy, where she also lectures on immigration. After graduating from Goucher College, she had several years of experience in teaching and in practical social work. Adena Miller, formerly supervisor of field work at the Chicago school, has become the civic secretary of the Cincinnati Woman's City Club.

A COMPREHENSIVE program of social legislation, embodied chiefly in the children's code, was the chief topic of discussion at the seventeenth annual meeting of the Missouri Conference for Social Welfare at Columbia. The problem of administering laws for social betterment in the average county and small town was brought to the front. Conditions throughout the state as a whole, rather than in the larger cities, were emphasized. Feeble-mindedness, rural problems, the Negro and the old Missouri fight to get politics out of state institutions were big points in the discussion. The meetings were attended not only by over 150 delegates from all over the state, but by a large number from the State University and from the city of Columbia. At the big opening meeting Sunday evening, at which Frederic Almy, president of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, spoke, there were over 1000 present. At another large open meeting, Dr. William F. Snow, secretary of the American Social Hygiene Association, spoke on modern methods of vice suppression. With his talk came the announcement of the formation of the Missouri State Society for Social Hygiene, which will take over the local work in all parts of the state. Meeting with the conference was the Missouri Association of Infirmity Officials. Rabbi Louis Bernstein of St. Joseph, was elected president for the coming year, and J. L. Wagner, secretary of the State Board of Charities, was re-elected secretary.

SURVEY

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Rachel Robinson Elmer

Then the Shepherds whose names were Knowledge Experience Watchful and Sincere, took them by the hand and welcomed them to the Delectable Mountains."
Pilgrim's Progress

December 23 - 1916

THE SURVEY

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The GIST of IT

AMERICA, writes Mr. Devine, should give, greatly and widely, from public funds and private fortunes, in cooperation with governments and relief agencies, toward the reconstruction of Europe. Its aim should be to shorten the period of complete recovery. Only thus can we do our bit, from swollen purses, to end the war in the right way—so as to lighten its curse and restore the health of the nations. Page 321.

THE Woman Who Rose Up and Walked might be the title of Dr. Ames' Christmas story. And to cure paralysis by turning on a hose would be described as a miracle in any circles but those of the modern and modest medics to which the author belongs. Page 323.

EXPERIENCE goes to show that the peculiar needs of women in industry will never be met until someone is specially charged with the task of discovering them and making them known. Hence, argues Miss Van Kleeck, the proposed woman's division in the federal Department of Labor is a good thing—let's have it. Page 327.

AT the bottom of much poor health (thank you; of course there's no such thing, but most everybody has it on and off) is poor food and at the root of poor food are mean wages or lack of gumption to buy and cook properly. Hence the dietitian, robust from her own wares, blossoms into the home economist and strikes at the family's health through its stomach. Page 329.

A SANITARIAN'S suggestion for the next Spoon River Anthology. Page 331.

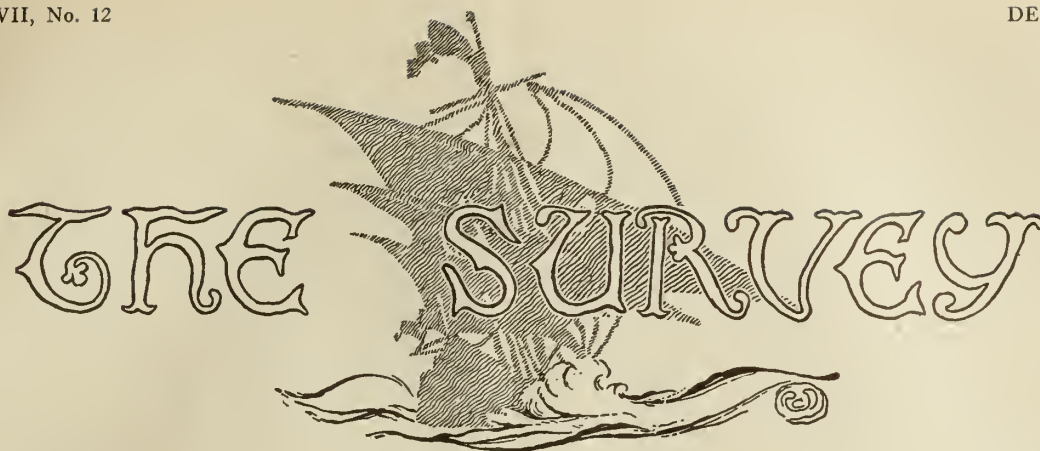
SPARE the cash and spoil the Children's Bureau, says Mrs. Kelley; or rather, demand of your congressman that this vital agency of conservation shall not be starved by heedless parsimony as the babies it serves grow thin and droop on poor milk. Page 332.

THERE'S a deal more peace talk and protest against curtailing of civil liberties in England than gets by the censor. Some facts that came over in the mind of a man, which the censor has not yet been able to reach. Page 333.

POOR Mrs. O'Rourke had no hair on her head until she was given a dollar for bread. In the casual way all committees deplore she spent it for tonic instead of flour. But behold, with her marvelous curly new mane, the family's grown self-supporting again. So the C. O. S. motto, for poor and for rich, henceforth and hereafter's—"Not alms but a switch." Page 338.

CONGRESS once more has set up the literacy test as the head-pin of its immigration policy, ready for the bowler from the White House. Political refuge is more or less preserved. Page 334. A committee to work out a national immigration policy is a promising offshoot of the National Conference on Marketing and Farm Credits. Page 334.

MINNEAPOLIS has divorced its protective work for children from the same sort of work for animals even at the cost of disbanding two old-established and popular societies. Page 336.



Ourselves and Europe

IV. Reconstruction

By Edward T. Devine

THE reconstruction of the devastated regions of Europe cannot be accomplished through indemnities. If it could be done in that way the moral sense of mankind would revolt against the injustice of it. The Socialist demand that after this war there should be no indemnities is far more just than the expectation that the conquered enemy should be made to pay the entire costs.

This war, we must continually remind ourselves, is not like other wars. There is no precedent applicable. Its burdens are too great to be imposed upon the conquered, whoever they may be; and it is by no means certain as yet who they will be. Huge expenditures will undoubtedly be required for reconstruction, but the funds from which to make them should not be raised from the meager possessions of those whom war will already have despoiled; from the product of the hard-driven toil of industrial workers whose resources the war has most completely destroyed. It is not literally impossible. Slaves were made to build the pyramids. Under the guns of conquerors who choose the avenger's part men might for a time be compelled to pay the tribute of indemnity and reparation.

Early in October, the *New Statesman* presented what may no doubt be regarded at this stage of the war as the moderate English view of the subject of "reparation." The demand that Germany must not be humiliated, the writer regards as utopian. Humiliation, bitterness and resentment are corollaries of defeat, and the allies certainly intend that Germany shall be defeated. However, the victors should reduce such bitterness to a minimum and make easy the way of its disappearance at the earliest possible moment. With this end in view, the *New Statesman* repudiates the proposal of an English writer, which has been widely circulated in Germany, that the central empires should be saddled with "the entire costs of the war." This might be just, but it would be short-sighted. The allies are, however, to be reimbursed for all the "actual damage suffered at the hands of the enemy." After Belgium, the chief claimants would be France, Poland and Serbia. Every merchant ship of either an allied or a neutral nation which has been torpedoed otherwise than when engaged in specific war service is to be replaced by a ship from the German merchant marine, the German government being left to

make its own arrangements for compensation to individual owners. These ships will be far more to be desired in the conditions existing just after the war than any amount of money which could be collected as compensation for those which were lost. "War crimes" are to be punished if the allies are ever in position to inflict punishment. There is to be no amnesty for acts "committed by the deliberate instructions of superior authorities."

Our concern with these proposals at present is their probable effect on the prospects of peace. Obviously any country which is fighting for these ends, regarding them as the irreducible minimum of the moderate wing of its expressed public opinion, is fighting for a crushing victory. It proposes not to be so grasping as to overreach itself, but it proposes to exact precisely its own terms. There is no recognition of joint responsibility for the war or for any of its consequences. The bill to be paid will not be padded, but it will include all the actual damage inflicted and it will be paid in such currency as the victors may dictate.

This is one way to look at the war. It is the patriotic, nationalistic, military view. The enemy is responsible for having begun the war. His methods are unlawful and inhuman. He is beyond the pale. He must be beaten to earth and when that is done he must make reparation. Neutrals who take a definite position in regard to the war, like belligerents, frequently express it in similar terms. Pro-German Americans think that England could have prevented the war by securing the neutrality of France. Anti-German Americans, holding the Kaiser and his advisers responsible for plunging Europe into war, insist that justice demands that Germany be not only defeated but compelled to make reparation.

This is the same bad, old, limited, and distorted view of human relations that has led to rack and inquisition, blood feuds and all manner of deviltries, since the world began. Science and religion, reason and love, are alike opposed to it; but the new idea makes way but slowly under the best conditions. When half the civilized world is fighting it is likely to disappear for the time being altogether. The new view assumes that responsibility for any such disaster as that in which we are now involved is likely to be complex, shared by

both or all sides, not easily placed on the shoulders of any one man or nation. The new view heeds Burke's admonition about not indicting a nation. It repeats the words of a higher moral authority not to judge lest we be judged. It interprets the saying about woe to them by whom offenses come as prophecy—prophecy terribly fulfilled in our ears—not as a warrant for visiting more woe on those by whom in our very finite judgment we think they have come. The cow that kicked over the lamp in a Chicago barn in October of 1871 had about as much responsibility for the great fire as any one man in Germany or in Serbia has for the present conflagration. The new idea of the war, the view suggested by reason and good will, is that it came because the nations had not taken adequate measures to prevent it; and that in this failure America is as criminally negligent as England or Germany. We share the responsibility for the disaster which our civilization did not foresee, or, foreseeing, did not prevent.

Whatever may be the verdict of history as to the causes of the war and the relative responsibility of the different nations for its beginning, there will be at its end an immediate world-wide problem of relief and rehabilitation to solve. The prosperous and intact nations should help to solve it. Americans in Europe are constantly hearing that their country is, of course, getting rich from the war. Such remarks imply that individual Americans, whether they are actually sharing in war-profits or not, are somehow to be felicitated on the resulting prosperity. Both the remarks and the inference have some basis, although the further natural inference that America wants the war to go on for this reason or any other has not.

PROSPERITY and peace in this country are stubborn facts, just as the stupendous misery into which war has plunged the nations of Europe is a stubborn fact. Suffering which money can relieve and great wealth cannot exist side by side without creating obligations. The nations which have prospered from the war, rather than the conquered and the depleted nations, must take the big share in the relief of suffering and the restoration to normal conditions.

Nor should it all be left to the Rockefeller Foundation. The government itself, if such help would be acceptable, might appropriate some hundreds of millions of dollars to help rebuild Belgium and the stricken villages of France and Poland. A similar investment in Mexico, proportionate to the need, might equally be justified, though that is another story and one which even more closely concerns us.

As to Europe, the big fund for the orphans of France is an excellent beginning. German and Austrian orphans have, of course, fully as good a claim on American philanthropy as those of France and Belgium. Galicia and the Balkan states, Armenia and Syria, will have to be restored. Some careful experiments in rebuilding are already under way in France and they will show how such work is to be done. The Belgian Relief Commission will have a real experience on which to build and will certainly have many constructive plans and ideas which will command the respect of hard-headed business men. Our millionaires, whether they have made their money from the sale of armament and munitions or not, will find here a field in which there is no danger of doing harm with their gifts, none, at least, against which it is not perfectly practicable to take ample safeguards.

We Americans have a two-fold responsibility: (1) to set our faces resolutely against the ruthless exploitation of any conquered peoples, whether they be Teuton, Gaul, Slav, or Anglo-Saxon; whether Christian, Mohammedan, or Jew; (2) to take the lead in laying securely the foundations of future peace.

Of these the first is immediate, concrete, comparatively simple. It is like that part of the scripture parable in which the paralytic is told to take up his bed and walk. The bystander can see for himself whether it works. If it does, the power to forgive sins may exist also. If the waste places are not to be restored by indemnity, that is to say by robbing the industrial workers of the beaten countries of what remains to them of the fruits of their labor, then it must be done by generosity; if not by military compulsion exerted on conquered peoples, then by the compulsion of the instinct of humanity working in the prosperous and privileged—which does not mean merely the millionaires.

Thus far, in proportion to our resources, American gifts have been paltry. While the war continues this is likely to be the case. Our information as to what is required and what is possible is meager. Reports are censored for military reasons. What philanthropy with feeble and uncertain hand seeks to save, war the next moment with a mailed fist destroys. Much is done, of course, in the aggregate, simply because human hearts are human and do respond when men are dying and women are starving and children are left fatherless in communities which have no way of caring even for the widow and the fatherless. Capable and devoted men and women everywhere are doing what they can, but they are closely restricted by the circumstances of war and their resources are relatively small.

After the war the golden opportunity for constructive philanthropy will come. War will no longer be undoing in a moment what the whole day creates. War policy will no longer stay the strong right arm of charity. The border police will allow those who are on errands of mercy to pass freely to and fro and it will be the time for large expenditures, such gigantic enterprises as the philanthropic mind has never conceived.

This is not meant, of course, to discourage present action in such matters as will not wait and as are now possible. The American Red Cross can spend all the money put at its disposal in legitimate neutral relief of the sick and wounded and of non-combatants. The Rockefeller Foundation and the Belgium Relief Commission are accomplishing great things. The Jewish relief agencies, working through the joint distribution committee and the many national agencies, should have liberal support while the war lasts. The Y. M. C. A. and the other agencies that are working for prisoners should have increased support, for the need of such work as they are doing cannot be overestimated.

THESE things, however, all put together, do not measure American philanthropic interest in the war. They do not sound the depths of American generosity. They do not fully represent American vision and constructive statesmanship. They leave unoccupied the greatest field of all, that of ending the war in such a way as to lighten its curse; in such a way as to restore the health of the nations and to promote the new and better organization of the world.

Certain things which might bring temporary and superficial relief to European communities are for good reasons to be avoided. We do not want to see a relaxation of our immigration laws. We have taken measures betimes to prevent the dumping of cheaply manufactured products into our ports. We do not contemplate an American alliance with any one European nation or any one group in hostility to others or to their exclusion. We do not desire to see our commerce seriously checked by economic alliances from which we are excluded. We have no intention that our government shall go into partnership with foreign investors. We do not mean

that philanthropy shall become a cloak for commercial enterprise.

None of these things is involved in the discharge of our unique humanitarian obligation. We should give generously and in a generous spirit. We should give from public funds and from private fortunes. We should give on carefully devised plans, in cooperation with the governments concerned and with local relief agencies. Our giving should have definite aims—to shorten the period of complete recovery and to lessen suffering. We should give because we have and others need, with no fear that any nation at war will have suffered less than it deserves. We should give in various ways: food, clothing and shelter outright where those are needed; loans without interest, such as Dr. Magnes has suggested for Jews who can be expected to repay; loans with interest where that would be more appropriate; funds for credit associations to lend to their own members when that is practicable; loans through local banks and municipal agencies for the rebuilding of homes and small business enterprises; funds for schools and hospitals and colonies of various kinds according to the need.

We should give until we feel it, until we have to do without things we would like to have. We should give in proportion to the catastrophe—a thousand dollars for every penny which we have ever been called upon to give because of any fire or famine or earthquake, for the scourge from which mankind is suffering now is a hundred thousand times worse than any disaster in the history of modern times. We should give because the burdens left by the war will be heavier in a thousand communities than they can bear alone; and we should give to save our souls alive.

If we do not realize this calamity we shall hardly be able to realize the distress from hard times when they come next in our own cities. If we do not recognize and respond to this call upon our sympathies we shall see our sympathies shrivel and die. If we do not hear the Pole, the Armenian, the Serb and the Belgian in their present agony, we show ourselves to be without the international sympathies out of which alone the international mind may develop. If the wholesale death and the infinite sorrow even in the great nations—in Russia and Germany and France and England—do not awaken a sincere desire to do what we can for them also, as we would be done by, then we should close our churches and synagogues, for there is no spark of love left in our hearts. Then we should eat and drink and laugh aloud at the thin veneer of our civilization, recognizing and acknowledging that we are one with the savage and the beast, fighting animals and little else, as we were for all the thousands of years before what we call civilization began.

But it is not so. Opposing indemnities, not from partisanship but from a realization of what they would mean in degradation and hardships for millions who did not will the war, in perpetuation of hot resentments and bitter anger against the oppressor, we will share of our abundance to reconstruct the waste places. So we will help to take the curse off the war. Thus we will make the greatest investment ever made for an enduring peace. In this way we will give evidence that our response to the President's Thanksgiving proclamation is not merely in lip service. This will be our pledge that the new League to Enforce Peace which we hope to establish after the war will be in very truth a safeguard for the interests of humanity.

How Cold Water Brought Christmas

By Thaddeus Hoyt Ames, M.D.

SHE raised her head slightly from her pillow and said, "We have just finished our tea, doctor. If you had been on time your tea would have been hot for you.

I will have some more brought in if you like. I ordered it for four-thirty, thinking you would be right here."

Her head dropped back wearily on the pillows, and the nurse standing at her side smoothed the coverings and adjusted the lacy boudoir cap so that none of its effectiveness should be lost.

As she evidently awaited a reply to her remark about my having arrived later than she expected, I said, "I want to tell you about something that has just happened this afternoon at the hospital clinic." And I gave her this incident:

AS I walked through the clinic to my office, I noticed among those waiting for examination, a patient seated with her feet braced up on a second chair to prevent her from slipping to the floor. She was a frail woman, pale and limp. A man with her gently pushed her head to the back of the chair so that it should not topple forward, and then, as if accustomed to attend her, sat down beside her. Neither paid any special attention to the other; it was as if they were tired and waiting in the station for a train.

It was their turn, and their lot fell by chance to me, in a room which was at the farther end of the waiting-room,

perhaps a hundred feet away from them. The man glanced down the aisle, which was lined by chairs filled with waiting patients, then bent over without a word and lifted her up by the hips. By his motion her head and arms were brought over upon his back, and when he straightened up she lay face downward over his shoulder, much as a bag of flour. Straight down the aisle he came toward me, while her feet dangled loosely in front and her arms and head, hair flowing and besnarled, flopped behind. In the clinic, amazed attention reigned.

In my room he bent forward and her body slid off his shoulder upon the examining couch. Her limp figure remained just as it dropped; there was no movement of her limbs, but her open eyes showed that she was alert to the situation.

"She's my wife. She's paralyzed," the man said, in broken English.

"How long has she been paralyzed?"

"A little over two months."

"Did this begin quickly or slowly?"

"She was out one Sunday afternoon wheeling the baby-carriage and she dropped to the ground. Since then she cannot stand up. The doctor says she cannot get well for a year."

He was trying to give me intelligent information, but he

had some language difficulty. The name on the little yellow card of admission to the clinic was an ordinary Jewish one, but he explained that they were Rumanians and did not understand my questions easily. So without further questioning I proceeded with a routine physical examination.

The reflexes and tests which are abnormal in any case of real paralysis, were in this case all normal. There was no organic difficulty: the movements of the arms and shoulders, in fact, everything above the waistline, was normal. After a little persuasion she was able to lift both her legs off from the examining table. This surprised me, for I had not seen her move her legs until I told her to do so. She explained that when she was lying in bed she was able to move her legs about in any direction, but it was only when she stood up that they were paralyzed. I induced her to shove her feet off the edge of the table and assisted her to sit upright. I asked the husband to take one arm while I steadied her on the other side, but the minute her feet touched the floor her knees bent, her hips became unfirm and she sank to the floor. I tried two or three times to get her legs in a straight position, holding on to her knees, but it was impossible to get her to stand up. I placed a chair under her and asked the husband to hold her in a sitting position until I returned to the room. Calling a nurse from the hydrotherapy department, the entrance of which was next to my room, I whispered that I wanted her to give my patient, ahead of the waiting patients, an immediate treatment. So despite considerable curiosity and jealousy on the part of the ten or fifteen women who were waiting for their turns for baths, and who were unwilling to be delayed, my patient was wheeled into the hydrotherapy department. Being unable to stand, she was seated on a low stool beside the posts of the cabinet, to which she held. She, of course, knew nothing of what was coming.

THE arrangements were all made; the temperature of the water was regulated to sixty degrees, the method of application was the same "fire-hose," as we sometimes call it, that is always used in routine tonic baths. The pressure was to be as strong as the nurse thought the patient could stand. Quicker than I can tell all this a stream of cold water from the hose struck the patient's back.

Her hands released their hold on the posts and she slid off the low stool to the floor. I was rushed in from the ante-room. I noticed that her hands were moving as they lay stretched above the head, so I knew we could proceed. She lay on her side with her back toward us, well placed for a continuance of the treatment. Turning to the nurse, I said, "Quickly now, turn on the water again, just as cold as before, and play it up and down her back between her shoulders and her hips."

After two trips of the stream up and down her spine, the woman cried out from the floor, "Stop! Stop it, stop!" Then there was silence while the stream made another couple of trips back and forth, and she yelled a little louder, "Stop, it hurts!"

I motioned to the nurse to continue the cold water, when suddenly the woman, putting her hands under her with a quick motion, jumped up and ran out of reach of the hose. A nurse standing by with a dry sheet enveloped her instantly and gave her a good brisk rubbing. The patient was shivering so that she did not realize that she was standing up. I returned to my room where sat the husband, entirely unaware that anything unusual had taken place.

Nor did I tell him. Instead, questioning him a little, I found that his wife was twenty-eight years old, weighed ninety-eight pounds and that they had five children. He said

his occupation was that of a tailor and that he was making eighteen dollars a week. On this the entire family was living.

Just at this moment there was a knock on the door and opening it I stepped outside, finding the wife standing, fully dressed, with the nurse. As she had walked out of the bathroom with the nurse, the waiting patients, a little peeved at being so long delayed, suddenly recognized in the walking woman the prostrate form of the patient who had been carried into the room a few minutes before, and they started whispering among themselves.

Standing back of the woman I pushed the office door open. All that the husband saw was the figure of his wife standing alone. He jumped up from his chair, and then stood motionless, speechless, unable to believe that it was she walking in.

I asked her if she would please speak to the nurse, who was going back to her own room, to thank her for giving the treatment. It had occurred to me as she stood in the doorway, just before she saw her husband, that she seemed to be angry because of what had happened, and I did not want her to feel that what had been done to her was any sort of a punishment, but was a treatment, which brought her to her normal state. The woman glanced briefly at the nurse and said that she did not want to thank her.

"But you must thank her; she did all this for you."

"I won't. I didn't like it. It was cold!"

"Well," I said to her, "if you don't thank her instantly I will take you straight back there and see that you get some more of that cold water." I looked at her sharply as I said it.

"You wouldn't do that, would you?"

"Yes, I would; and I will, too, if you don't thank her instantly."

"All right, then—thank you, nurse!" And she turned toward the nurse with a sullen look on her face. Sullen, perhaps, is not the word to use; the look was one of mingled anger at being compelled to do something she did not want to do, and surprise at what had happened to her and at the unexpected turn of events.

The nurse smiled pleasantly and said that she was very glad that the patient had reacted so well to the cold water, and that she felt sure that it had done her a lot of good. Wishing the patient "good luck," she retired.

"Your wife must stay here in the hospital with us until she has fully recovered from the strain of the past few weeks," I told the man. "Have you any means for keeping her here? The ward beds are fifteen dollars a week."

"Well, doctor, I make only eighteen dollars a week, but if I must, I must," he said determinedly.

"But," she interposed, "doctor, I have five children at home. I have already been sick two months. I can't come to the hospital. I have got to take care of my little baby."

"How old is the oldest child?"

"Five years," she said.

"And the youngest?"

"She is now just five months."

I thought to myself, twenty-eight years old, ninety-eight pounds, five children, the youngest only five months old—all on eighteen dollars a week! Aloud I commented, "How many more are there going to be?"

She looked at me seriously and directly, shrugged her shoulders and with that typical Jewish mannerism of raising the hands with the palms upward, said naïvely, "I don't know; ask my husband."

The husband stood right there, but he had no reply to make, except that he wanted to get his wife back home to take care of the children, as it was very hard for him to care for them alone while she was gone.

I said to him, "You don't mean that you take care of them yourself, do you?"

He replied, "Oh, no, not the baby; she has been taken to her grandmother's; but the others are at home."

"But you aren't there during the day, are you?"

"I get their breakfast in the morning and they stay there in the house until I come home at night. One of my wife's friends brings them some soup at noon."

"Well, you must manage as best you can while your wife remains in the hospital." As they went out they prevented the clinic patients from enjoying his carrying her on his shoulder again. This time both walked, and a nurse escorted her to the elevator to go to a ward.

THE airy creation on the head of the lady in front of me did not stir during the relating of the episode, but she had listened.

"Now," I continued, "you will please pardon me for having been late, and for delaying my inquiries about your health by this long recital, won't you? Have you had that same pain today?" and with that I entered upon my usual visit.

Early next morning a note was brought by messenger to my office:

My dear Doctor:

Since you left this afternoon I have been thinking about that woman at the hospital. It is two days before Christmas and I have not yet made my usual offering to the poor. I wonder if you would be kind enough to give my contribution this year to this woman? I am glad she could get well, and I wish she might go to the country before she has to work again.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosed were banknotes.

On my visit at the hospital that day the little woman showed me that she was fully able to stand all the time and informed me that she had had another of the tonic baths and had stood up while the stream was played up and down her spine and had held onto the posts with grim determination not to fall over. She had even smiled and said that the second bath had done her more good than the first.

On my inquiry about her life at home, she said that in their married life she and her husband were both very happy, but that when each year brought another baby, she found much trouble in managing them and was discouraged because she could not arrange her household affairs properly. She complained that by the time her husband came home, about nine in the evening, she never had the beds made, and the dishes washed and his supper ready for him. During the day there was so much to do for the children and so much mending and sewing that she never had a moment to rest. One child had to be cleaned up, one was crying to be fed, or another needed quieting after a hurt, so that she had to take care of the many exigencies and leave the ordinary household duties untouched. When her husband came home late at night he would help her wash the dishes.

"Did he object to helping you wash dishes?"

"Oh, no, he was very nice; he always finished things for me; helped sew the children's dresses, made the beds and swept the floors, and did lots of the hard work."

"I judge your husband loves you."

"Loves me? Do you think he does?"

"You don't know whether your husband loves you?"

"How should I know?"

"Doesn't he ever tell you?"

"When he comes home we are too busy. It is work, work,

work, all the time, and we never get through. We have no time to talk about such things."

Then came more of the story, brokenly:

"Doctor, ever since the second baby came, I have been doing things all night for the children just as I would during the daytime. We all sleep in one room. First one child wakes up to be 'tended to and then another. And if they do not all wake up together there are at least three or four times in the night that I must get up. For the last five years I do not suppose that I have ever had more than three hours' sleep at a time. After I have worked hard all day I do not feel good enough to work at night, and after I have worked most of the night I do not feel like working all day.

"I am always tired; but it seemed last fall after the little baby came that I just couldn't go any farther. I got so I hated the children and everything about the house, and I wanted to get away because there wasn't any chance to rest. Maybe you think I could rest all this two months I've been sick, but how could I rest when they told me that I couldn't get well for a year? I knew my children didn't have a mother. I didn't sleep any better those two months than I did before. I could hear the children crying all night just the same. Since I have been here in the hospital I have had the first rest in five years. I love my little baby and I want to go home to her. Can't I go home today, doctor? I can walk now; please, let me go!"

THAT evening I called up her husband on the telephone, asking him to come to my office on the next day. I noticed in his voice a little hesitation and reluctance, but this was overcome and he consented to come in the evening after he had finished his work. It was not until later that I found his reluctance was due to a sudden flash across his mind that I wanted him to come in order to present him with a bill for the services rendered his wife in the clinic.

In my conversation with him the next day, I was anxious to find out just what was his financial condition and to see if he was one of the people who are apt to come to the clinics about Christmas time with the idea of getting some of the holiday help. So I said, "Why don't you get someone to stay with the children?"

He shrugged his shoulders and said, "I have got no money for that."

"Can't you get help somewhere?"

He held his head up, stung by my question. "I am not the kind of a man to take help. What do you think I am, a beggar?"

"I did not think you were a beggar," I apologized. "Do you know that there are certain societies which lend or give help to people who need it for a little while? Have you been to any of them?"

"Oh, no, I do not do that," he said. "I do not take charity. It is not for my kind. I pay for what I have; nobody gives me anything—I won't take anything from anybody."

"But have you been able to get along in the past without any debts?"

"It is awful! I borrowed from my wife's brother-in-law, but I pay him back some day."

"Have you borrowed much from him?"

"Oh, yes, a good deal."

"Well, do you mind telling me how much you have borrowed?"

"I borrow forty dollars, but I pay it back some day. When I say I pay, I pay."

"Perhaps I should explain why I asked you these questions," I said. "I took the liberty of telling a patient of mine about

your wife. She is sick with a disease from which she knows she can never recover. She can't live very much longer, and she is not able to get out of bed at all, but sometimes she can sit up for a little while in bed. When I told her about your wife she said she would like to make a Christmas present to her. Now, you may be able to refuse help, but it certainly would not be polite to this lady who is sick to refuse a Christmas present to your wife. Would you want to hurt the lady's feelings by my telling her that you refused her present?"

"I am sorry the lady is sick. It would not be nice to refuse her present."

I took from my pocket, where I had several envelopes, the one which I knew contained only a five-dollar bill and handed it to him. Taking it, he turned it over casually to look at the back, as if he expected to find a picture there, and seemed a little disappointed not to find something pretty for his wife. Slowly and rather politely he put it in his pocket. He said nothing, but fumbled his hat as if it was time for him to go.

"Don't you want to see what the lady is sending your wife?"

He took the envelope out of his pocket and opening it slowly, pulled out the bill. His breath came short and jerkily, tears poured down his cheeks. He clutched his throat and started of a sudden toward the door, but turned as I said, "Won't you wait just a minute?"

"This bill, the lady says, is to buy presents for the children for Christmas. She has also arranged for your wife to stay in the hospital and then go to the country to get nice and fat before she goes home. That is your wife's Christmas present. The lady did not say anything about a present for you; I guess you are left out."

But he did not hear the last, the tears were coming too fast. All he could say was, "I have read about nice people in this world, but I never before met any."

The next morning he telephoned me that he had mailed a letter to me to give to "the kind lady," and that his wife was also sending one for her. He apologized that neither he nor she could write in English. When my patient opened the letters I gave her she found that one was written in Rumanian and the other in the Hebrew script. She said she was not any better educated than they; she could not read anything but English; but she knew what was in the letters.

I told her of the woman's delight at the prospect of getting fat enough and slept up enough to go back to her family.

"Do you mean, doctor, that that woman has already made up her mind that she wants to go back to that same situation and is determined to make things go better?"

"Absolutely, yes, she has."

"Well, this is a lesson to me—and I feel happier than I have for years. What a Christmas this is!"

Just Pretend

By Harry Lee

NEW YORK ASSOCIATION FOR IMPROVING THE CONDITION OF THE POOR

"PRETEND, just pretend,"

As the little folks say,
That the rent is past due,
That you've nothing to pay—
The food is so high,
The coal is so dear,
The wood is so scarce—
And Christmas so near!

"Pretend, just pretend"

That Your girls and Your boys
Had to gaze into windows
At other folks' toys;
To hear about Santa
And tremble with fear
That they be forgotten
And Christmas so near!

For Women in Industry

The Proposed New Division in the Department of Labor

By Mary Van Kleeck

SECRETARY COMMITTEE ON WOMEN'S WORK, RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

WHEN the federal Children's Bureau was created it required no gift of prophecy to foresee that its success would lead to the demand for a similar form of organization for women in industry. Indeed, it was as early as 1909, three years before the establishment of the Children's Bureau, that the National Women's Trade Union League at its convention in Chicago passed resolutions requesting the organization of a separate division for women in industry in the Department of Commerce and Labor. Other organizations, notably the National Consumers' League, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and the Woman's Department of the National Civic Federation, have joined the trade union women in their request, and on December 5 the Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives made a favorable report on the bill "to establish in the Department of Labor a division to be known as a woman's division" (H. R. 16358). This is the bill introduced last spring by Congressman J. J. Casey of Pennsylvania and by Senator Jones of Washington. It has the approval of the secretary of labor.

If the bill is passed, as its friends believe it may be during the present session of Congress, it will not only be an epoch-making recognition of the problems of wage-earning women, but may ultimately affect the whole scheme of collection of industrial investigations by the federal government. It is well to consider it in its larger relations and not merely as a measure "which the women want"—a slogan which is rapidly becoming powerful in the councils of the land, for obvious reasons.

The bill provides that the division "shall investigate and report to the said department upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of wage-earning women, and shall especially investigate the questions of the competitive influence of women in the several industries, the adjustment of modern industrial mechanism and management to the nervous organization of women, and the influence of industrial employments upon the subsequent home life of wage-earning women." The division will be part of the Department of Labor, and directly responsible to the secretary of labor, who will appoint its chief, a woman, at a salary of \$3,500. It will be co-ordinate with the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Children's Bureau in the same department. Statutory provision is made for the staff and their compensation—an assistant chief and editor, three field experts, nine special agents and five stenographers and clerks. The bill carries its own appropriation of \$29,480 for salaries, \$2,000 for rent and \$15,440 for all other expenses, a total of \$46,920, or a little more than 20 per cent of the total appropriation usually granted the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Cooperation is legalized by a section requiring consultation with the chief of the Children's Bureau concerning subjects involving children and with the chief of the Bureau of Labor Statistics "when cooperation is necessary to eliminate needless duplication of expense in the conduct of investigations."

The proposal seems to have no active enemies but it has some unconverted critics who base their opposition upon the

undesirability of duplicating machinery for investigation already provided in the Bureau of Labor Statistics. They maintain that men and women work in the same industries and in the same establishments; that they are affected alike by the high cost of living; and that fundamental industrial problems, such as accidents and occupational disease, or unemployment, are not to be solved differently for women and for men in industry. Therefore, they believe that field work in investigation as well as long-range planning of subjects for continuous study may be facilitated by centering in one bureau the whole responsibility for industrial investigations.

If the work expected of the proposed new division were merely the collection of statistics, this would be a powerful argument against it. What the women want, however, is special counsel in the government, continuous attention to their needs, a scheme of organization which will automatically direct the attention of Congress to its recommendations, and the opportunity to blaze new trails in practical research and in methods of making facts known to the public. They base their case upon the special problems of wage-earning women, as distinct from those of wage-earning men, and they believe that the situation is analogous to that which led to the organization of the Children's Bureau, in spite of the fact that logically the Bureau of Labor Statistics or the census office might have been expected to carry on all necessary investigations of conditions affecting children.

Past history is significant. Following the extensive study of the Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners, carried on in 1907-9 by special act of Congress, Charles P. Neill, commissioner of labor, under whose direction this large investigation had been made, organized a woman's division in the Bureau of Labor, now the Bureau of Labor Statistics. It is not to be denied that the Bureau of Labor Statistics has to its credit a large output of facts concerning women's work and that these facts should have received far more public attention than has been accorded them.

First-Hand Information

FOLLOWING THE REPORT, in nineteen volumes, of the special investigation of 1907-9, nine bulletins in the special series on women in industry have been published and numerous other volumes have dealt with important subjects affecting women, such as the studies of the dress and waist industry and the cloak and suit industry in New York. It is true also that the publications on retail prices and cost of living, or wages and hours of labor in certain selected industries studied at regular intervals, or unemployment, or industrial accidents and hygiene, or administration of labor laws, and, indeed, the greater part of the output of the bureau have a bearing on conditions affecting women as well as men. To base the argument for the new plan wholly upon the failure of the bureau in the past to collect facts about wage-earning women would be to ignore a mass of valuable material in its publications. In several recent instances effective use has been made of the first-hand studies in the series on women in industry when they were issued promptly enough to be of serv-

ice to state legislatures or to Congress, but we have much to do before we can be said to have made adequate provision for the facts needed as a basis for wise action.

The secretary of labor, in endorsing the bill last July, wrote:

"My first impulse was to suggest that, in view of the fact that the Bureau of Labor Statistics has a jurisdiction covering all of this field the division should be created within that bureau rather than directly attached to the department. Upon more mature deliberation I am convinced that while there are no sharp lines of demarcation between women in industry and men in industry so far as certain phases are concerned and the same machinery which is established to collect and compile wage schedules of men, could, with superior efficiency, be utilized for collecting and compiling the wages of women in the same industry, there is a vast field for investigation and study which specially and peculiarly affects women in industry which could be more effectively handled under the immediate direction of women than under the direction of men. I have particular reference to the physical and mental effects of certain lines of modern industry upon those who are to be the mothers of future generations and the effect of that effect upon those generations themselves."

Weakness of the Women's Division

THE WEAKNESS in the present situation is that there is no statutory recognition of a division within the bureau for investigations of women in industry and no continuous, dependable appropriations for them, even in the bureau's own budget, and that the chief of the division necessarily lacks the power of independent initiative. At the present moment, indeed, the division for women in industry is practically non-existent. Other lines of inquiry to which the bureau is already committed absorb much of its funds. Special pieces of work often fall to its lot for which Congress forgets to make special appropriations. The funds actually used for the woman's division have been less than 4 per cent of the total appropriation, and salaries for women have been too low.

Under such conditions of uncertainty and limited resources, far-reaching plans for investigation for women, the building up of a coherent and continuous plan, and vigorous attacks upon one urgent problem after another become impossible. An efficient staff cannot be maintained with so little assurance of permanent tenure, and the momentum of accumulating experience is thus lost. Even since the organization of a woman's division in the present bureau, there has not been sufficient continuity in investigations and no effective drive at a single goal. In the other publications of the bureau, the statistics about women, although separately classified, have not been presented in such a way as to reveal their real significance for women. We have no analysis, for instance, of the reasons for differences in earnings of men and women in the series of bulletins on wages.

The proposed remedy avoids the weakness of the present plan. It gives statutory sanction to continuous studies for women, and insures more interest from congressmen, who cannot escape consideration of the needs of the woman's division when the appropriation bill is submitted each year. A woman at the head of her own division and responsible directly to the secretary of labor will command attention and, therefore, be more likely to secure results in practical action than if she be a subordinate worker in another bureau. She can carry out more effectively the specialized task of making vital to the public the urgent needs of the most handicapped group in the labor market. She can be for them a special friend in the government, unceasingly watching their interests.

Quite as important as its relation to women workers, however, is the effect of the measure upon the whole method of industrial investigations in the federal government. If it means wasteful duplication and an illogical separation of functions so that the sum total of our industrial research will be less effective, it would be singularly unstatesmanlike to advocate it. It should not be forgotten, however, that the proposal involves merely a change of organization within the Department of Labor, not the establishment of a new agency unrelated to the Bureau of Labor Statistics or to the Children's Bureau. Duplication could easily be avoided by a staff organization within the Department of Labor to formulate plans for all industrial research. There may be internal difficulties in the way of such a plan, but to the outsider it would seem to be most desirable if the three chiefs should constitute themselves a commission on industrial investigation, thus reenforcing each other's programs. Moreover, the removal of special work for women from the Bureau of Labor Statistics will leave the bureau's funds entirely free for urgent industrial investigations affecting both men and women or men alone. Studies in collective bargaining, for instance, need to be extended and made more illuminating that we may have concrete evidence on its methods and results.

The program of the new woman's division cannot, of course, be predicted in detail. Congressman Keating, reporting for the Committee on Labor, would have the division collect information of a practical kind to be used by industry itself, by the schools in planning industrial training, and by the public in determining the need for remedial legislation, and (promising addition) its effects. "We must know in a given industry," he writes in the formal report on the bill,

"whether women suffer more or less from unemployment than men in that industry; we must know how much of this lost time is due to personal causes which are common factors in the lives of wage-earning women as distinguished from wage-earning men, and how much is due to personal factors affecting men and women equally. We must know to what extent the equipment of machinery and the general management of the various industries take into consideration the physical and nervous organization of women wage-earners. We must know the effects of speed, complexity and monotony—all factors in modern industry—on the physical and nervous organization of women. The division's greatest opportunity for service lies in its privilege of materially assisting the efforts to settle questions of fact by furnishing statistically accurate and intelligible descriptions of the demands of various occupations upon women; in its cooperation with federal and state agencies in the effort to determine the extent to which these demands endanger the health of women wage-earners and in devising and suggesting practicable means to lessen these dangers."

Reaching Wider Audiences

THE SAME REPORT of the Committee on Labor stresses also the need for such a presentation of facts as shall appeal to a wide audience. It points out concerning the woman's division that "as part of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, its bulletins were naturally forced into the form of reference books for experts only, whereas the woman's division should tell the very human story of women wage-earners in a way that every intelligent person can easily understand."

It is true that there remains in the bureau today something of a traditional conception of the proper form for reports issued by a governmental bureau. In the first annual report of the federal Bureau of Labor in 1886, it is stated that "the matter presented herewith is largely statistical, whether presented in the text of the work or in tabu-

lar form. Theoretical discussion has been avoided so far as possible." An examination of the reports of the bureau shows how great has been the emphasis upon statistical presentation rather than upon an unstatistical, but none the less scientific description of conditions. Under the present commissioner, Royal Meeker, distinct gains have been made in the recognition of the task of public education. The useful *Monthly Review* is one evidence of this. But the traditional attitude still exists. If a woman's division, beginning without the hampering effect of certain recognized forms for reports can use new methods, it may afford a useful demon-

stration of the fact that government reports may be both scientific and illuminating.

Certainly we need facts. We must know more about minimum wage laws, the extent of night work and its results, the employment of married women in industry, and the health effects of dangerous processes. The difficulties of varying legislation in different states may be made to serve a useful purpose if the federal government will draw conclusions as to their relative merits. The creation of a woman's division seems to be a promising first step in a more coherent, nationwide program for protecting women in industry.

Home Economics and Public Health

By *Winifred Stuart Gibbs*

LECTURER IN HOUSEHOLD ARTS, TEACHERS' COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

OUR grandmothers did not suspect it, but they were the true founders of the home economics movement. They baked and brewed and made and mended, that their families might be fed, clothed and kept in good health. They had no thought of making a "science" of their housekeeping, nor did anyone stagger under a sense of responsibility to the body social. Nevertheless these homemakers and housekeepers were blazing trails for their daughters and granddaughters.

The founders and leaders of a cause have a place all their own, but before the time is ripe for their efforts many forces must have been at work. There could have been no home economics movement if there had not first been homes.

At the very time when mid-Victorian home life was pursuing its placid way, Ruskin was laying hold of certain principles and their inter-relationships. He realized that the "lady" or "loaf-giver"—the domina or "house lady" gave to her household much beside the literal loaf. Of the loaf-giver's education he wrote: "All such knowledge shall be given her as may enable her to understand, and even to aid [what would he say today?] the work of men." Another time he says: "It is of the highest importance . . . that she should follow at least some one path of scientific attainment." Again, "She has a happy smile because there is a little wall around her place of peace; and yet she knows in her heart that outside of that little rose-covered wall the wild grass to the horizon is torn up by the agony of men and beat level by the drift of their life-blood."

Today we should sum up all this by saying that home economics, as its name implies, began in the home, developed in the classroom and reached its *summum bonum* in the present-day field of social and sanitary science.

In order to review this initial stage, we have only to go back, each one to his own home. Was not its busy Presiding Genius a teacher? a demonstrator of sanitary housing and attractive furnishing? a supervisor of division of income and household accounting, of dietary-making, cookery and nutrition, of clothing and of sewing, of first aid and of home nursing, not to mention Christian ethics and a few other trifles akin? Busy places, these human laboratories! Small wonder that the compounds resulting from their activities, compounds of intellectual processes, of character-dust and soul-filaments, should today, by their very existence, create larger and larger fields of service.

Gradually, keen-minded housekeepers began to realize that

they were living science just as certainly as their husbands and sons were making history. They began to desire for their profession a more formal recognition. It was no longer enough to keep their homes clean; they began to ask questions about household bacteriology. Feeding the family was just as sacred a duty as ever, but the housekeeper began to ask, Why is milk good for children? A recipe ceased to be merely "Mrs. Brown's corn bread," and came to stand for energy that should help Susy learn her lessons.

While continuing to care for her children's health as a matter of course, the mother came to ponder, What law of health have I broken that members of my family have frequent colds and indigestion? What connection is there between impure milk and that epidemic in Jack's grade at school? What is my own responsibility to other mothers and to other homes? And a new home economics ideal rose, companion to the new public health.

About this same period wide-awake educators felt a growing consciousness of something lacking in their courses of study. They were no longer satisfied to stop at proficiency in arithmetic and accuracy in spelling. Physiology, "cooking" and "sewing" were more emphasized.

This transition time of home economics was one of much misdirected energy, but the underlying principles were sound and simple. There was much discussion of the pedagogical and psychological possibilities of "domestic science"; and "domestic art" teachers realized that the subjects involved presented many opportunities for the cultivation of manual dexterity. In some cases, perhaps, technique was pursued to the undoing of the larger result. Wise leaders were needed to organize the good material and discard the poor.

The Early Meetings

IN 1899, such leaders, eleven of them, held the first formal conference on "home science and household economics." The Lake Placid Club, where the conference was held, saw an organization of forces—home, school and social—destined to put home economics definitely in line for its highest development.

Of the fifteen topics planned for discussion at Lake Placid, three may be quoted as best illustrating the triple theme of this paper: First, How can domestic science help the woman who does her own work? Then, The training of teachers of domestic science, and standards of living as affected by sanitary science. Thus home economics touches public health at a second point in the line of their progress.

In 1908, the Lake Placid conference was merged into the new American Home Economics Association. The first issue of the *Journal of Home Economics*, official organ of the new association, sounds the note of contact with social activities, particularly public health.

In a comprehensive review of *Charities and The Commons*, that later became the SURVEY, Benjamin Andrews wrote: "There is no other magazine published which comes so closely into touch with the whole field of home economics as *Charities*." Dr. Andrews then quotes a paper by Ira S. Wile that had appeared in *Charities*, and entitled Economic Dietetics, in which Dr. Wile said that "Instruction in dietetics would cause (1) a reduction in the weekly cost of food; (2) a reduction in the waste of food; (3) a reduction in the indigestibility of food." As a result there would be, he continued, "(1) fewer improperly nourished anemic children; (2) fewer dyspeptic, neurotic adults; (3) healthier homes; (4) more efficient workers; and (5) a higher standard of living."

During the first year of its life the *Journal of Home Economics* published also a paper on The Economic Value of the Visiting Dietitian (of which mention will be made later); one on Domestic Science Teachers in the Campaign Against Tuberculosis, by Ira S. Wile; a discussion of Typhoid Fever, Its Infection and Prevention, by Mary Hinman Abel; a study of Malnutrition in School Children in New York City, by E. Mather Sill; a review of the Progress of Sanitation, by George M. Kober, and also, forerunner of other such investigations, an inquiry into Abuse in the Distribution of Food-stuffs, by Miriam Birdseye.

Allies for the Common Welfare

SINCE THAT YEAR of grace 1908, home economics and public health have clasped hands many times. Today they are strong allies. But the importance of this alliance was perceived first by home economics workers.

Mention has already been made of a paper in the first number of the *Journal* describing the visiting dietitian. This brief article was one of the first reports of a work that has since assumed the proportion of a "movement," and that is established at present in fully thirty cities. It began in 1906 in the office of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. There, "visiting housekeeping" as it has been generally called, demonstrated its sphere of usefulness as a relief agency and yet more as a preventive agency. The work of the visiting housekeeper furnishes a most concrete example of the possibilities open to the home economist in public health work.

As this work developed in the New York association, the object of the visiting housekeeper was at first to give simple lessons in diet and cooking to mothers of underfed school children. The group in which this work was begun was one in which the families were in danger of becoming dependent. Their income was not elastic enough to cover all necessities, and the visitor soon found that mothers who were urged to spend more freely on food scrimped their expenditure for clothing, light and other essential items in the family budget. The food item could not be separated from other parts of the whole outlay. The home's expenditure as a whole had to be considered; and therefore the budget became the basis of instruction in these semi-dependent families, and the instruction itself followed such lines as were indicated in each case. For instance, teaching of food values was adapted to the needs of each individual mother, who was taught how to buy her necessities from her present income, as far as possible, and according to the health needs of her children. Sewing was not a thing of diagrams and theory, but also followed the line of need.

Aprons were taught when Susy needed an apron; trousers when Tommy's turn in the equipment came.

What sum did the mother need in order that her family should have an income sufficient to safeguard its health, insure working efficiency and provide a fair margin?

Inevitably there arose a third question, the most difficult of all—how to help the mother plan to bridge the gap too often existing between resources and the lowest estimate of needs? Technically speaking, this meant that the visiting housekeeper's aim became threefold: to aid in preventing dependency by instruction in right living and the conservation of health and resources; to aid in stamping out dependency and a wise use of relief; to aid in preventing illness and to relieve illness wherever possible by dietary measures.

The experience of the work especially under discussion—that developed in the New York association—proved that careful instruction in the use of even a barely adequate income could be made to count much toward putting the family on a sound health basis.

Left to herself, the mother in such groups will buy a supply of meat out of all due proportion, or else she will adopt a diet of starch and tea, considering vegetables and fruit as luxuries and milk quite beyond the possibility of purchase. She knows nothing of the relationship between orange juice and hard little bones in her growing children. But the dietitian's business is to show her that the things she thinks she can't afford to buy are the things she can't afford not to buy.

An important detail of this work is that, with assistance, the mother herself makes the estimates, does the figuring and writes her own memoranda on which to base her budget, and that from week to week she keeps her own expense account. The responsibility is not removed from her shoulders; she is helped to bear it more intelligently. Indeed, it is her own weekly expense account that furnishes material for future lessons. This expense account includes expenditures from the small cash allowance made by the association when circumstances demand it, and paid to the family at regularly stated intervals. The relief, often temporary, checks serious results of under-nourished children and so clears the way for the happier task of building up sound bodies for future activities.

In such family health work nurse and home economist work in closest cooperation and interdependence. The nurse attends to the necessary medical examinations and advice and aids in all matters that require her skill. The home economist faces the responsibility of preventive, upbuilding measures that shall make the individual family a sound social unit.

Such work has developed from many other centers than those just described. A home economist is on the staff of several New York hospitals for work among out-patients. A tuberculosis society in Jersey City has grown to county proportions and includes home economics teaching as one of the most important departments of its work. The first settlement to undertake this work was Willoughby House, in Brooklyn. Municipal departments of health are interested in these possibilities in their field, and state health officers, as well. Several of the more progressive states have under consideration, it is said, the addition of a home economist to the staff of their divisions of child hygiene. Significant in this connection was a vote taken at the recent convention of the American Public Health Association, to add to its organization another section—that on foods.

The Vital Point—Cost of Food

MARY HINMAN ABEL of the Home Economics Association is preparing a special study of figures obtained in constructive work among semi-dependent families to use as a basis for simi-

lar work among families independent, so far as income goes, but greatly in need of instruction concerning the wise use, as well as husbanding, of their income, especially in the purchase of foodstuffs.

The future holds many responsibilities. To summarize briefly: The home economist's work is with the family as a whole, as a unit. The families should enter into the scheme of cooperation so that each member will feel that he has a definite place in building a model neighborhood, a neighborhood in which each family is made up of individuals sound physically and prepared to bring good health to the duties of citizenship, present and future. From such neighborhood work, the step

to municipal activity is easy; for in every part of the city the neighborhoods will be ready to contribute each its peculiar share according to its own development, and to face and explain its own needs. The task of planning and working for betterment, social and physical, will be intelligently shared by every section, not left to a remote and often uninformed "committee."

Thus, through the upbuilding of homes and the strengthening of children; through instruction—in school and out of it—in wise living and spending; through active participation in social effort, the home economist is making a definite contribution to national betterment.

A Country Funeral

By *William C. Rucker, M. D.*

ASSISTANT SURGEON-GENERAL, U. S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

IN spite of the fact that there was a long row of horses and spring wagons along the front fence, the big white house that stood a little way back from the road seemed tensely still. All the blinds were down, and in the parlor there were so many flowers which kind neighbors had brought from their gardens that it was difficult for the town undertaker to move about. The minister was almost a stranger, having come from the city to substitute for the regular pastor—and to get a breath of country air at the same time. After he had read a passage from the Scripture he turned and, with his finger still between the leaves of his Bible, said:

“**W**E have met today for the sad purpose of performing the last solemn rites over the body of one who has passed into the Great Beyond. Our hearts are overflowing with grief at the untimely ending of this life so full of promise. He had just begun his career. Still in the time of sowing, he had not reached the point where he could see the grain begin to grow, much less had he reached the time of harvest. In thinking about this matter, many may be led to wonder why it has pleased the Divine Creator to remove this promising young person from our midst, to cut short a life so well begun. They bow their heads and say ‘Thy will be done’, but without understanding the logic of it all.

“If they will but consider for a moment they will realize that the reason they do not understand it is because they have not themselves been logical. They assume that the responsibility for the death of this young man, and the grief, sorrow and loss which it entails, lies with the Creator, whereas the immediate responsibility in every case of typhoid fever rests upon man himself. God, in his wisdom, has placed mankind in possession of the knowledge of the causative agent and the means of its spread. He has opened up our minds that we may understand how this disease may be prevented and avoided, and He has given us an almost infallible weapon with which to protect ourselves from the attacks of the germ which causes the disease. Therefore, this bereavement means that someone has failed to make use of these God-given means of protecting human life. Many a time, as in the present instance, it is the innocent bystander who suffers from the

neglect of another; from somebody's failure to realize that he is his brother's keeper.

“It is impossible in the present instance to exactly fix the responsibility for the sickness and death of the departed, but some man or woman is responsible, because only human beings have typhoid fever, and the disease cannot be acquired excepting from some person who has the disease or who is harboring the germs which cause it. Like every other person who contracts this disease, this young man unwittingly took into his body something which came from the body of another person. Possibly he may have received it directly or indirectly from some person who suffered from a very light attack of typhoid fever, and who, by the carelessness of his habits subsequent to his recovery, was the means—possibly the ignorant means—of the spread of the disease to other people. It may be that someone who was wantonly careless in the manner in which he disposed of the waste products of his body brought this grief upon the family of the deceased and this economic loss to our community. Perhaps the responsibility in the present instance does not lie with any one individual, but with some town or city which has been careless in the method of ridding itself of its offscourings, or has been indifferent to the laws of sanitation in securing its drinking water.

“At any rate, the death of this young man could have been prevented. It was entirely unnecessary. It is the price which we are made to pay for somebody's ignorance and carelessness. The day is fast approaching when such sacrifices shall cease to be. It will arrive only when we have learned that the presence of typhoid in a community means that someone has been criminally negligent of his duty. Today, with hearts bowed down by the grief of our loss, let us resolve that we will henceforth so order our lives that we may conduct them without menace to others. Let us take unto ourselves the lesson of this hour, and in our own sorrow fix our determination to prevent the coming of sorrow to others. If we do this, this dead shall not have died in vain.”

ON the cottage organ somebody played *Lead, Kindly Light*, six young men came in from the lawn where they had been talking in hushed whispers, and the procession moved out toward the hillside.

Starving the Children's Bureau

By Florence Kelley

SECRETARY NATIONAL CONSUMERS' LEAGUE

THE fourth annual report of the federal Children's Bureau confirms the conviction with which the writer of these lines reviewed the second annual report, that no social worker, in whatever field of activity, is well read who is not familiar with the publications of this bureau. Modest as their form and simple as their language, they are scientific in the finest sense of that much abused word. The facts in them are collected by competent people, sifted with skill and scrupulous care, and made public in forms available for all who can read English.

And what long-neglected facts, on what fundamentals of the life of the nation! The birth, life and death of legions of native citizens condemned to extinction in infancy by the neglect of the community and the common lack of standards of income for working class families; the cruel because needless death in childbirth of tens of thousands of mothers; the infinite variety of means discovered for "putting baby on the map," for keeping child-saving in the foreground of community life at least during Baby Week in every year. Only our stupendous immigration can explain our surviving our callous disregard of our century-long waste of mothers and children and of the means at hand for saving them.

Since the foundation of the bureau every state of the forty-eight has improved its registration of births. And this is no mere coincidence. For the bureau makes the very process of gathering its needed facts a means of enlisting people to act on them. While enquiring into infant mortality in a city, it stirs by the very manner of its questioning the people of that city to reduce that mortality.

Nowhere in the world, therefore, can students find govern-

ment reports like the four modest pamphlets in which, once a year, this bureau has given an account of its activities. For its task is unique: "To investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children."

The bureau reports in multiform ways. Its printed official documents, free from all padding, all jargon, and all jumbling of figures, are sadly limited in the size of the editions. But exhibits, screens, slides, films and charts eke out the printed word. And the mail keeps voluntary agencies forever handing on the torch of the searchers after children's well-being.

This annual report comes at the moment when it should give rise to novel New Year's resolutions by the American people about their congressional appropriations. Beginning with the grotesquely petty sum of \$25,000, Congress has always dealt meagerly with this most useful bureau. In the present month, moreover, the House Appropriations Committee cut all the proposed modest increase from the estimates for its future work.

The bureau asked an increase of \$187,520, making the total requested appropriation \$352,160. While an amendment on the floor of the House granted an increase of \$109,000 the work of the bureau will be crippled for lack of the full sum requested.

Will the American people passively accept this insult as their Christmas gift from Congress? Or will nation-wide protests rebuke the committee and the insufficient amendment cynically adopted on the floor—before Congress adjourns this week to commemorate the coming of the Holy Child?

AMERICA TO THE NATIONS OF EUROPE

By Louis S. Friedland

ASSOCIATE EDITOR THE RUSSIAN REVIEW

YE stand embattled in your weaponed might,
Playing the game of death to test your strength.
What will ye reap in bitterness at length?
Think ye there will emerge from out the fight

Dripping with blood of men, a master-race,—
Nation of Nations? No! Swift time will bring
Another champion, sternly challenging,—
Then war, and pestilence, and all things base.

Hearken a message from a newer land
That welds your sons in ever-strengthening ties;—
Behold! the greatest nation will arise
Where all the nations' sons together stand!

Nation of Nations! Yes, we have the way!
There is no other! *One* Nation build ye then,
Binding your sons by all the hopes of men,—
And mark the dawning of a better day.

COMMON WELFARE



“REPARATION, RESTITUTION, GUARANTEES AGAINST REPETITION”

INTERNATIONALISTS anticipated that the patriotic braggadocio with which the German chancellor embellished the German peace overtures would be answered with resounding blows in similar vein in Lloyd George's speech to the British Parliament. Both addresses, in their phrasings, have appealed to the fighting spirit of their people. Both reviewed the events of the war in a way to spur to new exertions, but both great civil leaders reckoned not only with the war groups but with the nascent sentiment which in each country is for trying out negotiation as an alternative to military exhaustion as a way for settlement. The British premier drove back of all the military events to the objects of the war.

“This is a struggle,” he said, “for international right, international honor, international good faith—the channel along which peace on earth and good will among men must follow.

“The trained sense of fair play among the nations, the growth of an international consciousness for the protection of the weak against the strong, of a stronger consciousness that justice has a more powerful backing in the world than greed, the knowledge that any outrage upon fair dealing between nations, great or small, will meet with prompt and inevitable chastisement—these constitute the causeway along which humanity was progressing slowly to higher fields.”

Unlike the word coming from the Russian council, and less explicitly from the other capitals, the British Premier did not close the door to negotiation nor repeat the demand of the English extremists that surrender should be the only basis for broaching peace. He said: “The mere word that led Belgium to her own destruction will not satisfy Europe any more. We all believed it; we all trusted in it. It gave way at the first pressure of temptation, and Europe has been plunged into this vortex of blood. We will, therefore, wait until we hear what terms and guarantees the German government offers other than

those, better than those, surer than those, which she so lightly broke. Meanwhile we ought to put our trust in an unbroken army rather than in a broken faith.”

In the view of some of the closest observers of the peace negotiations, the German proposal, met by the Allies' demand for terms, may be stalled by a counter-proposition of a conference, unless the central powers couple with it at least certain fundamental proposals which the Allies would find it difficult to turn down and hold public opinion at home and abroad.

Repeated dispatches from Washington during the past week, quoting Ambassador Bernstorff directly or indirectly, indicate that while the German government does not believe particular terms should be discussed other than around the boards of a conference, where national spokesmen would not be under pressure to abuse each other for home consumption, Germany may come out with the statement that she stands ready to discuss disarmament and a league of nations which in essence would be a guarantee against militarism.

In such case, Germany will have done three things which since the outbreak of the war—and at times equally propitious as this—have been held up by the pacifists as the great opportunity open to the United States—to propose peace through negotiations, to propose disarmament and to propose a League of Nations. The way was open to the Wilson administration for such proposals prior to the German note; it has to a degree been closed while the note was under consideration as something likely to imply the United States was taking sides. It is open again, either to initiate action or to publicly throw the weight of the United States into the scales of European decision.

THE ENGLISH CIVIL LIBERTIES GROUP

STEPHEN A. CHANDLER, who describes himself as a business man and active member of the Exeter branch of the Union for Democratic Control, reached New York on the St. Paul last

week. He sailed just prior to the change in ministry and the receipt of the German overtures, and tells of two recent developments in the crystallization of public sentiment in England. These have had their origin among members of the Union for Democratic Control.

What is known as the Civil Liberties Group has followed with sympathetic interest the case of the conscientious objectors, but is concerned directly with steps to defend the rights of free meeting and free speech. For example, a recent pamphlet was written by R. J. Lupton, former member of Parliament, entitled *What We Are Fighting For*. Thousands of copies of this pamphlet were circulated before it was suppressed by the police under the defense of the realm act. The author was fined £200 and £50 cost. Mr. Chandler's office and home in Exeter were raided by the police in November because of his activities in distributing this pamphlet. This was not his first experience, however, of the police raid, as he had gone through one in August when some pamphlets entitled *How the War Came*, published by the *Labor Leader*, were known to be in his possession.

This civil liberties movement is, he says, practically in the making. The parliamentary group committed to it was forty strong in November, and as result of the overthrow of the Asquith government and the sharper alignment between militarists and pacifists in Parliament Mr. Chandler believes it is four times as strong at the present writing, and will become the opposition in Parliament. It is composed of such energetic members as Charles Trevelyan, who left the Cabinet at the outbreak of the war and whose recent letter to the American people was published in the *SURVEY* for December 9; Arthur Ponsonby, Philip Snowden, Ramsay MacDonald, Holt, a figure in the shipping world; Pringle, Outhwaite, Jowett, Hardy, the leader of the railway-men's union; Prof. G. Langdon Davis, and others in liberal and labor parties.

A parallel development has been the organization of a Committee for Peace by Negotiation, in which practically the

same men are leaders and of which the Rev. Herbert Dunico of London is secretary. This committee, says Mr. Chandler, has been gaining strength rapidly throughout the fall, is holding meetings all over the country, and on Christmas eve has planned a chain of mass meetings calling on the British government to enter into a conference for a settlement of the war.

In mid-November Mr. Chandler was in conference with Ramsay Macdonald, leader of the pacifist group in Parliament. Mr. Chandler had come up to London from Exeter following the raid on his office to find out whether similar repressive tactics were going on in other parts of England. Mr. Macdonald told him that such was the case and that apparently the most rigorous methods were being used in the provinces. The government was aware that there had been a shift in sentiment since the summer "push," with its great waste of life and blood.

A hundred meetings were being held every week. Of these the press tells little or nothing. For example, Mr. Macdonald had spoken (in Glasgow) at a meeting in St. Andrew's Hall, whose seating capacity is 4,750. Every seat was filled an hour before the meeting commenced, and at least 3,000 people were turned away.

Coming south, Mr. Macdonald spoke at Leicester on a Sunday morning to an audience of 4,000 people. At the time Mr. Chandler saw him he was planning to go to Cardiff in about ten days. The newspapers have since made much of the break-up of that meeting as though the riot expressed public opinion.

It is generally believed among the peace people that the riot was deliberately planned. At the same time Charles Roden Buxton, another pacifist leader, was speaking within twenty miles of Cardiff to an audience of 2,500 and the next day to 1,500. The newspapers did not report these meetings.

THE IMMIGRATION BILL PASSED AGAIN

AS adopted by the Senate on December 14 and sent to conference of the two houses of Congress, the immigration bill preserves the right of refuge in the United States for political offenders from abroad. Senate committee amendments and House bill provisions impairing the right of political asylum were eliminated when the measure was before the upper house. At the same time the exemption of victims of religious persecution from the literacy test was restricted to those who were prevented by such persecution from securing education sufficient to meet the literacy requirement.

Efforts by the Friends of Russian Freedom and other bodies to safeguard the right of asylum for revolutionists

from overseas were centered upon provisions in the bill which would exclude and deport any alien "who advocates or teaches the unlawful destruction of property," and against the Senate committee amendment which would restrict the right of political asylum to "persons convicted or who admit the commission, or who teach or advocate the commission of an offense purely political, *unless such offense be a felony.*" This last restricting phrase was held virtually to destroy the right of the political refugee to come into the country.

When President Wilson vetoed the last immigration bill he said: "It seeks to all but close entirely the gates of asylum which have always been open to those who could find nowhere else the right and opportunity of constitutional agitation for what they conceived to be the inalienable rights of men; and it excludes those to whom the opportunities of elementary education have been denied, without regard to their character, their purposes, or their natural capacity."

At the instance of Senator Reed, who championed especially the rights of the Russian Jews, the words "unless such offense be a felony" were stricken out. On motion of Senator LaFollette the exclusion of aliens who advocate or teach "the unlawful destruction of property" was first stricken out, and later restored when a special exemption was made in these words: "Any person who knowingly aids or assists any alien who advocates or teaches the unlawful destruction of property, *except in war, insurrection or revolution*, to enter the United States shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished," etc.

The most stubborn opposition to the literacy test has always come from the Russian Jews, who in Russia are denied the right of education either in their own or Russian schools. When the bill passed the House last spring it contained this special exemption from the literacy test: "All aliens who shall prove to the satisfaction of the proper immigration officer or to the secretary of labor that they are seeking admission to the United States to avoid religious persecution in the country of their last permanent residence, whether such persecution be evidenced by overt acts or by laws or governmental regulations that discriminate against the alien or the race to which he belongs because of his religious faith."

This was amended, on motion of Senator Sterling of South Dakota, to read, after the words "last permanent residence," as follows: "and which persecution involves a restriction or denial to any class or sect of such aliens of the means or opportunities of obtaining an education sufficient to comply with the literacy test hereinbefore provided."

Under this limitation the literacy test would still be applied to Armenians and

other persecuted sects who are not denied admission to the schools of the countries from which they come. New laws under consideration in the Ottoman parliament, abolishing the privilege of Armenian and other subject peoples in the empire to have their own schools, will still permit the children of these peoples to learn to read in the Turkish language. Hence the exemption is confined to the Russian Jews.

Despite the modification of the bill this year in the Senate, it is generally anticipated in Washington that the President will veto the measure because of his opposition to the literacy test. The bill was adopted in the House by a vote of 308 to 87 and in the Senate by 64 to 7.

When an attempt was made by Senator Reed so to change the definition of the word "alien" in the bill as to safeguard the American citizenship of an American-born woman who may marry an alien, his amendment was defeated by a vote of 6 to 5.

In view of the precautions now being taken against the coming of undesirable immigrants to the United States after the close of the European war, it is interesting to discover that men in the government service at Washington predict that none but the politically oppressed will come. They argue that if Serbia remains under foreign rule, we shall have the Serbs; if Bulgaria is divided and largely brought under alien control, the Bulgars will come in tens and hundreds of thousands; but the Armenians have been so decimated by Turkish massacre that few of them will be left to travel to America. Those now alive and safe in Armenia will take refuge under the Russian flag if Russia gives up the territory south of the Black Sea.

NEW CROPS GROWN BY THE MARKET CONFERENCE

"ORGANIZE and take your salvation into your own hands. Organize cooperatively as a producer. Cooperate with the consumer. Make your own demands on the agencies of government—the Farm Credits Board, the Federal Trade Commission, the Department of Agriculture, the state departments of marketing. Your economic life is yours to organize. Your social life is yours to organize."

It was in response to this call that the agriculturalists themselves—the livestock men, the grain-growers, the dairy men, the vegetable and fruit producers—came from every state and Canada to the fourth National Conference on Marketing and Farm Credits at Chicago, December 4-9. Hitherto agricultural experts, editors, professors and state and national officials have preponderated. But while they were prominent in this one, they took pride in the fact that 2,000 farmer-producers themselves, including a few women, had rallied at

At the Community Christmas Tree

By Helen Hoyt

We have pulled a star out of heaven
And hung it on a tree-top,
Twinkling.
We have drawn down fire out of the clouds
And bound it upon the branches,
Glimmering.
Red light and blue light,
Caught in crystals;
Strange berries,
More still, more magical
Than any mistletoe
Found by the druids
In charmed forests.
What sorcery is ours
That makes trees glisten and shine,
Twinkling, glimmering,
Live in the midst of the dark?
What spell do we own
That with wires and glass
We fasten-in the wandering light
And deck our festival with flames of the air!

Photo by New York Edison Co.



their call to speak and act for themselves. This significant result was perhaps due to the National Agricultural Organization Society, which was launched by the conference a year ago to help the farmers organize themselves for cooperation in producing, storing and marketing their products and in improving the conditions and enhancing the attractions of rural life, as is being done in Denmark and also in Ireland, under the leadership of Sir Horace Plunkett.

While the technique of soil and seed improvement, stock breeding and extermination of pests was not lacking, this conference was keyed from start to finish to such significant social-economic keynotes as the bases for farm credits in the standardization of products as well as in legislation, and still more emphatically such community and national organization of the rural population as will increase the number of landowners, diminish the number of tenants, distribute labor and immigrant agriculturalists where they are needed on the land and will unite farming families and classes. Charles McCarthy's summarizing of this purposefulness as "the Henry Ford-izing of rural industry" describes its intended effectiveness but fails to indicate how wholly democratic this new rural movement is both in spirit and procedure.

Much of the discussion and most of the recommendations of the conference

pertained to federal legislation already enacted or urged upon Congress. The federal farm loan act was "heartily recommended to the farmers for the fullest possible use," and farm loan associations were suggested as the best means of taking advantage of this law. Congress was urged to provide a system of short-time credits and to create some authorized way of certifying marketable notes secured by live stock and other farm products; and also to appoint a federal commission to employ and supervise a body of experts to carry on agricultural inquiries and to advise farmers how to increase their efficiency. The conference put up to the Federal Trade Commission an investigation of the entire live stock and packing industries, including the investigation of municipal abattoirs and cooperatively owned packing plants, with a view to the assurance of "a free and uncontrolled market."

Fully a third of the five days' discussion was devoted to the relation of land tenure to the distribution of immigration. The failure to bring together the demand for and supply of farm labor was attributed to the alarming increase of tenant farming and the transiency of their tenure of the land, the lack of credit by small producers, unorganized distribution and the gloom and sterility of country life. While farmers of American family stock confessed to have shared

somewhat with the immigrants these same burdens, yet they gave abundant evidence of awaking to the necessity of solving the problem for both. "We want your information, not your pity," was the challenge which rang out over and over again.

Land settlement could not be left wholly to unregulated private enterprises, it was contended. The general purpose of the Crosser bill in Congress was endorsed, but it was agreed that a scientific land settlement policy should include economic and soil surveys of unsettled lands, "ready-made farms" made available for habitation and immediate productiveness by the cooperation of federal and state governments, and such supervision of private sales and private colonization as shall prevent fraud and injustice and aid the settler in selecting and gaining his foothold on the farm.

Important as have been such offshoots from this national conference as the National Association of State Marketing Officials, the National Association of Teachers of Rural Economics, and the National Agricultural Organization Society, none of its initiatives may prove to be more necessary and far-reaching than an independently organized committee on a constructive national immigration policy, which was launched at the end of the session. A small group of men and women bent on promoting closer

team work between those enlisted in the various phases of the immigration problem, urban and rural, and in the economic, legislative and philanthropic measures for its solution, constituted themselves a permanent committee to this end.

These initiators, who hope for many additions to their numbers, include Fred-eric C. Howe, commissioner of immigration at Ellis Island, Sidney L. Gulick of Japan, Grace Abbott of the Immigrants' Protective League, Chicago, Charles McCarthy of the Wisconsin Legislative Research Bureau, John R. Richards, director of the South Park recreation center, Chicago, Mrs. Van Rensalaer and Mrs. Mumford of Boston, and Miss Robinson of New York, representing the National Civic Federation, Edward A. Fitzpatrick of Madison, Wis., Edward F. Sanderson of the People's Institute, New York, H. A. Lipsky, member of the Chicago Board of Education and editor of the *Jewish Courier*, Graham Taylor of the *SURVEY*, and John Collier of New York as chairman.

The committee will prepare and circulate a digest of existing and proposed laws and will strive to promote and unite significant efforts tributary to the development of a really national and constructive immigration policy, dealing not only with the admission and exclusion of immigrants, but also with the training and assimilation of immigrants already admitted, who are in the struggle of gaining their foothold and becoming American citizens.

DIVISION OF LABOR AND HUMANE SOCIETIES

TO say that children are tyrants is a truism which implies curled and ruffled darlings and limits the scope of their tyrannies to private life. But here are the little delinquents and dependents of Minneapolis assuming the role of despots and robbing two long-established philanthropies of their names and separate existences. The Minneapolis Humane Society and the Juvenile Protective League of Hennepin County are the victims and, like many a husband and wife, are meekly giving up cherished traditions for the better service of "the children."

The directors of both societies have resigned, the old names and constitutions have been surrendered, and legal steps are being taken to launch two new organizations, the Animal Rescue League and the Children's Protective Society of Hennepin County on January 1. The league will embody the animal rescue work of the old Humane Society. The children's society will be an amalgamation of the children's branches of the Humane Society and the Juvenile Protective League.

The change is one which raises questions as to the opportuneness of new and more scientific adjustments in social

work in other cities of the size of Minneapolis and in other fields of social work. It is the result of two years' careful study and planning on the part of a committee, composed from both societies with a chairman chosen from the Committee on Benevolence of the Civic and Commerce Association. To perform the work of both societies more economically and more effectively is the purpose of the readjustment.

The general feeling in Minneapolis is that the new children's society will be in every way better equipped to handle the problems of unfortunate children, yet there is not a little local sentiment expressed over the passing of two fine old names. The Humane Society, formed in 1877 by George R. Brackett, Paris Gibson and George Bradbury, is one of Minneapolis' pioneer institutions. For the first fifteen years or so one agent took entire charge of the work at an annual salary of two hundred and fifty dollars. You picture him upbraiding a teamster for beating his horse one moment and soothing the wails of an abandoned infant the next.

Besides its case work, the society has always been active in securing better legislation concerning cruelty and abuse in Minnesota. In 1905, its officers took the lead in obtaining the state's juvenile court law. In 1907, they cooperated with the Municipal Court in establishing the present system of adult probation. During 1915, investigations carried on by the society brought to light such deplorable conditions in Minneapolis baby farms that two new ordinances regulating these places were passed by the City Council. The Humane Society now cooperates with the Board of Health in the licensing and inspection of baby boarding-homes and the disgraceful traffic in unfortunate infants has been done away with. A newly opened department of child-placing and home-finding has furnished many babies for adoption into thoroughly approved homes this year.

The Juvenile Protective League was organized in 1906 to aid the Juvenile Court in solving the problems brought before it and in making its work as effective as possible. It has supplied needed assistants for the court, until the thorough demonstration of their usefulness has induced the city to place them on its payroll. The first juvenile probation officers, woman policeman and court nurse were employed by the league. The County Detention Home for Boys at Glen Lake is the outgrowth of a similar home established by the league. The new Boys' Club, one of the liveliest in Minneapolis, was inaugurated under its auspices. Extensive research work in connection with the Juvenile Court, giving remedial relief to the boys and collecting data for the court, have been carried on. The league has made various surveys of pool rooms, dance halls,

movies and street conditions in Minneapolis.

WORKING IN THE NAME OF THE CHRIST CHILD

SOME thirty years ago there lived in the city of Washington a young girl, the daughter of Richard T. Merrick, a distinguished lawyer. A serious injury, due to an accident, had left her an invalid, confined to her couch. The Christmas season was fast approaching and amid the preparations for the holidays, which the happy family were busily making, this young invalid, reared in luxury, conceived the desire of clothing in the name of the Christ Child some poor babe who was to come into the world in poverty. She made a simple but complete layette, sent for a friend whom she knew could find the very mother who needed such assistance, and—one small child was clothed in the name of the Christ Child.

The Christ Child Society, founded just twenty-six years ago, distributed one hundred and thirty-nine layettes this year. Not one request has ever been refused to an applicant endorsed by its visitors. And from this has developed the material relief department, which clothes and shoes children, furnishes a fortnight's outing, a brace for a crippled leg or a book from the library. There are no religious qualifications, except in the classes for religious instruction for Catholic children. The active members contribute a definite number of hours' work each week and anyone may become a member by promising to answer the Christmas letter of a poor child. Washington numbers a thousand members and there are more than 4,500 in all, including the branches in twenty-two cities.

From her couch where she has lain for more than twenty-five years Miss Merrick directs and leads it all.

THE LARGEST OF CHARITY FEDERATIONS

AT a testimonial dinner to the chairman, Felix M. Warburg, on Monday, announcement was made that an eight-week campaign in behalf of the New York Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies had concluded with pledges of \$10,000 over the goal of \$2,000,000 set at the beginning. The total is the largest ever raised in any city for the current expenses of any group of philanthropies. And the eighty organizations now belonging to the federation make it the largest federation of Jewish charities and the largest purely financial charity federation of any sort in the country.

That the number of organizations grew from thirty-eight at the start was held a clear indication of its internal success. Practically all the Jewish charitable societies of Manhattan now are

in the federation. There is talk of including religious education societies and even a possibility of a future merger of the well-established Brooklyn Federation of Jewish Charities.

Pledges were secured from between 9,000 and 10,000 persons, most of whom already were giving to Jewish charities. Approximately 25,000 people have been listed in the last two years as donors to Jewish charities, and Chairman Warburg hopes in the course of time to raise the total of federated Jewish givers in Manhattan to 100,000.

The total of over \$2,000,000 pledged to current expenses represents at least a 33 per cent increase over the income of last year of the federated charities and a 100 per cent increase over their former guaranteed income from members. The federation guarantees to come up to the contribution totals of last year for every organization.

Mr. Warburg feels that as a result of federating "we are to draw together in the common cause of social service all shades of Jewry. Selfish individualism is to be banished. We can secure for boards of trustees people entitled to these positions because of their energy and devotion, rather than because of their financial value. These positions now will be more sought after, because more responsible and respectable and less exclusive. The new federation will democratize Jewish endeavor in communal problems."

In social and other matters the federated organizations will be autonomous. Mr. Warburg hopes that the comparing of methods and experience will result in such improvements in methods of service, in reports and in accounting, that the more direct influence exercised by some charitable federations might be unnecessary.

SCIENTIFIC REFUGEES FROM THE ZEPPELINS

THE latest confirmation of earlier reports concerning the disappointing results from radium in the treatment of cancer [see the SURVEY, November 20, 1915], is that from the Crocker Fund for Cancer Research. The report will be published by Columbia University early in 1917. Advance proofs, however, tell in part the story.

Dr. Francis Carter Wood records the experiments on rats, mice and guinea-pigs of the British Imperial Cancer Research Fund last year. These animals had been inoculated in London, but at the invitation of Columbia University were sent to this country after the war broke out, lest a Zeppelin bomb should destroy the imperial laboratory. The loss of the animals would prove a serious hindrance to the work of cancer research, for many of them showed unusual conditions of cancer growth. In spite of difficulties,



A RUSSIAN LIBRARY IN A PRISONERS' CAMP
Eight months passed before the first book reached this camp, from the Swiss relief societies. Half a year later this picture was received.

these experiments have been continued successfully, and at present the Crocker Fund has a complete duplicate set of the growths in the London laboratory.

Several heralded "cures" have been tested in the Crocker laboratory, including radium, but in no case has cure been effected. It has been proved that in small amounts, radium may even stimulate the growth of cells of the cancer type. In large amount it may cause a decrease in size of the tumor, but if the neoplasm is not killed the growth returns after a quiescent period, and is immune to radium. Says Dr. Wood:

"These experiments are thus of practical importance because they show that in treating a tumor of any size unless very large quantities of radium are used the portions of the tumor at a considerable distance from the radium may be stimulated and grow more rapidly, even though locally the tumor may diminish in size; and they point to the necessity of careful study of the nature, extent and distribution of a human tumor before a decision is made as to whether radium can justifiably be applied therapeutically."

In spite of the fact that radium has disappointed the first high hopes concerning its curative powers, "there is no question," continues Dr. Wood, "but that it is the best palliative treatment we have in cases of inoperable recurrence after previous surgical removal of the main mass of the growth. It is unquestionably possible to prolong life in a few instances and to make the patients more comfortable by the judicious and intelligent employment of large quantities of radium. On the other hand, it is equally certain that the use of small quantities, say, twenty to fifty milligrams, of radium element in such cases

often results in a rapid extension of the tumor, so that the patient's condition is worse than if he had been left alone."

THE HUNGRY RUSSIANS IN GERMANY

WHEN the French and German prisoner soldiers suffering from tuberculosis passed through the towns of Switzerland and so on up to the mountains for the fresh air, they told a Russian, C. Oberucheff, how his countrymen, prisoners in the camps of Germany and Austria, were being treated. Since that time their stories have been confirmed by representatives of the Red Cross, and by letters from the prisoners themselves, he says. So he has come to the United States in the hope of finding help in easing their lot.

Russian soldiers in German camps are pitifully under-nourished. Consequently they are being wiped out by disease, which they have not the vitality to combat. And they are hunting through the garbage cans for crumbs from the other prisoners' "parcels," Mr. Oberucheff says. The French government allows its soldiers in the German camps 500 grams of food daily; the British receive three parcels a week from England; and relief societies do something for the Belgians. Families and friends are sending candies and cigarettes. But the Russian receives nothing. Even his fellow prisoners are forbidden to share with him.

The parcels—one for each man during a period of two and one-half months—with which the Russian government supplies its soldiers in foreign camps, are now stacked in Sweden, held up because of the general disorganization.

In the meantime the Russian soldier eats nothing but his allowance from the German war office: coffee without sugar

in the morning, soup for lunch, no vegetables, little meat and a poor kind of bread.

Mr. Oberucheff, representing ten relief organizations who have been buying food in France for the prisoners, has come to the United States for money for provisions. He wants especially to ship over cans of condensed milk, since the exportation from Switzerland has been checked. Last February the Central Committee of Relief in Switzerland obtained permission for the Russian government to send her tuberculous prisoners in exchange to Switzerland as other countries are doing. But as yet the government has taken no steps.

BELGIAN EXILES IN A HOSTILE COUNTRY

DURING the last two months, according to dispatches, Belgian workmen have been deported into northern France and Germany at the rate of about 3,000 a week.

When the United States protested against the transfer as contrary to all precedents and those "humane principles of international practice which have long been accepted and followed by civilized nations in their treatment of non-combatants," the German government excused its action on the ground that article 43 of the Hague convention requires an invading government to maintain order. This, it insisted, was impossible since nothing could be done in Belgium to relieve the increasing unemployment which was causing demoralization and acute suffering.

The German reply stated that the deportations have been carried out without severity and with all possible consideration. It claimed that Belgians now working in Germany are engaged without exception in occupations permissible under international law, such as legitimate agricultural and industrial pursuits. It even invited American diplomatic representatives to visit the workmen's camps and assure themselves that the Belgians are well off. The note concluded with an expression of regret that the United States has never sought to protest against what it describes as the dragging off of Germans from East Prussia, Alsace and other places to Siberia and elsewhere.

Although the American protest intimated that the policy of deportation, if pursued, would in all probability be fatal to the Belgian relief work, at the New York office of the Commission for Relief in Belgium it was said that so far the change had not hampered the commission's activities. If the whole order for deporting 300,000 men were carried out, only 3 per cent of the civilians receiving relief from the commission would be affected.

Without doubt, however, it was said that the deportations have been carried

on with flagrant disregard for the rights of non-combatants.

Cardinal Mercier, Archbishop of Malines, in a letter urging the civilized world to denounce Germany's act, describes how every able-bodied man (not merely the unemployed) was "hurried off, pell-mell, assembled in freight cars and carried to unknown parts, like a herd of slaves." The cardinal points out that the "prolonged unemployment" with its drain upon finances could have been relieved had the country been "spared the war levies, which have now reached the sum of one billion francs," and had Belgian industry been left "its machinery and accessories, its raw materials and its manufactured goods, which have passed from Belgium into Germany."

"The naked truth is," he adds, "that every deported workman is another soldier for the German army. He will take the place of a German workman who will be made into a soldier."

In response to Cardinal Mercier's appeal, on December 15, 3,000 persons assembled at a mass meeting in New York city and adopted resolutions calling upon the United States to protest "with all its force and earnestness" against Germany's forced enslavement of Belgian citizens.

MRS. O'ROURKE'S NEW HEAD O' HAIR

IN my opinion," said Mrs. Leffingwell, "we are approaching the one hundred per cent efficiency standard." At this the majority of the committee softly applauded while Miss Galusha rose and bowed.

Christmas was to bring a profound surprise to the district committee of a certain big relief organization, particularly to Mrs. Leffingwell, the stanch opponent of dole-giving to needy families; to little old Mr. Hamlon, who likes doles and persistently questions Mrs. Leffingwell's "scientific charity;" to Miss Galusha, the secretary, who shares Mrs. Leffingwell's views and Mr. Hamlon's impulses. She had, as it were, been the scene of contest between these two ever since she had agreed to try out her hand on the committee's work. Mrs. Leffingwell claimed that Miss Galusha was entirely committed to the non-dole-giving program, while Mr. Hamlon cherished hopes that she would swing around to the "good old-fashioned way."

The surprise came just after Mrs. Leffingwell laid down Miss Galusha's report and, leveling a glance at Mr. Hamlon, observed that Miss Galusha's success in rehabilitating needy families of the district was due to the fact that she had undeviatingly followed the non-dole-giving plan.

Miss Galusha was just starting to acknowledge the compliment by the usual reversal of credit from herself to

the work of the committee members who had so generously backed her in her attempts at true constructive work, when suddenly her face blanched. The door of the committee room had been pushed open by a large, impressive woman wearing a plaid coat of raglan cut and a new, forbidding bonnet surmounted by a sweeping green plume. She bore down upon the committee with a pleased and eager smile, followed by an organized column of children, all of whom exhibited conspicuous marks of recent grooming. With a military gesture the woman arranged the children in a row behind the chairman and stood looking hopefully at Miss Galusha.

Where had Miss Galusha seen this family before?

"How do you do?" said the woman, reaching for Miss Galusha's slim hand with both of her own big red ones. "Sure, don't you know who I am?"

Since Miss Galusha continued to stare at her in bewilderment, she turned upon the helpless committee. "This young lady," she said, with a sidewise nod of her head in Miss Galusha's direction, "this young lady is the only person in the wide world who did the square thing by the O'Rourke family. What with bad luck from first to last, and worst of all on top of that, I have tried out every charity society in this here town."

By this time the committee had obviously given up proceeding with its usual business. Mrs. Leffingwell settled back in her chair and encouraged Mrs. O'Rourke to proceed. Mr. Hamlon looked almost envious.

"Yes, ma'am," said Mrs. O'Rourke, "this here Miss Galusha, she didn't try none of the new-fangled notions on me. After Mrs. Ricardo told her that I was after the work, she come to see me one day when me nor the children had nothing to eat but what the neighbors give us, nor one of us a good shoe to our name, and me just up from the typhoid with never a spear of hair left to me head, and bringing a laugh from everybody I went to see about something to do, with me bonnet slipping around on me like your foot on a banana peel. You remember me now, Miss Galusha?"

Miss Galusha was sitting on the edge of her chair, white to the lips. "Mrs. O'Rourke," she broke in hastily, "we were just having a meeting. Suppose you wait outside, you and the children, for a little while, and then I will come out and see you."

Mrs. O'Rourke bent sideways from the waist and gave Miss Galusha a good-natured poke with her elbow. "Go along with you, Miss Galusha," she said, heaving with a laugh. "It's the committee I am after coming to see. Committees have been coming to see me since I first married my poor deserting Michael, and me and the children have

come to pay back one of them there calls.

"Ladies and gents," she proceeded. "This here young lady is too timid to say it for herself, but she has made the O'Rourke family what it is." And she waved her off hand with a flourish toward the row of young O'Rourkes. "Self-respecting, self-supporting, well set up and proud, with prosperity coming down the pike. This here Miss Galusha, she come to see me about getting work I could do in the privacy of me own apartment. I will never forget the night. The childern was all trying to get on one roller skate they had fished out the ash barrel, and me up to me shoulders at the wash-tub. She walked right in and got the hang of us like that." Here Mrs. O'Rourke snapped her fingers. "And she didn't laugh at me looks. She got me some washing to do.

"The collar on that lady over there, Nora," she suddenly burst out, pointing at Mrs. Leffingwell for the benefit of the oldest O'Rourke girl, who recognized the article with an appreciative grin, "I have washed that collar many a time, and I think we recognize the clothes of some of the rest of yous as old friends of ours. The washing, it helped us out, but it was just a dollar here and a dollar there, and the childern going through their clothes like a house afire, and rent always falling due and all the rest. All the washing in the world would not have put the O'Rourke family where it stands today."

The committee smiled and waited. "There was just one thing that fetched us out of the woods," continued Mrs. O'Rourke. "Do you mind, Miss Galusha, the dollar you give me?"

There was no doubt that Miss Galusha remembered. She colored to the roots of her hair and scribbled meaningless designs on the pad in front of her, while the committee suddenly stiffened.

"I suppose you meant me to spend it for the kids," said Mrs. O'Rourke, "But," says Nora to me, 'it seems like you have to earn your living with your hair more than with your hands, ma, and why not buy a bottle of the hair tonic that is being sold in the corner drug store?' says she." Here Nora snickered.

"That hair tonic, ladies and gents, was bought with the dollar, and Nora she followed directions about rubbing it on. Before many weeks was over I had a soft little down on me head. And in another month quite a crop. I used to go out walking round the block o' nights for to get the air, seeing as the childern was so sensitive about me being seen and getting laughed at. One evening I happened into the drug store for another bottle of tonic and the druggist, a friend o' mine, he called someone from the back of the store and he says, 'Mr. Ballu,' he says, 'this is the

JANUARY

LEGISLATURE MEETS

*There is a mystery in the soul of state
Which hath an operation more divine
Than breath or pen can give expression to.*

SHAKESPEARE.

NO scutage or aid shall be imposed in our realm save by the common council of the realm. MAGNA CHARTA, JUNE 15, 1215 A.D.

IN the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwriten, the loyall subjects of our dread sovereigne Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britaine, Franc, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, etc., haveing undertaken, for the glorie of God, and advancemente of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and countrie, a voyage to plant the first colonie in the Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly and mutuallly in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine our selves together into a civill body politick, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just and equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for the generall good of the Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-Codd the 11. of November, in the year of the raigne of our sovereigne lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fiftie fourth. An^o; Dom. 1620.

TO the end that this may be a government of laws and not of men. CONSTITUTION OF MASSACHUSETTS.

CHARLES I to the Speaker of the House of Commons (naming the members of the House whom he desired to arrest):

"Mr. Speaker, do you espy these persons in the House?"

The Speaker, falling on his knee before the King:

"Your Majesty, I am the Speaker of this House, and, being such, I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak save as this House shall command; and I humbly beg your Majesty's pardon if this is the only answer that I can give to your Majesty." FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, JANUARY, 1642.

January
1917

Sunday		7	14	21	28
Monday	1	8	15	22	29
Tuesday	2	9	16	23	30
Wednesday	3	10	17	24	31
Thursday	4	11	18	25	
Friday	5	12	19	26	
Saturday	6	13	20	27	

January from *The Citizen's Calendar*, edited by Joseph Lee, and sold at 26 cents by the Massachusetts Civic League, 3 Joy Street, Boston

lady I was telling you about who had such grand success with your tonic.'

"Then Mr. Ballu he looked my head over and says he, 'Mrs. O'Rourke,' says he, 'suppose you come onto my payroll,' says he, 'for \$9 a week and all the tonic you can use thrown in. All you need to do is to set in the window with a sign up against you holding a bottle of the tonic fond-like in your hands,' says he.

"Well, ladies and gents, I made some hit in that window. My friends all crowded around and that made everybody a-passing want to see. A young

fellow got to writing me up in the papers and had my picter printed with my name onto it. Mr. Ballu raised me pay and business got so brisk, he's been hiring the two oldest childern to paste labels on the bottles after school."

Here Mrs. O'Rourke removed her bonnet and submitted her head for the inspection of the members of the committee. Mrs. Leffingwell received this attention with scant courtesy, but Mr. Hamlon rose on tiptoe to get a commanding view of the amazing hair crop of Mrs. O'Rourke. At just this point

Miss Galusha was seized with a fit of coughing and hastily left the room.

Mrs. O'Rourke soon discovered Miss Galusha's absence. "Now, ladies and gents," she confided to them in a stage whisper, "don't you be afraid of giving a coin or two to the poor along with your programs and advice. The children and me have considerable talk about that dollar given me by Miss Galusha. Nora will have it that it came from the committee, but I always tell her I am sure it was straight from the big, wide heart of Miss Galusha herself, seeing as she told me never to tell."

"Merry Christmas to the whole of yez!"

CHILDREN STRAYING IN AND OUT OF SCHOOL

"**B**ECAUSE the parents fail to see the value of an education; because of real or imagined economic pressure; because of the child's dissatisfaction with school and his desire to earn money; because the break between grammar and high school induces many to believe that they have finished"—

These reasons, or some of them, quoted from the report of Anne S. Davis, for the past eight months chief vocational advisor to the Chicago Board of Education, tell in the main why children leave school. They might be regarded as an indictment of municipal education in this country. Casually the city has thrown its opportunities in the path of its children, and aimlessly the children have been allowed to find their way about and adopt or leave the opportunities before them. They leave school upon completing the eighth grade because they "believe that they have finished," or because their study has not kindled any fire of interest in their minds, or because the little that was good enough for their parents is thought to be good enough for them. Or they may slip over for a while into the nearest high school—classical, technical, commercial, they scarcely stop to find out which—without analyzing their ambitions or their aptitudes and, finding that they are in the wrong place, slip out again on a haphazard hunt for a job.

This, at any rate, is the picture presented by Miss Davis' report. In several ways she is attacking the situation. Guided by the ideal of keeping the child in school as long as possible and of helping to socialize the school into a better servant of the child's needs, she has worked steadily with principals and teachers to adjust the great mechanism to the individual pupil. She explains to parents the varied courses offered in high schools, and the better industrial openings for children who have been to high school, or who have continued their study until they are sixteen.

That her emphasis is on the value of

prolonging school experience and adapting it to the individual need is shown by the fact that in three years (during eight months of which she has worked for the city) 30 per cent of the children who consulted her about work were persuaded to continue their education.

Her "follow-up" work serves a double purpose. After helping to find positions for those whose economic situation requires it, she has kept in touch with these children's experiences by letters, by visits to employers and parents and by seeing the child himself. In this way she has tried to help children toward greater efficiency in their work and to induce them to take every opportunity for further training. The full records of this "follow-up" system, which already cover several thousand children, will be valuable for a thorough study of the conditions confronting the child as he begins his industrial life and for a survey of the industrial opportunities open to children over fourteen years of age. It ought, too, to make vocational guidance more effective and to bring a contribution to future school planning, where it has long been realized that a closer adjustment with community problems is needed.

Miss Davis recommends a law, similar to the Wisconsin statute, establishing day continuation schools. This she believes will reduce the loss of energy incurred at present. She adds: "There should be a provision in our child labor law prohibiting children from leaving school until they have a position in view. The certificate should be sent directly to the employer. When the child is discharged or leaves his position for any reason, the certificate should be mailed back to the school authorities, who will know immediately that the child is not at work, and so return him to school until he secures another position. Under this plan the child will have the proper educational oversight."

BILLS THAT THE BABIES HAVE TO PAY

THERE are in the state of Illinois between two and three thousand persons—babies, children, adults—who might see today had their eyes been properly attended to when sight was first endangered, says Carolyn C. Van Blarcom, in her first report of the Illinois Society for the Prevention of Blindness.

Organized effort in Illinois to prevent blindness dates only from March, although prior to that, work had been carried on informally by a volunteer group of physicians and laymen. This volunteer organization supported the state bill for preventing blindness in babies, which became effective July 1, 1915. In the past six months it has reorganized as the present society, made plans for sustained work, secured a secretary and enrolled over 800 members.

The main effort of the new organization has been to secure more general observance of the law requiring that babies' sore eyes be reported and prophylactic measures used. Thirty-two violations of the reporting law have been discovered; one doctor and two midwives have been convicted and fined; the attorney-general has authorized the prosecutions of three other doctors and midwives, and evidence is being gathered concerning the other cases. Cooperation from state and local health departments, nursing associations and various other philanthropies makes possible a rapid extension of the work.

The greatest difficulty which the society encounters is said to be ignorance of the seriousness of infection in babies' eyes. Tragedies occur within a stone's throw of hospitals and dispensaries where blindness might have been averted.

Miss Van Blarcom tells of one young mother who, holding her blind baby in her arms, said that the baby's eyes might have been treated just as well as not, but that this was her first baby and midwives and grandmothers assured her out of the fullness of their knowledge of such things that it was only a "cold in the eyes"; that "it was natural for babies to have sore eyes and they will get well by themselves." But the baby will pay the penalty in lifelong blindness.

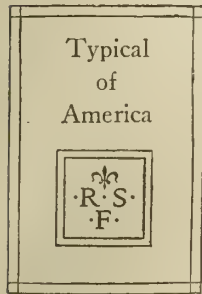
Amusing incidents occur in the midst of all the tragedy. In one case, under the authority of the state the society attempted to take a baby back to the hospital, from which the parents had removed it against the earnest advice of doctors and nurses. The mother was visited in her home, shown photographs of blind children and told the seriousness of her own baby's condition—but all to no avail. Finally, after several hours had been spent in persuasive argument, the still resisting parents were won over by the prospect of a taxi ride. So at nine o'clock at night a much delighted family accompanied the society's agent and the suffering baby to the hospital.

Sometimes the price paid by a baby for the ignorance and neglect of those accountable for its care is not alone its sight, with all that that means, but also its home, parents and relatives. Blind babies are not regarded as valuable assets and are not infrequently abandoned by the parents who are responsible for their blindness. Nor do one-eyed babies always find favor in the sight of their parents, for each year a number of them are left at Cook County Hospital and never claimed.

The average cost to the state to maintain and educate a blind person is estimated at something over \$10,000. This does not take into account the negative loss of productive citizens—the state's most valuable asset.

Book Reviews

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS IN SPRINGFIELD, ILL.
A survey by the Committee on Women's Work and the Department of Surveys and Exhibits of the Russell Sage Foundation. By Louise C. Odencrantz and Zenas L. Potter. Price \$25.



Springfield, Ill., might be called a typical American community. Its population of something over 50,000 puts it in the class of cities occupied by the greater part of the urban population of the country. Eighty-seven per cent of its people are American

born. It is not a great manufacturing center like Pittsburgh; it does not have an unwieldy population of unassimilated aliens; it has both industry and immigrants, but not in overwhelming proportions.

These are facts which give especial significance to the industrial report of the Springfield Survey. If the Pittsburgh Survey revealed a cross-section of American industry, the Springfield Survey does something that is possibly more significant: it reveals a cross-section of American life. It shows how the wage-earner fares, not where capital has had its unbridled will, nor where native standards have been undermined, but where as near an approach to simon-pure Americanism exists as can be found in any community big enough to make "surveying" it worth while.

The report analyzes conditions of employment among the 2,500 coal miners who constitute the largest group following a single occupation, the 6,000 workers engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, the 3,000 in trade and the 2,000 in transformation.

No flagrant or dramatic lapses in safety devices or fire protection were found, yet the report concludes that "a tragedy as horrible as that in Binghamton, a city no larger than Springfield, might occur in one of Springfield's factories at any time." Though Illinois was one among the thirty-one states to enact workmen's compensation laws between 1900 and 1916, yet because the law is optional and because many employers, especially in the most hazardous industries, have elected to be exempt, "the great majority of the Springfield workers . . . are employed in places where the basic principle of compensation laws has not yet been established." Illinois also has a child labor statute, but the survey

revealed an unsatisfactory law and decided laxity of enforcement.

Low wage rates prevailed, the minimum for the unskilled male per day being \$1.75 to \$2; for women workers in the laundries, \$6 a week; and for sales girls, particularly in the three five- and ten-cent stores studied, an average wage of from \$4 to \$5 per week. In one store new recruits sometimes started at \$3.50, while, at the other end of the scale, after seven years' experience, a sales girl in another store was earning only \$5. All three of these stores employed only girls who were living at home.

Most significant was the study of the earnings of coal-miners, whose wages ranged from \$2.62 a day for laborers to a tonnage rate of 57 cents to \$1.27 for miners and loaders. At this rate the latter were sometimes able to make \$5 or more a day, but in the year of the investigation (1914) the miners worked only 181 days, and it was discovered that the men seldom can count on a full working year. As a result, the report states, idle time reduces the yearly income until "it is impossible, in the case of many of the men, to supply an average family of five or six persons with the reasonable necessities of life."

Eighty-five per cent of 3,981 workers investigated worked nine hours and more a day; only 13 per cent, the majority of whom were members of unions, worked eight hours or less. A good deal of seven-day labor was found.

If these conditions are typical of America, and there is every reason to believe that they are, one is at least privileged to believe that the spirit of the report is typical of another kind of America and one that is destined to gain the ascendancy. For the investigators frankly condemned the low standards prevailing, proposed other and higher standards, and suggested means by which the higher standards could be attained.

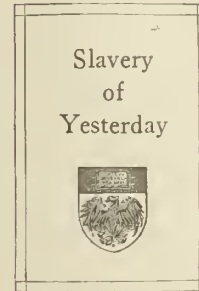
They endorsed unionism as "an effective means" for the improvement of industrial conditions; urged a reorganization of the state bureaus having to do with labor conditions, and the appointment of a commission, as in Wisconsin, New York and Ohio; pointed out the necessity of better enforcement of law; favored health insurance, the establishment of an improved system of public employment offices, reduction in hours of labor and the abolition of seven-day work. In addition the report lays down ten "minimum requirements" which are essential to social welfare.

JOHN A. FITCH.

HISTORY OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN FRANCE
By Agnes M. Wergeland, Ph.D. University of Chicago Press. 136 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.05.

SLAVERY IN GERMANIC SOCIETY DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

By Agnes M. Wergeland, Ph.D. University of Chicago Press. 158 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.06.



For a proper understanding of present-day social conditions and institutions, a knowledge of their origins and historical development is important. These two little volumes by the late Dr. Wergeland present in a brief and readable form the results

of scholarly research into the medieval forbears of some of the factors in our modern social and industrial life.

Of the two books, the History of the Working Classes in France deals with matters more directly connected with the problems of today. It is a review, or, as the preface names it, a running commentary on Levasseur's *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières et de l'Industrie en France Avant 1789*; and in placing this important and elaborate work within the reach of many to whom it might otherwise remain inaccessible, a valuable service has been performed.

From the early beginnings of the medieval period down through the Renaissance to the France of Louis XV and XVI, the varying forms of industrial organization, the development of trade and foreign commerce, and the social and economic status of the working classes are traced. Especially interesting is the analysis of the relation of employe to employer, first as seen in serf, freedman and lord under the feudal system; then, with the growth of cities, in the master, valet and apprentice under the guild, or corporation, as it is more properly called. The aristocratic fraternities or associations of masters on the one hand and the democratic *compagnonages*, or unions of workmen and valets, on the other, furnish us with a medieval counterpart of our employers' associations and labor unions.

We find also the government curbing the power of the "corporations" when their influence seems likely to become too great. We hear the cry repeated at different periods that wages have not kept pace with the rise in the price of food-stuffs. These are all apparent indications that many of the problems which agitate us today have had their precursors in earlier times.

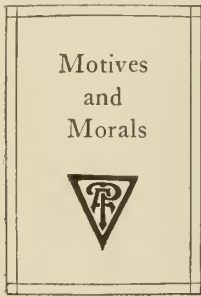
The subject of slavery as a legal status does not press us now as it did formerly, but it is always an interesting chapter in the history of human relationships. The main sections of Dr. Wergeland's monograph on slavery in medieval Ger-

manic society cover the periods of reduction—that is, the process by which a slave “becomes more and more a thing”; of ‘restitution or amelioration; and, finally, of liberation. This seems to her the inevitable course which slavery must run. “It, after all, bears the stamp of transition and in the end must reach freedom.” The economic aspects of the institution are especially analyzed and its legal status made clear at successive stages by extensive reference to Germanic law.

HENRIETTE R. WALTER.

MORAL SANITATION

By Ernest R. Groves. Association Press. 128 pp. Price \$.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.56.



Accepting moral illness as a definite entity, the author of “Moral Sanitation” seeks to show how it may be prevented and moral progress stimulated. Recognizing morality to be a social matter, he accepts Freud’s theory as an important measure toward

ascertaining why men fail morally. In the opinion of the author, the method of Freud is the most serviceable for the social worker as a method of discovering the inner cravings and conflicts involved in the problems of human conduct. In the acceptance of sex instinct as the one single fundamental force in determining human conduct, such motives as fear, hunger, restriction of opportunity are entirely overlooked.

Education is relied upon as the chief method of advancing preventive morality, and the importance of early training therefore is paramount. Most people will agree that high moral principles must be inculcated, though there will naturally be differences of opinion as to whether Christianity is essential for this purpose. The statement that “religion is the most powerful agent of moral education” may be questioned by those who believe that ethics and morals may be developed among agnostics and atheists.

It is pessimistic to believe that “morality is lost in the midst of a fine glow of feeling that counterfeits the appearance of morality.” One cannot accept as final the statement that “religion must never give comfort to one who is failing to meet a moral need, while dreaming over or talking finely about the thing that requires action.”

It is true that a moral leader must be on the lookout for evidences of repressions in the lives of those he wishes to help, but the mere revealing of these latent cravings does not in itself constitute the essential factor in reformation.

The author finds elements of danger in repentance, because in itself it de-

velops a great amount of emotional interest. The neglect of all positive moral service by a person who over-emphasizes repentance is designated as a pathological state that “has the same unhappy moral results that follow day-dreaming.”

The pleas for better homes and more intelligent parenthood naturally arise from the opinion that the family has failed as a moral agent. The incompetence of parents is constantly emphasized. Yet the statement is made, “The moral responsibilities of the home cannot safely be farmed out.” But if the author is correct in regarding morality as a social matter, society itself has responsibilities for morals which cannot be satisfied in the home because of its natural limitations.

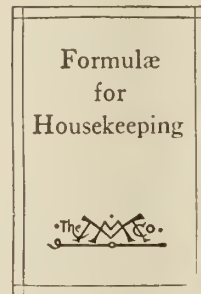
The need of recreational facilities and of labor, the disadvantages of maladjustments, and the importance of vocational guidance are properly stressed, although there is no new contribution.

In the final chapter occurs the statement that “social progress at present is largely hampered by our inadequate knowledge of the laws and influences that govern men and women.” The author discovers the basis of moral sanitation in human motives, but if the solution of moral conduct is to be found only through studying the repressions of childhood, progress is likely to be slower than the author desires.

IRA S. WILE, M. D.

A LABORATORY MANUAL OF FOODS AND COOKERY

By Emma B. Matteson and Ethel M. Newlands. The Macmillan Co. 325 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.64.



Among housekeepers we find an increasing number who are interested in acquiring a scientific background for the administration of their homes. While the authors of this book present a good textbook, they have also written a volume that may be of service to any housekeeper, providing she combines her scientific interest with the desire to give her family real food and not compounds resulting from the manipulation of chemical formulæ.

Furthermore, such a housekeeper will find any number of suggestions in the various chapters that will help her to answer her own questions. For example, in the chapter on milk the experiments give practical directions for comparing food value, consistency, etc., of milk and cream; also for computing the percentage of butter to be obtained, for comparing fresh and salt butter, for testing milk, and for the use of soda with sour milk.

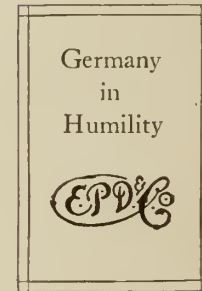
The various chapters divide the com-

mon foods as follows: Beverages; fruits; vegetables; milk, cream, and butter; cheese; eggs; meat; poultry; fish and flour mixtures. In each case the food is treated in relation to its composition and nutritive value as well as to its preparation. Each chapter closes with a comprehensive bibliography. The recipes are real recipes and not chemical equations. The final office of the food—that is, the nourishing of various members of the family—is emphasized. Suggestions are given for score-cards by which the quality of certain foods may be summarized. There are also helpful tables analyzing standard portions of various recipes, so that with little practice the housekeeper can balance her family meals without undue trouble.

WINIFRED STUART GIBBS.

THE GERMAN REPUBLIC

By Walter Wellman. E. P. Dutton & Co. 202 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.08.



Walter Wellman, explorer and journalist, has had a dream—a fantastic, amusing dream. He calls it the German Republic. It is a dream of the end of the war by the delightfully simple process of making the Germans discover that they have

been led throughout by madmen. An irresistible movement takes place in Germany. The nation opens its eyes. It discovers that the war came because there was an “epidemic of mental obsession” in Germany.

The people are brought to the point at which they express regret to the world that a war was precipitated by their leaders; regret that Belgium was invaded; regret that works of art and monuments were destroyed in France by German troops; regret that the Lusitania was sunk; regret that there were zeppelin raids on English towns and villages; regret that poisonous gases and liquid fire were employed; regret that German ingenuity, inventiveness and skill were applied to the development of new and hideous ways of slaughter; regret that a spy was admitted to prison camps to bribe his fellow countrymen to turn traitors.

To America this repentant nation has a special word to say, a word of apology and contrition for having resented the sale of munitions of war to its enemies and a word of gratitude for the sublime patience and forbearance of the American people. On their knees the Germans humbly give thanks that all neutral mankind did not declare them outlaws, wild beasts running amuck, and treat them accordingly.

The outcome is the unanimous estab-

lishment of the German Republic, a plan which satisfies everyone; disarmament; an international court with a constabulary force to uphold its decisions;— and thus a peaceful German conquest of the world. It is, as the author says, dramatic, spectacular, convulsive.

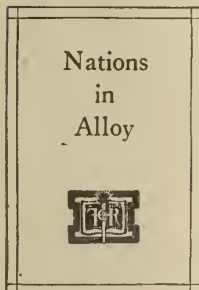
Perhaps the end will come about that way—perhaps. If Maximilian Harden had said it rather than an American journalist, the prophecy would have been even more interesting.

Regarded simply as one more hostile indictment of the German cause it must be said that hardly any except that of Mr. Beck has been more successful. As a practical contribution towards the desired ends of peace, international good will, disarmament and the conquest of the world by high ideals, the method proposed is open to the objection that it leaves nothing for the allies and neutrals to do.

E. T. D.

NATIONALIZING AMERICA

By Edward A. Steiner. Fleming H. Revell Company. 240 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.09.



This little volume, mainly composed of recent Chautauqua addresses, explains Dr. Steiner's great popularity as a lecturer. It is of religious seriousness, but it is also entertaining.

Though covering a greater variety of subjects than it is possible to recall on laying down the book—among them English as an international language, American scenery, the Daughters of the American Revolution, mince pies, investments in Mexico, the teaching of geography, Jewish ritual, slang, the influence of Buffalo Bill on European thought, the intricacies of baseball, and the Christian virtues of non-Christians—these lectures develop a systematic program in logical sequence.

The infectious optimism of the author is too well known to require further comment. He clearly analyzes the deficiencies and dangers of American social and political life; but every criticism broadens out into a constructive suggestion for reform which is both practical and inspiring. It is indeed in its call for active patriotism and applied human sympathy that Dr. Steiner's message becomes more than a mere addition to our not inconsiderable literature on the meaning and future of Americanism.

Not the statutory body of law concerning immigration, he tells us, will avert the decay of American institutions and traditions, but a better comprehension by Americans of the difference of their nationalism from that of racially

homogeneous countries and of the special duties which emanate from that difference. To keep alive in home politics as well as in their foreign relations the ideals of which the history of the world has made them the principal custodians today is the one task above all of which Americans, whether of the fifth or of the first generation, must become conscious. For Dr. Steiner, who sees everything through his enthusiasm for America, Americanism and Internationalism seem in this connection to be interchangeable terms.

In our lack of educational system, the author finds the gravest obstacle to the growth of that American spirit which he visualizes as the essence of a new form of nationalism. And this although, in his experience, there are among the immigrants many "who were foreordained to come to America and were always Americans in spirit."

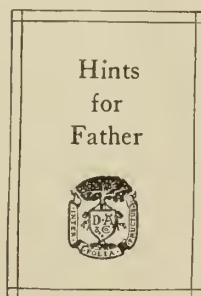
Even if we cannot grasp the involved problems of some of the smaller European peoples and races, we can sympathize with them in their struggles. The love of liberty which for many of them has made this country their second home is the link of their mutual understanding and of the understanding of native Americans for them.

The tense appeal of this book is lightened by many human stories and by the same warm humor which recently won for the author so many new friends when he narrated the adventures in this country of the stolid "Herr Director."

B. LASKER.

YOUR BOY AND HIS TRAINING

By Edwin Butler. D. Appleton and Company. 282 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.64.

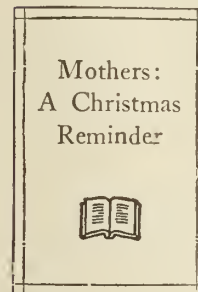


and study to what is known about boys and especially to the personality of his own boy. "The education of the parent in the subject of boy-training is the pretentious purpose of this volume."

It makes no attempt at scientific accuracy, but has tried to keep some essentials of science "distantly in sight." It is, however, simple, sensible, sympathetic and suggestive and ought to be read by father, with mother occasionally looking over his shoulder, and often talking over with father the meaning of what they read in terms of sonny.

HENRY W. THURSTON.

MATERNITY; LETTERS FROM WORKING-WOMEN Collected by the Women's Cooperative Guild, with a preface by Herbert Samuel, M. P. G. Bell & Sons. 212 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.07.



One of the most serviceable books published in England since the war began is a small volume of letters from working-women collected by the Women's Cooperative Guild. The guild is a self-governing organization within

the British Cooperative Movement, which deals especially with the position of married women in the home and the state. For a number of years it has given special attention to the subject of maternity protection and has helped materially towards the adoption of the two maternity acts with which the factory acts have at last been supplemented.

The maternity insurance law and the compulsory notification of births act have been used by the guild as a basis for a still greater scheme for the national care of maternity. The circular of the Local Government Board in 1914 on this subject largely embodied the suggestions made by the Women's Cooperative Guild.

The present volume is not the least of the guild's contributions to the movement for maternity protection. Here, for the first time, the problems of maternity are discussed by actual mothers. The writers of the 160 letters are working-class wives, who relate simply and literally just what it means to bear and rear children in working-class homes. Yet their confessions do not represent the worst conditions; for the letter writers, being guild members, are, therefore, the wives of the better paid, rather than the lowest paid, manual workers. Also these women are literate; they are able to recount their experiences in writing. Those who know the average working women face to face will appreciate the fact that a group of organized and literate working women must represent the economic élite of their class.

We can imagine what the lives of those even less fortunate must be when we know how intolerable were the conditions under which the writers of the letters bore their children. Over-work and poverty, ignorance of the physical functions of motherhood and excessive child-bearing were chiefly responsible for the recorded waste in women's health and infants' lives. As one woman says, "The best of times are bad;" but when neglect and privation are added, unnecessary and useless suffering is the result.

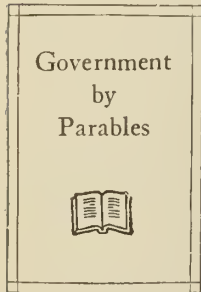
As the Christmas season, when there is, unhappily, so much lip-worship of motherhood, those who care for the real

lesson of the nativity and the message of the poor woman who bore her baby in a manger should read these modern letters on child-bearing by working-class mothers. They suggest a way to translate compassion into protection. For if we really care as much about motherhood as we say we do, we ought to be working for maternity insurance and a better national care of maternity.

KATHARINE ANTHONY.

STATE SOCIALISM AFTER THE WAR

By Thomas J. Hughes. George W. Jacobs & Co. 351 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.



State Socialism After the War, by Thomas J. Hughes, is frankly one more utopia, appearing at a moment when utopias are at a discount. Equaland, the imaginary kingdom of heaven whose polity it describes, is placed in

Africa; and with respect to comfort, equity, efficiency and demonstrated practicability, the ideal commonwealth, like those of Bellamy, Wells, or Sir Thomas More, leaves little to be desired. Moreover Equaland is shown to be governed in accordance with scripture. The parables of the laborer engaged at the eleventh hour and the talents are cited as justification, respectively, for Equaland's system of

wages and of land tenure; while the communism established after Pentecost is presented as the prototype of the state socialism of the ideal community.

All the details are worked out admirably and with due regard to the manner in which modern business is actually conducted. It would be hard to say why Christians, social workers, socialists, workingmen, employers of all kinds should not be interested in this book as its publishers think they will be.

E. T. D.

BOOKS RECEIVED

BORDERLANDS AND THOROUGHFARES. By Wilfrid Wilson Gibson. Macmillan Co. 195 pp. Price, \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.34.

CITY RESIDENTIAL LAND DEVELOPMENT. Edited by Alfred B. Yeomans. City Club of Chicago. University of Chicago Press. 138 pp. Price, \$3; by mail of the SURVEY, \$3.20.

DAILY BREAD. By Wilfrid Wilson Gibson. Macmillan Co. 195 pp. Price, \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.34.

FEELINGS AND THINGS. By Edna Kingsley Wallace. E. P. Dutton & Co. 102 pp. Price, \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.07.

FELLOW CAPTAINS. By Sarah N. Cleghorn and Dorothy Canfield Fisher. Henry Holt & Co. 150 pp. Price, \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.32.

FIRES AND OTHER TALES. By Wilfrid Wilson Gibson. Macmillan Co. 175 pp. Price, \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.33.

THE GROWTH OF A LEGEND. By Fernand van Langenhove. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 321 pp. Price, \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.35.

THE MENTALLY DEFECTIVE CHILD. By Meredith Young. Paul Hoeber, Publisher. 140 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.56.

NEW IDEALS IN BUSINESS. By Ida M. Tarbell. Macmillan Co. 339 pp. Price, \$1.75; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.89.

THE STORY OF THE TRUST COMPANIES. By Edward Ten Broeck Perine. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 327 pp. Price, \$2; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.14.

WELFARE WORK. By E. Dorothea Proud. G. Bell & Sons, Macmillan Co., Agts. 368 pp. Price, \$3; by mail of the SURVEY, \$3.20.

4. That there be divisions to learn road-making, house-building, surveying, Red Cross work, etc., comparable to the infantry in an army; that there be divisions to learn seamanship, boat construction, etc., comparable to the navy.

5. That this army be employed every year at maneuvers in some public improvements, such as road-making, bridge-building, ditch-digging, etc.; that such volunteers be put to work immediately in becoming acquainted with and Christianizing our immigrant population.

6. That all church members, men and women, from the age of 16 upwards, be eligible, as well as all others who would desire to join in the movement with the same spirit.

ARCHIBALD McCLURE.

Lake Forest, Ill.

THE COUNTRY FOR ORPHANS

To the Editor: Referring to the revelations in New York papers as to conditions in orphanages in New York city, would be glad if you would publish this letter. These little people start life under a terrible handicap and surely they are entitled to some extra compensation so far as this is possible in order to make good that burden.

My suggestion is, why not place the orphanages of New York in smaller towns and villages nearby, or if that be not legal or feasible, perhaps a better idea would be to take up the abandoned farms of your state and thereon place these young people so that fresh air and the best of food will give them some special advantages to offset conditions over which they have no control.

I do not mean to scatter these all over the state where inspection would be difficult, but group them all within a few square miles. They would learn farming, a valuable trade in itself, and produce a large sum of good citizenship for the future, even if they did not produce enough revenue to pay expenses.

J. W. HAMILTON.

St. Paul.

Communications

AN ARMY FOR PEACE

To the Editor: Such suggestions as courts of arbitration, sending teachers to Mexico and paying for the education of Japanese students in the United States are splendid. Yet it seems to me that there is also a need of something definite that everyone who believes in peaceful "preparation" can immediately do, just as the Plattsburg camps, the civilian naval cruise, etc., are tangible, immediate opportunities of services for those who believe in military and naval "preparation." I enclose a general outline of a plan to provide something definite and immediate for those people to do who feel that those who call themselves Christians and Americans ought not to fight and kill:

1. That the denominational church bodies of America issue immediately a call to the members of their churches for at least a million volunteers, who will agree to offer their services to the Presi-

dent of the United States for any emergency in our domestic or foreign relations; these volunteers to agree never under any circumstances to use military and naval weapons.

2. That in order to meet an emergency with any of the great nations of the world, each volunteer agree immediately to learn to speak at least one foreign language, 200,000 each to learn Japanese, Chinese, German, Russian and a Latin tongue, so that in time of emergency this volunteer army be ready to march or sail out to meet any opposing force just as our army and navy would, except that the weapons be not arms but hospitality, kindness and an understanding of the language and ideals of the opposing force.

3. That each volunteer agree to give two weeks a year to mobilization, drill in marching and kindred exercises such as are found in a military camp—except for guns.

THE STRONG REPORT

To the Editor: I have read with regret your remarks on page 207 of the issue of November 25. The Committee on Resolutions of the State Conference on Charities and Correction has always reported at the final session of the conference and it was not unusual that the attendance was not large when the report was presented. Although I had no knowledge of the contents of the committee's report until it was read, perhaps the resolution approving of the present constitution of the State Board of Charities was suggested by the president's remarks at the opening of the conference (a copy of which I send you herewith). There is no slap at Mr. Strong or con-

demnation of his report in my remarks or in the resolution, but only an expression of opinion as to the policy of a paid Board of Charities. No objection was made to the resolution from the floor and it was adopted unanimously.

GEORGE B. ROBINSON.

[President of the Seventeenth State Conference of Charities and Correction.]

Bedford Hills, N. Y.

ARIZONA WELFARE EXHIBIT

To the Editor: The Department of Social Science of the University of Arizona undertook the task of interesting the various organizations of the state in preparing material for a welfare exhibit at Tucson. The response both from local organizations and national committees was exceptionally good, and as a result a very creditable exhibit was prepared. Charts and photographs were secured from the various state institutions, such as the prison, Pioneers' Home, insane asylum, etc., describing the nature of their activities. Civic organizations, women's clubs, Y. M. and Y. W. C. A. and charity organizations from various cities of the state prepared exhibits showing some phase of their work.

One booth was devoted to an exhibit from the National Committee on Provision for the Feebleminded; another to the prevention of tuberculosis and blindness. Still another booth contained pictures and charts from various employers of the state showing the nature of their welfare work, hospital service, and efforts to provide for the safety of their employes.

Considering the pioneer condition of social work in the state, the exhibit proved a decided success. It formed a clearing house for people of the state interested in social welfare. Dr. Mary L. Neff of the Extension Department of the University was in charge.

E. J. BROWN.

[Professor of Social Science, University of Arizona.]

Tucson.

"HANDS ACROSS THE SEA"

To the Editor: No doubt the open letter by Charles P. Trevelyan, M. P., published in the SURVEY for December 9, has been welcome to those American social workers who are actively engaged in the propaganda in favor of immediate peace, based upon what many of them like to call reciprocal concessions between the two groups of belligerent nations.

Without taking up with you now the main issue raised in this debate, viz., to find out whether it agrees with the humanitarian ideals in the name of which those social workers pretend to speak, that justice make concessions to injustice, liberty to despotism, right to might,

I shall restrict myself in the present communication in pointing out to you the inconsistency of the following sentences to be found in Mr. Trevelyan's letter:

"Those who, like myself and Messrs. Snowden, Ponsonby and Ramsay MacDonald, have for months been pressing in the House of Commons and out of it, for an early effort at negotiations have no more desire than the wildest warmonger that the war should end before Germany is ready to evacuate France and Belgium and by acts acknowledge the abandonment of all designs at aggression or aggrandizement. . . . Suppose that to the British people, for instance, an American president were to be able to say in quite simple and direct language that Germany was ready to give up Belgium and France if the British government would negotiate. . . . What is it that we seek, what does saner opinion seek, in France, Germany and elsewhere? It is security—security for which the nations are crying. They fear to sheathe their swords if they do not see security looming in the near distance. But what offers security except this very league of the nations? . . ."

Do you not see with me how large a gap there is between these three statements? When the English pacifists, in the name of whom Mr. Trevelyan pretends to speak, require that Germany should evacuate France and Belgium, acknowledge by acts the abandonment of all designs of aggression or aggrandizement, the idea thus expressed seems to be precise enough provided you include among those acts the release of Alsace-Lorraine by Germany, that country having been annexed in 1871 against the solemn protest of its population and having been governed for the last half-century against the manifest will of the same population; and provided, also, that Belgium, Poland and Serbia are restored to full independence and not just transformed into buffer states which Germany would use as outposts guarding the German empire.

But how is it that when you turn to the second sentence, you hear now only of the restoration of Belgium and France and nothing more about that explicit abandonment of plans of conquest which was declared indispensable in the first sentence? And why, a few lines below this, a second change in the program according to which nothing more is necessary than the formation of a league of nations! I must confess I do not understand how Mr. Trevelyan can reconcile these different viewpoints, or rather I understand it only too well, for after all the whole view of the war is contained in the last few words of his message, "We are also weary here."

Mr. Trevelyan is "weary" and his friends are "weary," and for that reason, before the end of their journey, they are ready to throw off the burden of jus-

tice and liberty, a valuable but very heavy load. How far will they not be led by their thirst for peace? And of what will they not free themselves to try and plod along that path towards the oasis of peace which is constantly growing narrower and narrower? What a touching picture of the camel attempting to pass through the needle's eye—but how fantastic!

A FRENCHMAN.

New York.

MR. COHEN'S RESIGNATION

To the Editor: Under Jottings on page 288 of the SURVEY for December 9 appears a statement that the Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association had voted to demand my resignation, as well as that of Mrs. Moskowitz. I do not know where you got your information as to my own resignation, but it is wholly inaccurate. The fact is, I resigned of my own volition. I enclose a copy of my letter of resignation:

"J. J. Goldman, Esq.,

"President, Dress and Waist Mfrs. Ass'n.,

"2 West 33 street, New York city.

"My dear Mr. Goldman: Will you please be good enough to relieve me of my duties as counsel to the association at the earliest practicable moment? You are aware of the pressure upon me of other professional work and the difficulties and sacrifices involved in my endeavor to be of service as an adviser to the association. So long as I thought it was worth while, I felt that I must make these sacrifices. I am now satisfied, however, that too many of the members of your association fail to understand the value of counsel or advice and prefer to learn their lessons by bitter personal experience. I confess that I am getting very tired of trying to save business men in the women's wear industries from the consequences of their own stupidity. They seem wholly bent upon passing through bitter and costly experience through which to learn lessons which they might easily learn either by reading or taking counsel. At all events, I see no reason why I should be called upon to add to the sacrifices I have already made."

JULIUS HENRY COHEN.

New York.

BIRTH CONTROL

To the Editor: The article on Birth Control by S. Adolphus Knopf, M. D., in the SURVEY for November 18, interests me very deeply. What does the word "contraception" mean as used by Dr. Knopf? If it means self-control, then I am with him heartily in much that he says.

But there are some statements that lead me to believe he means some other method of prevention which allows con-

tinued indulgence but evades the legitimate result. If so, I ask in all sincerity why the same time and effort cannot be put upon the higher plane of self-control? And I also ask, as a means to this end, why some of the stumbling blocks cannot be removed, such as vaudeville shows, where the exposed bodies of women appeal to the passions of men, many of the modern dances, the indecent dress of many women upon our streets and in our homes, and the pictures of nude women which so often fill the windows of so-called art stores.

Would not help along these lines, combined with plain teaching from such men as Dr. Knopf and more stringent marriage laws with a foundation already laid in the home, build up such characters that birth-control means self-control? If time can be given to teach and people are intelligent enough to understand how to use successfully preventives, they can understand and use self-control instead.

The following paragraph is the one to which I object very strongly:

"There are hundreds of young men and women, physically and morally strong, who gladly would enter wedlock if they knew that they could restrict their families to such an extent as to raise a few children well. But their fear of a large family retards, if it does not prevent, their happiness and, *ipso facto*, the procreation of a better and stronger man and womanhood. The woman withers away in sorrowful maidenhood and the man, whose sexual instincts are often so strong that he cannot refrain, seeks relief in association with unfortunate and often diseased prostitutes. The result is a propagation of venereal diseases with all its dire consequences."

Is it for such moral cowards as these that Christ suffered on Calvary; that mothers go down into the "valley of the shadow of death" to bring forth a man child made in God's image? God's way surely is for young men and women to marry, bear children and rear them.

If for no better reason than the above, they are cowards and shirkers, missing the best in life. They know they have a God-given power—self-control. It can hold in check the fiery temper, stay the hand from murder, control all pass-out understanding the facts before marriage, that there is a power within themselves which can make an intelligent use of a certain privilege. And this power only, trained and developed as it can and ought to be, is the one that will solve the problem of birth control, or so it seems to me. I wish to acknowledge Dr. Knopf's greatness and goodness as shown in the able article he has written in behalf of humanity; but a mother has her side of the question.

MRS. W. H. HOPKINS.

Atlanta, Ga.

To the Editor: You have asked me to reply to the very courteous criticism by Mrs. Hopkins of my paper on birth control in the SURVEY of November 18. If Mrs. Hopkins were a medically trained woman I could answer her in technical terms and give physiological and ethnological reasons why such high ideals as she entertains are very difficult to carry out in the present status of men's development and our social fabric. Sociologically speaking, it is even more difficult when you deal with the masses and the poor, who cannot have separate bedrooms and for whom self-control is thus a difficult matter. Self-control can be much more easily exercised prior to marriage than afterwards.

As to that paragraph of my article to which Mrs. Hopkins takes particular exception, that is to say, where I speak of "the hundreds of young men and women, physically and morally strong, who would gladly enter wedlock if they knew they could restrict their families to such an extent as to be able to raise a few children well," etc., let me say in all candor that I do not by any means agree with Mrs. Hopkins when she says that a young man who hesitates now, for economic reasons, to marry and to assume the responsibility of supporting a more or less large family, is a moral coward. If he can control his sexual impulses and hesitates to marry because of too small an income to support wife and children decently, he should be considered a moral hero, perhaps even a martyr, and not a moral coward.

I referred in my paper to the work of Dr. Alice Hamilton in collecting statistics of deaths of children in large families, that is to say, where men and women married young, carried out Mrs. Hopkins' injunction, and bore children. But did they rear them? The Chicago *Herald-Record* makes the following interesting comment on the case cited by Dr. Hamilton of an Italian woman on the West Side of their city—the Italian mother who had given birth to twenty-two children and had raised only two: "Society would have been better off if this prolific mother had borne only two healthy children. The net increase in the population would have been the same. Further, the terrific waste of twenty babies born only to die, the impoverishment due to twenty fatal illnesses, to twenty little funerals, is appalling."

I ask Mrs. Hopkins in all sincerity if the teaching of self-control could have accomplished anything in this case? I venture to say that even doing away with vaudeville shows, modern dances, indecent dress of women in streets and homes, and nude pictures in art stores, would have had little influence on this type of husband who, I am sure, if he attended church and saw his priest, had been told more than once to exer-

cise self-control. Evidently neither this priestly injunction nor the doubtless frequent appeals on the part of the suffering wife for moderation was of any avail.

On the other hand, if this woman could have had access to a clinic conducted by medical men of high repute who would have foreseen the inevitable consequences of too many childbirths and had taught her prophylactic measures, would these physicians not, too, have obeyed the divine injunction to save useless suffering of body, mind and soul? Would they not have been true physicians and servants of the state by having aided the mother to have a smaller number of children, but physically strong and destined to become useful citizens of the republic?

S. ADOLPHUS KNOPF, M. D.
New York.

To the Editor: To one reading of the thoughtful paper of Dr. Knopf, in the SURVEY for November 18, a number of thoughts suggested themselves. The law recognizes the interruption of pregnancy as legal and justifiable in order to save the lives of women suffering from tuberculosis, nephritis, cardiac diseases, or for conditions whose fatal progress would be hastened through continued pregnancy, but the law holds it to be illegal to teach these same women how to avoid conception. It is manifestly contrary to every principle of modern preventive medicine that there should be such interference with the judgment and action of physicians where it seems most rational and medically sound to give advice as to the methods of preventing a condition containing a hazard to life.

From the standpoint of public health, it is important that a very sharp line of demarcation should be established between abortions and the prevention of conception. The interruption of pregnancy to destroy a developing ovum entails physical hazards to the woman which often adds to the mortality rate. At the same time, this is equally the destruction of life as foeticide and, literally speaking, infanticide. According to DeLee, while abortion occurs oftener among the lower classes, criminal abortion is more frequent among the more educated classes.

The report of the special committee on criminal abortions (quoted in Textbook of Legal Medicine and Toxicology, Peterson and Haines, vol. ii, page 92) estimated "that one-third of all pregnancies throughout the country end in abortions. This is estimated at not less than 100,000 yearly. A large number of these are criminal abortions, from which the committee estimated that 6,000 women die yearly." A fact of this character merits careful consideration.

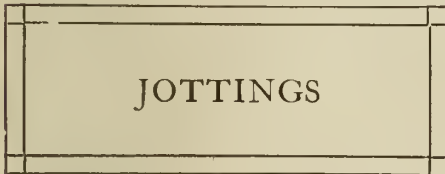
Dr. Howard Kelley, in discussing

syphilis (Medical Gynecology, page 423), states that "it is the recognized duty of all physicians in the presence of any contagious disease to protect others from the risks of infection. . . . In the case of syphilis, where there is a question of its introduction into marriage, the physicians' protective duty embraces not only the prospective wife, but the children she may bring into the world and through them the interests of society."

I do not favor the abolition of federal or state laws which deal with abortions, though owing to the weight of public opinion convictions for violations of these laws are remarkably limited in view of the large number of violations occurring annually. I believe and would urge that the federal and state laws be amended so that in effect the procuring of an abortion and the preventing of conception will be dissociated as acts not synonymous in character and meriting entirely different treatment. The procuring of an abortion should still be penalized. The prevention of conception should be permitted.

IRA S. WILE, M.D.

New York.



THE *Catholic Charities Review*, a monthly with the Rev. John A. Ryan as editor, will begin publication in January from the Catholic University of America at Washington, D. C.

COPIES of a Report on an Investigation of the Wages and Conditions of Telephone Operating, made to the United States Commission on Industrial Relations by Nelle B. Curry, field investigator, have now been printed in quantity and may be had of Miss Curry at 613 Brooklyn avenue, Kansas City, Mo.

GUY T. JUSTIS, secretary of the Erie Social Service Federation, has resigned to become, on January 1, secretary of the Denver Federation for Charity and Philanthropy. Before helping to organize the Erie Federation about two years ago, Mr. Justis was superintendent of the Erie Associated Charities.

BOSTON stayed wet, the election on Tuesday going for license by 23,000 as against only 14,000 a year ago. Liquor interests organized a tremendous campaign to offset the temperance forces and Billy Sunday. The outcome of the school election is looked upon as a great victory for idealism. Henry Abrahams, a liberal and well-educated labor man, defeated Michael H. Corcoran, rated as a reactionary.

THE thrifty cockles of Benjamin Franklin's heart would have been warmed by an item in *Commerce Reports* for December 5. At the very front, ahead of consular reports and business openings the world round, Secretary of Commerce Redfield writes of the \$2,000 earned by schoolchildren

of Washington, D. C., by collecting 150 tons of old newspapers since the opening of the fall term.

THE passage of the amendment to the Illinois state constitution enabling the legislature to revise the antiquated and unjust taxing system has been in doubt ever since the election, November 7, when it was submitted on referendum. Whether a majority of all male votes polled at the election or only a majority of those cast for members of the legislature was needed to pass the measure, is the question at issue. It fell short of having a majority of all votes, but is officially declared to have been passed by a majority of the legislative votes.

MORE than 700 pages are required for the proceedings, just issued, of the forty-third annual meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, in spite of careful editorial work throughout. The needs of study classes and others for a handy edition have been met by reprinting separately fifteen of the leading papers and three whole divisions—Inebriety, Family and Community, Feeble-mindedness and Insanity. (Proceedings free with membership, \$3 yearly; division reprints 25 cents each. 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago.)

MODELED on the faithful little paper phrase-books that have opened many a locked door and filled empty stomachs abroad, the English-Italian Phrase-Book for Social Workers gives the commonly needed questions and answers for the friendly visitor, the settlement, the truant officer, the night-school teacher and the nurse or doctor. There are sixteen special vocabularies and some terse points on Italian grammar. The book is both written and published by Edith Waller, of Morristown, N. J., at 75 cents, with a Physicians' Supplement at 25 cents.

"NO sickly, happy-go-lucky, weak, 'tol'able' race can hope to cope with a strong, vigorous, healthy, proud, self-respecting race of people," said Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, before a great mass-meeting of white and colored people at Roanoke. "Colored people must lay more stress on health." And he brought his health preaching down to local dollars and cents by showing that Roanoke, with a Negro population of 8,000, has about 470 sick folk all the time at an annual cost of \$60,000 in wages, \$96,000 in doctors' fees and \$12,000 in undertakers' bills.

REPRESENTATIVE women of Pittsburgh are reported to be organizing a movement for birth-control as a result of a recent meeting held at the First Unitarian Church. A police threat to prevent a mass-meeting at the Labor Temple stimulated public interest. Frederick A. Blossom, of New York, editor of the *Birth Control Review*, spoke at the monthly dinner of the Social Workers' Club and at a later meeting of social workers, physicians, college professors, clergymen and representatives of women's clubs, held in the office of the Associated Charities. Organizers of the movement plan to hold a series of public meetings and possibly a convention of birth-control leagues in Pittsburgh next May at the time of the meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

THE New York Community Chorus is planning to give a free performance, by one thousand voices, of Handel's Messiah in Madison Square Garden on December 26 at 8 P. M. This will follow the singing of Christmas carols around the Tree of Light in Madison Square Park. The membership of the Community Chorus includes a countess and a scrubwoman, while the advisory board is made up of capitalists, socialists and a wide variety of religious denomina-

tions. Efforts are being made to enlist a wider cooperation, and possibly some civic recognition, to make the New York Community Chorus a permanent organization. It is supported entirely by voluntary contributions.

EVER since the SURVEY in its issue of December 6, 1913, first gained a national hearing for the educational experiment conducted by Marietta L. Johnson at Fairhope, Ala., educators have shown increasing interest in her ideas. John Dewey, who visited Fairhope in the winter of 1914-15, pronounced Mrs. Johnson's school one of the most hopeful educational experiments in this country. To promote the methods underlying this experiment the Fairhope League, formed several years ago, is now incorporating. One of its objects will be to conduct a correspondence school in the principles of organic education for mothers throughout the country. Mrs. Johnson, who is now lecturing weekly in New York city on her methods, will write the lessons for this school. Another plan is to establish a demonstration school in New York and to secure as pupils a limited number of orphans from the countries at war.

AGITATION for the commission form of government with city manager, has been initiated by the Cleveland Real Estate Board, with the approval of other civic and semi-civic organizations. Cleveland's present city charter has been in operation only since January, 1915. While it provides for non-partisan election of officers and nomination by petition, many people declare that party lines are as closely drawn as ever. The preferential ballot, which gave Harry L. Davis the mayoralty a year ago on second choice votes, is said to be due for a hard legal and political fight before it ever serves the city at another election. Its next use would come next fall.

JOHN IHLDER has been chosen secretary of the Philadelphia Housing Association and will begin his duties January 1. Following his graduation from Cornell and early newspaper training, Mr. Ihlder served for five years as field secretary of the National Housing Association, gaining thereby a country-wide knowledge of housing conditions. During the past year, as a special adviser in housing, he has made surveys of Bridgeport, Conn. (see the SURVEY for November 11), and Mt. Vernon, N. Y., has been the organizer of the Ellen Wilson Homes, Inc., in Washington, D. C., and has been adviser to the million-dollar housing company organized in Bridgeport. Mr. Ihlder has been the SURVEY's advisory editor in the field of housing for a number of years and is the author of many SURVEY articles, most recently on the boom towns of Fline [September 2] and Hopewell [December 2].

THE Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, representing thirty denominations with a membership of 18,000,000, is sending to 100,000 individual churches and Sunday Schools, a Christmas message addressed to "the Christian Fathers and Mothers and to the Children of America, in behalf of the Fathers and Mothers and little Children of the lands across the sea." Because the Christmas sun this year shines only upon our half of the world, the appeal suggests that Christmas day be made a sacrament of self-denial for the little children who lead blinded fathers by the hand in Italy, Russia, Great Britain, France, Austria, and Germany; for the starving and unsheltered infants in stricken Serbia; the million children in Belgium, dying of the white plague because they cannot get the "extra meal a day" which the Commission for Relief in Belgium is trying to secure for them; long-suffering Poland, almost child-

less; and the "numberless other children of other races whose faces wear no smile of happiness."

SHERMAN C. KINGSLEY of Chicago is to be the secretary of the new Cleveland Welfare Federation (see the SURVEY for December 9), beginning his duties early in January. Mr. Kingsley enlisted in social work with the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities and was later executive of the Children's Aid Society and of the Children's Friend Society in Boston. In 1904 he was chosen superintendent of the Chicago Relief and Aid Society and successfully promoted its combination in 1909 with the Chicago Bureau of Charities into the United Charities of Chicago. In 1912 he became director of the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund for the promotion of child welfare. He has been identified with every social and civic movement in Chicago for a decade, through the City Club, the Social Service Club, the Central Council of Social Agencies, through widespread public speaking and writing for the press; and with many national movements, particularly through the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

CALENDAR OF CONFERENCES

Items for the next calendar should reach THE SURVEY before January 10.

DECEMBER AND JANUARY

- CHARITIES**, Texas State Conference of. Austin, Texas. January 18. Sec'y, M. A. Turner, Room 215, City Hall, Houston, Tex.
- ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION**, American. Columbus, O., December 27-30, 1916. Sec'y, W. G. Leland, 1140 Woodward bldg., Washington, D. C.
- INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY**. New York, December 28-30. Sec'y, Harry W. Laidler, 70 Fifth avenue, New York.
- LABOR LEGISLATION**, American Association for. Columbus, O., December 27-29, and Cincinnati, December 30. Sec'y, John B. Andrews, 131 East 23 street, New York city.
- NEGRO CONFERENCE**, Tuskegee. Tuskegee, Ala., January 17-18.
- POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION**, American. Cincinnati, O., December 28-31. Sec'y, Mr. Chester L. Jones, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- SCIENCE**, American Association for the Advancement of. New York city, December 26-30. Sec'y, L. O. Howard, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.
- SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY**, American. Columbus, O., December 27-30. Sec'y, Scott E. W. Bedford, University of Chicago, Chicago.
- STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION**, American. Columbus, O., December 27-30. Sec'y, Carroll W. Doten, 491 Boylston street, Boston.
- VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST**. Chicago, Ill., January 18-20. Sec'y, A. G. Bauersfeld, Sedgwick and Division streets, Chicago.
- NATIONAL CHARITIES AND CORRECTION**, National Conference of. Pittsburgh, Pa., June 6-13, 1917. Sec'y, W. T. Cross, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago.
- RECREATION CONGRESS OF THE PLAYGROUND AND RECREATION ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA**. Milwaukee, Wis., November 20-23, 1917. Sec'y, H. S. Braucher, 1 Madison avenue, New York.
- RELIGIOUS EDUCATION ASSOCIATION**. Boston, February 27-March 1, 1917. Sec'y, H. F. Cope, 332 So. Michigan avenue, Chicago.

INFORMATION DESK

The following national bodies will gladly and freely supply information and advise reading on the subjects named by each and on related subjects. Members are kept closely in touch with the work which each organization is doing, but membership is not required of those seeking information. Correspondence is invited. Nominal charges are sometimes made for publications and pamphlets. *Always enclose postage for reply.*

Health

SEX EDUCATION—New York Social Hygiene Society, Formerly Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis, 105 West 40th Street, New York City. Maurice A. Bigelow, Secretary. Seven educational pamphlets, 10c. each. Four reprints, 5c each. Dues—Active \$2.00; Contributing \$5.00; Sustaining \$10.00. Membership includes current and subsequent literature; selected bibliographies. Maintains lecture bureau and health exhibit.

CANCER—American Society for the Control of Cancer, 25 West 45th St., New York City. Curtis E. Lakeman, Exec. Sec'y. To disseminate knowledge concerning symptoms, diagnosis, treatment and prevention. Publications free on request. Annual membership dues \$5.

COMMITTEE ON PROVISION FOR THE FEEBLE-MINDED—Objects: To disseminate knowledge concerning the extent and menace of feeble-mindedness and to suggest and initiate methods for its control and ultimate eradication from the American people. General Offices, Empire Bldg., Phila., Pa. For information, literature, etc., address Joseph P. Byers, Exec. Sec'y.

MENTAL HYGIENE—National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 50 Union Square, New York City. Clifford W. Beers, Sec'y. Write for pamphlets on mental hygiene, prevention of insanity and mental deficiency, care of insane and feeble-minded, surveys, social service in mental hygiene, State Societies for Mental Hygiene.

NATIONAL HEALTH—Committee of One Hundred on National Health. E. F. Robbins, Exec. Sec'y., 203 E. 27th St., New York. To unite all government health agencies into a National Department of Health to inform the people how to prevent disease.

TUBERCULOSIS—National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, 105 East 22nd St., New York. Charles J. Hatfield, M. D., Exec. Sec'y. Reports, pamphlets, etc., sent upon request. Annual transactions and other publications free to members.

SOCIAL HYGIENE—The American Social Hygiene Assoc. Inc., 105 West 40th St., N. Y.; Branch Offices: 122 South Michigan Ave., Chicago; Phelan Bldg., San Francisco. To promote sound sex education, the reduction of venereal diseases, and the suppression of commercialized vice. Quarterly magazine "Social Hygiene." Monthly *Bulletin*. Membership, \$5; sustaining, \$10. Information upon request. Pres., Abram W. Harris; Gen. Sec'y, William F. Snow, M. D.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING. Object: to stimulate the extension of public health nursing; to develop standards of technique; to maintain a central bureau of information. Publications: Public Health Nurse Quarterly, \$1.00 per year; bulletins sent to members. Address Ella Phillips Crandall, R. N., Executive Secretary, 600 Lexington Ave., New York City.

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS—Through its Town and Country Nursing Service, maintains a staff of specially prepared visiting nurses for appointment to small towns and rural districts. Pamphlets supplied on organization and administration of visiting nurse associations; personal assistance and exhibits available for local use. Apply to Superintendent, Red Cross Town and Country Nursing Service, Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEALTH—American Public Health Assn. Pres., William A. Evans, M. D., Chicago; Sec'y, Prof. S. M. Gunn, Boston. Object "To protect and promote public and personal health." Seven Sections: Laboratory, Sanitary Engineering, Vital Statistics, Sociological, Public Health Administration, Industrial Hygiene, Food and Drugs. Official monthly organ, *American Journal of Public Health*; \$3.00 per year. 3 mos. trial subscription (to Survey readers 4 mos.) 50c. Address 755 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.

EUGENICS REGISTRY—Board of Directors, Chancellor David Starr Jordan, President; Prof. Irving Fisher, Dr. C. B. Davenport, Luther Burbank, Dr. J. H. Kellogg, Secretary. A bureau for the encouragement of interest in eugenics as a means of Race Betterment, established and maintained for the Race Betterment Foundation in co-operation with the Eugenics Record Office. Address, Eugenics Registry Board, Battle Creek, Mich.

PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS—National Committee for. Objects: To furnish information for Associations, Commissions and persons working to conserve vision; to publish literature of movement; to furnish exhibits, lantern slides, lectures. Printed matter: samples free; quantities at cost. Invites membership. Field, United States. Includes N. Y. State Com. Edward M. Van Cleave, Managing Director; Gordon L. Berry, Field Secretary; Mrs. Winifred Hathaway, Secretary. Address, 130 E. 22d St., N. Y. C.

Racial Problems

NEGRO YEAR BOOK—Meets the demand for concise information concerning the condition and progress of the Negro Race. Extended bibliographies. Full index. Price, 25c. By mail, 35c. Negro Year Book Company, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

In addition to information in Negro Year Book, Tuskegee Institute will furnish other data on the conditions and progress of the Negro race.

HAMPTON INSTITUTE, HAMPTON, VA.—Trains Negro and Indian youth. "Great educational experiment station." Neither a State nor a Government school. Supported by voluntary contributions. H. B. Frissell, Principal; F. K. Rogers, Treasurer; W. H. Scoville, Secretary. Free literature on race adjustment, Hampton aims and methods. *Southern Workman*, illustrated monthly, \$1 a year; free to donors.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York. Publishes *The Crisis*, a monthly magazine, 63 branches and locals. Legal aid, literature, speakers, lantern slides, press material, etc. President, Moorfield Storey; Chairman of the Board of Directors, J. E. Spingarn; Vice-President and Treasurer, Oswald Garrison Villard; Director of Publications and Research, W. E. B. DuBois; Acting Secretary, Roy Nash.

Libraries

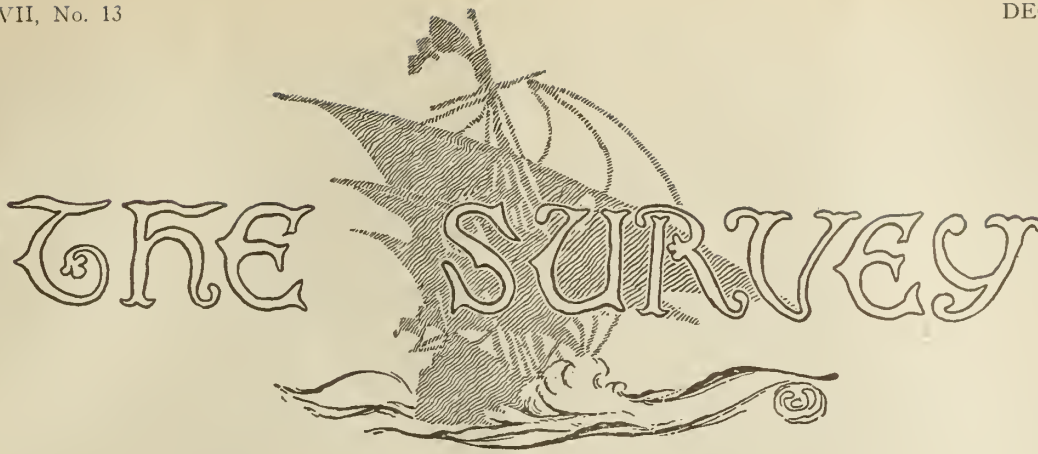
AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION—Furnishes information about organizing libraries, planning library buildings, training librarians, cataloging libraries, etc. *A. L. A. Booklist*, a monthly annotated magazine on book selection, is a valuable guide to the best new books. List of publications on request. George B. Utey, Executive Secretary, 78 E. Washington St., Chicago.

Recreation

RECREATION—Hundreds of able men and women gave their experience in neighborhood playground and recreation centers at the Recreation Congress held at Grand Rapids, Michigan. Many of the addresses will be published only in *The Playground*, published monthly, \$2.00 a year. Subscribe now. Playground and Recreation Association of America, 1 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Settlements

SETTLEMENTS—National Federation of Settlements. Develops broad forms of comparative study and concerted action in city, state, and nation, for meeting the fundamental problems disclosed by settlement work; seeks the higher and more democratic organization of neighborhood life. Robert A. Woods, Sec'y, 20 Union Park, Boston, Mass.



Winning the Other Half

National Prohibition a Leading Social Issue

By Robert A. Woods

SOUTH END HOUSE, BOSTON

TWO short years ago there were but nine prohibition states. Today the majority of the states in the Union are committed against the sale of liquor within their bounds. Adding no-license communities in local option states, and including Michigan, Montana, Nebraska and South Dakota, not far from 60,000,000 Americans now live in dry territory. Of the non-prohibition states all but four or five have at least one-half their territory dry.

Along with the impressive increase in the number of prohibition states, whose example has spread into Canada and brought about prohibition in five provinces, eleven American cities of over one hundred thousand population—two of them, Denver and Seattle, over two hundred thousand—have no licensed saloons. In these cities prohibition is actually being enforced. The large majority vote in Seattle against any recession from prohibition showed all responsible sentiment in that city decisively in favor of a system which completely excludes the liquor traffic. When Detroit goes under a dry régime, the question will become an open one for cities of the first magnitude.

This situation brings the question of prohibition flatly to the attention of every thinking citizen with the demand that its issues be freshly and thoroughly considered and a definite working decision reached.

Although it has been the conviction of the majority of citizens in the northeastern states that state prohibition is for them almost impossible to secure, and not desirable if secured, this point of view is changing somewhat. Even as to Maine, where state prohibition seems to be as little successful as anywhere, it is contended that a system which means a greatly reduced totality of drunkenness justifies itself even though it have many defects. At times it has seemed as if emphasis placed upon the failure of law enforcement represents on the one hand, a rather doctrinaire point of view and, on the other, the self-interest of the liquor trade. In other words, the question arises whether liquor legislation is not to be considered beneficial as long as it is being enforced to the degree which is characteristic, for instance, of the laws against burglary or murder.

To be sure there still remains a considerable liquor supply

within so-called dry territory, but without question there is at the same time a vast decrease in the liquor business within these bounds and a decrease of at least one-half in drunkenness. What is even more important, the new generation is growing up apart from contact with the sale or use of intoxicating drink. The organized manufacture of alcoholic beverages is completely eliminated and, what has seemed to many the most promising of all that prohibition might accomplish, liquor and politics are effectually divorced.

Yet, whatever may be the pros and cons, new and old, of state prohibition, one would still hesitate before urging it upon the representative northeastern states. Today the question is one of national prohibition. The evidence is becoming conclusive that it is distinctly possible and practicable to secure the suppression of the liquor trade throughout the length and breadth of the country. What is even more important, national prohibition would have many claims in the matter of enforcement which cannot be made for state prohibition.

National prohibition can be secured by a two-thirds vote of Congress submitting the matter to state legislatures, followed by the approval of the legislatures of three-fourths of the states. With twenty-five states already committed to prohibition, it requires only ten more states to secure the passage of an amendment to the constitution. That this consummation is not distant is suggested by the fact that at least a dozen states seem today as ready for a prohibition movement as was the state of Michigan a year or two ago.

Since the election the opinion has been tentatively expressed by some of the best-informed Washington correspondents that the enabling act would certainly be passed at the present session of Congress. It should be remembered that two years ago, when the question of submitting a prohibition amendment to the states was voted on in Congress, the result was a majority of 207 to 194. Should the present Congress not give the two-thirds vote, a single straw indicating the almost certain prospect of a two-thirds majority in the incoming Congress a year hence is found in the Indiana situation. In 1914, the entire congressional delegation from Indiana voted against the prohibition measure. For the newly elected

Congress ten members out of thirteen, including both senators, are in favor of the act.

The woman vote is looked upon as a powerful reinforcement to the prohibition cause, and this expectation will undoubtedly be justified, notwithstanding the fact that it has been, whether wisely or not, a part of woman suffrage policy to stand aside from the liquor question.

Increasing tolerance, if not actual leaning toward the idea of national prohibition has been substantially promoted by the attitude of Europe during the war. The ban against vodka in the Russian empire, followed by the elimination of trade in beer and even in wine in great numbers of Russian cities, has given the issue a reality and dignity which could not have been achieved through discussion and action among our own people. The prohibition of absinthe in France, where the liquor interests are probably more dominant financially than in any other country, has also had its effect. The restrictive measures of England have been instructive, but we have been moved even more distinctly toward regulation of the liquor trade by the thus far stolid refusal of the English to go to the limit of suppression which the national well-being so clearly demands.

Enforcement of Federal Law

A FURTHER POWERFUL impetus toward national prohibition comes from consideration of the effectualness with which it can be enforced. The leaks in the state prohibition system, whether permitted by law or in violation of it, come from the overflow of the liquor business in adjoining states. The Webb-Kenyon law, placing serious restrictions on interstate traffic, for the first time has given state prohibition a fair chance. The "bone-dry" legislation, a follow-up to the ordinary prohibition laws, represents the tendency of prohibition states to make ready for such national action as will eliminate entirely the risk of a supply from beyond their boundaries.

National prohibition would, of course, eliminate all manufacture and importation of intoxicating liquor, and thus cut the root of the organized liquor trade. If evidence be needed that the national government can enforce its will down toward the vanishing point, take the fact that even under so well-managed a local option system as that of Massachusetts a considerable number of illicit liquor dealers flout the town government and the state government, but post the United States tax receipt. When any broad-scale organization of the liquor business, whether for manufacture or distribution, is made obviously impossible, attempts at small-scale trade will be recognized as so exceedingly dangerous that in all probability the enforcement of national prohibition for, say, 95 per cent efficiency, would soon become almost automatic.

The gradual shift in American attitude toward the extreme position of total abolition of liquor has come as the result of remarkable educational developments.

Medical science has demolished the old theory that alcohol is a stimulant. It is known now that the degree of freedom which liquor gives the lower brain centers is the result of a stupefying effect upon the higher governing powers of the mind. It is the last word of science as well as of ancient wisdom that "wine is a mocker."

The close relation between the use of alcohol and many serious diseases has been brought out with ever-increasing effect. The accumulated evidence which has been secured by many insurance companies, showing the considerably greater mortality among moderate drinkers than among abstainers, goes to enforce strongly the ever-broadening opposition on the part of physicians to its use. Its causative relation to insanity is the subject of dispute only as to degree. The alcohol case has

not been helped by the fact that poverty and drink are admitted to work in a circle. The increased and widespread study of prostitution has placed directly before all honest minds the great share of alcohol in building up and maintaining this intolerable burden and disgrace. The amount of attention directed recently toward the question of feeble-mindedness, on the one hand, and the production of a better race, on the other, has indicted alcohol as a race poison which has the power to penetrate and damage the germ cell through which the gift of life passes from generation to generation.

The new scientific methods for the treatment of drunkenness tend to show more clearly than ever that the appetite for alcohol is very largely, if not wholly, abnormal. It is not a thing that goes with human nature. In other words, since alcohol is as distinctly an outside, malignant enemy as are any of the disease germs that afflict the human race, there is precisely the same reason for isolating and despatching it. Indeed, Demon Rum, while he may be somewhat of a joke as a figure in anti-alcohol emotionalism, does not fall far short of representing the scientific fact. Here perhaps we may admit for the sake of argument that alcohol as a beverage carries 1 per cent of benefit to 25 or 50 per cent of injury to the community.

In this connection one of the most suggestive sides of the whole anti-alcohol movement is the attitude of the New York city Board of Health, which is definitely organizing a campaign to dissuade people on health grounds from the use of alcoholic drinks. The board is committed to the elimination of the alcohol line of attack on the human organism precisely as it is committed to relentless warfare upon the tuberculosis germ.

The romantic atmosphere with which the use of alcoholic liquor has always been surrounded has been a sort of haze through which the new light has with difficulty penetrated. It is true that alcohol seems to provide an outlet to the spirit of sociability and to the sense of the exaltation of life, but on second thought the conclusion is gripping every reasonable mind that the result is a crude form of sociability and a deluded consciousness of exaltation.

Along with the subtle and penetrating revelations which science is bringing, the theory of the substitution of wholesome emotional interests for the sensations aroused by alcohol is having an effect. We learn, for instance, that the moving-picture show is furnishing a foil to the saloon. Again, in various parts of the country the turning of community sentiment against the saloon is ascribed to the influence of a man who is, for the first time in the history of religion, setting forth a thoroughgoing mixture of religion and humor. The universal testimony of men in the liquor business that the younger generation is not drinking as much as their fathers or even their older brothers, already reflects not only a high level of intelligence, but a rising wave of the new, widely available normal way of finding the exaltation of life.

Influence of Alcohol on Business

THESE VARIOUS tendencies considerably reinforce the business man in his growing insistence that, if possible, the undermining influence of alcohol upon industrial responsibility and efficiency must be determinedly confronted. The increasing number of great sources of employment which are closed even to the moderate drinker is in its measure fully as significant as the spread of prohibition itself. The decline of the use of liquor among those fulfilling any sort of administrative function in business or manufacturing is a universally patent fact. The change in the habits of commercial travelers during the past ten years has been phenomenal. The way in which the

logic of abstinence passes up and down and across is suggested by the disappearance of liquor from the bills of fare of the dining cars. A large number of monthly and weekly periodicals are excluding liquor advertisements from their pages since these publications have come to be real compendiums of life; the fact that the use of liquor is considered by them to be not a part of life is impressing the popular mind.

The most disturbing threat which alcohol furnishes to industrial production is shown by records kept for the hours during the working day at which industrial accidents take place. It appears that the number of such accidents goes to a high peak in the middle of the morning and again in the middle of the afternoon. No explanation has ever been given for this curious phenomenon other than alcohol. In all probability it is the result of the beer that employes drink on their way to work in the morning and during the noon hour.

It is a melancholy, but not a finally established, fact that organized labor is today one of the chief bulwarks of the liquor business. In England practically all the labor leaders are teetotalers and make it part of their duty to promote the organization of a powerful temperance propaganda among working men. With us only a few men such as Charles Stelzle and John B. Lennon have kept up a continuous total abstinence appeal to trade unionists, on grounds not only of moral welfare, but of economic interest.¹

In some cities the building trades show a strong tendency against the use of liquor. It seems clear that in Michigan working men had a substantial part in carrying the state for prohibition; and in the states where prohibition is now well established we see organized labor beginning to come forward in its favor. In general, however, the employes in the liquor trades and its various subsidiaries are able to focus the entire labor movement of their communities against the attack on the liquor traffic.

It is wholly reasonable to believe that the use of alcoholic liquor constitutes one of the most serious handicaps upon organized labor in the way of learning and practising associated action. It is a fair venture that it will be only a de-alcoholized industrial army that will develop the discipline, the loyalty, the program and the leadership which can bring us into the era of cooperative production.

Thus far, prohibition is with us distinctly an American movement. Its tide has not reached any of the larger immigrant centers of population. Yet the attitude of the Irish element toward the sale of liquor and its use has become increasingly stringent. The great order of the Knights of Columbus allows no liquor dealer in its membership. The Catholic total abstinence societies are becoming increasingly powerful in the direction of moral suasion, and a real influence of the same sort is the Society of the Holy Name, whose membership is enormous.

Immigrants and Prohibition

AS TO THE GERMANS, a German pastor, writing recently in the *Atlantic Monthly*, has set it down as one of the great mistakes of the German-Americans that they have not modified their attitude on the prohibition question. In the case of the Jewish and Italian groups, though there is danger here and there that they may get the habit of selling and using whiskey, there is undoubtedly an equally strong tendency toward the extreme of moderation. In general, for all these elements in the population, national prohibition, if it comes, must be forced. Yet it is certain that a substantial proportion in each group will not be irreconcilable.

Of the arguments used by liquor interests against prohibition, the principal one has always been that prohibition is a sham, that a large amount of illicit business goes on under it and that respect for law is proportionately undermined. It does not appear that this argument is founded on truth so far as many of the prohibition states are concerned. The fact that liquor has to be brought in wholly from without the state, encountering legal obstacles at every turn, is one of which no argument can dispose. The favorite recent argument has been that state prohibition tends to eliminate the use of beer, which is bulky and perishable, at the same time being unable to prevent the sale of whiskey. No doubt there is a certain weight in this contention, but it is not irrefutable, since the national sales of whiskey and beer have remained continuously in the same ratio.

Decrease in Drinking

IT IS CONTENDED by the liquor interests that, even with the advance of prohibition, the use of alcoholic drinks is increasing. It is true there has continued to be a gross increase in liquor consumed, but the rate of that gross increase fell from 44 per cent in the seven years 1900-1907 to 11 per cent in the seven years 1907-1914. The more significant fact, however, is shown by the per capita consumption, which from an increase of 5.03 gallons in the first seven-year period fell in the second seven years to a decrease of .29 of a gallon. These figures are taken from the United States statistical abstract for 1914, pages 170 and 512. It should be remembered that this decrease is referable only to the nine states which were actually under prohibition up to 1914. It is safe to say that we shall soon begin to see the figures for a substantial national reduction not only in per capita but in total consumption of liquor.

It seems to be clearly recognized that these arguments and nearly all others that can be brought forward fall prostrate in the face of national prohibition, and only with great logical difficulty resume any fighting force. There is still the authority of Mr. Taft that national prohibition would require a large army of inspectors to enforce the law; but it would certainly not require many inspectors to see that there was no brewery or distillery business on an appreciable scale, and to see that there was no wholesale liquor business except of the most casual and clandestine sort.

A curious, ironic twist has been given the strongly urged contention that prohibition would mean a vast increase in the use of drugs based on opium. The interstate prohibition method itself has intervened with substantial success to minimize the sale of such drugs and incidentally to dispatch the argument. Neither would the use of certain medicines as substitutes for alcoholic beverages, which is a considerable evil in some prohibition states, present great difficulties in the face of the advancing sentiment against the sale of such medicine for any purpose whatsoever.

The anxiety which has frequently been felt not merely by advocates of alcohol, but by many impartial persons, that the sudden elimination of the liquor business might create a serious economic disturbance leaving much real suffering in its train, is also effectually disposed of by the experience of Seattle, where within a year the effect of prohibition has been almost wholly beneficial from an economic point of view. Even former opponents admit that there are only a few cases where a satisfactory adjustment has not now taken place.

Almost the only residuary argument against national prohibition, except the belated appeal to personal liberty, is that of the private stills, which have been figured as a certain source of widespread degradation. It is true that under the proposed

¹ Very striking testimony in favor of prohibition is coming in from trade-union leaders who have tested its results in the western cities.

form of national prohibition, it would be possible for the individual householder, for the use of himself and family, to make whiskey. In so far as this possibility should be developed, however, to a wide extent, the "bone-dry" tendency would doubtless lead to effective state action.

With the whole conception of the federal power rapidly changing, and the very strongholds of the states' rights doctrine yielding their traditions, one may not be disturbed over the forcing of conclusions by the South and West upon the great population centers of the Northeast. In fact, there was not lacking a certain poetic justice in the remark of a southerner who said that the North had put abolition over on the South and the South was now going to put prohibition over on the North.

An honest doubt in the minds of not a few who are careful about the processes of democratic action is that a constitutional amendment in favor of prohibition would not represent a majority sentiment of the electorate. This objection, which had basis a few years ago, is fast crumbling away. While there may be reactions in the progress of woman suffrage, the fact that both parties are committed to equal franchise indicates that the political influence of women must rapidly increase. Within the period which would be required in order to carry through a constitutional amendment the number of women voters will undoubtedly become sufficient to make such action, when consummated, represent a definite majority of the voters of the country. Another factor becoming apparent is the overwhelming majorities which will support national prohibition in all the states in which state prohibition has already become established.

The promoters of prohibition do not want to push their cause hastily and relentlessly. Should they wish to do so, they could very likely carry a measure through Congress placing a prohibitive tax upon the liquor business. Their immediate proposal, as far as congressional action is concerned, is to bring about prohibition in the District of Columbia—meanwhile securing as soon as possible a two-thirds vote which will submit the prohibition amendment to the state legislatures. They are stressing the point that unless Congress soon passes

the vote to submit, national prohibition will be an issue forced upon both Democrats and Republicans and taking precedence over all other questions with which the parties must deal.

With twenty-five states already in line, the ever-growing momentum will soon bring over the necessary ten. A sad lack of self-respect and preparedness for the needs and opportunities which will follow national prohibition will be found among those communities which simply rest back and are willing to be passively swept over into the new era. It looks as if the question of the next few years in a group of our most powerful states would be—shall our state share in this great moral revolution or shall we be written down in history among the baser sort who had to be coerced into submission?

A most remarkable fact about the movement for national prohibition, looked at now from the point of view of its strong probability of success and the amazing economic and moral transformation which it will produce, is that, for its specific promotion, it owes nothing to any of the accredited social-reform forces. With substantial accuracy it may be said social workers as a body have had toward it nothing more than the attitude of curious spectators. Yet it will, without doubt, accomplish within their own field more than the total result of all they can hope to achieve with their present programs. On the fingers of one hand can be counted the leaders of organized labor who have shown any kindly interest in what may even double and triple trade-union resources and influence. Hardly even a ripple has been stirred upon the face of socialist discussion by this vast tendency which promises to accomplish the biggest result of deliberate collective action in the whole history of democracy.

Making all allowances for the secondary influence of economic considerations, it is the plain church-going people of the towns and the countryside who by their inherent moral force are bringing about this stupendous achievement. After having won their victory they may represent the main action toward further goals. It will be understood that they have not been without leaders—men with the savor and the tincture in them of the historic exponents of such folk—of Cromwell, Wesley, Lincoln.

Federal Aid for Consumptives

Would the Kent Bill Help?

By Gertrude Vaile

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY DENVER DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE

EVERYONE who has had to face the problem of tuberculosis from a community standpoint, whether doctor or social worker, must feel, I believe, that it is far beyond the possibility of adequate local handling. It is so immense and far-reaching that the federal government itself must take cognizance of it and do something effective to help and control it.

So widely has this feeling taken possession of people that many believe any sort of government action, no matter what, is desirable so long as it brings the federal government into the problem. But if government action, when secured, does not tend in the right direction and reinforce efforts already being made, it may further complicate a very difficult situation and cause even more suffering than before. This I am convinced would be the result of the Kent bill now pending in Congress.

The bill provides for government subsidy not to exceed

seventy-five cents per day per patient for the care of indigent tuberculous persons who are *not legally residents* in the states where they are temporarily located, on condition that the authorities in that place, or someone else, pay an equal amount. The benefit may not be granted if the person comes *in order* to receive it. The government may provide transportation to return a non-resident to his place of legal residence if proper arrangements are made for sanatorium care there, but expressly states that no aid shall be given toward his care in his own place. Where the subsidy is granted in any sanatorium the government may stipulate the standard of care given.

I believe that government aid in the care of non-residents would prove an exceedingly unfortunate public policy, increasing the suffering of tuberculous people and working injustice upon communities, and this for three main reasons: it would inevitably, as it seems to me, increase the migra-

tion of destitute tuberculous people to climatic resorts; it would have the effect of making them remain there long enough to lose their claim on their own home states and their right to return; and it reduces, so far as government action is concerned, a tremendous national problem to the limits of a local health-resort problem, and in so doing turns aside from some of the main points in the anti-tuberculosis struggle.

Now we ought not to object to an increase of migration if it is really necessary for people suffering from tuberculosis to go to certain western and southwestern regions to recover their health. But as Dr. Philip King Brown, of San Francisco, pointed out in his article in the SURVEY for July 29, favoring the Kent bill, "it is a delusion that climate cures tuberculosis. As a factor in cure it is not comparable with rest, good food and fresh air, however or wherever obtained." And another important factor in cure is peace of mind. Undoubtedly our western climate has helped many people who were economically and temperamentally able to take good advantage of it. All other things being equal, the addition of the best climate is an additional good. But many patients, and almost all indigent patients, in seeking climate sacrifice far more important things.

Suffering from Homesickness

IT IS A grievous thing to be sick, alone and away from home and friends. Many tuberculous people suffer ruinously from homesickness. Some experience the tragedy of loss of sympathy of the home folks because they do not understand conditions so far away, and, imbued with the idea that climate alone is sufficient, feel that if the patient does not get well promptly when he has "had his chance," it must somehow be his own fault or imagination.

There is suffering for the spirit also in the belief that a person whose health has improved out West must never again go East to live. That idea may be exaggerated, but it is impossible to uproot it from the popular mind, and tuberculosis specialists have told me it is true that after a stay in this milder climate there is genuine risk of breakdown in becoming re-adjusted to a more rigorous climate. Add to this intolerable sense of bondage and imprisonment the fact that, if the patient appears to be tuberculous, he is an object of fear and dislike in the health resort. It is hard for him to find a boarding place, even when he is able to pay for it.

Industrial difficulties are also great for the health-seeker. Opportunities for work, fitted to his limitations or for which he is at all prepared, are few and overcrowded in the sparsely settled, non-industrial regions where the main occupations are mining or ranching, and the ranching—or herding—is under conditions of peculiar physical hardship. Moreover, if people are known to be tuberculous they are not acceptable in positions that they really could fill. One of the largest employers of labor in Colorado, offering a great variety of employment, excludes all who have "tuberculosis in any form."

When in addition to all these difficulties, which must be met in a measure even by people of comfortable means, the poor man buys climate at the cost of improper housing, meager food, work when he should be resting, and driving anxiety about existence, then, indeed, in seeking life he enters into conditions of death from which he might have been saved had he remained at home.

The splendid results achieved by eastern sanatoria prove how successfully tuberculosis can be treated in any climate under the right conditions.

It must be remembered also that sanatorium care without good opportunity for after-care is little better than wasted, so likely is breakdown if the patient plunges at once from

the sanatorium into unrestricted work. Dr. Gelien of our tuberculosis dispensary tells me that the results of the dispensary care, looking after patients in their homes and at work, are not nearly so satisfactory in Denver as she found them in working in a Baltimore dispensary.

The doctor attributes the difference to the social and industrial advantages which the patient had in his familiar surroundings. There it was often possible that the man's employer, who had known him before he fell sick, would make readjustments of work in sympathetic desire to help him, transferring him perhaps to some other part of the work better suited to his condition, or allowing him to work part-time when he was not strong enough to resume full-time work. Among his own family and friends, too, the patient was shielded and safeguarded and helped in a hundred ways that told tremendously in his progress through the long fight, but all of which are denied to the sufferer who must make his own way alone in a strange place.

And so any public policy which could increase the migration of indigent tuberculous persons I can only believe would greatly increase the sum of human suffering.

After all, the crux of the question is, would the proposed legislation increase such migration? Dr. Brown thinks it would not, for several reasons. For one, the law provides that if people come *in order* to receive the benefit they may not have it. But who shall judge the inner mind of man? Climate alone has long been reason enough for coming. It would remain quite reason enough to allege. That the limiting clause is in there at all is interesting as showing that the framers of the bill themselves saw that it was likely to increase migration unless safeguarded.

Even if very few persons should actually come *in order* to receive the benefit of the law, yet such a law would stimulate migration, because it would take away all need for hesitation about coming. Consumptives would come in ever-increasing numbers in the spirit of that Russian steel-worker who presented to us a few weeks ago a letter from a doctor in his home town saying:

"The bearer recently came under my care and I diagnosed his case as tuberculosis and advised him to leave for Denver, Colo. The man is in meager circumstances and has only sufficient means for his trip and very little left for his maintenance while he is there. On his arrival in Denver he trusts that the kindness and generosity of so many institutions there will extend a helping hand to him."

The envelope was addressed, "Government or any charitable institution for consumption. Please instruct the man where to find it."

I think that no judge talking to that man would hold that he came for the purpose of securing sanatorium care, even though it was mentioned in the letter and almost immediately asked for. He clearly believed that air alone would cure him, and if he could have a few days' rest he would be able to go to work. Nevertheless, he trusted in the kindness and generosity of the community.

No Need for Prudence

Now, there are a host of people more prudent than the Russian laborer who do not come because they will not trust themselves to unknown conditions when they would be unable to make any vigorous efforts to meet them. Under the Kent bill all need for such prudence is taken away. Why should anyone hesitate to go wherever the climate is most attractive and run his chances? The government itself will help him if he should need any help.

My reasoning on this matter has the support of prominent charity organization workers the country over. Frank J.

Bruno, of the Minneapolis Associated Charities, formerly of Colorado Springs, says he cannot see how anyone living in a western state could doubt that it would increase migration. W. Frank Persons, of New York, considers it so obvious as hardly to be open to discussion. J. W. Magruder, of Baltimore, says, "How could it be otherwise? All our Charity Organization Society experience goes to prove it."

The American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity, in its annual meeting, passed resolutions in which conviction was expressed that "such legislation will increase inevitably ill-advised migration of such persons, often in the late and hopeless stage of their disease, and encourage migration of their children and other dependent relatives."

Sanatoria for Jewish Patients

IN Denver this which seems to me so clear as a matter of logic has worked out in actual experience. We have faced conditions more like those that this bill would create than can be found anywhere else. We have in Denver two national Jewish tuberculosis sanatoria, supported by Jewish contributors from the entire country, open to destitute Jews of the entire country. What is the result of this situation? The Jewish Social Service Federation, dealing with needy people in their homes, found that about 90 per cent of all their home relief work was in cases of tuberculosis. In the public relief office, which is to say the general community, the proportion of cases involving tuberculosis was 16 per cent of the total relief.

Why so much more migration of destitute tuberculous Jews than of other tuberculous people? I can find but one possible answer—the two national hospitals. The Jewish people themselves have been facing this situation with great earnestness and are having careful studies of it made. The two hospitals are now to make very heavy contributions for the support of patients and their families outside of the hospitals. Whatever solution may be tried out, the Jews are a united, socially minded people. Through their National Conference of Charities they make their own rules and can apportion responsibility equitably among their communities without dependence on legislation.

A federal enactment, such as that contemplated in the Kent bill, would reproduce in the climatic resorts, it appears to me, the Denver Jewish problem on the universal scale of the whole American public, when no machinery yet exists to meet it, and when it has baffled the finest machinery that a united, socially conscious people have yet devised.

Dr. Brown says that if the law should have the effect of increasing migration, "a few prompt deportations under existing or supplementary legislation and the matter can be easily settled." Has he forgotten that one of the main arguments presented at the Senate committee hearing in favor of the bill was just the fact that people cannot be deported? The argument ran thus: They are there, in the climatic resorts. You cannot compel their own states to care for them while they are out of their states. You cannot compel them to return to their own states against their will. Therefore, let the government bear part of the burden. I should have concluded, therefore let us avoid any policy which will make them even more likely to come and more unwilling yet to return.

Dr. Brown, in further answer to my contention that this bill would increase migration, believes that under such a law the government would take active steps through publicity and quarantine measures to prevent migration. He says, "If the federal government, through the secretary of the treasury, who is (already) given absolute police power in quarantine matters, cannot stop migration of indigent consumptives, no one can."

If such authority already exists and is so easily applied, why is it not used now to prevent the present migration? That would abolish offhand all need for government subsidy in the care of non-residents. But quarantine methods are not being used just because they are admittedly impractical in dealing with tuberculosis. The best and probably the only power to check the migration of indigent consumptives is to provide incentives for them to remain at home instead of incentives to go away.

And as for government advice and publicity, it would be far more effective without such subsidy than with it. With such a subsidy as the one proposed, what the government *does* would speak so loud that we could not hear what it *says*. It would say, "Stay at home. It will be better for you unless you have abundant independent means." And then it would hold out fine government-supervised sanatoria available to the destitute who go away from home. We need to have the government present a clear-cut message and not confuse it like that.

Doctor Brown thinks migration would be actually checked by the Kent bill because, he says, it "has been so worded as to meet the passing-on method." I have studied that bill over and over and I cannot find it. Perhaps he means that if the government pays part of the cost the community will be more willing to pay the other part instead of bidding the patient to move on. Miss Tate, of the Tuberculosis Bureau of the California State Board of Health, tells us how poor is the care for tuberculosis in some of the county institutions in the West, often not worth more than sixty-five cents a day, because of the unwillingness to make provision which would be largely used by non-residents.

But why should we expect that officials who now hesitate to take up long-continued care at sixty-five cents a day for a patient who does not belong to them, would be any more willing to take it up at seventy-five cents a day, even if the government would add another seventy-five cents? From the point of view of community finances, it is still preferable for the patient to be elsewhere, and if more of them come, the more incentive to shift them along. The chief essentials in removing the temptation to irresponsible passing-on of dependents are, first, that there should be some place where the person belongs, and, second, that he will not lose his right to return there if he lingers dependent somewhere else. In neither of these essentials does the Kent bill offer any help.

And that brings me to my next main point, that people who receive benefit under the Kent bill are likely by that fact to remain long enough in the climatic resort to lose their legal residence and their right to go home again.

Laws of settlement determine the conditions under which a community will assume responsibility for the care of dependent persons. Such laws as exist are very different in different states, and mostly they do not exist at all in the West. Unfortunately such laws as there are seem to have been devised not to protect the poor, but to protect communities against the poor. However widely the laws vary they are alike, so far as I have been able to learn, in the one point that settlement is assumed or expressly stated to be lost by length of absence alone, regardless of conditions under which that absence was spent.

A misunderstanding of the fact that settlement is lost in the old home, whether or not it is gained anywhere else, is responsible for much very plausible but misleading argument about the Kent bill. The attorney-general of California is quoted to the effect that a person who considers himself only temporarily located in the place where he is, might, even after a number of years, be regarded as a non-resident for purposes of the bill and might be returned to the place from which he

came, "provided that it is the place of his legal residence." But, as a matter of fact, he never could be returned to the place from which he came, because it would long since have ceased to be his legal residence.

Loss of Legal Residence

I HAVE BEEN REFUSED the right to return a man to the place where he had lived from childhood if he had been gone one week over a year, even though he himself regarded it as his home. All of his friends and most of his relatives lived there, every normal working day of his life had been spent there. He longed to go back and had no possible claim on any other spot under the sun.

Once I tried out the possibilities of securing a sworn statement of intention of residence, while there could yet be no question about it, to see if that could retain for a man his right to return home for care after a year's absence. I put to the attorney-general of the state from which the man had just come this question: "If a citizen of the state of X is cared for as a charity patient in a tuberculosis sanatorium outside of the state of X, will that necessarily affect his legal residence and consequently his claim for care in his own home state?" I cited the case and asked whether, if he should file with the public charities of his own state and Colorado an affidavit to the effect that he was only a sojourner in Denver and considered his home to be X, he might after a year return there and receive care. My letter went to the attorney-general of that state enclosed in a letter from our own attorney-general. The answer which came back was: "It is the opinion of the administrative department concerned that the patient referred to should not be deported to this state." Even though we offered to care for their citizen for a year without expense to them.

I cite these two instances, although I have cited them several times before because they seem to me to test the issue to its extreme, and also because they show the construction placed upon the matter in the two states from which our heaviest tuberculosis migration comes. I have tried out both states repeatedly with no better success. Until there can be radical changes of settlement laws, or of the construction of law, we cannot expect to return to his former home a patient who has received sanatorium care under the Kent bill. It is true that we may continue to regard him as non-resident in the new place and so claim government aid for his continued sanatorium care, but the care of the patient outside of the sanatorium and the care of the family dependent upon him become permanently fixed upon the new community where the government interpretation holds that the patient is "temporarily located."

Dr. Brown says that the family is wholly apart from the problem. But whom the Lord hath joined together we may not so easily put asunder. If I am right that the Kent bill would increase the migration of tuberculous patients, it would increase also the migration of their families. If it would cause the patient to lose his claim upon his home state, it would fix his family upon the new state. We are told that in California the non-resident tuberculosis problem is almost wholly of single men. That may be because California is so far away. In Denver, last year 41 per cent of the tuberculosis cases dealt with by the city relief office involved the family.

It simply is not possible for the new sparsely settled climatic regions to be national sanatoria for tuberculosis patients and pension their families besides. In our inability to do it their children die before our eyes. I shall never forget a certain widow who applied for a mother's pension. Her husband had died of tuberculosis. There were three children.

We had them all examined and none of the children showed any trace of tuberculosis. We knew the mother was working too hard and that the income was insufficient, but there was no money available from the mother's pension fund, the general relief fund was hard pressed, and she was making ends meet after a fashion and not complaining. So we just let the matter wait. Months later we took up the application again and had all the family re-examined. Every one of those children showed positive tuberculosis, and the oldest girl, just approaching working age, had active pulmonary tuberculosis. I shall never quite get over that. But the same thing is happening this minute in family after family we know.

Home Conditions Affected

PERHAPS it is true that relief of the family is not the government's duty. But if, as physicians tell us, tuberculosis is primarily a question of living conditions, then to enter upon a governmental policy of sanatorium care without measuring its effect on the home would seem to me hardly a helpful way to get at the problem as a whole.

It is objected that I am arguing the matter from a health-resort standpoint, whereas it is a national problem and concerns primarily the great industrial states. *Tuberculosis* is indeed a national problem, but *non-resident* tuberculosis, to which alone the bill refers, is almost exclusively a problem of the climatic resorts.

The Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium of Chicago reports for last year six non-residents out of 1,800. The Cook County Tuberculosis Sanitarium at Oak Forest reports "practically no non-residents cared for out of 1,500"! I sent back to Chicago the query, "Does this mean that the desire of public hospitals not to care for non-residents leaves the burden on private hospitals?" I got back the answer, "Private hospitals will not take free tuberculosis patients. No burden there." Dr. Kremer, of the Tuberculosis Admission Bureau of the city of New York, reports that on June 1, in the nine tuberculosis hospitals, Seton, Metropolitan, St. Joseph's, St. Anthony's, Brooklyn Home, Sea View, Montefiore Home, St. Vincent's and Riverside, there were just sixteen non-resident patients.

Migration of Consumptives

IN CONTRAST to that, in Denver, on October 10, out of forty-seven tuberculous patients in the County Hospital, twenty had been in the state less than one year and fifteen more less than three years. Of the twenty-four in the tuberculosis ward of the county farm, about the same date, four had been here under six months and 15 under three years. Almost all of the seventy-one admit that they came to Colorado for their health. Of 342 patients cared for since January, 1913, by the Brotherly Relief Colony, a tent colony for indigent tuberculous men maintained by private charity, 175, or 51 per cent, had been in Denver less than six months, 203, or 60 per cent, had been in the state less than a year, and only forty-eight had been in the state over five years.

We are told, "Los Angeles in six months dealt with 668 consumptives in her hospital for such cases, of whom 145 had been in the county less than six months, while 290 more were adults who had been in the state less than five years." One-fifth in Los Angeles under six months, two-thirds in the state under five years.

Non-resident tuberculosis appears, then, to be negligible in the great industrial states. The bill applies practically only to the climatic resorts. If Congress, gathered from all the nation, is really humanely concerned to help tuberculosis in all the nation, it is not the Kent bill as it now stands that should interest the members.

Many people endorsed the bill at first for the reason already suggested, that they felt that any government action was better than none. But it was interesting at the Southwestern Tuberculosis Conference at Albuquerque, N. M., in October, to see how many people rose in discussion from the floor to say that when they first saw the bill it looked good to them, but the more they thought about it the more they believed it would make the situation worse than before.

What, then, can the government do? Either or both of two things. First, investigation, education and active experimentation. The wonderful gift of \$100,000 from the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company to the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, to try out an experiment to eliminate tuberculosis absolutely from some selected community, is a thrilling suggestion of what the United States government could do. Such efforts on the part of the government would point the way for all communities to take care of their own people and inspire them to do it. Through such help and leadership, we could hope to eliminate tuberculosis even as the medieval plague was stamped out. To establish a special bureau of tuberculosis in the Public Health Service and give it a liberal appropriation would make such work possible.

Second, if in addition to such fundamentally important work the government can undertake so great a matter, why not simply reverse the Kent bill and give aid, not in the care of non-residents, but of *residents*, and then define residence for purposes of this law as the last place where a person had legal settlement, however long he may have wandered since?

This idea that a good American can be a man without a country in time of distress is barbarous.

I know that objections to government subsidies have been voiced, and I am myself of those who hold that public subsidies to private charities are unwise. But I do not see that government subsidies to local governmental units would be open to all the same objections, and when the aid is to a medical charity and the disease is infectious and concerns the public health, I cannot see that the objections would hold.

Such government aid would make a strong incentive for tuberculous persons to stay at home, for there would be the best probability of good care. That would be the happiest and most effective check to migration. It would help to establish justice between states instead of further entrenching injustice. It would do much to stop that cruel passing on, for there would be a definite place to go and no object in urging a man to keep moving just because he did not belong in the place where he was. Best of all, it would help states to build up their sanatorium care for their own people and give the government opportunity to get some hold of the tuberculosis problem in the great centers where it originates, instead of touching only that part of it that has scattered to the outskirts. And so it would be nation-wide, a real public-health measure.

The attorney-general of Colorado thinks that such a measure as I have suggested would be more likely to meet the test of validity than the Kent bill as it now stands, as being more universal in its application and more fully justified under the principle of government power for general welfare and the control of infectious disease.

A State Children's Code and Its Enforcement

By Roger N. Baldwin

SECRETARY, THE CIVIC LEAGUE OF ST. LOUIS

“**A** COMPLETE new code of laws for the welfare of all the children of Missouri” is the way the Missouri Children's Code Commission styles its report, just published, to the legislature which meets in January. It is the first complete code prepared in response to the national movement for a children's code in every state.

Never before in Missouri has there been any effort made to bring together all the present laws relating to children. The new code is more than that. It is an effort to adapt to Missouri the very best experience and ideas of other states and countries. It is, furthermore, an effort to create machinery which will make the laws work.

The commission of twenty-four members appointed by the governor has been at work since June, 1915. It was appointed on request of the State Committee for Social Legislation and a number of other agencies throughout the state interested in a program of child-welfare bills in the 1915 legislature. All of the program, with a few exceptions, failed of passage, as did most progressive legislation, because of the wet and dry issue. The Missouri senate, recognizing that fact, appointed a senatorial commission of three, whose appropriation was later found to be invalid. It could not, therefore, go to work. The governor's commission was then

appointed in its place, to work as volunteers, raising its own funds.

The new code deals not only with all the subject matter of the only other children's code in the country—that of Ohio enacted in 1913—but goes beyond into the problems of the legal status of children in civil suits, the administration of county agencies, health and recreation, and the social problems of the public schools.

Not all the recommendations of the commission are embodied in the legal draft of the code which will be presented to the legislature. Many recommendations approved by the commission, but believed to be impracticable until certain preliminary steps have been taken, are reserved for action by subsequent legislatures. These recommendations are separated in the code from the immediate proposals.

The report carries not only the legal draft and a statement of the reasons for every new recommendation, but outlines the need of the code in Missouri, based upon the actual conditions surrounding children throughout the state.

The commission's work has been done almost entirely by the voluntary efforts of the twenty-four members, divided into sub-committees on statistics and social conditions, public administration, delinquents, defectives, destitute and neglected children, child labor, health and recreation, and education.

The legal work has been done largely by the Law School of the University of Missouri.

The federal Children's Bureau at Washington furnished great help in getting the work started, with an outline of subjects to be considered and a complete index of Missouri statutes relating to children. This work the bureau is gradually accomplishing for all the states, as an aid to codifying the laws. The commission's expenses, which, with the printing of the report and the educational campaign through the state, will total \$1,500, are being raised by voluntary subscription.

The Commission's Chief Aim

THE EXECUTIVE WORK of the commission is in charge of Mrs. Maurice Lowenstein, a graduate of the New York School of Philanthropy. The chairman is Judge Rhodes E. Cave of the St. Louis Circuit Court.

One purpose the commission has made conspicuous above all others—to create an administrative system which will make the laws work after they are passed. Early in its work the commission decided that if it did not do anything else it would see that adequate machinery was provided for every county and for the whole state. This strikes at the heart of the present problem in every state of the Union. The standards developed in the last decade have been written into statutes without provision for their successful administration.

The chief recommendation for administering the laws in the 114 counties of Missouri is the creation of county boards of public welfare. These are to be ex-officio boards, composed of the three judges of the County Court, who are the county's administrative officers, the county superintendent of schools, and the judge of the court hearing children's cases. Such a board ties together the only three agencies in each county dealing with children—all located at the county seat.

The chief obstacle to the successful administration of children's laws in every county has been the separation of these three agencies. For instance, the probation officer appointed by the Juvenile Court could not be used by the schools as an attendance officer, nor could agents appointed by the County Court for poor relief engage in any work for the schools or for the children's court.

To unify this service for all the children of the county, the proposed county board of public welfare will have the right to appoint a county superintendent of public welfare and assistants. To prevent unwise appointments, provision is made that only persons may be appointed who hold certificates as "qualified social workers." These certificates must be secured from the State Board of Charities after competitive examination. Several grades of certificates will be provided for, as in the case of public school teachers. Thus the same protection as is thrown around the public schools by a system of certificates from a state department is also to be thrown around public social service in the counties.

While the creation of these boards in every county will be mandatory, the appointment of a superintendent and assistants is not. To stimulate the employment of a paid superintendent in each county and to arouse the county to the need of meeting social problems the State Board of Charities will be given the power to supervise the work. The state board will also have the right to step in, on complaint, and take charge of neglected children when the county fails to discharge its functions.

To meet the problem of the public welfare work of the average small town and city in the county, provision is made that these cities may be represented on the county board of public welfare, and may contribute funds to its work. Such

a city-county board, composed of members appointed by the County Court and by the mayor of a city has been for several years in successful operation in St. Joseph—the only board of its kind in the United States. All cities in Missouri will also be given the right to establish public welfare departments with broad powers to conduct the wide range of activities characterizing the Kansas City Board of Public Welfare.

To tie up the work of the County Board of Health with the welfare board, the county health officer is to be under the county board of welfare, which is to be, ex-officio, the Board of Health.

Only a few recommendations are being made for changes in the state agencies dealing with children, because of the movements outside of the commission looking to that end. There is a strong movement for the creation of a state industrial commission to handle all the departments dealing with industry, including the enforcement of child-labor laws, the women's nine-hour law and public employment bureaus.

Constitutional changes for improved schools, the state administration of health laws, civil service in state institutions—all these movements in the hands of other bodies are discussed as they relate to the code, but are not a part of it.

The chief measures recommended by the commission are:

1. The establishment of a board of public welfare in every county, as outlined above.
2. The creation of a children's court in every county as part of the Circuit Court, with provision for a referee in each county so as to hear speedily the cases of children in the absence of the judge on other parts of his circuit. The probation service will probably in most cases be under the county board of welfare, of which the judge or his referee will be a member. This court will also hear the cases of adults involving children.
3. State-wide provisions for mothers' pensions, to be administered by the county board of public welfare.
4. A complete revolution in the status of illegitimate children, giving them practically all the rights of legitimate children.
5. State supervision of all private agencies caring for children.
6. Placing all institutions for defectives and delinquents under the State Department of Education.
7. Providing for special classes for all types of defective children wherever needed throughout the State.
8. Requiring children to complete the sixth grade in school, unless the child has attained the age of sixteen years, and to include agricultural and domestic service in the provisions of the child-labor law.

There are, of course, a host of minor recommendations, but these cover the chief changes.

The commission has undertaken a state-wide campaign of publicity on the code. It is reaching the newspapers in every county. Hundreds of circulars are being sent out with a brief description of the work. Speeches are being made before women's clubs. Candidates for the legislature have been circularized and have pledged their support. An illustrated folder showing conditions surrounding children in Missouri, together with the chief new measures proposed, is being circulated throughout the state.

An Example for Other States

THE COMMISSION expects to go to the legislature in January with the unanimous endorsement of social workers and all the interests active for the welfare of children.

While the commission's work is not yet completed, enough has been done to blaze the way for other states working out their codes, with the help of the National Committee on Standardizing Children's Laws, and the federal Children's Bureau at Washington. Missouri is demonstrating what can be done by a group of volunteers with slender financial support, utilizing every available agency in the state and nation to help it along.

New Year Goals in Social Work

Sign-posts and mile-stones marking the way

1917

INFANT WELFARE

Gertrude B. Knipp

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR STUDY AND PREVENTION OF INFANT MORTALITY

WHEN one realizes that over 2,083 Baby Week celebrations were definitely reported to the Children's Bureau this year it becomes evident that every section in the country has begun to face its responsibility toward the mothers and babies.

At the threshold of the New Year, like all sound business concerns, the country will want to know what has become of its greatest asset. It will therefore take stock of the babies who were born during the last year or so. Upon checking up accounts, it will find that records are conspicuously lacking so far as many of the babies are concerned; it will accordingly insist upon the prompt and accurate registration of all births in 1917.

Further checking up will show an appalling loss of baby life during the first day and week and month after birth. Realizing that the only way to prevent this waste is by reaching the mother before the baby comes, the next step will be to furnish prenatal care. But as that will be incomplete unless it is followed up by adequate care during confinement, and after-care so that the mother can regain her strength, provision will be made for skilled obstetrical care for the mother in her own home or at a well-equipped hospital.

Feeding conferences, at which the mother will be advised as to the care that will keep the baby well, will follow as the logical sequence.

These conferences will be under the charge of doctors and nurses who have been especially trained in baby care, and will be followed up by visits of the nurses in the homes for further instruction of the mothers and for the care of sick babies.

Maternal invalidism and many maternal deaths are also matters for community concern, because they reflect the failure to provide proper safeguards for the women who are going through the perils of childbirth. We are beginning to have the subconscious glimmerings that precede waking up on this subject, and the Federal Children's Bureau in its publications during the coming year will open our eyes more completely to the facts. Through other investigations

CHILDREN will always have the privilege of making New Year's resolutions and always gain the luxury of forgiveness if they relax; but the hope and faith and determination of social workers and reformers can stop only for refreshment at the beginning of each year. Resolution with them must be constant. But New Year's they may pause a moment, look up into the sky, look forward over the hills before once more they forge ahead in their organized activities. The list is by no means complete—space forbids that—and no attempt is made to bring consistency out of a cross-current of proposal.

and studies the bureau will show conditions as they are. The American Association for Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality will continue its study of the causes of infant and maternal mortality and will point out ways by which they can be checked.

The United States Public Health Service, the Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of Education, the Bureau of the Census and other bureaus of the Federal Government which touch upon community problems will further the campaign by their field work and their constructive advice to individuals and communities.

State departments of health will organize divisions of child hygiene (unless they have already done so), and for some time will be kept busy educating and advising their people. As the demand arises they will establish centres for infant and maternal welfare; and cottage hospitals in the districts that are a long way off from the big cities.

City and town departments of health will enforce the laws requiring the prompt registration of births. They will keep an accurate record of births and infant deaths and will get together with the Bureau of the Census and the state departments of health on what shall be included in such records, that the reports may speak the same language.

If the city department of health has its own division of child hygiene and its staff of doctors and nurses (especially trained for such work), it will offer its services to the mother of every baby whose birth is recorded. If it has not, it will couple up its work with that of some local society, so that babies will have medical and nursing supervision until they have passed the perilous period of infancy.

The infant welfare organizations, not only the big, strong ones in the cities, but the smaller ones in the very remotest country districts, will be more and more insistent upon the complete cycle that begins with the mother long before the baby is born, and provides parental care, obstetrical care, medical and nursing care and supervision of both mother and baby until the baby is well on its way to healthy childhood.

These are not impracticable dreams. They are already being widely realized.

HOURS AND WAGES

Florence Kelley

NATIONAL CONSUMERS' LEAGUE

THE National Consumers' League hopes that, by the end of the year 1917, the purchasing public may be able to spend its money with a clearer conscience than has ever before been possible. This comprehensive hope sums up the following specific hopes:

A. That the Supreme Court of the United States may uphold as constitutional the Oregon minimum wage law for women, so that the twelve states which have adopted similar laws may administer them vigorously and other states may copy them—that wage-earning women may all be able to live "in health and frugal decency;"

B. That the same court may sustain the Oregon ten-hours law for men, and other states may follow Oregon's example, to the end that the present wholesale using up and wearing out of fathers of families in the manufacturing industries may be checked;

C. That the same court may uphold the New York law which forbids the employment of women in manufacture between ten o'clock at night and six in the morning; and that the good work of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana and Nebraska in passing such laws may be copied everywhere;

D. That the states may all join Arizona, California, Colorado, Washington and the District of Columbia in making eight hours a working day for women in industry;

E. That Congress may pass an eight-hours bill for women, based on the federal child labor law, thus extending to women the protection which it has during the past six months bestowed upon men in the service of railroads, and on children employed in manufacture;

F. That the public utilities commis-

sions may consider the wages and working hours of the employes of the public service corporations, when determining rates to be paid by telephone subscribers, railway passengers and the spending public in general.

G. That the officers who take oath to enforce the laws passed to save the life, health, and intelligence of working people may be enabled to do their work better than ever before.

For the fulfillment of these hopes the National Consumers' League intends to make even greater efforts to publish the facts of industry, to organize and direct the good will that already exists in our nation, and to increase and strengthen the centers for its work in all the states.

Finally the crowning hope for 1917 is that the ties which bind the Swiss Consumers' League with Consumers' Leagues of the warring nations, and the American correspondence maintained, despite every difficulty, with members of those leagues, may be strengthened by the coming of peace before New Year, 1918.

CIVIC PREPAREDNESS

Clinton Rogers Woodruff

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

A MUNICIPAL program for 1917 must involve a consideration of governmental organization, the proper functioning of the city, finance, economy and administration.

The tendency during the past ten years for cities to improve their machinery by introducing greater simplicity, understandability and responsibility must be accelerated during the coming year. There must be also a thoughtful consideration of the functioning of the city, so that it may adjust itself to the new demands made upon it.

This leads inevitably to the necessity for wiser financial preparedness. In the past the financial programs have more nearly resembled crazy-quilts than anything else. Movements in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Chicago, not to mention a multitude of smaller cities, have for their object the formulation of a carefully devised plan of financing the city, which shall recognize the distinction between current expenses and permanent improvement, which shall provide adequate funds for necessary work, and which shall redistribute the cost so as not to make it a burden upon those least fitted to carry it.

A flexible tax rate is another step in this direction of sound municipal preparedness, but a flexible tax rate should invariably be accompanied by inflexible economy. Our cities have been wasteful because neglected and overlooked. The people are awakening not only to the tremendous power of the city as a factor in human development, but to the necessity of utilizing that force to the uttermost. Useless and overlapping po-

sitions must be eliminated. Favoritism in salaries must be abolished, that adequate salaries for all may be provided. Favoritism in contracts must be eliminated, and rigid inspection must secure a dollar's return for every dollar expended.

The program must be completed by providing for expert administration such as is found embodied in the city manager idea, and by demanding that the movement for specialists in higher offices be continued unabated.

THE CONSUMPTIVE

Philip P. Jacobs

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY AND PREVENTION OF TUBERCULOSIS

FOUR phases of the campaign against tuberculosis will receive particular emphasis this next year: standardization of methods and programs of work, intensive education, more adequate care for consumptives, and experiments in community control of tuberculosis.

In emphasizing standardization, the anti-tuberculosis campaign is following the lines of good business in seeking for efficiency and economy. Narrow programs are being expanded and weak or obsolete methods are being discarded for new ones developed out of the joint experience of the country. By field secretaries, bulletins, special investigations, correspondence and a great variety of other ways, this movement for standardization is being forwarded, and with the result that the tuberculosis campaign is being put on a business basis.

Up to the present time most of the educational work on tuberculosis has been in the nature of a more or less broadcast dissemination of information through exhibits, lectures, the press and in other ways, letting the facts take root and germinate in action how and when they might. While anti-tuberculosis workers at the present time are not neglecting this method of education, they are coming to feel that it pays better to devote their time and attention to particular groups in the community and to work for specific action on the part of those groups. Thus, for example, the school children are being taught intensively by text-book, lecture, exhibit and Red Cross seals and other ways, and this education is resulting in organization and group action by the boys and girls. Intensive education in tuberculosis aims not only to give general information about the nature, curability and preventability of tuberculosis, but also to adopt this education to the needs of particular community groups for the purpose of securing community action.

Out of these efforts for standardization and intensified educational campaigns must logically develop increased provision for the care of the consumptive. In the last analysis "the man who coughs" is the object of the anti-tubercu-

losis movement. During the coming year, and the years to follow, further emphasis will be laid on this most necessary phase of the movement, not so much to relieve individual suffering of itself, but to protect society by the control of the disease.

For example, more provision is needed for the care of children, not only those who have open tuberculosis, of which the number is comparatively small, but for the vast army of boys and girls who are under-nourished or anemic, especially those who have been exposed to infection from careless parents or others, and in whom the latent disease is a constant source of danger. Open-air schools, fresh-air classes, preventorium and similar institutions must be established everywhere.

Hospital provision for advanced cases must be increased from the 40,000 beds now available to at least 200,000. This would allow only one bed for every advanced case.

Still a third phase of the effort to secure more adequate care for consumptives is the emphasis being laid on the care of families as a whole. There is great necessity for more experiments showing how to protect families in homes where one or more members are tuberculous. Whether home treatment can ever be made a final substitute for sanatorium or hospital care is still a question upon which there is no general consensus of opinion, but the experiments that have already been undertaken would seem to indicate that some form of home treatment will lead toward a solution of that most vexing problem, the employment of the discharged or apparently cured consumptive.

The community demonstration movements in Framingham, Mass., and Cincinnati, Ohio, represent the fourth special phase of emphasis in next year's tuberculosis campaign. These movements have for their object the control of tuberculosis and other diseases on an adequate community basis.

CATHOLIC CHARITIES

John O'Grady

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

AT the recent national conference of Catholic charities, attended by five hundred delegates representing eighty-eight cities, considerable interest was manifested in a number of social reform measures. The measures which seemed to make a particular appeal to the delegates were minimum-wage legislation and social insurance. Some of the more conservative delegates who came to the conference rather skeptical about these measures went away convinced of their necessity and feasibility and declared their intention of working for their adoption in their own states.

Other measures in the development of

which the conference is interested for the coming year are the utilization of parish halls as social centers, the prevention of juvenile delinquency, mothers' pensions, cooperation with other charities, and the protection of young girls. In many cities Catholic societies are already engaged in juvenile-court work, an activity expected in the future to become more general.

The striking tendency nowadays to make the Catholic parish a social as well as a religious center is being encouraged by the conference, because of its infinite possibilities for good. The establishment of the *Catholic Charities Monthly* at the Catholic University, under the editorship of the Rev. John A. Ryan, will supply a much needed incentive to the development of literary talent. It will bring about a uniformity of methods and a national outlook among Catholic charity workers.

PROHIBITION

Cora Frances Stoddard

SCIENTIFIC TEMPERANCE FEDERATION

WHATEVER interpretation may be placed upon the results of the November elections in other respects, its message to the forces working against alcohol in the United States was "forward." And this is the spirit in which the prohibition campaign starts upon 1917.

From the legislative point of view, the movement for national prohibition is, of course, paramount. The strength of this movement and the momentum it is gaining will appear in 1917 when certain plans now under way are carried out. In the meantime, legislation looks toward prohibition in the national capitol. A bill is also pending in Congress to shut out of the mails the liquor advertising that is deluging the would-be dry states with invitations to buy drinks by mail. When "the boy of the house," as the mail is sometimes addressed, has urged upon him a bargain collection of "whisky, cigarettes and a revolver," all for one stated sum, it is not strange that there is rebellion against this interference by federal mails in the states that are trying to give their boys a chance.

The immediate future must see an increase in educational methods in dealing with alcohol. It is evident that the dry states have cut out for them at least a generation's work of this kind if their laws are to be observed and enforced and their state life permanently freed from the deleterious influence of alcohol.

The necessity for propaganda is even greater in the states not yet dry. The section east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and the Potomac contains the larger part of that population of new Americans who have come to us by

the millions in recent years. Drink is to many of them as much a part of life as food. With stupendous stupidity we have allowed them far too often to have their first contact with American life through the saloon and its friendly offices of helpfulness to a stranger in a strange land. So long as these newcomers are unacquainted with the spirit of the anti-alcohol movement here, they help keep up a demand for alcoholic beverages which encourages manufacture and sale and makes enforcement of legislation difficult. Hence, for the immediate future, to reach and teach our immigrant people facts about alcohol is of almost supreme importance.

More attention must undoubtedly be given by employers and all social agencies to supplying in other ways conveniences which the saloon offers "on the side," such as toilet facilities, the opportunity for fellowship, and the cashing of checks. Wherever these needs are not adequately provided for in a community they ought to be met. The problem of civic centers for recreation, entertainment and fellowship is large enough and important enough to challenge the best efforts of the ablest social organizers.

In the immediate future, therefore, we may expect to see increasingly influential agencies supporting the abolition of the liquor traffic, a tightening up of present legislation, more systematic educational measures in reaching public opinion, a keener civic conscience acting to remove the excuses for the existence of the saloon.

UNPRIVILEGED BOYS

C. J. Atkinson

BOYS' CLUB FEDERATION

THE compelling task set for those directing boys' clubs during 1917 is a propaganda of education through publicity. An intelligent interpretation of their field and mission placed before thinking people should lead to enthusiastic support which will go far to check the great national disease, *boytormentus*.

The under-privileged boy in most communities of 10,000 population and over, is safely estimated at 66 per cent. In this class are the boys of every creed, race and color who for some reason are not getting a fair chance in life. Poverty and the size of the family necessitate the boy leaving school to go to work as soon as the law will allow.

Other agencies working for boys deal chiefly with the privileged one-third, while it is the special mission of the Boys' Club Federation to seek out the under-privileged and plan for the profitable occupation of their spare time.

Preventive work, rather than reformative, is the vital thing because it saves effort, financial outlay and human values, and preventive work is most effective with youth. As between the

boy and the girl, the boy is the most endangered by a ratio of seven to one.

The boys who are most endangered are the under-privileged two-thirds. Over 90 per cent of those who become a charge upon the community are from this group. Before one short decade the under-privileged boys of 1917 will control the political destinies of city and nation.

The organization to cope with this problem must be accessible to all, regardless of creed, nationality or social standing. It must provide sufficiently varied activities to suit the tastes of all. It must respect the code of morals and sense of justice inherent in the boy world. And it must suit its plans to meet the needs and conditions of the local community.

COMMUNITY HEALTH

W. A. Evans, M. D.

HEALTH DEPARTMENT, CHICAGO TRIBUNE

IN giving an opinion on the advances in preventive medicine in 1917 to be reasonably expected, my mind naturally turns first to the disease which gripped public attention in 1916, infantile paralysis. It seems probable that between the discoveries of Rosenow and of Nuzum we are in a fair way toward having the bacteriology of the disease placed on a workable diagnostic basis. Before the onset of the warm season someone, perhaps, will have worked out methods by which every-day physicians may have bacteriologic diagnoses made in every-day laboratories in the doubtful cases and carriers of this disease.

For twelve months an experiment in the control of malaria has been conducted in Bolivar county, Mississippi. The official reports from this experiment indicate that with the solution of a few questions of minor importance feasible working methods for the eradication of malaria will be made known. The unofficial report of this experiment will be published during this year, and we can reasonably expect that the long-delayed attack upon this disabling disease will be begun.

A striking proposal entirely to eradicate consumption from a community is an experiment which will be started at Framingham, Mass., within a few weeks, though the results must remain unknown for several years. For about twelve years the death rate from consumption in the registration area has been decreasing at the rate of a little more than 2 per cent a year. While some cities have reached the period of diminishing returns the country as a whole has not, and we can fairly expect the rate of decline to remain at least at 2 per cent during 1917.

There is still controversy as to the etiology of pellagra. Pallagrins who are put on a diet in which there is enough

protein, and especially if there be enough milk, butter and lean meat, recover from the disease, at least where the change is made early. Furthermore, the symptoms do not return if the patient is kept on a good diet and in good hygienic surroundings. With the spread of this information during 1917 we can reasonably hope for a material reduction in the pellagra death rate.

The cancer situation is in much the same position as was the consumption situation ten years or more ago. Cancer, to be sure, is being made a matter of public interest, and we should be able to notice some slight decrease in the death rate from superficial cancers, but material improvement cannot be expected this year.

As a result of the Safety First movement, which is an offshoot of workmen's compensation, the greatest advance in 1916 has been in reduced accident rates, and I expect to see these gains continue.

The effect of health insurance on both preventable disease and so-called diseases of degeneration will be as great as has been the effect of workmen's compensation on the accident rate. We cannot reasonably hope for the enactment of health insurance laws in 1917, but we can hope that the foundation for these laws will be laid.

Such are our ideals in what has been termed negative health. We see some reasons also for hoping for material improvement in matters of positive health during 1917. The New York Legislature enacted a law in 1916 requiring compulsory military training. It seems probable that in 1917 various governmental bodies will pass similar laws, ordinances or rules. When these laws are analyzed, it is found that they are similar in many of their requirements to the Scandinavian laws, which demand some attention to physical development and training in personal hygiene as a part of the school work. One effect of all such laws is to promote positive health.

TRADE TRAINING

Alvin E. Dodd

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

WITH the passage of the vocational education bill by Congress providing federal grants to the states for stimulating vocational education, there will rapidly be opened up opportunities for definite training in the trades which our young people are entering at the rate of one million a year.

Vocational training can play a tremendous part in the preparedness program. On good authority it is stated that two million eight hundred thousand men are needed at home for every million men in the field. There are shells to be made, powder to be manufactured

and transportation to be provided. Mechanics for army aeroplanes and automobiles and a thousand and one other activities are needed. Every dollar laid out for vocational training in the public school is a dollar laid out in preparedness for peace.

It will be the special effort of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education during 1917 to assist states in taking advantage of the provisions of the vocational education act; to advise in the writing of legislation which will meet the requirements laid down by this measure; to aid in the direction and the extension of surveys which will show the vocational needs of the community, and how to prepare programs of vocational training which will effectively meet those needs; and to give special attention to the training of teachers and to standardizing courses of study.

This will involve a more resolute and definite study of each single wage-earning occupation as a basis for each program of training. Too often our programs are based upon a schoolmaster's notion of what an occupation ought to be rather than upon what it is.

NEW SYSTEM OF VOTING

C. G. Hoag

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION LEAGUE

PROPORTIONAL representation, it may be explained for those not acquainted with the movement, is the representation of voters in legislative bodies by unanimous constituencies instead of by mere geographical districts that are not at all unanimous. Under the present system the constituency of a member of the legislature, or a member of Congress is so many people, who may disagree on everything under the sun, who happen to live inside of a certain line on the map. Under the proportional system it is so many people, scattered over a larger territory, who want the same representative.

In 1917 chief attention will be devoted to the extension of proportional representation in city government, especially in connection with the commission-manager plan. Ashtabula, Ohio, adopted the system in 1915. Springfield, Mass., wanted it, but was refused it by the Massachusetts legislature.

At Washington we expect to introduce two bills this winter, one to amend the Apportionment Act of 1911 so as to permit—not require—any state that elects three or more members of the House to elect them by proportional representation, and the other to amend the Constitution so that in a presidential election the electoral votes of each state shall be assigned to each presidential candidate proportionately to the number of popular votes cast for him in the state.

We shall also introduce proportional

representation into chambers of commerce and other private organizations for the election of their boards of directors or other representative bodies.

In undertaking this program for 1917 we are greatly encouraged by progress abroad. Even during the war proportional representation has been either adopted or extended in Denmark, New Zealand, New South Wales, Holland, Canada and Great Britain. It is already practically certain that the official Electoral Conference now in session in London will decide upon proportional representation for the election of all members of the House of Commons from London and the other large cities of Great Britain.

THE FEEBLEMINDED

Alexander Johnson

COMMITTEE ON PROVISION FOR THE FEEBLEMINDED

PROGRESS in 1917, in this department, will probably mean beginnings of new institutions in Arkansas, California, Delaware and South Carolina; considerable extensions in Ohio, Massachusetts, Illinois, Missouri, Minnesota, Colorado and possibly several other states. Some striking developments of the colony plan are likely, with general adoption of the inexpensive one-story buildings, first devised for the Templeton Colony in Massachusetts and later copied at Menantico and Burlington, N. J., and (with some costly modifications) at Letchworth Village, N. Y.

An important practical movement is that for the after-care of those feeble-minded who, having been successfully trained in the schools, cannot be cared for in a colony, but might possibly do well at work in the outer world. Every school has sent out some of its trained graduates, but the proportion of real success in doing this has not been gratifying. Some feasible and safe plan must be devised and very carefully operated.

A system of after-care now being experimented with in Wisconsin includes the sterilization of adults who have been trained to usefulness, and who then may be released from the training school on probation, sent out into the care of trustworthy employers or friends and allowed at large so long as they do well. They are promptly returned if it proves they need the control of the school, but in any case rendered safe against the danger of procreation. This method may possibly be copied in other states that have sterilization laws, and if it be generally successful, may induce legislators in other states to enact similar measures.

The Committee on Provision for the Feeble-minded is publishing a series of bulletins of great value. The latest, on The Colony Plan, illustrated with pictures of colony buildings and activities, and including a careful statement of the

exact building cost of the Menantico colony for 120 boys, is, in the opinion of the writer, the most valuable document ever published on the feebleminded.

In Florida, Arkansas, Utah and some other states reports will be made by state commissions to their respective legislatures, who may take action or may continue the commissions.

Since the beginning of the work of the extension department of the Vineland Training School in February, 1913, general public interest in the welfare of the feebleminded has grown very rapidly in every part of the Union and is still growing. It is not too much to hope that the care of these defectives will be as efficient in ten or fifteen years as the care of the insane is now.

NORTH AND SOUTH

Roy Nash

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR ADVANCEMENT OF
COLORED PEOPLE

THE new year presents the opportunity of a generation for advancing the status of colored people. Heretofore the only place where the Negro was sure of a living was in the South, which not only pays twelve or fifteen dollars for a month in the cotton patch, but throws in lynchings, insults and disfranchisement for good measure. Now, however, as a result of the stoppage of immigration, over half a million laborers have already come North, finding employment chiefly in the steel mills and on the railroad gangs. In the spring of 1917 will come a greatly accelerated exodus.

To see that this migration is not too much hampered by the police and town councils of southern cities; to drive home the growing conviction in the South that the time has come when they must make it a place where Negro labor wants to stay and work; and to be vigilant lest the prejudices, which will inevitably follow the Negro in his migration, rob him of the fundamental civil rights which he now enjoys in the North—this is the great task before the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1917.

This is the new opportunity; the old perils persist. With the South in the saddle at Washington, the present Congress must be watched and fought if the Negroes in the District of Columbia are not to be segregated and jim-crowed, and the constitutional rights of the colored man still further diminished. Senator Vardaman's joint resolution calling on the attorney-general to submit to the Supreme Court all information bearing on the validity of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments is but one of a dozen moves aimed at the Negro's civil status which this association will undoubtedly have to fight. And upon the outcome of the Louisville seg-

regation case, which will be reargued before the full bench of the Supreme Court by our national president, Moorfield Storey, depends the status of the entire colored populations in a dozen great cities. If we lose, the Negroes in Baltimore, St. Louis, Louisville, all through the South, and within a few years probably in New York, must accept the status of the Jews in the darkest ghettos of Russia.

The last son of William Lloyd Garrison died last week; the present generation knows not the name of his father; race prejudice is scarcely less bitter in the North than in the South. But the growing enmity toward the Negro is solidifying his forces in self-defense, and the appointment of James Weldon Johnson, contributing editor of the *New York Age*, as field secretary for this association, is a practical guarantee that the unanimity of opinion expressed last summer at the Amenia Conference by the leaders of all schools of thought will work out during 1917. A more united front than colored Americans have presented to their enemies heretofore will result. Nineteen hundred and seventeen may see, also, the beginning of an organized Negro party, which, if the exodus continues until two million colored voters are in the North, will be a considerable political force.

The ancient and peculiarly American institution of lynching will probably receive a setback during 1917, not so much because the N. A. A. C. P. has just raised a small fund which will enable us to put the facts of the more spectacular burnings before the American people, but rather because the combination of the boll weevil and northern opportunity have made the mob an expensive luxury, and the South is becoming convinced that the day is here when they may be lynching their own precious pocketbooks.

CRIME AND PRISONS

Joseph P. Byers

AMERICAN PRISON ASSOCIATION

RECOGNIZING our faults and failures, let us, nevertheless, begin this year with a few good resolutions. For one thing, let us cease to perpetuate an indefensible and atrocious county-jail system. We must forbid their use as a place for the serving of any sentence. The jail, a present place of idleness, hurtful association and immorality, must be superseded by state or district penal farm colonies for all sentenced misdemeanants. The present curse of idleness in our jails must be cured by enforced labor at the farm, and hurtful association in the jail prevented by removing the sentenced prisoners.

Into the handling of the crime and prison question we shall introduce some sort of system. The state, as the cen-

tral authority, must organize, direct and control. It must correlate the work of the criminal courts, peace officers, jails, workhouses, penal farms, prisons and reformatories, so that there shall be unity of purpose and effort in the readjustment of the offender to society.

The evil of clogging with habitual offenders our penal machinery must be cured by the indefinite sentence in the stimulating atmosphere of a rightly conducted penal farm or colony, until the purpose and ability to refrain from further offense are acquired.

But we shall not return incompetent and dangerous persons to society. Boys and girls shall not be turned loose from our juvenile reformatories at the age of twenty-one, or sometimes eighteen, solely because they have attained their legal majority. The twenty-first birthday does not necessarily indicate a change of heart or the acquirement of wisdom and self-control expected of the average citizen.

Nor will we subject the mentally defective to processes designed for the control and reformation of the criminal and delinquent. The mentally deficient we shall segregate in properly equipped institutions or colonies for the feebleminded.

And lastly we shall eliminate party politics from the management of our penal institutions, select our officials on the one standard of fitness, give them at once responsibility and authority, establish by law those fundamental principles necessary for their guidance, and leave to them the working out of details.

CONTROL OF CANCER

Curtis E. Lakeman

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE CONTROL OF
CANCER

A WELL-KNOWN statistician recently prophesied that cancer, which caused 80,000 deaths last year in the United States, will take an annual toll of 120,000 lives by 1922 unless the American people bring to bear all possible forces to combat this disease. Whether or not this estimate of cancer increase be accepted, there will be general agreement that the present excessive mortality from malignant disease calls for systematic efforts to effect a reduction. That perhaps half of the 80,000 yearly deaths are unnecessary and preventable, and that, contrary to the too common belief, cancer is really curable if treated in time, is the platform on which the American Society for the Control of Cancer is organizing the nation-wide crusade against this insidious enemy of adult life.

The principles of the war on cancer, which are possible while scientific investigators continue their indefatigable efforts to determine its innermost nature and cause, are few and simple. They

have been admirably stated by Dr. Charles P. Childe, an English surgeon. The program of practical measures set forth in Dr. Childe's book, *Control of a Scourge*, is essentially that of the American Society for the Control of Cancer, and consists of the special instruction of physicians, nurses, social workers, members of women's clubs, health associations and all others who should take the lead in disseminating the elementary facts about cancer. Finally, this program includes the direct teaching of the public through lectures, newspaper articles, exhibits and the distribution of circulars.

With the cooperation of the Council on Health and Public Instruction of the American Medical Association there will soon be issued a standard pamphlet on cancer which is intended to be the most serviceable and authoritative publication so far given to lay readers in the American campaign.

In further development of plans for public instruction, the society is preparing an exhibit of eighteen or more charts which will illumine rather than illustrate the subject of cancer while conveying in simple language the message of hope in early treatment. Likewise, a collection of lantern slides suitable for public lectures will be still further developed, and selected sets therefrom, accompanied by approved lecture notes, will be recommended to speakers representing state and local cancer committees and other organizations.

In order that all practicing physicians may be made familiar with the latest knowledge of cancer and its early diagnosis, special bulletins for practitioners will be prepared, articles will be regularly published in professional journals, and state public-health authorities will be urged to provide laboratory facilities to assist physicians in the early diagnosis of cancer.

Soon after the first of the year the United States Bureau of the Census will issue its long-awaited report on the statistics of cancer mortality. As planned and developed with the advice of the Society, this is expected to be the most detailed and thorough study of its kind ever published by any government. Meanwhile the collection of statistical data and efforts to improve the registration of cancer deaths will be continued through the work of several special committees.

In the field of public-health nursing, special literature is being sent to several thousand of the leading local associations and workers. State nurses' associations and all the principal schools of nursing will again be urged to provide adequate instruction regarding the early symptoms in order that graduate nurses may be qualified to give sound advice leading to immediate professional consultation upon the recognition of the danger signals of cancer.

IMMIGRANT GIRLS

Helen Winkler

DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRANT AID, COUNCIL OF
JEWISH WOMEN

A LARGE influx of unattached women and girls of all faiths and nationalities from all the warring countries—this is what our experience of the last year leads us to anticipate will be one of the striking features of the new immigration that is to follow the coming of peace.

Since last winter, when immigration reached its lowest ebb, the tide has steadily risen, until in November of this year there arrived at the port of New York alone no less than 356 girls and young women, of whom 138 were absolutely alone and without near relatives in this country. Bear in mind that the vast majority of these girls came from the provinces of western Russia and southern Europe; that the difficulties in getting to a neutral port are all but unsurmountable, and the expense, for the cheapest possible combination of land travel and steerage, at least 500 marks; and you will be helped to some realization of the situation that drives these girls to the desperate step of emigration—the broken homes from which fathers, brothers and husbands have been torn away, the dearth of industry, the ruinously high cost of living. Is it not a safe prediction that, with the coming of peace, multitudes of bereaved daughters and young widows in all lands will seize upon the first opportunity for escape from the intolerable conditions which surround them?

Through the Council's 75 local sections, a membership of over 20,000 women stands ready to aid the newcomers in their difficult adjustments. In the seven port sections the port agent meets the girls detained by the federal authorities pending the arrival of responsible relatives or friends, talks with them in their native tongue, aids them in finding relatives—often a difficult task, for addresses at the best are several months old, and many times the immigrant has not even these and has only her memory on which to rely.

Four benefits, in particular, this care of the Council aims to assure to the immigrant girl:

(1) Suitable housing. This usually means, when no near relative is prepared to offer her satisfactory living quarters, a boarding home among people interested in the girl's welfare and her rapid Americanization.

(2) Suitable work. By this is meant not merely the immediate job which shall make the girl economically independent, but work where any experience or aptitudes she may have will find full scope. To aid in this work of vocational guidance, a digest has been completed at the headquarters of the department in

New York of all the investigations made, whether under federal, state, municipal or private auspices, during the last six years, of the trades in which Jewish immigrant girls are chiefly engaged.

(3) Training in English and civics. Here the aim is to cooperate with municipal departments of education. Sometimes the only available opportunity is the public night school, but more and more special classes are being formed in industrial establishments and in settlements and immigrant girls' homes, where smaller groups, better classification, and a friendly and social atmosphere help to make instruction more attractive as well as more efficient.

(4) Contact with every opportunity for wholesome recreation and for self-culture that the municipality offers. This means individual introduction of girls to synagogues, social centers, libraries, museums, lectures, concerts and the like.

WAR AND PEACE

Crystal Eastman

AMERICAN UNION AGAINST MILITARISM

THE radical peace movement, barely two years old, which is America's best answer to the war in Europe, has three main emphases: to stop the war in Europe; to organize the world for peace at the close of the war; and to guard democracy (or such beginnings of democracy as we have in America) against the subtle dangers of militarism.

With regard to the first aim, the moment of achievement seems to be at hand. Surely the President's note makes the possibility of neutral action for peace almost immediate. If now we can gather together and express an overwhelming public opinion in support of that note our task will be done. The liberal and pacifist groups in the belligerent countries will do the rest.

As for international federation at the end of the war, this is the supreme moment for action. We have the hope of the world in those Hensley clauses of the navy law which request the President to summon the nations into conference at the close of the war to "consider disarmament" and organize for peace. The establishment of an international tribunal to settle disputes between nations has become a political possibility. We, the United States of America, through the action of our Congress, have taken the first step.

To make the Hensley clauses live in the mind of every American, to make them dominate the thoughts of the President, to make them ring through Europe as a promise of relief, to make them known throughout South America as a guarantee of our good faith, to accomplish this *now* before the war is over—and then at its close to create such a demand for action on them that President Wilson will not sleep until he has writ-

ten and dispatched to the heads of all the governments a classic summons to the World Congress which shall end war! There is a New Year's resolution for every pacifist in America.

But what shall we do, meanwhile, about the growing demand for compulsory military training and service in this country?—a demand stimulated by the self-interest of capitalists, imperialists and war traders, but supported by the sincere emotions of thousands who call themselves democrats? To defeat this combination we need the constant, uncompromising opposition of all those lovers of liberty who can *think*. We must make this great American democracy know, as we know, that military training is bad for the bodies and minds and souls of boys; that free minds, and souls undrilled to obedience are vital to the life of democracy. We must make them see the difference between equality and freedom; if forced military service is "democratic," in the same sense prison life is democratic.

To repeal conscription where it has crept into our laws, to keep Congress from passing the Chamberlain Bill for universal training, to keep the other states from following New York—to hold the fort for liberty over here, until the nations are actually gathering to establish organized lasting peace—until, in short, every fool can see the folly of war preparations—that is the pacifists' third task for 1917. It is a task worthy of the grimmest and the gayest fighters among us.

THE SHORT BALLOT

H. S. Gilbertson

NATIONAL SHORT BALLOT ASSOCIATION

EVERYBODY believes in the short ballot. Why don't we get it?

The chief obstacle is the state constitutions. In them are imbedded the conditions which we are undertaking to combat and the offices which we seek to tie up to a responsible executive. Where constitutions do not impose an obstacle, and particularly in city government, short-ballot progress has been amazingly swift. The more than four hundred cities under commission government and the forty-odd cities under the commission-manager government testify to this fact.

And so in the coming year or two we shall not be looking for sweeping short-ballot reforms in any of our state governments. Here and there an inconspicuous officer may be removed from the ballot and properly tied up to his official superior. In Massachusetts we may look for accomplishments, since Governor McCall and many of the leaders of the Republican party have long since seen the light and have expressed themselves as anxious to do something by way of shortening the state ballot. But action is more likely to come from the constitu-

tional convention, the members of which will be chosen in May, than from the legislature. In Illinois the legislature will be confronted with the need of a constitutional convention so as to give the state government, the counties and the cities the going over which they so richly need.

Counties are the key to so much that is wicked in our governmental scheme generally and to so much of the sort of political reconstruction which proceeds from the ground up, that constructive effort in this particular field is likely to loom big upon the horizon in coming years.

Much the most promising prospect for immediate action at the hands of the 1917 legislators lies in enactments permitting cities to go one step further toward simplification in government. Nearly all the states now have statutes permitting their cities to adopt the older form of commission government. The demand for this type has, however, practically ceased. Commission government has its conspicuous weak points. It overlooks the importance of a responsible chief executive and undertakes to secure expert or semi-expert heads of departments by the election route. The commission-manager plan, on the other hand, which has gained enormously in popular favor in the past few months, keeps the elective board with its complete responsibility for the government of the city, making it, however, only a legislative body, and provides an expert chief executive in the person of the city manager.

The year 1917 is likely also to see some important legislative attacks on the heretofore neglected problem of county government. It was California, in search of ways and means of putting the short ballot into effect in 1911, which made that state the pioneer in this field. For California permits counties to frame their own charters after the manner in which cities have exercised this right in that state for upwards of thirty-five years. This method of handling the county problem is probably not practicable in other states, since few of them are accustomed to home-rule methods. Something in the way of an optional county law will be submitted to the consideration of the New York legislature. In Kansas and Washington, according to present prospects, there will be efforts made toward constitutional revision to effect the desired ends.

CHILD LABOR

Edward N. Clopper

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

THE forces fighting for child labor reform are striving to increase children's opportunities for education. The same measure of protection and education designed for children in factories and stores must be extended to children

exploited in agriculture, domestic service and other unregulated forms of industry. Nearly three-quarters of all the children ten to fifteen years of age, reported by the census of 1910 as engaged in gainful occupations, were in agricultural pursuits. No child labor laws apply to them, and observance of compulsory education laws in rural districts is notoriously poor. The studies of the National Child Labor Committee reveal serious interference with school attendance where children are employed in the cultivation and harvesting of cotton, sugar-beets, tobacco and garden truck. In many sections school facilities are so inadequate that federal aid will have to be granted to the states for elementary education so as to wipe out illiteracy, just as the promotion of vocational education will probably receive financial support from the nation.

The work done by a child in any form of industry is an essential part of his education, and therefore both the selection of the job and his work in the job should be to some extent under the control of the public school authorities until he is eighteen years of age. Full advantage should be taken by every school superintendent authorized to issue work permits, of the opportunity afforded to study the problems of children in industry, for in no other way can so much valuable information bearing on vocational education be obtained.

The passage of the Federal Child Labor Act has brought the whole country face to face with the necessity of establishing vocational schools for children under sixteen years. As the federal act limits the work-day of children between fourteen and sixteen years in factories, mills, workshops and canneries to eight hours, many manufacturers will probably discharge all children under sixteen years of age in their employ rather than change their schedule of work hours so as to permit them to quit at one time while the other employes quit at another. And even if the manufacturers subsequently returned to the policy of employing such children the number taken back would hardly equal the number formerly employed. Hence the children will return to the schools; many of them will not be satisfied with the ordinary general education courses and will demand special courses to meet their peculiar needs. The schools will have to respond to this demand.

It is not enough, however, to assure the education of the child through the establishment of schools, the requirement of attendance and the removal of the child from industry. Mothers' pensions must be provided to preserve the integrity of the home in cases of poverty and enable poor families to comply with both the child labor and compulsory education laws. There is an intimate relation among these three great fields of labor.

education and dependency, and one cannot be dealt with independently of the others. Hence one of the most urgent needs is the codification, standardization and coordination of child welfare laws by official commissions appointed by the several states.

But after all this desirable legislation is secured there still remains the tremendous task of administration. Before the full benefit of the laws can be obtained there must be worked out through study and experience plans of organization and administrative methods for adequate and effective enforcement.

UNITARIAN PLANS

Elmer S. Forbes

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION

THERE is the personal service which every Christian is bound to render if he is remotely true to his profession. There is community service which requires that Christians and churches of all names should work together for the common good, perhaps under the Christian name, perhaps simply under the inspiration of the Christian spirit, if really great things are to be achieved. Then, finally, there is the immensely important work of shaping and moulding public opinion in respect to important moral questions which ultimately must call for action by state legislatures or the federal congress.

In the year to come we hope to bring home to more individuals than ever before the obligation to serve their fellows. Service is the acid test of religious sincerity.

Community welfare demands the cooperation of churches of every name. Living conditions, public health, local industrial problems, recreation, honest and economical administration of government call for the united efforts of all.

Within that sphere of service which deals with great moral issues there is no question at the present moment of more importance than the reorganization of the world after the war. Civilization has broken down; it must be built up again slowly and carefully, and if possible, permanently. Certain it is that lasting peace can be based only on mutual confidence and good will. The cultivation of a friendly spirit towards other nations and races is essentially a task for the churches. They have in their membership a large proportion of the intelligence and wealth and power of this country, and any policy to which this body of influential men and women give their support will probably become the policy of the nation.

So far as the United States is concerned, the establishment of friendly relations between ourselves and other nations is closely connected with our immigration policy. At present it is neither reasonable nor just. Our government has torn up solemn treaties with all the

cynical indifference of European belligerents, and is guilty of grossly unfair racial discriminations that would shame any backward nation. To set our own house in order is our first step towards permanently friendly relations with the rest of the world. For this the adoption of a just and sound immigration policy is essential. To educate the conscience of their members in this matter is the important social service task of the churches.

THE RED CROSS

Ernest P. Bicknell

DIRECTOR-GENERAL AMERICAN RED CROSS

THE past year has been one of expansion in all directions, and in the matter of organization and equipment we are prepared to enter upon a new era. The splendid new building, which has been erected for national headquarters of the Red Cross by the generosity of Congress and of a few patriotic men and women, is completed, and we shall feel that its occupancy at the beginning of the new year will be an augury of what is to follow.

While we cannot foresee the amount of disaster relief which we will be called upon to undertake, past experience demonstrates beyond doubt that such work will come to us in considerable amount. Our European war-relief work must go forward, and with the experience already gained by Red Cross agents at home and abroad, and with a better knowledge of conditions, there is reason to hope that if the war must continue the helpful efforts of the Red Cross may become increasingly effective in 1917.

On the side of preparing the Red Cross to meet the very heavy responsibilities which would fall upon it in case of a war involving our own country, important expansion of plans and equipment have been well begun, and will go forward with vigor during the ensuing twelve months. A system of base hospitals has been outlined which will eventually provide the Red Cross with the complete professional personnel and physical equipment for twenty-five hospitals, each with a capacity for 500 patients. The consummation of this plan will involve the enrollment and proper organization of more than 2,000 persons, chiefly physicians and nurses, and an expenditure of approximately \$750,000. A good start has been made, and it is hoped that this large project may see its completion before December 30, 1917.

CHURCH SOCIAL WORK

Charles S. Macfarland

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST
IN AMERICA

THE third quadrennial meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, recently

in session at St. Louis, was marked particularly by the entrance of the churches into international relations. During the year 1917 the Council will either initiate or carry forward with renewed emphasis its nation-wide movement for the relief of suffering in Europe and Asia, the deepening of its relationships with the churches and their leaders in Europe, especially in the belligerent nations, the financial assistance of the Huguenot churches in France, and the home mission work in France and Belgium. Above all, its efforts, in association with the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches, will be spent in bringing to bear the influence of the Christian spirit in reshaping international diplomacy.

By enlarging the Federal Council's Commission on Relations with Japan a Commission on Relations with the Orient it is hoped that good-will and friendship between the East and the West may be deepened as they cannot be by ordinary diplomatic procedure.

In accordance with the report of the Commission on the Church and Social Service, the Council will especially seek to put into increasingly practical operation the social platform of the churches, reaffirmed in 1916, especially in the direction of unemployment, housing, recreation, commercialized vice and prison reform. In industrial communities attention will be given to such problems as overwork and the living wage, in a way which shall not simply attempt palliative measures, but seek the realization of an industrial democracy through the fullest possible cooperative control and ownership of industry and the natural resources upon which industry depends. A definite campaign for the conservation of human life has been placed under the direction of a secretary whose equipment for the task ought to insure success.

As the result of a comprehensive and intensive survey of the field of education, the Council's Commission on Christian Education is charged with finding the readjustment between so-called secular and religious education in order that the former may not be restricted, but also that the right of the child to a full religious education may not be denied.

In the realm of temperance, the Federal Council Commission will seek to supplement the legislative activities now so prominent by a more adequate educational propaganda, and especially by an attempt to organize a Temperance Fellowship in the ranks of labor.

Above all the Council will seek to bring about in cities, rural communities and home mission fields a genuine cooperation which shall be more than a mere expression of Christian good-will from one church toward another.

TRUANT CHILDREN

W. L. Kuser

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE EDUCATION OF TRUANT, BACKWARD, DEPENDENT AND DELINQUENT CHILDREN

IT requires little prophetic genius to look into the coming year and see crowding and pressing forward an array of grim, stern and uncompromising problems of national, state and community concern.

The children's conference as an organization may not be able to leave any great impress upon affairs, but inasmuch as we are devoting our time and effort to caring for and training the nation's greatest asset, perhaps we may be able to render a service to our fellow men. We are primarily interested in the development of those classes of children who need attention from municipal or state authorities.

So frequent are criticisms of institutions for delinquent children that one full session at the Pittsburgh meeting of the conference next June will be devoted to the discussion of An Institution Program for Delinquents.

Even more important than the training given by the school or the institution home is the after-care of the institution child. The necessity for ample, intelligent and sympathetic after-care for unfortunate children is recognized by all, yet much is to be done in many states before this element of our human reclamation project can be praised. This subject will be given attention under the head After the Institution, What?

Many believe that the place the public schools occupy in the social order might be of more real worth in fitting boys and girls for their life work. Why does an army of children drop out of school each year? What is at the bottom of the "hooky" habit? Truancy and all that it leads to is a most vexing and serious question, which will be given attention at one session of the next conference.

At another joint session held with the National Probation Association it will be shown how much is being accomplished by probation and how the stigma attaching to a term in the workhouse, reformatory or prison is being avoided by suspending sentence and parole.

Small towns and rural communities are all but omitted in considering the question of juvenile delinquency. Under the topic, Delinquency in Country Districts, evidence will be given to shatter the common belief that big cities alone present difficult social problems.

In dealing intelligently with children who find their way into charitable or eleemosynary institutions a complete and accurate pre-institutional history of the children and their antecedents is a very great help.

There are other questions of vital con-

cern—the breeding of mental deficient; sensational and vicious moving pictures; pernicious literature; vocational and industrial education; community civics; medical attention, including care of eyes and teeth.

Too long have we been noting symptoms. We must get back to causes.

SOCIAL HYGIENE

James H. Foster

AMERICAN SOCIAL HYGIENE ASSOCIATION

WHEN the problems that collectively are recognized under the name of social hygiene came to be talked about on a common-sense basis and began to be accorded the same privileges of discussion and publicity as other questions of health, morals, education and economics, the progress of the social hygiene movement was assured.

As a public health movement, social hygiene is directed especially to the reduction of venereal diseases, through provision for the care and treatment of the infected, the protection of the uninfected public, and the removal of environmental and other factors tending to the spread of these diseases. Nineteen hundred and seventeen should see all state departments of health providing laboratory facilities for the diagnosis of syphilis and gonococcus infections, a service which many states already furnish. It should see progress toward the provision of adequate dispensary and hospital facilities for the treatment of venereal diseases. Social service follow-up work is an essential part of this program.

Repression of prostitution is one of the most important measures for the reduction of venereal disease as well as for the upbuilding of moral standards. To substitute repression for regulation in the few cities which still cling to that discredited policy is an important part of the 1917 campaign. One of the most effective means of repression is the so-called injunction and abatement law now in force in twenty-six jurisdictions. The results of the law have so placed it outside the field of controversy that effective campaigns for its adoption in the remaining states ought easily to be organized.

A more reasonable view of sex education has largely taken the place of the exaggerations of a few years ago, and in 1917 there should be an efficient and widespread propaganda for proper instruction in matters of sex through the home, the church, and the medical and nursing professions, with the assistance and cooperation of the school and other agencies.

It should not be forgotten that "every step in the improvement of government—local, state and national; in decreasing the consumption of alcohol; in improving popular education; in bettering home

conditions; in rationalizing industry; in providing larger facilities for innocent and normal amusements; in improving our methods of dealing with the recreant and the delinquent" is a step for the advancement of social hygiene.

SETTLEMENTS

Robert A. Woods

SOUTH END HOUSE, BOSTON

A HIGHER technical standard for all work done without loss of that freedom of approach which belongs to the amateur and the volunteer; the further exaltation of the neighborhood as the network of relations in which the best results of public-health service, education and the organization of recreation can be secured and made effective; closer touch with the out-of-school problems of boys and girls in the local neighborhood, through the series of studies now being carried out by the National Federation of Settlements; greater emphasis upon eliciting all forms of neighborhood initiative, individual and collective; increased effort toward the systematic federation of the work of settlements and similar agencies through the whole extent of each city; application of settlement knowledge and experience toward the relief of the congestion of population and in general toward securing the human results of city planning; better relations with working-class leaders, on the one hand, and with forward-looking employers, on the other, whether or not they accept trade-unionism; surer training of the workmen of the future, both technically and cooperatively, so that they may be capable of bringing in a more productive and more cooperative type of industry; increasing participation in the rising national tendency for the curbing of demoralizing indulgence, whether of the rich or the poor, emphasizing settlement example and precepts in the direction of narrowing the extreme conditions of life; and finally a revival of that democracy of the spirit which was the atmosphere of the settlement in the early days—these are the hopes of the settlement work of the future.

EXHIBITS BY MAIL

Charles F. Powlison

NATIONAL CHILD WELFARE EXHIBIT ASSOCIATION

BECAUSE the cost of constructing and holding an exhibit was, for many communities, almost prohibitive; because at the close of the exhibit, the bulky material had either to be wastefully destroyed or stored away—often at considerable expense; and because the bulkiness of the exhibit panels unfitted them for use in small quarters, or widely scattered communities, the National Child Welfare Exhibit Association, in order to overcome these handicaps.

evolved the Parcel Post Exhibit idea. This puts into compact form a composite of the best exhibit ideas on a given subject.

The association therefore has begun, in a systematic way, to construct a series of panels covering the various aspects of child development. The first subject treated is child hygiene in its various phases. It is so arranged as to define clearly the respective responsibilities of the home and the community. Starting with prenatal care, it portrays the hygienic measures necessary to the health of the infant, the school-child and the adolescent. It shows how the home and school must cooperate, and depicts the modern methods of conserving community health.

The size adopted—the largest size compatible with the parcel post regulations—makes it available wherever Uncle Sam will deliver a letter. Thus there is opened to this form of education a vast and needy territory hitherto almost untouched. From the walls of country churches, post-offices, and district schools the message of child welfare may be proclaimed. The panels are illustrated with photogravures in color, and are so attractive that if they are shown at county fairs the care of children will arouse as much interest as blue-ribbon cattle and prize pumpkins. The state and local boards of health will find their task of educating their communities vastly easier with the aid of this exhibit.

In the city the Parcel Post Exhibit can exert an enormous influence through the public and parochial schools, traveling from one to another, and serving as a basis for class-room instruction and for study by the Parent-Teachers' Association. In this way it should touch the life of every teacher, every child, and every parent. In the hands of the extension divisions of the state universities, boards of education, the churches, women's clubs, district nursing associations, settlements, friendly visitors, for special use in baby week campaigns and health weeks, and all other social agencies, the exhibit is invaluable.

The prime object of the association for 1917 is thus to furnish an effective weapon for social advance by gathering, digesting, and correlating the facts of child life and child development, and by picturing these facts in an arresting and vital way.

FAMILY PLANNING

Francis H. McLean

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SOCIETIES FOR ORGANIZING CHARITY

AS I go about among those societies, Associated Charities, Social Welfare Leagues, and what not, I see a greater and greater realization coming of the value of intensive family planning, a grow-

ing devotion to the ideal that no healthy social progress can be had without it. I see a larger attention to the actual treatment of subnormal mentalities in the home, when institutional care is not possible; at the same time, a larger participation of our societies in stronger movements for the state care of the feebleminded, larger achievements in the way of legislation, made with their help.

There are societies which are taking up the "home as a social center," in individual family groups, endeavoring to increase the attracting powers of the home in its recreational, its occupational, its educational, its child training, its home-keeping aspects. As subsidiary to this, I believe there will evolve during the next year one or more exhibits of the Home as a Social Center and loan game departments through which different sorts of home recreations, including music boxes, shall be intelligently used in connection with individual plans for recreation for individual families.

A closer attention will be given to the educational development of the children; an increasing watchfulness to make sure that the child loses not a day at school unnecessarily, working in closer and closer understanding with efficient school departments, fighting to strengthen those which are inefficient.

In 1917 will be seen, perhaps, some growth in the direction of organizing the forces of rural counties for social work. We shall work on in close companionship with public health agencies in this field. The one needs the other, and the counties need both.

And these few things take no note of the diversified plans of our agencies in the legislative, administrative, community planning and family planning problems which confront them all over our broad land.

PROBATION

Charles L. Chute

NATIONAL PROBATION ASSOCIATION

THE greatest needs in probation work are improved administration, coordination with other social-service work, and extension through the employment of an adequate number of personally qualified, properly salaried probation officers in all courts dealing with offenders.

Probation, which is the application of modern ideas of social investigation and social service to the administration of justice, is provided for by law in some of the courts of forty-six states and two territories. At least 1,000 publicly salaried probation officers are at work today in the nation, and a conservative estimate places the persons of all ages on probation during the past year at more than 160,000.

On the other hand, it is doubtless true

that the majority of smaller communities have not yet heard of the advantages of probation, and almost nowhere outside the largest cities is there a well-equipped, well-coordinated probation service in any court. Even in the large courts an insufficient number of probation officers is provided, for securing good case work. Standards of work and of training and ability for probation officers have only begun to be formulated and cannot be generally applied without greater public support.

Probation as an integral part of court work,—its investigating and follow-up service,—is public work, hence the public must be educated to appreciate its merits and its needs.

Those states which have established separate state probation commissions (New York, Massachusetts and Vermont) have secured such marked results in better standards, uniformity and extension of probation that it should not be long before other states establish departments or bureaus of the same character. Such departments can effect a supervision and extension of probation which is greatly needed.

The federal courts, strange to say, have lagged behind state courts in a number of things. For one, they have no probation law. The Supreme Court of the United States has recently decided that the federal courts have no power to suspend sentence under present statutes. A probation law for the United States district courts is urgently needed. A bill modeled after the best state laws on probation has been pending in Congress for several years. It is known as the Owen-Hayden bill. This is being actively pressed at the present session of Congress by the National Probation Association and other organizations.

With the passage of this measure the federal courts will set an example to the backward states which should act as a strong impetus for the development of a well coordinated probation system throughout the entire country.

BOOKS FOR THE PUBLIC

George B. Utley

AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

THE American Library Association is now in its forty-first year of organized life, and during these four decades the marvelous progress of libraries—tax-supported municipal libraries, school and college libraries—has almost made this the library age. The public library has, in this period, been transformed from a collecting and preserving medium into an agency which selects carefully its material from the ocean of print and then spends its greatest effort at making known and distributing books and other printed matter throughout the community which supports it.

The European war has had its effect

on libraries as on everything else. In Belgium a small group is working for a system of traveling and community libraries, free to all the people, in an effort to bring the influence of good books to practically a non-reading population. France is anxious to install after the war a nation-wide system of free tax-supported libraries, modeled after our American public libraries. The American Library Association has recently appointed a strong committee to study the European library situation and report to the association ways and means by which the libraries of this country can aid European library development after the war.

The war has made importation of books and periodicals from the Central Powers exceedingly difficult, and this restriction has been a serious handicap to physicians, chemists, engineers, college professors and many other professional classes. A special committee of the association is endeavoring to secure a better recognition of rights to import educational literature for public, university and reference libraries.

"Good book week," inaugurated a couple of years ago by the Boy Scouts and heartily endorsed by the American Library Association, has been widely observed this month throughout the country, and plans are already under way for even a greater and wider observance next year. Thousands have come to know their rights in their own local library through the various local campaigns, and to make a wider use of their privileges in their business and in their leisure.

In the coming year many technical subjects will receive considerable attention which are of small interest to the public, although the conclusions reached affect the quality of service to the people very materially. These include questions of library training; legislation in various states; the study of libraries in hospitals, prisons and reformatories; collection and tabulation of library statistics so as to give boards and libraries a more accurate view of their own library in relation to others; the matter of inter-library loans, now assuming large proportions; cooperative printing of book lists; better classification, and greater publicity for library work. Libraries possess the facts and are prepared to give service profoundly influencing the work of business, professional and wage-earning men and women, but they are having a hard time getting this condition generally known. Too many still think of the "library" as merely a repository for novels, poetry, children's books and other cultural and recreational reading. If these could only be made to think of it as a laboratory for business, and as the twentieth-century man's *vade mecum* of up-to-the-minute information!

OUTLOOK OF Y. M. C. A.

R. C. Morse

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

THE Young Men's Christian Association of North America enters the year 1917 with greater resources in men and money, workers and equipment than ever before, yet the program of work announced taxes and overtaxes these unprecedented resources.

The call from Europe for the cooperation of the International Committee through its general secretary, John R. Mott, has been so urgent that during 1916 more resources in men and money have been expended among the millions in prison and hospital, in camp and in the trenches and upon our own soldiers on the Mexican border than upon all the rest of the committee's work at home and on other continents than Europe. Enlargement of this soldier work in 1917 is imperative.

On the home field in North America the 75,000 student members in over 700 universities, colleges and preparatory schools are raising \$150,000 in aid of fellow students under arms in Europe.

In the labor field the Association is entering upon a service apparently unlimited. Among railroad workers during ten days of November 38,000 men were added to a membership of 85,000 at 250 terminal points. The whole railroad industry is only an open door into similar association work among lumbermen, miners, mill hands, factory operators, shopmen and industrial workers of every class.

From among the 8,000,000 boys in North America of "teen" age, the age of storm and stress, a greater number than in any previous year became Association members in 1916. Many more are coming in 1917 to swell their percentage of the total membership to 50, a mark leaders are expecting will soon be reached.

But the vision and service of the North American Christian brotherhood are extending more and more to the young men of the non-Christian world of Asia and other continents. The Cleveland Convention of 1916, with enthusiasm, instructed its International Committee to increase its present foreign staff and the annual expenditure for 1916 of half a million dollars.

IMMIGRATION

Joseph Lee

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION LEAGUE

THE Immigration Restriction League believes in the enactment into law of the bill including the illiteracy test which has again passed House and Senate, not because this test is perfect any more than any other piece of legislation existing or probable, but because it is the best that has ever been

suggested and is the only effective test that has the slightest chance of being adopted.

The measure advocated by those who oppose the illiteracy test is proportional restriction, that is to say, keeping the immigration from each country down to a certain fraction of the numbers from that country already here. This, of course, is not a test, and no way has ever been suggested for selecting the ones to be excluded. They might be the very best that offered from each country. Such an act might be, however, worth considering after the illiteracy test has been passed.

The case for restriction in general is first, that it is the only possible way of appreciably raising wages in this country. By restricting immigration we could so greatly increase wages that various methods of outdoor relief, such as health insurance and old-age pensions, would not be needed. People who do not want to restrict immigration do not want wages to rise, or to have the slightest possibility of rising. They may have a pious hope in that direction, but they are averse to the only measure by which such hope can by any possibility be realized.

The other reason for restriction is that upon the whole the illiterate members of the less progressive races—who would constitute the element excluded—are not such good material for citizenship as the average of what we have here now. It is very generous and very modest of Americans to say that the less desirable Sicilians are better folks than we are, but why have they never shown it in Sicily?

The majorities in both the Senate and House have been so large and so increasing of late years that there seems a good hope the measure will become law.

HOME AND SCHOOL

Helen T. Birney

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF MOTHERS AND PARENT-TEACHER ASSOCIATIONS

THE most potent influences for child welfare rest in the home. Therefore, to help every home to give care and guidance which shall develop the possibilities of health, of mental strength and high ideals of life is the continued policy of the National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations. By systematized cooperative plans the Congress will strive in 1917 to double the number of homes to which educational help shall be given.

It will teach the care of babies, and hopes to reduce infant mortality 70 per cent. It will encourage the development of moral habits. As parents have eight times the educational work that teachers have, the Congress has opened the way for all parents to have practical suggestions in all phases of their work, that they may gain better

insight into methods that bring out each child's individuality, and may thereby be enabled to conduct home education with sympathy and intelligence.

But with the schools, also, the Congress will cooperate, encouraging habits of thrift and thoroughness in work, and wider use of the reading courses for parents, boys and girls, prepared by the Home Education Division, Bureau of Education, as well as the bulletin on 1000 Good Books for Children (which has proved one of the government's six best sellers), prepared by the National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations and published by the Bureau of Education.

The Congress will continue to promote the organization of parent-teacher associations, mothers' circles, child-welfare circles and parents' associations in churches throughout the country, doing all in its power to make them more effective, through emphasis of its great objects: (1) Study of child nurture and home-making; (2) Study and promotion of child welfare outside of home and school; (3) Cooperation with teachers.

In order to enable immigrant mothers to participate in all advantages every effort is to be made to teach them English. The better understanding and treatment of wayward children and truants, which has engaged the study and work of the Congress for twenty years; the extension to every state of legislation for the establishment of kindergartens on the California plan; the extension of mothers' pension laws, one of the most valuable agencies in the promotion of child welfare; the improvement of probation systems; improved administration of juvenile courts; the establishment of child hygiene departments in every board of health, are among the important measures which the Congress will continue to promote. The cooperation with government departments which has been so valuable will be continued in larger measure.

THE EIGHT-HOURS DAY

Agnes Nestor

NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE-UNION LEAGUE

WE want the eight-hours day. That will be our slogan. With forty state legislatures and Congress in session during the next year we will carry on campaigns to make the eight-hours day universal for women throughout the country.

When we go before the state legislatures and to Congress with our eight-hours bill we will not be presenting a new or radical measure. We will be asking only for what has been enacted into law by California, Washington, Colorado, Arizona and Wyoming and by Congress for the District of Columbia. These laws have been in effect a suffi-

cient time to see them fairly tried out, and industries, laundries, stores, hotels and restaurants have been regulated to an eight-hours day.

This same legislation has been pending before legislatures in many of our states for several years. Our legislators are acquainted with the measure, and in many districts it has been made an issue during the campaigns, particularly this last year. It was a sufficient issue in Illinois to have the state Democratic convention insert in its platform the plank declaring for an eight-hours day for both men and women. The state Republican party declared for a reduction of hours for women, and we expect them to interpret this as an eight-hours day.

The National Women's Trade Union League is ready for this campaign, both through its national and its local leagues. Inter-state conferences on the eight-hours day have been held in the New England states, eastern and middle western states, under the auspices of the league in these sections of the country and with the cooperation of the National Consumers' League.

When we consider that forty years ago Massachusetts passed the ten-hours law as a health measure we realize how slowly legislation has progressed. With all the specialization in the trades, the introduction of machinery in the place of hand work, the speeding up of machinery, the extension of the piece-work system, all of which means a greater strain on the workers, there has been no comparative reduction in hours. Under our industrial system of today the eight-hours day would not bring the relief to the workers that the ten-hours day did in Massachusetts forty years ago.

The question of how the shorter work-day would affect the employers' business has always been the question raised by legislators. The question of the injurious effect of long hours upon the health of the working women and the future race is unasked.

Another measure of benefit to working women that we are interested in is the Casey Bill to establish a woman's division in the Department of Labor. We look for the passage of this early next year by Congress. Since 1909 the Woman's Trade Union League has advocated this bill, and it was endorsed in that same year by the American Federation of Labor convention.

PLAY AND RECREATION

Abbie Condit

PLAYGROUND AND RECREATION ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

WHERE previously cities were establishing a few summer playgrounds, they are now planning for systems of neighborhood centers which shall

be open throughout the year for adults as well as children. Such a development involves the seeking out and training of men and women qualified to fill the positions of responsibility as directors of year-round systems which are constantly being created. Nothing can be more important to the progress of the recreation movement than the development of a corps of leaders and workers of the highest caliber.

As a means of raising the standard of physical efficiency, more and more cities throughout the country are giving the badge tests for boys and girls which were worked out by a committee of experts of the Playground and Recreation Association of America. Because boys and girls want to attain the minimum standard of physical efficiency laid down in these tests, they are training themselves rigorously to attain a splendid physical development.

Thousands who have the interest of the country at heart have been startled to learn that out of 11,012 men who applied recently at a single station to enlist in the United States Marine Corps, only 316 were able to pass the required examination—only 29 out of every 1,000, one out of every 35. The officer in charge has made the statement that the largest percentage of rejections was because of physical shortcomings.

It is significant, moreover, that the surgeon-general of the navy reports that 69.82 per cent of the men applying to enlist in the navy and marine corps in 1915 were rejected because of physical defects.

The state-wide plan for conducting athletic meets which has been followed in Maryland during the past year has met with so much favorable comment that it is likely that other cities will try carrying out a similar program so that all the boys and girls in the rural districts as well as in the cities shall have the character development which comes in training for these special tests between counties and districts. The whole subject of recreation for rural districts is assuming such importance that there will undoubtedly be important developments along this line in 1917.

School superintendents throughout America are considering how play can be used as a means for education in the school system. The influence of the demonstration play school conducted at the University of California by Prof. Clark W. Hetherington and Mrs. Hetherington will be felt more and more as the years go on. The adaptations of the University of California plan and the Gary plan which are being tried out in an increasing number of communities show that there will be constant attempts this year to apply the play principle in preparing boys and girls for life through our school systems.

THE FIRST JOB

Benjamin C. Gruenberg

N. Y. VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION

NEARLY all of us have learned to think of vocational guidance dynamically—that is, in terms of growing children emerging into a changing social and economic environment.

The many surveys that have been made, and those now in course, need to be converted into machinery for giving continuous information about children and about industry, and about the changes taking place. We need to know week by week (and we shall know when we realize the need) the number of children—say, up to eighteen years—who go to work, and the nature of the work; and the number of juveniles discharged from work, and for what reasons. And we need to know what becomes of those who remain at work.

The most favorable point for the establishment of such machinery seems to be in connection with the compulsory school attendance laws, or with the juvenile labor laws. In Ohio, Wisconsin, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Indiana, Pennsylvania and some other states it is possible to make the issuance of work-permits a means for the automatic and continuous registration of most significant facts, not only in the regulation of juvenile labor, but in the guidance of educational policies. Pennsylvania last year gave her administrative officers a splendid opportunity; we are waiting for some power to give them the vision to use it.

Juvenile placement service should be more directly joined to the schools, on the principle that a child should be under official surveillance until he is safely on his feet; and to the agencies that are cognizant of changing economic conditions, on the principle that the public must guard its children against exploitation.

The more fundamental needs are those that the school has to meet. First of all, it is necessary to reorganize our curricula and our administration into a more flexible system, to the end that the teachers may be able to utilize the conduct and the performance of the pupil day by day, whether in the class-room, laboratory, shop, studio, gymnasium or extra-curricular activities, as indications of the pupil's further needs in the way of opportunity for instruction, or training or self-expression. More and more schools are introducing special activities calculated to develop vocational ideals and vocational purposes. Normal schools and teachers' colleges must prepare teachers with the information and the viewpoint and the ideals required for the successful modification of instruction.

Vocational guidance means directed educational evolution of living organ-

isms; it therefore requires the services of men and women who have the experimental intellect, the technique, social vision and sympathies.

REMEDIAL LOANS

Arthur H. Ham

DIVISION OF REMEDIAL LOANS, RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

WITH the formation of a national organization of commercial loan companies pledged to "uplifting and dignifying the small loan business and assisting state organizations in securing legislation, fixing terms fair to the borrower and rates that will yield a fair return to the lender," a new element has entered into the movement for improving small-loan conditions—an internal reform which promises greater results than any which have been or might be achieved by external forces.

The National Federation of Remedial Loan Associations, made up as it is of semi-philanthropic institutions, could never hope to take over the small-loan business. It is a fair field for profit-making institutions, and consequently legislation has been sought which recognizes the necessity for a somewhat higher charge than is required by the remedial loan societies whose return upon capital is definitely limited.

These laws have in the past met with the bitter opposition of money-lenders, large and small, who have objected to supervision and regulation by state authority and have contended that the rates permitted would preclude a fair return upon their investment. Many such now realize that the laws sought by the National Federation have raised the plane of the business, decreased losses and expenses, permitted a fair return on capital invested and made the business cleaner and more attractive. Consequently they now desire an extension of this principle.

It is planned this winter to introduce a uniform small-loan law containing practically all the safeguards which are considered essential, in Illinois, California, Indiana and several states whose laws are at present inadequate.

During the past year the importance of the credit union as a competitor of the loan shark has become widely recognized. Formed on the basis of mutual acquaintance, it recognizes personal character as a form of security for loans and puts a premium upon thrift and saving, thus producing constructive results denied to other money-lending agencies in the field. It also provides the machinery for cooperative purchasing of food, clothing and other necessities. There are now sixty credit unions operating in Massachusetts and thirty in New York. During 1917 an effort will be made to bring about a substantial increase in the number.

CITY AND PARK

Richard B. Watrous

AMERICAN CIVIC ASSOCIATION

OUR belief is that the coming year will bring a greater realization on the part of large employers of labor of the responsibility that rests upon them for providing adequate living conditions for their employees; not housing which very properly in the past has dealt with restrictive regulations as to the character of individual structures, but that which comprehends the rise and growth of industrial communities. And it will not be a philanthropy. It will include good houses with proper sanitation and schooling not only in the "Three R's," but schooling that embraces the playground and other specialized instruction.

But men and women living in the country are saying, "Why city planning only," when still half of the population is rural. All signs point to an awakened rural community spirit. To the already creditable number of counties that have established County Planning Commissions we look for the addition of scores of new commissions. Rural highways and roadways that heretofore have been regarded as merely economic agencies for the carrying of produce from the farm to the city will be regarded, we hope, as pleasure-ways also, and they will be adorned with roadside planting just as are the cities with glorious avenues of trees and street parking. The rural swamp will become the rural pleasure pond. A hill and a ravine here and there will be saved for recreational purposes and recognized as having a value for those purposes as well as for farming. And out of the recognition of the chance to beautify even Nature's stamping-grounds will come the recognition of the value of the countryside, as against the fascinations of the city life.

It is a source of wonder and amazement to all familiar with our American scenic possessions that outside of the family of seventeen national parks stands one which many regard as the greatest scenic wonder of the world, the Grand Canyon. The American Civic Association having initiated and, with the splendid cooperation of other voluntary and governmental agencies, carried to success the creation of the National Park Service, now turns its energy with the same aid to this one specific national park undertaking—the creation of the Grand Canyon National Park.

BUFFALO CHARITIES

Frederic Almy

BUFFALO CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY

IN Buffalo our chief effort is in the direction of free health. Last year less than 1 per cent of our poverty was

due to lack of work, and more than 78 per cent to sickness, or rather, more than 78 per cent of our money relief went to families in which there had been sickness during the year.

No one now questions free compulsory education. Free compulsory health will follow, for disease is both more dangerous and more contagious than ignorance. In time the private doctors, like the private schools, will be left to the few who prefer them and can afford them. Universal education has greatly increased the number of both private and public teachers, and in the same way with universal health both private doctors and public doctors will increase, and the whole profession of medicine will leap forward. Health first is safety first. We need free health.

Our present work in Buffalo for free health is a plan to have ten municipal health centers identical in boundary with our ten Charity Organization Society districts and with our district committees in charge of the social work. We already have four of these health centers, and a fifth is near. This makes health more accessible to the poor.

Hardly less important as regards health is the establishment in Buffalo of an inebriety board, with provision for hospital treatment and an industrial farm colony. Under the old plan we have a record of one man who has been in court for drunkenness 160 times. In place of this perpetual round, which involves stigma and non-support for the family, the new law allows one arrest a year for drunkenness without even court appearance, which will greatly relieve the courts; but the second arrest within a year means commitment to the inebriety board for a year or more, though parole may follow in a day. The new plan aims at cure rather than punishment. It applies to drug intoxication as well as to liquor intoxication.

Health insurance is a state, not a city question. Under health insurance we shall have health first as we now have safety first.

To me, free health, health insurance, recreational and vocational education, a minimum day and a maximum wage, are more important than the more protective measures, such as housing, sanitation, or even individual religion of the Billy Sunday type. We need to let out the good that is in all of us more than to hold in the bad. As President Eliot has said, the cure for democracy is more democracy, and I want to see all weights removed from the lowest of mankind until he can rise to the full stature of which he is capable.

RECREATION FOR GIRLS

Jean Hamilton

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN WORKERS

WHEN the National League of Women Workers formed its first working-girls' clubs through private en-

terprise thirty odd years ago only a few cared what youth did with its leisure. Even those few thought "girls had better stay home evenings." Today the acknowledged need of offering all young people wholesome opportunities for recreation comes only second to the community's responsibility for education.

As a federation of non-sectarian, self-governing women workers' clubs, organized for education, recreation and social activities, the League has always been founded on principles and spirit rather than on housing and equipment. We have experimented in having the community centers of most big eastern cities house the clubs of our League, but have seldom met with success. Aside from the entire inadequacy of our older school buildings for any social uses, this failure has resulted from two conditions:

First, because the overhead management disregarded or failed really to understand the sacred principles of self-government to such an extent that no self-governing club could live under the arbitrary conditions and interference imposed. And second, because a club struggling for that degree of self-support without which self-government is unjust, could not compete successfully with free activities offered in the same building.

So far as girls are concerned, we have an accumulation of thirty years' experience in the very thing the community center is now groping in the dark to find—that is, how to begin with the people and develop the machinery instead of beginning with the machinery and working down to the people. Organized girls' work is lagging far behind boys' work. In many centers in New York city over 75 per cent of the attendance is boys and men, and in one place we were told that 90 per cent of the attendance is male. Yet girls are equally social.

In this stage of development girls need special opportunities for growth in group cohesion and initiative. This they will not get unless organized separately from the men, sending equally accredited representatives to the council of both men and women responsible for the center's general policy as well as for the enterprises of the mixed groups.

The tax-supported community center is the logical development of the democratic, non-sectarian club, which has never begged and has accepted gifts charily lest its independence be limited. But our ideals of self-control cannot be abandoned and thus far the community center has been more autocratic than private individuals.

In this new year of 1917, what has the National League of Women Workers to contribute to the community center movement, and how can we adjust the machinery of our organization so as to contribute most effectively what we have to offer?

NEGRO WELFARE

Eugene Kinckle Jones

NATIONAL LEAGUE ON URBAN CONDITIONS
AMONG NEGROES

DURING 1917 Negro leaders should study social programs and learn to apply those most appropriate to reduce the number of social maladjustments among their people. Special efforts should be made in those directions in which the Negro record compares unfavorably with the same among the whites—for example: (1) The death rate, with special reference to infant mortality and death due to pulmonary causes; (2) Delinquency among adults, with special reference to the need of such preventive measures as may be thrown around the adolescent youth—wholesome amusements, employment opportunities, vocational guidance.

In this connection the National League on Urban Conditions among Negroes is planning to extend its work to an increased number of cities. The almost unprecedented northward migration of Negroes to the large industrial centers has made this extension increasingly necessary. Already twenty cities feel the influence of the league's activities. Additional colored social workers will be trained, so that the work proposed can be prosecuted not only by sympathetic persons that know intimately the aspirations of the race, but can be handled with intelligence and confidence.

Social problems know no race lines, but racial prejudices may accentuate these problems. In the case of the relationship of Negroes with the white people in American cities, this is particularly true. In New York city, where the league's work in the various colored districts is the model for the activities in other cities, it is hoped that during the year 1916-17 the Brooklyn committee will become independent and assume entire responsibility for the work in Brooklyn; that a definite movement to reduce the high infant mortality among Negro babies in New York will be inaugurated; a home for colored women discharged or paroled from the Night Court, Work House or other penal institutions will be established; in cooperation with the Babies' Welfare Association, the Association of Day Nurseries and other organizations, a day nursery will be established in the Columbus Hill section; in cooperation with the Association for the Prevention and Relief of Heart Disease and the Burke Foundation, a cardiac class or clinic may be established in the Harlem section, where 60,000 Negroes live; a school for domestic employees will be established; those organizations wishing to conduct boys' or girls' club work may combine and jointly employ a worker with boys and a worker with girls to conduct their respective clubs; and some form of voca-

tional guidance will be instituted for the colored school children of New York, thereby directing the children to opportunities for occupational training and enlarging the field of employment now open to colored children.

KINDERGARTENS

Bessie Locke

NATIONAL KINDERGARTEN ASSOCIATION

ALTHOUGH Froebel's philosophy has been one of the greatest influences in modern educational effort for child welfare, the kindergarten is only to a small extent regularly adopted as a part of our public school system. Less than an eighth of the children in this country between four and six years of age are receiving this extra educational advantage, while the number not yet provided for mounts up to nearly four million. In the belief that what the kindergarten needs at the present stage of its development is more a creation of public sentiment in its favor than a demonstration of the idea alone, the Nation-

al Kindergarten Association, in cooperation with the United States Bureau of Education, has taken upon itself the task of spreading a popular knowledge concerning the value of this training and of arousing a general demand for kindergarten classes.

In California kindergartens are growing rapidly from attacking the problem in this new way. Three years ago the clubwomen and kindergartners of the state secured a law authorizing the establishing of classes on petition, and since its enactment, by arousing parents to take advantage of the privilege opened up by the law, the number of kindergartens in California has been nearly trebled. They have 401 classes at the present time.

What has been done in California with the help of the women can be done in other states also, and securing a petition law, and stimulating petitioning are so definitely marked out as the most successful methods of extending the kindergarten that every effort has been made to interest large organizations of

women to take up one or the other of these lines of work. At least a dozen state organizations of educators or branches of the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the National Congress of Mothers are planning to try for improved legal provision for kindergartens at the coming session of their legislatures. A number of others have started state-wide campaigns to interest parents to petition for them.

At the present stage of our work we are impressed with the need of going back to Froebel himself for the inspiration and understanding with which to arouse interest in his educational idea, and we are convinced that the mother is the chief channel for promoting the work in this way. An understanding on the part of mothers of the fundamental principles of the kindergarten idea would give them an invaluable insight into child nature, and would, in addition, provide the sound practical basis upon which must rest any attempt to arouse a popular demand for kindergartens.

An Open Letter to President Wilson

SIR:—You have an opportunity of performing a signal service to mankind, surpassing even the service of Abraham Lincoln, great as that was. It is in your power to bring the war to an end by a just peace, which shall do all that could possibly be done to allay the fear of new wars in the near future. It is not yet too late to save European civilization from destruction; but it may be too late if the war is allowed to continue for the further two or three years with which our militarists threaten us.

The military situation has now developed to the point where the ultimate issue is clear, in its broad outlines, to all who are capable of thought. It must be obvious to the authorities in all the belligerent countries that no victory for either side is possible. In Europe, the Germans have the advantage; outside Europe and at sea, the Allies have the advantage. Neither side is able to win with such a crushing victory as to compel the other side to sue for peace. The war inflicts untold injuries upon the nations, but not such injuries as to make a continuance of fighting impossible. It is evident that, however the war may be prolonged, negotiations will ultimately have to take place on the basis of what will be substantially the present balance of gains and losses, and will result in terms not very different from those which might be obtained now. The German government has recognized this fact, and has expressed its willingness for peace on terms which ought to be regarded at least as affording a basis for

FROM Bertrand Russell, the English mathematician and philosopher, who was recently called to Harvard University because of his independence in discussing government policy during the war. Mr. Russell has been deprived of his fellowship at Trinity College, Cambridge University, and was recently prohibited from coming to the United States. In this letter he bears ardent witness to the existence of a sentiment for peace struggling for expression throughout the rank and file of the people, in England, in France, and in Germany.

The letter was brought through the censors by a young American girl, and put in the hands of the American Neutral Conference Committee for transmission to the press and to the President.

discussion since they concede the points which involve the honor of the Allies. The allied governments have not had the courage to acknowledge publicly what they cannot deny in private, that the hope of a sweeping victory is one which can now be scarcely entertained. For want of this courage they are prepared to involve Europe in the horrors of a continuance of the war, possibly for another two or three years. This situation is intolerable to every humane man. You, Sir, can put an end to it. Your

power constitutes an opportunity and a responsibility; and from your previous actions I feel confident that you will use your power with a degree of wisdom and humanity rarely to be found among statesmen.

The harm which has already been done in this war is immeasurable. Not only have millions of valuable lives been lost, not only have an even greater number of men been maimed or shattered in health, but the whole standard of civilization has been lowered. Fear has invaded men's inmost being, and with fear has come the ferocity that always attends it. Hatred has become the rule of life, and injury to others is more desired than benefit to ourselves. The hopes of peaceful progress in which our earlier years were passed are dead, and can never be revived. Terror and savagery have become the very air we breathe. The liberties which our ancestors won by centuries of struggle were sacrificed in a day, and all the nations are regimented to the one ghastly end of mutual destruction.

But all this is as nothing in comparison with what the future has in store for us if the war continues as long as the pronouncements of some of our leading men would make us expect. As the stress increases, and weariness of the war makes average men more restive, the severity of repression has to be continually augmented. In all the belligerent countries soldiers who are wounded or home on leave express an utter loathing of the trenches, a despair

of ever achieving a military decision, and a terrible longing for peace. Our militarists have successfully opposed the granting of votes to soldiers; yet in all the countries an attempt is made to persuade the civilian population that war-weariness is confined to the soldiers of the enemy. The daily toll of young lives destroyed becomes a horror almost too terrible to be borne; yet everywhere advocacy of peace is rebuked as treachery toward the soldiers, though they above all men desire peace. Everywhere friends of peace are met with the diabolical argument that the brave men who have died must not have shed their blood in vain. And so every impulse of mercy toward the soldiers who are still living is dried up and withered by a false and barren loyalty to those who are past our help. Even the men hitherto retained for making munitions, for dock labor, and for other purposes essential to the prosecution of the war, are gradually being drafted into the armies and replaced by women, with the sinister threat of colored labor in the background. There is a very real danger that, if nothing is done to check the fury of national passion, European civilization as we have known it will perish as completely as it perished when Rome fell before the Barbarians.

It may be thought strange that public opinion should appear to support all that is being done by the authorities for the prosecution of the war. But this appearance is very largely deceptive. The continuance of the war is actively advocated by influential persons, and by the press, which is everywhere under the control of the governments. In other sections of society feeling is quite different from that expressed by the newspapers, but public opinion remains silent and uninformed, since those who might give guidance are subject to such

severe penalties that few dare to protest openly, and those few cannot obtain a wide publicity. From considerable personal experience, reinforced by all that I can learn from others, I believe that the desire for peace is almost universal, not only among the soldiers, but throughout the wage-earning classes and especially in industrial districts, in spite of high wages and steady employment. If a plebiscite of the nation were taken on the question whether negotiations should be initiated, I am confident that an overwhelming majority would be in favor of this course, and that the same is true of France, Germany and Austria-Hungary.

Such acquiescence as there is in continued hostilities is due entirely to fear. Every nation believes that its enemies were the aggressors, and may make war again in a few years unless they are utterly defeated. The United States Government has the power, not only to compel the European governments to make peace, but also to reassure the populations by making itself the guarantor of the peace. Such action, even if it were resented by the governments, would be hailed with joy by the populations. If the German government, as now seems likely, would not only restore conquered territory, but also give its adherence to the League to Enforce Peace or some similar method of settling disputes without war, fear would be allayed, and it is almost certain that an offer of mediation from you would give rise to an irresistible movement in favor of negotiations. But the deadlock is such that no near end to the war is likely except through the mediation of an outside Power; and such mediation can come only from you.

Some may ask by what right I address you. I have no formal title; I am not any part of the machinery of

the government. I speak only because I must; because others, who should have remembered civilization and human brotherhood, have allowed themselves to be swept away by national passion; because I am compelled by their apathy to speak in the name of reason and mercy, lest it should be thought that no one in Europe remembers the work which Europe has done and ought still to do for mankind. It is to the European races, in Europe and out of it, that the world owes most of what it possesses in thought, in science, in art, in ideals of government, in hope for the future. If they are allowed to destroy each other in futile carnage, something will be lost which is more precious than diplomatic prestige, incomparably more valuable than a sterile victory which leaves the victors themselves perishing. Like the rest of my countrymen, I have desired ardently the victory of the Allies; like them, I have suffered when victory has been delayed. But I remember always that Europe has common tasks to fulfil, that a war among European nations is in essence a civil war; that the ill which we think of our enemies they equally think of us; and that it is difficult in time of war for a belligerent to see facts truly. Above all, I see that none of the issues in the war are as important as peace; the harm done by a peace which does not concede all that we desire is as nothing in comparison to the harm done by the continuance of the fighting. While all who have power in Europe speak for what they falsely believe to be in the interests of their separate nations, I am compelled by profound conviction to speak for all the nations in the name of Europe. In the name of Europe I appeal to you to bring us peace.

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

December 4, 1916.

OPEN WINDOW WEEK

Margaret Franklin in New York Tribune

Open up the windows,
Send the death-rate down;
Let the winter breezes
Travel through the town.
Drafts are only bogies,
Steam heat is a sin;

Air will wash your colds away and make the red blood spin!

Get your coats and sweaters,
Get your scarfs and tams;
Race the slow old subway,
Race the creeping trams;
First among the doctors
Is the shining sun,

So out into the sunny streets and run, run, run!

COMMON WELFARE



THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY IN RAILROAD YARDS

AN award granting the eight-hour day (as the unit of reckoning), but withholding punitive overtime, was handed down December 23 by the arbitrators in the case of the railway switchmen who are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. An increase of pay of five cents an hour was granted, but the principle of the Adamson law of making ten hours' pay for eight hours' work the minimum day's pay, was not established.

The switchmen in the railway yards are divided in their allegiance. Some of them belong to the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, others to the Switchmen's Union of North America, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The latter made a demand for an eight-hour day with time and a half for overtime at the same time that the brotherhoods were making similar demands.

Unlike the brotherhoods, the switchmen consented to submit the matter to arbitration. A board of six members was appointed under the terms of the Newlands law, with Judge Charles B. Howry of the United States Court of Claims, and Prof. Jeremiah W. Jenks, as the neutral members. Testimony was taken during November and December in New York city.

The two union members of the board dissented from every clause in the award, and the railroad members dissented from the eight-hour clause. It is evident therefore that the award is chiefly the work of the two neutral members. The basis of the dissatisfaction on the part of the union men appears to be that the award does not establish the eight-hour day. Their contention is that there can be no eight-hour day without punitive overtime—which, in labor parlance, means the payment of 50 or 100 per cent extra per hour for the ninth, tenth, eleventh, etc., hours.

It is conceded by the neutral arbitrators that the award does not guarantee the eight-hour day. Under present conditions and even under conditions of

much lighter traffic it will not be possible, they state, "to make the actual working eight-hour day effective in the case of more than a small percentage of the switching crews; not more than 10 per cent during the first year. While, therefore, it is urged that the eight-hour day be established, its introduction must be gradual. The percentage, therefore, of the switching crews that will be directly affected during the period of this award must necessarily be small. Most crews will work ten hours or more."

This gradual introduction of the eight-hour day will make it possible, the neutral arbitrators believe, to determine how badly the men want an eight-hour day. The men oldest in the service have the right to choose their jobs. "If the older men in service," say Messrs. Howry and Jenks, "should all prefer the added daily wage coming from the long hours, the eight-hour shifts must be taken by the younger and less experienced men. But, with so large an element of choice and so small a number of positions to be filled, the award will enable employers, employes and the public to determine the extent to which the

switchmen desire the shorter hours."

This statement of the choice open to the train crews is not entirely consistent with the terms of the award. An experienced man will have to choose between a shorter work day and "an added daily wage," but if he chooses putting in a shorter work day he will bring home less money on pay day than he does now. He will earn five cents an hour more than formerly, or forty cents more in his first eight hours, but that will not by any means make up for the loss of from two to four hours' earnings if he works the new work day and stops there.

A MEMORIAL FOUNDATION FOR JUDGE BAKER

SOON after the death of Judge Harvey H. Baker, judge of the Boston Juvenile Court, in 1915, a group of his friends conceived the idea of establishing a fund that might be used for the promotion of intelligent juvenile court work in Boston. Various plans were considered to use the money that was collected to the best advantage. The project has recently developed into the organization (now nearly assured) of what will be known as the Judge Baker Foundation.

The foundation is intended as an adequate continuing memorial to the work begun by Judge Baker. The foundation is to maintain a specially trained doctor and an assistant psychologist with office and field force to make intensive examinations of difficult boys and girls coming before the Boston Juvenile Court. A primary purpose is to ascertain with greater certainty those elements and factors in the boy or girl which admit of desirable development and ways and means which best develop them.

Dr. William Healy, author of *The Individual Delinquent*, for many years past the head of such a medical clinic for the Chicago Juvenile Court, is being considered for this work. The maintenance of the proposed medical and psychological clinic will cost approximately \$12,000 a year. It is gratifying to know that considerably more than half of the

Cesare in New York Evening Post



EUROPE

necessary money for the clinic's maintenance for ten years has already been subscribed.

CLEVELAND TAKES STOCK OF LEISURE

A STUDY of recreational problems and the agencies working at them—"the most complete and thoroughgoing of any ever attempted in the larger cities of the country"—is the task just set for itself by the Cleveland Foundation Survey.

The new recreation survey will begin at once, with a preliminary budget of \$20,000. The Foundation was asked to take it up as the next subject for its field work by the Welfare Council, the Chamber of Commerce, the Federation of Labor, the Federated Churches, the Settlement Union and the Juvenile Court. Cooperation has been promised by the city Department of Public Service, including the Division of Parks and Recreation; and of the public schools, including the Division of Physical Education and the Division of Community Centers.

"There are three occasions for a recreation survey," says the committee, "(1) the rapid spread of the shorter hour movement, (2) the increasing governmental regulation or suppression of common uses of spare time, such as theaters, game rooms, saloons; and (3) the frequent complaints by police that most of their troubles come from those who have no wholesome occupations for out-of-work hours.

"Both employers and employes would urge shorter hours more vigorously and adopt them more widely if Americans generally had wholesome habits and resources for the use of leisure. The average American has little ability to amuse himself and so seeks to be amused by whatever means his financial resources can afford. It is largely chance whether his money buys him drinks, a suggestive show, a place at the gambling table, a wholesome photoplay or a seat in a bleacher. So long as spending money is the essential of a good time America runs the same risk as Rome did with its everlasting demand for spectacles. The need is to have people so full of desires and habits of doing things to amuse themselves, like reading, hiking, acting, skating, that damaging occupations will be crowded out. To create these desires and habits is the imperative sequel of the shorter working day.

"Twenty-five states gone dry sounds the knell of the saloon. The gambling joint and the brothel are largely wiped out. The suggestive play or movie will soon follow suit. But suppression of these agencies will only make for a worse use of spare time unless wholesome recreations are substituted. It is the bounden duty of those so active in

these reform campaigns to find substitutes. A devil if only driven out leaves but a place for seven other devils to enter.

"Chief Rowe was recently quoted as saying: 'City social conditions are turning out criminals faster than the police department can learn their names. Every day the police blotters are filled with names of boys, 18, 19, and 20. They are living lives of idleness. The pool-room is their classroom. While these boys should be compelled to work or attend school, as the chief suggests, neither could take care of all a boy's time. How are the spare hours to be filled with such activities as prevent delinquency?'"

The survey will be divided into two

THE "MIGHTY ECHO" FROM THE ALPS

"The most meritorious personal initiative of President Wilson will find a mighty echo in Switzerland. True to the obligations arising from observing the strictest neutrality, united by the same friendship with the states of both warring groups of Powers, situated like an island amidst the seething waves of the terrible world war, with its ideal and material interests most sensibly jeopardized and violated, our country is filled with a deep longing for peace and ready to assist by its small means to stop the endless sufferings caused by the war and brought before its eyes by daily contact with the interned, the severely wounded and those expelled, and to establish the foundations for a beneficial coöperation of the peoples.

"The Swiss Federal Council is, therefore, glad to seize the opportunity to support the efforts of the President of the United States. It would consider itself happy if it could act in any, no matter how modest, a way, for the rapprochement of the peoples now engaged in the struggle, and for reaching a lasting peace."

main parts. First will be a study of the uses of spare time which make for wholesome development; of uses of spare time which waste not only time but also talents and training, and of recreation habits which destroy character. Juvenile delinquency and adult crime is traceable to a number of causes.

The second part of the survey will cover recreation agencies, commercial, private and public.

The recreation survey will be conducted by Rowland Haynes, directing consultant, under the general supervision of Allen T. Burns, director of the Cleveland Foundation Survey. Mr. Haynes is secretary of recreation for the New York Board of Estimate and Apportionment, and lecturer on recreation in Columbia University. He has been field secretary of the Recreation Association of America and professor of psy-

chology in the University of Minnesota. He has made recreation surveys in seven other cities, including Detroit, Milwaukee and Kansas City.

A HEALTHY INTEREST IN HEALTH INSURANCE

"I AM in favor of health insurance, if——" said one after another of the fifty or more witnesses who appeared before the California State Insurance Commission during the hearings just held in San Francisco. But the many "ifs" were a sign of a very healthy interest in principle and details of the plans proposed for California. The witnesses in San Francisco were professors of economics, several charity workers and social workers, physicians, employers, representatives of organized labor, members of the State Board of Health, officers of fraternal societies and public-spirited men and women in general constituted the majority of the fifty witnesses. Included among them were even a few cases of applicants for charity who had a sad story to tell.

Perhaps the most emphatic objections were made by A. R. Maloney, president of the California Insurance Federation, who was opposed to this further extension of state activity in the insurance business, but was willing to waive his objections if a guarantee were given that private insurance companies would be permitted to compete for the business.

A representative of the fraternal orders objected to social health insurance on the ground that it was not necessary, since everybody had the opportunity of insuring with a fraternal order. Under cross-examination he admitted, however, the narrow limitations of the benefits given by fraternal orders, and created quite a laugh when he answered the question as to the proportion of wage-working women able to get their protection through fraternal orders, by saying that women had no business to be in industrial life, anyway, and that he would prefer a compulsory marriage law to a compulsory health insurance.

James W. Mullen, editor of the *Labor Clarion*, objected to compulsory insurance not so much in this field, but because of the possible extension of the compulsory system in other fields of legislation, especially to arbitration. Furthermore, Mr. Mullen objected to compulsion because it was limited to the wage workers; he would be in favor of a compulsory health insurance law if applied to everybody without distinction. But the effect of this testimony was largely neutralized by the support given compulsory health insurance by Theodore Johnson, attorney for several labor organizations; W. W. Harris, president of the state Federation of Labor, and others.

One of the most common criticisms

had to do with the point that health insurance is only a partial application of the social insurance principle to problems of poverty. Chronic cases of illness may be left without protection, it was repeatedly said; and unemployment is a graver problem than sickness. In other words, health insurance proposals were objected to because they did not include invalidity or unemployment.

Criticisms were made, too, of any suggestion to limit the benefits to those earning not over \$1,200. It was emphatically argued even with a wage of \$2,000 or \$3,000 sickness might become a very serious problem.

A constructive criticism made by many witnesses was directed against any possible provision in the law which would force a man to lose his insurance at the time he lost his employment. This problem is perhaps more acute in California because of a greater irregularity of employment in several industries than can be discovered in any other state. It was pointed out that in this respect health insurance differed materially from compensation, specially since an almost unanimous consensus of opinion demands the inclusion of the family in the medical benefit. With discontinuance of employment the chance of industrial accident vanishes, but the danger of disease to the workman or his family obviously does not; and any system which would deprive the wage worker of his health insurance at the same time he lost his employment would probably be unanimously rejected in California.

An interesting feature of the hearings was the attitude of the audience. The statement that hearings are to be public is taken literally in California, and the audience refused to assume that they were there in the capacity of tolerated on-lookers only. The examination of witnesses was conducted by Dr. I. M. Rubinow, expert adviser of the commission; by the chairman, secretary and members of the commission; yet questions were repeatedly asked from the floor. Every effort to limit at least some questions which were apparently irrelevant created a storm of indignation. Not only were questions asked of the witnesses, but the witnesses insisted upon the right of having their questions answered by the commission. Finally, in compliance with the numerous demands, Dr. Rubinow took the stand to answer any questions that were shot at him from the audience. The result was a cross section of public opinion that would have been impossible in any carefully staged so-called "public hearing."

One of the most useful results of this democratic spirit was the amazing amount of publicity the hearings achieved, not only in the press of San Francisco, but throughout the state.

All the social workers testifying and all of the physicians with the exception

of one, went on record as in favor of compulsory health insurance.

The California Social Insurance Commission consists of Paul Herriot, member of the State Board of Control, the financial or budgetary part of the state administration, chairman, representing the state; Katherine Felton, a well-known social worker of San Francisco; George H. Dunlap, ex-mayor of Hollywood, a retired business man, well known in Los Angeles for his interest and activity in all civic matters; Mrs. Frances Noel, closely identified with the labor movement in Los Angeles for many years, and Dr. Flora W. Smith, representing the medical profession.

Shortly before the hearings were held, Governor Johnson added to the committee an advisory board of three, consisting of Daniel C. Murphy, president of the California State Federation of Labor; Ansley Salz, a manufacturer of San Francisco, chairman of the social insurance section of the Commonwealth Club, who has devoted many months to the study of social insurance, and Chester H. Rowell of the *Fresno Republican*.

Though its official report has not yet been made, the commission has announced that it favors the principle of compulsory health insurance. Nevertheless, no legislative program will be recommended beyond the adoption, through a constitutional amendment, of an enabling clause at the coming session of the legislature. Such a constitutional amendment will require submission to the vote of the people in the fall of 1918. The approval by popular vote will probably lead to the introduction of a health insurance bill in 1919.

California had the distinction of being the first state to create a State Social Insurance Commission in 1915. Whether it will be the first state to adopt a health insurance law it is impossible to foretell; but correspondence from California and the Pacific Coast indicates that there is no doubt about the reality of the health insurance movement there at the present time.

STRIKING FOR THE FORTY-EIGHT-HOUR WEEK

BETWEEN 50,000 and 60,000 members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America—the workers on men's and boys' clothing—in New York city went on strike December 13 for an advance of \$2 a week in their pay and a reduction in working hours from 50 a week to 48. Later they announced their willingness to compromise on the wage question and many settlements have been made on the basis of an increase of \$1 and a forty-eight-hour week. Such an agreement has been made with an association of boys' clothing manufacturers who employ 15,000 workers. It was estimated by the secretary of the union, after two weeks of strike, that

25,000 workers had returned to the shops under these conditions.

The American Clothing Manufacturers, an association employing over 30,000 workers, tried at the beginning to break the power of the Amalgamated by proposing to negotiate an agreement with the United Garment Workers—the older organization from which the members of the Amalgamated seceded two years ago. It developed, however, that the United Garment Workers have less than 1,000 members in Greater New York and consequently had little influence. At headquarters of the strikers it is reported that agreements have been signed with some of the members of the American Clothing Manufacturers' Association and that negotiations are in progress with others.

Before the strike was called an offer was made by independent manufacturers to compromise on the basis of forty-nine hours a week. This the union refused to consider. They have secured the forty-eight-hour week in Chicago and Rochester, two of the other leading centers for the manufacture of men's clothing, and have just concluded such an agreement with the Sonnenborn Company of Baltimore, employing 3,000 workers, the second largest manufacturer of men's clothing in the United States.

BUILDING UP FAMILIES WITH XMAS SEALS

CHRISTMAS seals of 1915 meant better health, better food, happier homes to a group of youngsters in Jersey City. The Woman's Club used the proceeds of last year's sale to provide a visiting dietitian for the Hudson County Tuberculosis Clinic, and at a recent meeting heard the results of nearly a year's experiment from Emma A. Allen, of the Tuberculosis Clinic, and Laura H. Woodruff, R. N., the home economist of the clinic.

"Most of our people are border-line cases," said Miss Woodruff. "They manage fairly well until an emergency arises. Then the first thing they do is to economize in food. And so the health of the whole family suffers."

This was the situation in the B family. Though the father was a printer and had a fair income, the mother was young, inexperienced and a poor manager. Most of the food came from the delicatessen store and even the children depended on tea. Much needed dental care was postponed because they "couldn't afford it." Evidently the only need was for a little friendly advice about expenditures. This Mrs. B gladly welcomed, reorganized her household expenses, spent \$4 a month more on food, \$8 a month for dentistry, paying \$2 a week, and yet she has actually saved \$9 of the income. The children have gained in weight—and they no longer drink tea.

The President of the United States To the Belligerent Nations

[December 18, 1916]

THE President suggests that an early occasion be sought to call out from all the nations now at war such an avowal of their respective views as to the terms upon which the war might be concluded and the arrangements which would be deemed satisfactory as a guaranty against its renewal or the kindling of any similar conflict in the future as would make it possible frankly to compare them. He is indifferent as to the means taken to accomplish this. He would be happy himself to serve, or even to take the initiative in its accomplishment, in any way that might prove acceptable, but he has no desire to determine the method or the instrumentality. One way will be as acceptable to him as another, if only the great object he has in mind be attained.

He takes the liberty of calling attention to the fact that the objects which the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides have in mind in this war are virtually the same, as stated in general terms to their own people and to the world. Each side desires to make the rights and privileges of weak peoples and small states as secure against aggression or denial in the future as the rights and privileges of the great and powerful states now at war. Each wishes itself to be made secure in the future, along with all other nations and peoples, against the recurrence of wars like this and against aggression or selfish interference of any kind. Each would be jealous of the formation of any more rival leagues to preserve an uncertain balance of power amid multiplying suspicions; but each is ready to consider the formation of a league of nations to insure peace and justice throughout the world. Before that final step can be taken, however, each deems it necessary first to settle the issues of the present war upon terms which will certainly safeguard the independence, the territorial integrity and the political and commercial freedom of the nations involved.

In the measures to be taken to secure the future peace of the world the people and Government of the United States are as vitally and as directly interested as the governments now at war. Their interest, moreover, in the means to be adopted to relieve the smaller and weaker peoples of the world of the peril of wrong and violence is as quick and ardent as that of any other people or government. They stand ready, and even eager, to cooperate in the accomplishment of these ends, when the war is over, with every influence and resource at their command. But the war must first be concluded. The terms upon which it is to be concluded they are not at liberty to suggest; but the President does feel that it is his right and his duty to point out their intimate interest in its conclusion, lest it should presently be too late to accomplish the greater things, which lie beyond its conclusion, lest the situation of neutral nations, now exceedingly hard to endure, be rendered altogether intolerable, and lest,

more than all, an injury be done civilization itself which can never be atoned for or repaired.

The President therefore feels altogether justified in suggesting an immediate opportunity for a comparison of views as to the terms which must precede those ultimate arrangements for the peace of the world which all desire and in which the neutral nations as well as those at war are ready to play their full responsible part. If the contest must continue to proceed toward undefined ends by slow attrition until the one group of belligerents or the other is exhausted; if million after million of human lives must continue to be offered up until on the one side or the other there are no more to offer; if resentments must be kindled that can never cool and despairs engendered from which there can be no recovery, hopes of peace and of the willing concert of free peoples will be rendered vain and idle.

The life of the entire world has been profoundly affected. Every part of the great family of mankind has felt the burden and terror of this unprecedented contest of arms. No nation in the civilized world can be said in truth to stand outside its influence or to be safe against its disturbing effects. And yet the concrete objects for which it is being waged have never been definitively stated.

The leaders of the several belligerents have, as has been said, stated those objects in general terms. But, stated in general terms, they seem the same on both sides. Never yet have the authoritative spokesmen of either side avowed the precise objects which would, if attained, satisfy them and their people that the war had been fought out. The world has been left to conjecture what definitive results, what actual exchange of guarantees, what political or territorial changes or readjustments, what stage of military success, even, would bring the war to an end.

It may be that peace is nearer than we know; that the terms which the belligerents on the one side and on the other would deem it necessary to insist upon are not so irreconcilable as some have feared; that an interchange of views would clear the way at least for conference and make the permanent concord of the nations a hope of the immediate future, a concert of nations immediately practicable.

The President is not proposing peace; he is not even offering mediation. He is merely proposing that soundings be taken in order that we may learn, the neutral nations with the belligerent, how near the haven of peace may be for which all mankind longs with an intense and increasing longing. He believes that the spirit in which he speaks and the objects which he seeks will be understood by all concerned, and he confidently hopes for a response which will bring a new light into the affairs of the world.

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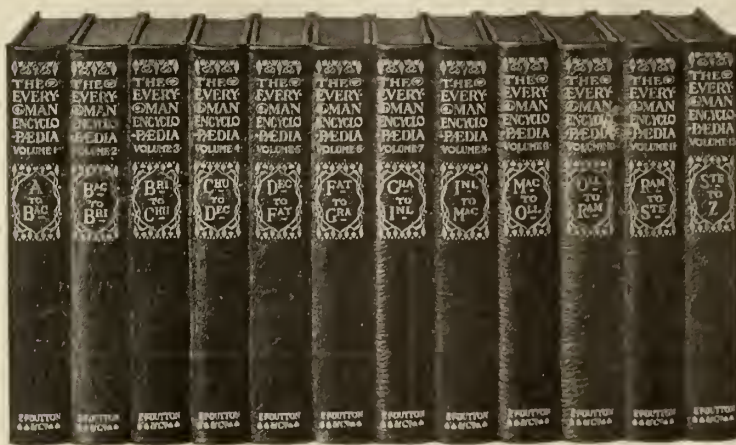
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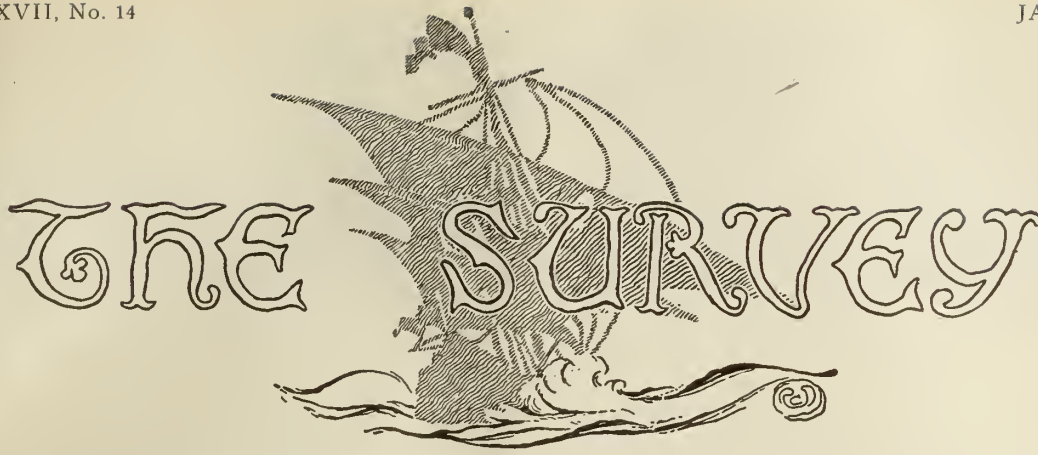
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Women as Munition Makers

A Study of Conditions in Bridgeport

By Amy Hewes

AS the Merchants' Limited from Boston crashes through Bridgeport on its way to New York about nine o'clock every evening, passengers invariably glance up in curiosity at the great blocks of lighted factory windows which suddenly loom up out of the night. "Those are the munition factories," some well-traveled person remarks, as one after another the great buildings slip by.

Behind those lighted windows men and women are working all night long making cartridges to be shipped abroad by the Remington Arms-Union Metallic Cartridge Company, and half a mile away, in a still larger factory adjoining the first and under the same management, thousands more are fashioning rifles for the battlefields of Europe.

New workers, recruited in part from nearby towns, from industrial cities in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, from Canadian farms, but mainly from the city of Bridgeport itself, many of them untrained and inexperienced in this occupation, have gathered in the great munition factories to share in the war work and in the war prosperity. By the summer of 1916 nearly 4,000 women and many more men, were employed.

To find out what war orders mean to working girls in this country, the testimony of the girls themselves was sought by representatives of the Russell Sage Foundation who went to Bridgeport last summer. The girls who were interviewed were employed in the largest munitions plant in Bridgeport at the very center of the munitions industry in Connecticut. The workers were chosen not because the conditions in this factory were believed to be worse or better than those of similar establishments elsewhere, but because the facts were significant by reason of the importance of this center in the munitions industry.¹

¹ At the time of the publication of War Boom Towns, Bridgeport, by Zenas L. Potter, in the SURVEY, December 4, 1915, a representative of the Remington Arms-Union Metallic Cartridge Company had asked the Russell Sage Foundation to confer with him regarding the housing of the women workers who were expected to come in an army of 4,000 from outside of Bridgeport, and it was these conferences which led the Division of Industrial Studies of the Foundation several months later to undertake a brief inquiry. Amy Hewes, professor of Economics of Mount Holyoke College, and former secretary of the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission, was in charge of the investigation. The knowledge gained from the women workers concerning their home conditions, their work,

Exactly one hundred of the women were living with their own families, and in these cases they added information about the family income and the family expenditures, particularly the item of rent. They also gave the essential facts about forty-six other women in their families who were employed in the munitions industry. Eighteen other women interviewed were away from home, boarding or living in furnished rooms, so that specific information was obtained for one hundred and sixty-four workers in all.

Alert and ambitious, interested and willing to talk of their work and its advantages and handicaps, they were prepossessing representatives of American working women. Among them were natives of ten foreign countries, but the large majority were girls born in the United States, educated in American schools, and settled in Bridgeport before the war boom. They represented all the important tasks for women in the industry. Many of them had worked in this occupation for years; nearly half, five years or longer. About one-fourth were past thirty years old; only one in twenty was less than eighteen. The majority, however, were not yet twenty-four. Compared with some other manufacturing industries, the proportion of single women was smaller than usual, for 80 per cent were single, and as large a proportion as 20 per cent married or widowed.

A sudden boom has never made a utopia out of a modern industrial city. Prosperity and expansion inevitably bring their pressing dilemmas. High wages have been offered by munition factories in order to obtain a sufficient labor supply. The consequences of good pay are seldom questioned, especially by the people who receive it; but in the case of the women munition workers of Bridgeport three serious issues have come up along with the high rates of wages.

their hours and their wages reflected in miniature the problems which loom large in the city's life today. After the field work was in progress the company was asked to cooperate, but declined, later taking the ground that such an investigation on the part of a private agency was without legal or ethical right.

After this article was in first draft, conferences were held between the investigators and representatives of the firm and certain misapprehensions were cleared up; but the company refused detailed information on various points under discussion, and refused permission for a plant investigation to supplement the inquiries carried on in the girls' homes.



NOON HOUR AT THE REMINGTON ARMS-UNION METALLIC CARTRIDGE COMPANY

Some workers patronize the lunch-cart; some have food brought by relatives and friends to the factory fence; others rush home for "a bite"

In the first place, in order to satisfy the urgent need of speed and a large output from the factories, women have been induced to work long hours and at night. Second, they are put to work near or with explosives in ways which sometimes mean accident, industrial poisoning or other illness. In the third place, the high price of labor has been paralleled by an exceptionally high cost of living, and the increase in the number of laborers attracted by the high wages has caused a phenomenal rise in rents. So the question is, "Does the boom pay?" What standards should the community enforce to protect itself not only from hard times, but from emergent prosperity—from the anti-social results of abnormally rapid expansion in an industry?

Night Work

NIGHT work was a conspicuous fact in the neighborhood of the big Bridgeport cartridge factories last summer, when the field work of this investigation was in process. About seven in the evening a crowd of men and children began to line up outside the factory fence, carrying packages of food. Many of them were the husbands and children of the women who worked on the earliest of the night shifts in the factory, from three in the afternoon until eleven at night. In the fifteen minutes' rest period which came at seven o'clock they hurried down to the fence to get their lunches. Again, an hour before midnight, the women came out of the factory with the crowds of men, and their places were taken by others who worked until seven o'clock in the morning. The day workers began at seven o'clock and stopped at three. In this way the twenty-four hours were divided into three eight-hour shifts. In some of the departments which operated on a different schedule women stayed all night long, working from half-past six at night until five in the morning. A scant fifteen-minute meal period was allowed on each of the eight-hour shifts, while only half an hour was given on the 6:30 p. m. to 5 a. m. shift. A small bonus was usually paid for the night work.

With few exceptions night work is unpopular with the young working girls of Bridgeport. Their natural desire for recreation, for the society of young people of their own kind, finds no outlet while they have to work or sleep in the evening hours when most of their friends are free. In fact, night work is not in great favor at any age. One woman said that she liked to work at night better than in the daytime in summer because it was cooler in the factory; but in the opinion of most of the others coolness does not compensate for the disadvantages and discomforts. Sufficient sleep is hard to get. Noises in the street and the ordinary household happenings make it doubly difficult to become accustomed to the unusual hours. Women in some departments were changed back and forth from a night shift to a day shift every two weeks, and under these conditions it is even harder to acquire the habit of sleeping by day. The unusual meal times often mean loss of appetite and indigestion. To timid women, who go to and from their work in the late hours of the night and in the early morning, the dark and lonely streets seem a perpetual menace.

The only ones to whom the night shifts seemed a bonanza were married women who wanted to take advantage of the chance to earn good pay in "the shops," as the cartridge factories were usually called, but who had homes and families which needed their care in the daytime. Often the household duties are neglected, for several of the hours of the day must necessarily go toward an effort to sleep. Sometimes older children have to bear the brunt of the work at home and take care of the younger children besides. One little girl of eleven whose mother worked on an all-night shift swept the rooms, washed the dishes and took charge of three younger children, including a baby of two years, while the mother slept. In spite of the industry of the young caretaker, the house was dirty and the children sickly-looking and peevish.

Occasionally more unusual domestic arrangements were evolved. In one case, that of a large family consisting of a man and his wife, their four children, his widowed sister-in-



VARIOUS TYPES OF COMPANY HOUSES

To provide for its increased labor force the Remington company has erected houses for families. Dormitories for girls have been begun but not completed

law, the latter's three-year-old son, and a man lodger, the care of the house was divided between the two women. The wife worked in the factory from three in the afternoon until eleven at night, and the sister-in-law's factory hours were from seven in the morning until three. This arrangement left one or the other of them at home all of the time to get the meals and take care of the children, and they could meet at the factory at three o'clock and talk over family plans for a few hurried minutes. Such a routine is possible only in a family in which some kind of communal domestic arrangements are in force, and illustrates the abnormal character of night work for women.

The foreign-born women, like the wives with home responsibilities, usually had fewer occupational openings than single wage-earners of native birth and had to take their work when they could get it. Consequently many of them became night workers.

In its official position toward night work the United States may have a lesson to learn from England. In the early days

men's chief concern was the supreme need of increased output.

In its report the committee went on record as opposing night work on the following grounds: (1) that it is uneconomical, because of the higher wages and lower output; (2) that supervision at night is often unsatisfactory; (3) that adequate lighting is difficult to arrange; (4) that workers cannot secure the necessary amount of sleep; and (5) that workers' digestion is deranged by unwonted meal hours.³ The committee pointed out that if the increasing stress of the progress of the war should make night work unavoidable, adequate rest periods must be provided—one of an hour and one of a half-hour on the long shift, and a minimum of half an hour on the short or eight-hour shift.

In the United States, the workshop in which vast amounts of war materials are being manufactured for the same conflict, though without the patriotic motive, no governmental review has been made of the new industrial conditions, except that a study of occupational diseases connected with the munitions industry is now in progress by the federal Bureau of

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GIRLS IN A CANADIAN MUNITIONS FACTORY

These Canadian workers are protected against industrial poison by caps and aprons. No such precaution is observed in the Bridgeport factories

of the war England set aside the labor laws in order to expedite the production of munitions of war. Excessive hours of labor, night work and Sunday work became common in the English factories. In spite of the patriotic fervor with which English women entered the workshops and undertook the manufacture of munitions, fatigue, accumulated with the long hour and hard work and dissatisfaction, fermented. For these and other reasons the output was unsatisfactory in quantity. At last the government officials, facing the fact that the probable end of the war was becoming further and further removed, and realizing that England's working force at home must be conserved for a long period of time, took up the problem from another angle. In September, 1915, a committee was appointed under the Ministry of Munitions "to consider and advise on questions of industrial fatigue, hours of labor and other matters affecting the physical health and physical efficiency of workers in munition factories and workshops."² Throughout the ensuing investigation the govern-

² Health of Munition Workers Committee, Memorandum No. 1. Sunday Labour, p. 3. London, 1915.

Labor Statistics. This does not, however, include wages and hours.

For purposes of profit, manufacturers here are producing with feverish haste by methods which have been declared wasteful by the English investigators. Employers here are arguing that the work of women as well as men at night is the only way to reduce the cost of maintaining the plants themselves so as to yield maximum profit. For the same reason the tendency in the Bridgeport munitions plant seems to be to lengthen the daily hours.

At the beginning of the war it was supposed that Connecticut legislation prohibited night work for women. The labor law, however, merely forbade work for women after 10 p. m., and fixed no hour in the morning before which they might not be employed. Consequently, when the rush of war orders made work in the munitions factories continuous, women on the night shift were employed until ten, kept idle from ten until midnight, and then set to work again. A test

³ Health of Munition Workers Committee. Memorandum No. 5. Hours of work, p. 8. London, 1916.

of the law in a prosecution brought by the factory inspector resulted in a decision⁴ to the effect that, owing to its loose phraseology, the law did not apply to manufacturing, but only to mercantile establishments. At the present time, therefore, there is no legal bar to the employment of women in manufacturing establishments at night. Following this decision continuous night shifts without the two hours' break were adopted by some Connecticut factories, the Bridgeport plants dealt with by this investigation among them.

According to representatives of the company, last summer was a transitional period in the management of the works. As they express it, the change was from a "military" to a "civil" régime; the explanation being that a former army officer was succeeded by a civilian executive as manager. Under the new administration, it is explained, new schedules of hours have been gradually introduced in different departments. One of the changes thus reported by the company is that the shift for women from three in the afternoon until eleven at night has been abandoned.

At the present time, according to a statement made by the company, on December 5 last, women are employed in the works in but two shifts. The day shift works the first five days in the week from 7 a. m. to 4:36 p. m., with one hour off at noon, and on Saturday from 7 a. m. to 12 m., a total of eight hours and thirty-six minutes on each day from Monday to Friday, with a working week of forty-eight hours in all. Overtime may prolong the day until 6 p. m. five days in the week, making a total working week of fifty-five hours, the limit allowed by the Connecticut labor law.

The night shift works from 6:30 p. m. to 4:36 a. m., with a half-hour recess, nine hours and thirty-six minutes each night from Monday to Friday, inclusive. The overtime schedule is until 5 a. m., making ten hours a night and fifty hours a week. Thus, although the hours have been changed, night work for women continues, and both by day and by night women not infrequently work as long as ten hours. Moreover, the changes have resulted in lengthening rather than shortening the hours.

Thus the general impression, that since the outbreak of the war Bridgeport is an "eight-hour town" has gradually ceased to be true in the munitions industry. "We are still considered an eight-hour department," said one worker, "but considering don't make the day seem any shorter when they keep us till six o'clock, as they did every day last week."

It was after a series of strikes in the summer of 1915 that the munition industry in Bridgeport, like several other local industries, was generally organized on the basis of an eight-hour day. In trades in which the unions were strong, as with the machinists, the short day has persisted; but for the women workers, many of the schedules have been modified, first by frequent overtime and later by the regularly longer day.

The women were reluctant to go back to the longer hours. "If the girls had only stuck together we could have kept the eight-hour day," said one, "but you can't do anything with those foreign girls." The money earned in the time over eight hours was often referred to as a "bonus," but in fact the work was usually paid for at exactly the same rate as in the previous eight hours. As a usual thing the girls would gladly have sacrificed the additional pay in exchange for two hours' more free time.

The Work of Women and Its Hazards

A SECOND problem growing out of the manufacture of munitions, that of industrial accident and disease, was less con-

spicuous, although not less important than the night work of women. In Connecticut, as in other states in which munition factories have recently sprung up, little attention has been paid by the community to the means of protecting the workers from the dangers incident to the use of explosives and to the operation of the machinery in the factories.

Although Bridgeport manufactures a variety of munitions, nearly all of the thousands of women employed in connection with them are at work upon one single product, cartridges. Several of the early processes on the cartridge cases are performed on dial machines, before which the women operators are seated. The women receive the material in the form of the small brass cups from which the cartridge cases are to be formed. The worker slips the cups into hollow dies set in the revolving dial, and these pass under punches which draw out the cups into longer and thinner cylinders.

Stories of hands maimed by breaking punches and fingers crushed in the presses were frequently told to the investigators by the girls who had seen the accidents happen or who had experienced them. One worker showed two crooked fingers, permanently stiff, which had been injured by an unguarded machine a year and a half before. The punch broke, flew out and penetrated the two fingers; blood poisoning set in, and the girl suffered severely for two months. "I often used to complain about that machine," she said, "but they didn't put guards on it until after I was hurt."

The Process of Cartridge Making

AFTER the cartridge case has been shaped, the "head" is fitted with a small percussion cap called the primer, a process which is also performed on a dial machine. The primer has already been loaded with fulminate of mercury, one of the most powerful explosives used, and the girls say that they are always afraid the primers will explode in the machine if they are in any way defective.

Unless the cartridge conforms precisely to specified dimensions and structure it is a worthless product. To avoid premature explosion, failure to explode at all, or failure to fit the rifle for which it is made, its parts must be carefully inspected again and again throughout the process of manufacture. Large numbers of girls work as inspectors, an occupation which requires good eyesight, but for which youth and inexperience are not obstacles.

"We are running a kindergarten in our department this summer," said a woman who was in charge of a number of fourteen and fifteen-year-old girls who were working as inspectors in the summer, but were planning to go back to school in the autumn. One of the most important inspections takes place just before loading. The girls watch for any imperfections and especially for "high" primers, or primers that are not fitted closely down into the heads of the shells. Another important inspection occurs just after charging. The girls make sure that the proper amount of powder is in the shells, that none have been left half-empty, and that no powder is spilled.

Formerly women had actually loaded both primers and shells, but by the summer of 1916 the girls said that this part of the work was usually done by men. Working at the machine which inserts the charge of powder in the open end of the empty cartridge case, or "shell," is a group which usually consists of two men and four or more girls. The girls say that they fill plates with primer shells and the men place them in the machines which put into each shell the proper amount of powder. According to the company officials, smokeless powder is used for war goods, and is much less dangerous than black powder.

⁴ State vs. William B. Fitz. The decision was handed down October 31, 1914, in the Town Court of Killingly, Conn., by Judge H. E. Back.

Work with the loaded primers and shells, as the girls described it, is never free from danger. They told stories of serious and even fatal accidents. One worker described her experience some years before when a girl beside her in the loading room was killed, another seriously injured, and she herself was struck by a piece of machinery. She added: "We always run, but you never really have time to get away. It's all over before you know what's happened. It's just as if a big wind came and blew you across the room."

Representatives of the company make the gratifying statement that while there have been a few fatal accidents among the men, there have been no fatal accidents for women workers for several years. They also declare that a committee on accidents exists, and that thousands of dollars have been spent on safety appliances; but as further information was denied the investigators, the methods of the committee cannot be described here or its efficiency gauged.

Fear of the danger and rumors of accidents are rife among the employes, however, and indicate the need for such a frank policy of publicity as to accident prevention as has been adopted by progressive employers elsewhere.

Even small explosions make the new girls very nervous, but familiarity with danger soon permits experienced workers to pay little attention to it. A kind of fatalism possesses some of them. "We have only once to die," said a worker who had seen men seriously injured and had herself been prostrated by the force of an explosion, "and it might as well be in the shops as anywhere else."

In Former Days

WORKERS remembered when the charging machines were "put in cages," as one of the girls explained, "so if there's an explosion they won't fly all over the room." The general testimony given by the girls was that since the passage of the Connecticut Workmen's Compensation Act in 1913 the machines have been better guarded. But not yet has accident prevention gone far enough to rid work in the loading rooms of serious dangers.

Furthermore, after injuries are received a general ignorance of the terms of the law or a kind of inertia about taking the necessary legal steps often prevents the workers from getting the assistance provided by the terms of the act. "One of the firemen told me I could get compensation from the company," said a woman whose eye had been hurt, "but I've never bothered about it," thus expressing in one casual sentence the attitude of many of the employes toward accidents happening in the course of their work.

For the six months from May 25 to November 25, 1916, five hundred and seventy-four accidents to munition workers in the fourth district, resulting in incapacity for a day or longer, were reported to the state compensation commissioner's office. All the plants which manufacture munitions in this district are located in Bridgeport. In the only two plants which employ women, thirty-three accidents to women occurred. During the same period, in one of the largest plants of the district, eighty-three claims for compensation were made by munition workers, of which twenty-five were made by women. Something more than trivial injury is implied in these cases, since, by the terms of the law, compensation cannot be claimed unless disability has lasted for more than ten days. Another characteristic of the Connecticut law should be noted in this connection. The percentage of wages to be paid during disability is, of course, a measure of the incentive for prevention. The Connecticut law requires only 50 per cent of wages in contrast with more advanced legislation in other states, such as New York, Massachusetts and Ohio, which allow two-thirds of wages.

In common with other American states, excepting only Massachusetts and California, Connecticut also makes no provision for compensation for occupational disease. Processes involving the use of fulminate of mercury contain a double risk. Not only is there need of constant caution on account of possible explosions, but also the risk of poisoning. Fulminate of mercury is irritating to the skin and to mucous membranes. The British recognize fulminate dermatitis⁵ and conjunctivitis as one of the industrial intoxications caused by work in munitions plants.

Many of the women working on the priming machines and in the loading room in the Bridgeport factories were aware of the danger and attributed eruptions of the skin, inflamed eyes and abscesses to this cause. Several of the girls showed little scars on their hands and arms where the eruptions had "dried up." There is a great difference in the susceptibility of individuals to this irritant, and many men and women can handle it with impunity, while others develop inflammation of the skin so severe as to necessitate their giving up the work.

In the Bridgeport plant, according to the company's statement, as many as 1,500 men and women are exposed to the danger from fulminate. Agents of the company admit that they have recognized the danger and say that about every two months their own physician makes medical examinations of the workers who handle fulminate. Moreover, it is the policy to transfer to other departments workers found suffering from fulminate poisoning.

Dr. Alice Hamilton, who is making special investigations of occupational poisons for the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, writes concerning fulminate poisoning:

"Scrupulous personal cleanliness is the only preventive of this form of poisoning, and this would really involve frequent hand washing, for it is almost impossible, especially in hot weather, to avoid touching the face or neck or arms with the fingers. For those who are very susceptible to fulminate poisoning, there is nothing to do but to give up the work. Otherwise they run the risk of a very distressing eruption which may spread over the whole body."

Although the company states that it has spent large sums of money in installing sanitary apparatus and that as the plants have been enlarged and rebuilt the sanitary arrangements have been greatly improved, one worker employed in a process in which she handled fulminate reported that employes in her department were forbidden to wash their hands until after the factory whistle blew for dismissal, and that the only washing facilities were long troughs with a number of spigots. She also said that no towels were provided.

The common trough certainly increases the danger of conveying infection. Frequent washing in individual basins should be possible in order to get rid of such a poisonous powder and to prevent infection. Protective clothing, such as aprons and caps, is another precaution which is not observed in the Bridgeport factory.

The Boom in the Cost of Living

THESE conditions, night work, industrial accidents and occupational diseases experienced by working girls in Bridgeport should come within the scope of legal control. A third question which has forced itself conspicuously upon the city and has made life difficult for the wage-earners, that of the rapidly advancing cost of living, is more elusive and far harder for society to deal with. The workers first felt the pressure of higher costs in rising rents when the rush to Bridgeport came in response to the great demand for labor.

The resources of the city were not equal to the demand for houses and rooms which ensued. The first comers had quickly

⁵ Health of Munition Workers Committee. Memorandum No. 8. Special Industrial Diseases, p. 6. London, 1916.



A BRIDGEPORT HOME

This is the common type of family dwelling

snatched up the few vacant "rents," as a rented house or tenement is usually termed in Bridgeport. Real-estate agents ceased to have houses to offer, and rents jumped almost instantaneously. As a result families which could not pay the increases were evicted. Many of them were at first unable to find vacant tenements for the amounts which they could afford. Some of these became, for the first time, dependent upon charity, while others, with incidental hardships, were able to readjust their family budgets and give a higher proportion for rents than formerly. "Our rent has been raised \$8.00 since last summer, and another raise will take the roof right off our heads," said a munition worker recently. Others told of increases in their monthly rates which ran as high as \$9.00 and \$10.00.

The hardship of rising costs did not stop with small economies. Sometimes it even meant the breaking up of families. "I couldn't keep all the children after the rent went up," said a night worker, a widow who was trying to support her four children and keep the home together. She had to put three of the children in an orphan asylum and go to board with a relative, taking the youngest child with her. Overcrowding was inevitable. A Hungarian family of eleven persons, five of them children under fourteen, occupied four rooms in a flimsy "three-decker" in the rear of a dirty court. Another Hungarian family crowded its fourteen members into four rooms in a three-decker.

Some families solved the problem, temporarily at least, by living at the nearby beaches. In the fall of 1915, when the people who had been staying at the shore for the hot months

prepared to come back to the city, they found it hard to get rooms, and many of them decided not to try to come back. They put up extra stoves in the lightly constructed cottages and shacks and prepared to spend the winter months at the shore. The long street-car ride, the frequent snow, ice and slush and the lack of proper sanitary and heating arrangements proved to be not the only drawbacks to healthful home life at the beaches. The usual cheap amusement places abounded and exercised influences which were distinctly undesirable.

The munition companies saw that the lack of housing facilities was a serious hindrance to the free response of labor to their demand. Unless houses at reasonable rates were provided, workers could not be induced to come to Bridgeport. Accordingly the Remington company bought up large tracts of land, in 1915 and 1916, and began the construction of one-, two-, four- and six-family houses.

The houses, many of which were completed by the summer of 1916, are well built and attractive, but they are rented at figures too high for many of the families to pay. To accommodate the increasing number of girls in the munition plants large buildings of the dormitory type were started. The plans provided for excellent construction, but in housing large groups together they are socially similar to the dormitories prevalent in the early days of New England mill towns. The buildings have a commanding site overlooking the city, and are of imposing appearance, but construction has been greatly delayed and they are not yet ready for occupancy. At the present time, although plans,⁶ public and private, are under way, nothing has yet been actually accomplished which has checked or reduced the abnormally high rents.

Each month it becomes less possible to pare down other items in order to pay the high rents, since all of the necessities of life are becoming more expensive. Less meat, less bread, less milk are to be had for a dollar than formerly. "New York has nothing on us for high prices," said a woman who kept an account of her daily expenses and had just compared it with her brother's in the larger city. "The prices here in Bridgeport are something fierce," was the comment of a loader who had only himself and his young wife to provide for. "Only four days ago I brought home twenty dollars. We haven't bought any extras. Now there's only two dollars and ten cents left."

Wages and High Prices

To some extent the problems of the Bridgeport munition workers are matters of general information. Yet the public, relying upon current rumors, often comments: "But they get such high wages in the Bridgeport munition factories!" This comment needs qualification.

It is true that munition factories have offered high rates of pay in order to attract a sufficient labor supply. But are the increases over the general rates formerly prevailing comparable with the increased cost of living? In the exhaustive report of the special Commission to Investigate the Conditions of Wage-Earning Women and Minors in the State, published early in 1913, the median wage for women in the cotton industry is given as \$9.57, in silk \$7.65, in corsets \$7.87, in metal \$7.43, and in rubber \$7.56.⁷

The median wage of the munition workers studied by the Russell Sage Foundation in the summer of 1916 was \$10.97. That is, the median wage for munition workers in 1916 was about 15 per cent above the median for cotton workers more than three years before, and, roughly, 40 per cent higher

⁶ See Bridgeport on the Rebound, by Amy Hewes, in the SURVEY for October 14, 1916.

⁷ State of Connecticut, Report of the Special Commission to Investigate the Conditions of Wage-Earning Women and Minors in the State, 1913, p. 36.

than that in the other industries. Meanwhile, in the course of one year only, rents had so increased that the median rent paid in families of women munition workers was 22 per cent more than the median rent a year before.

Moreover, as far as the earnings of women are concerned, during the summer of 1916, the management appeared to be engaged in the process of reducing rates of pay. Thus the workers affected were caught between the millstones of increasing prices and decreasing incomes.

"We used to get twelve and a half cents a thousand," said an inspector, "and that certainly did make slick pay for a girl. But now they only give us nine cents for the same work." Even where piece rates were not reduced the tremendous speed at which the machines were driven, according to the testimony of many of the girls, in certain cases so injured the machinery that they could not turn out as much as they used to. The continual stoppages for repairs made big inroads on the workers' earning time.

What Must Be Done

TO MEET the problems of unstandardized working conditions and rising costs Bridgeport's efforts alone are not sufficient. The city has undertaken a vigorous campaign to provide housing facilities, to improve the general health, to organize playgrounds and to regulate traffic, but the situation calls for more than local effort. Even the two short years' experience seems to prove decisively that the protection of the workers cannot be left entirely in the hands of the organizations which employ them. The public also has a responsibility to perform through state action.

The whole situation transcends the interests of any one plant or any one community. The experience illustrated in this establishment affects many plants in many communities. England, pressed by great issues which have forced her attention upon fundamentals, has found it necessary to lay particular stress upon the health of her munition workers, and has gone painstakingly to work to gather accurate and authentic material concerning the industrial situation. The United States Department of Labor should no longer delay in getting information about the extent of night work for women in the munitions industry, its effects, the length of the working day, the provision for rest periods, safeguards against accidents and industrial poisoning, wages, and the purchasing power in communities affected by sudden expansion of industries.

Complicating the whole situation and rendering it more imperative is the ever-recurring question: "What will happen to our industries when the war is over?" England, again looking forward, has extended the Unemployment Insurance Act to cover workers in munition factories and allied industries, as a means of relieving the possible distress following the close of the war.

The Legislature of 1915 in Connecticut failed to pass an act prohibiting night work for women in factories. Officers of the American Association for Labor Legislation have long been residents of Connecticut, and the Consumers' League is actively at work in this state. Labor unions are thoroughly established in the state and are fortified by national affiliations. Yet these organizations have so far not succeeded in arousing the public and the lawmakers to the extent of prohibiting night work for women in factories.

Another Legislature convenes this month. If we can judge by experience of the most progressive industrial states, practical measures can be adopted without delay, some by the state and some by the city, to safeguard not only the munition workers, but employes in other industries which in times of

prosperity and excessive demand for labor tend to place undue burdens upon women and girls.

Night work should be prohibited by effective legislation already tested in such an important manufacturing state as New York, where a rest period in factories is definitely assured for all women between 10 p. m. and 6 a. m.

The daily hours of work should be reduced from the present legal limit of ten hours to eight, to conform with the most advanced laws already in operation in four states.

Employment of women in factories should be limited to six days in the week, to make the other provisions restricting hours really effective.

The law should specify the minimum time to be allowed for lunch, preferably one hour.

A campaign of education in accident prevention and in the actual provisions of the workmen's compensation law should be undertaken by the state department of labor, and as a measure of prevention accidents should be made to cost more by providing a higher rate of compensation and a shorter waiting period.

As part of the health program of Bridgeport, clinical treatment should be provided for workers suffering from industrial diseases and the facts thus ascertained should be made the basis for better regulation, both through state labor laws and local health ordinances. The state law should provide for compensation for injuries due to occupational diseases as it now provides for injuries due to accidents.



CROWDED CONDITIONS

In this tenement fourteen people live in four rooms



The Legislative Drafting and Reference Bureaus

By Joseph P. Chamberlain

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

SO MUCH of the social reform, now being demanded, must come by way of legislation that the movement to improve the drafting of statute law and to adequately inform legislators upon the subjects of legislation is peculiarly worthy of the attention of readers of the *SURVEY*. Twenty-one states,¹ the United States and the Philippine Islands have bureaus to collect and classify information for the use of legislators or to aid in bill-drafting, or to do both. Another, Louisiana, at the last session, created a commission to report on the advisability of establishing a legislative reference bureau.

Most frequently, the bureau is a part of the government library; sometimes, as in the bureau at Washington, without power to draft bills; sometimes, as in Wisconsin, the mother of effective legislative reference work in America, and in the newest bureau in the Philippines, equipped for drafting as well as for legislative reference. In four states—Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York and Vermont—offices for drafting only are attached to the legislatures for the sessions, and in one, New Jersey, there is a draftsman under the control of the attorney-general.

The functions of a legislative reference service are to collect and make available information as to all matters becoming or likely to become the subject of legislation. The draftsman's duty is to assist the legislature or the executive in the formulation of bills or statutes exactly expressing and effectually carrying out the policy decided upon. His work precedes that of the legislative reference service in that he must inform the latter of the points on which information is needed, and follows it in that he takes the material gathered, and out of it and the policies decided upon by the law-making or law-proposing agency, fashions a bill. His duty is not the assembling and arrangement of material to determine the economic need; his concern is not primarily with policy—that is for the legislature. It is, however, for him to point out questions of policy in details, so often overlooked, to those for whom he is working, to advise as to the best means for carrying out

the policy adopted, and to put into definite, clear language the final decisions of the lawmakers.

The recent trend has been to unite the two services into one bureau, making this independent of the state library. In California and Illinois it is under the control of a committee composed of the governor and representatives of the legislature. In Indiana, the governor, state librarian, the presidents of the two universities and one member appointed by the governor, form the committee. In Nebraska, Pennsylvania and Virginia the governor appoints the head of the bureau as an independent official.

This recent trend is undoubtedly in the right direction. If the drafting and reference work are separated, as in New York, experience has shown that the reference division will not be used by the draftsman, and is in danger of losing touch with the legislators and thus failing in practical value. Where there is no drafting service a reference library may become invaluable to members in gathering information; but if there is a drafting service to which they can go for finished bills and trained legal advice, there is danger that the reference work, if separate, will fail of its purpose. A principal object of the reference division is, besides, the gathering of material to respond to the needs of the draftsman, as a reform idea is being developed into a legislative idea and put into the shape of a bill, so the association between the two divisions should be close. Even if the reference librarian is appointed by, and officially subordinate to, the state librarian, the office should be so organized that it is not in the power of a jealous or timid state librarian to limit its cooperation with the draftsman, or its independence.

Much more important is it that the draftsman be not subject to the librarian. His work is in no sense library work. It requires a very different training and aptitude. Draftsmen should be familiar with the law, both common and statute, especially with constitutional limitations and administrative law (Pennsylvania, Indiana and California). They are frequently asked to draft new bills to remedy evils which are already provided for; they are constantly interfering with the complicated machinery of legislation and of government. They

¹ Alabama, Connecticut, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Rhode Island, California, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Texas, Virginia, Indiana, Michigan, Nebraska, Ohio, South Dakota, Vermont, Wisconsin.

should, therefore, know how to adjust new devices to the old machine, so that it will turn out the product of reform which is desired. And the only way in which they can do the preliminary work of learning the machine, so as to make the proper adjustments, is to work on it.

Work done as active draftsmen during a session is not sufficient. To develop competent draftsmen and legislative counsel, men must be kept busy between sessions as revisers of laws (Pennsylvania), or as advisers of departments of the state government in the preparation of regulations to carry out the laws on which they have worked, or as legislative counsel for legislative commissions or committees which are making investigations with a view to the introduction of bills. By using all of their time, furthermore, the state can afford to pay its draftsmen better salaries, and will secure public servants whose whole lives will be given up to the improvement of the statute law in the interest of the public. Information and experience gained in one study or upon one bill will not be lost to the legislature for the future, and the draftsman will gain that wide view of the organization and operation of the different branches of the government as well as the experience in the proper use of legislative expedient and language which his office requires.

The draftsman, it must not be forgotten, occupies a peculiarly confidential relation to the committees of the legislature or heads of departments who make use of him. They must feel that he is wholly their servant so far as he is working with them, a relation which is not compatible with his being subject to the orders of an administrative chief holding over him the power of the purse if not of dismissal. Bills drafted by the administration are becoming more and more important in American experience, however; but if it is the legislature which controls the bureau, it is unlikely that the administration will make use of it.

The chief draftsman should be independent and non-partisan. He should be appointed for a long term, preferably indefinitely, subject to removal after a hearing and for cause. Who should have the power of appointment is a question which must be answered in each state. Normally it would be the head of the government, the governor or president; but there is a strong tendency on the part of the legislatures to insist on a voice in the matter, and if the tenure is made secure during good service, the arrangement already in force in Illinois and California is possible. It is of the highest importance that both the executive and the legislature should feel entire confidence in the draftsman who, if his work is to be effective, must understand the policy or object of the officers or committees whose will he is putting into effective legal language. In the case of committee bills, he should attend important hearings before the committee, both public and executive; he should advise as to the effect of amendments offered, often by the opposition, where the bill is under discussion; he should be trusted by both sides to harmonize all amendments adopted with the provisions of the original bill, so that the final intent of the legislature be clearly expressed.

In the preparation of administration bills the draftsman must be trusted with a frank statement of the exact object to be accomplished by the legislation and must be given full opportunity for discussion with the various officers of the government whose departments will be affected. He should do much better drafting work than attorneys for a department, both because of his knowledge of the effect on other departments of the proposed bill, because of his general experience in drafting work, and also because he will approach the subject from a purely non-partisan, scientific standpoint. The drafting defects of many administration bills introduced into

Congress and into the state legislatures testify eloquently to the need of a professional draftsman (see report of the American Bar Association, 1914, pp. 637-9). The draftsman should also prepare bills for individual members when time permits; but this part of his work is by far the least important, though it is that which most legislative reference bureaus, as at present organized, can best do.

The need for improvement in the form of legislation and the methods which have been adopted to assist in the preparation of legislative enactments have been made the subject of two important reports to the American Bar Association by its special committee on legislative drafting (reports of the American Bar Association, 1913, p. 622, and 1914, p. 629). The committee strongly recommended the organization of an official legislative drafting and reference service and recognized the importance of the service to government departments and commissions of the legislature. The committee says:

"In nearly every state the more important bills enacted into law fall under one of the following heads: administration bills, that is, bills dealing with matters referred to in the governor's message and probably prepared under his direction; commission bills, that is, bills prepared by special commissions appointed for the purpose; committee bills, that is, bills prepared by some special or joint committee of one or both houses; and department bills, or bills which have been prepared under the direction of one of the executive departments. . . .

". . . A drafting service, whose operations are prac-

THE LEGISLATURES

States in which sessions are scheduled for 1917

Alaska	March
Arizona	January
Arkansas	January
California	January
Colorado	January
Connecticut	January
Delaware	January
Florida	April
Georgia	June
Idaho	January
Illinois	January
Indiana	January
Iowa	January
Kansas	January
Maine	January
Massachusetts	January
Michigan	January
Minnesota	January
Missouri	January
Montana	January
Nebraska	January
Nevada	February
New Hampshire	January
New Jersey	January
New Mexico	January
New York	January
North Carolina	January
Ohio	January
Oklahoma	January
Oregon	January
Pennsylvania	January
Rhode Island	January
South Carolina	January
South Dakota	January
Tennessee	January
Texas	January
Utah	January
Vermont	January
Washington	January
West Virginia	January
Wisconsin	January
Wyoming	January

tically confined to the preparation of members' bills, is, therefore, a service confined to preparing bills not likely to become law, or pertaining to matters of comparatively slight significance. Such a service can never have an important influence on actual legislation and will never receive either from the legislature or the public that attention and consequent support which is essential to efficient work. The tendency to have legislation on important subjects prepared for submission to the legislature by persons especially designated for that purpose is, on the whole, producing excellent results.

"A commission charged with the preparation of a bill on a particular subject is usually composed, in part at least, of experts on the subject, and it is customary for them to secure as secretary or special draftsman someone learned in the law. But the average lawyer of experience is very far from being a trained draftsman, and bills prepared by commissions, while usually a great improvement on bills introduced by members on their own initiative, are by no means free from faults of form and graver faults of confusion and obscurity of expression, all of which could have been easily avoided, if, in addition to special expert service, the body responsible for the bill had at their disposal the services of a trained draftsman and had availed themselves of such services" (pp. 627-8, 1913 report).

Probably the best drafting work done in any law-making body is that of the parliamentary counsel for the Treasury for the British Parliament, or, more properly, for the committee of the House of Commons, which is the government. These men are permanent officials. They are lawyers trained in the common law, but more especially versed in statute and administrative law and in legislative expedients through their relations with public officials and as revisers of the statute book as well as their active work as draftsmen and legislative counsel. The establishment of so many legislative reference bureaus in our states and the new trend towards making them strong and independent gives good ground for hope that American legislators generally will come to recognize the need for official drafting bureaus manned by well-paid trained lawyers, all of whose time, between as well as during sessions, will be taken up with work on revising statutes, on the preparation for and drafting of bills and administrative regulations. Such men would become true experts in legislation, ready to supply that skilled aid in drafting so much needed by democratic legislatures whose time should be taken up with questions of policy and finance, not with the technical difficulties of law-making.

The Shorter Work Day

By Dorothy Kirchwey Brown

"ARMS PLANT CUTS HOURS.

Berlin Factory Puts 4,000 Women Workers on 8-Hour Day.
The Hague, July 10 (via London).—The Berlin Arms Manufactory has reduced the work of its 4,000 women employes to eight hours daily. The *Vorwaerts* urges that all similar establishments follow its example, as long hours, combined with underfeeding, are proving most injurious to the women."

SO runs a note in the *New York Times* of last July. Even under the pressure of war a German arms factory reduces the hours of its workers to eight a day. The tendency of the time is too potent to be altogether checked. And it is safe to assume that when hours are shortened in a munitions factory of a belligerent country, it is not mere sentimentalism that is at work.

To what extent is the United States showing this same tendency—this conviction that shorter hours are good policy? In April of this year a report was made in the *SURVEY* showing the progress that had been made toward shorter working hours in the United States in 1915. This article concludes by stating that "in the last ten months nearly 100,000 men and women have won the eight-hour day." The following pages will show how the promise of the year 1915 has been carried out in 1916.

Information has been obtained from state bureaus of labor, from chambers of commerce, from trade unions, from individual firms, and the net result is a realization of the nationwide sweep of the movement to shorten working hours and to penalize long hours by treating them as overtime. This movement is shown in cases where unions are powerful and have forced concessions from employers; it is shown in partly organized trades where employers have granted shorter hours to forestall demands already imminent; it is shown quite as markedly in the numerous cases where the employes, though not organized at all, have been given shorter hours through the entirely voluntary action of their employers. Comprehen-

sive statistics are not obtainable on this subject; records are kept of current events by only a few of the state statistical bureaus; trade union memberships vary from day to day, so that it is almost impossible to report definitely how many men were affected by the shorter hours.

The best figures we have, however, come from the annual report of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, issued November 13, 1916, and dealing with the twelve months from September, 1915, to September, 1916.¹ Thirty-five of the national and international unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor report a reduction in hours for part or all of their members. Many others report that organized members of their trades work shorter hours than unorganized ones, and report also a large increase in membership, which of course implies shorter hours for the new members. A careful study of the figures in the reports of these national and international unions shows that approximately 400,000 of their members had their hours of work reduced during the year. This does not include the potential reduction of hours of the four great railroad brotherhoods by the Adamson Law, but does include the 150,000 anthracite coal miners whose hours were shortened April 1, 1916, by the agreement between the coal operators and the United Mine Workers of America. Aside from the miners, a conservative estimate gives us some 200,000 of the most highly organized workers in this country whose hours have been reduced in the past year—to say nothing of those who are not organized or whose unions are not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, who would greatly increase the total. The amount of the decrease ranged from the one hour a week gained by some 80,000 members of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, whose weekly hours were reduced from

¹ Report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention, pp. 16-33.

fifty to forty-nine, to the twenty-four hours a week of the 880 Stationary Firemen whose working day was changed from twelve to eight hours.

The workers who benefited most from reduced hours were the teamsters with an increase in membership of nearly 7,000; the garment workers and tailors; the textile workers, 70,000 of whom secured the fifty-hour week; the paper-makers and the pulp, sulphite and paper mill workers, whose hours were reduced from twelve to eight and the electrical workers, lathers, metal polishers and machinists. Forty thousand of the last named now enjoy the eight-hour day; 10,000 have gained it since January 1, 1916.

Benefits for Other Union Men

AMONG the other national and international unions which report shortened hours are the bakers, boot and shoe workers, railway carmen, carriage and wagon workers, wood carvers, railway clerks, diamond workers, cloth hat and cap makers, laundry workers, lithographers, pattern makers, powder and high explosive workers and tobacco workers.

Our figures have so far not taken into account the twenty-odd local unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor (not affiliated through a national or international union), which report shortened hours. These include workers in trades of all sorts, and in all parts of the United States, from an Agricultural Workers' Union in Cabo-Rojo, Porto Rico, to a Union of Janitors in Minneapolis.²

Correspondence with union officials and supplementary items from the Federationist show that about 60,000 additional workers in many scattered unions have secured reductions ranging from four to one hour per week.³

So much for information from trade unions. Much that is useful has also come from state officials. Perhaps the most interesting case reported to us is that of the *Mill Workers of Denver v. the Mill Owners of Denver, et al.*, a decision on which was made by the Colorado Industrial Commission in November, 1916. The mill workers had applied for an eight-hour day and for an increase in wages, on the ground that the price of living had increased while wages had remained stationary, that the mill workers of Denver were paid "far below any other city in this state or any of the states," and that the wood-working mills of Denver were all making a profit and were able to pay higher wages. The mill owners categorically denied these claims, with the exception of the statement as to the increased cost of living. The commission disallowed the wage increase, but rendered an unusually valuable opinion on the eight-hour day. The commission says:

"The mill workers are now working under a nine-hour day and have asked for an eight-hour day, with time and a half for overtime. This demand has not been seriously contested by the mill owners, and we believe, cannot be. They have suggested that it will be impossible for a worker to do as much in eight hours as in nine hours, and while as a matter of physical exertion and of mathematics, this may be true, under certain circumstances, we believe it is not permanently true. We believe that the eight-hour day could and should be granted to the men under the following conditions: For the first six months, beginning with the promulgation of this opinion, the workers in the mills of Denver be granted an eight-and-one-half-hour day, with the same pay that they now receive for a nine-hour day, and at the end of that time they be granted an eight-hour day with the same pay they now receive for a nine-hour day. We believe that with a gradual approach in this manner the quantity of the product which the mills of Denver produce will not be lessened very materially, and that it is even possible that it may be increased. This would amount to an increase of wages of 12½ per cent over the present scale, which would be a substantial increase in wages to the mill workers of this city. The Commission has heretofore declared for an eight-hour day, and so holds in this case. We base this upon the tendency of the times, upon the experience which we have observed in those places where an eight-hour day has been heretofore granted. It has been shown in the evidence and to our satisfaction in the experience of many plants that

"(1) The improved machinery which is such a marked characteristic of our age in all lines of mechanics is an additional reason why men should be given a shorter work day. . . .

"(2) There is a natural tendency to slow up under a ten-hour system, and a natural tendency to speed up under an eight-hour system.

"(3) That a long work day lowers the vitality and increases the fatigue of the worker and gradually slows up his work and diminishes the amount of his product. . . .

"(5) The experience which the Industrial Commission has had and the observations which it has made in those shops where a reduction has been made from a nine to an eight-hour day, has not, in any case, shown a decrease in the amount of product turned out.

"It is, therefore, the opinion of the Industrial Commission that it is altogether possible and practicable for the eight-hour system to be worked out successfully in this industry, amounting to an increase in wages of 12½ per cent. . . ."

Scope of the Inquiry

TO FIND out in greater detail what the motives have been which have brought about the shortening of hours by employers where there have been no strikes and where as far as we know there has been no great union pressure brought to bear, letters of inquiry were sent to practically every firm which was reported to us as having shortened its hours in the past year. A large number of courteous and useful answers were received. Most of them fall roughly into one of these groups: paper and pulp mills, oil refineries, metal and mechanical establishments and leather and shoe factories, with one or two from textile mills.

The paper mills of the United States have this year introduced an eight-hour shift literally "from Maine to California." This has been due to the fact that in this trade, mills are operated continuously twenty-four hours a day for six days in the week, and that the growing influence of trade unions in the industry, as well as the more enlightened opinion among manufacturers has been turned against the two shifts of twelve hours each or the eleven and thirteen-hour shifts which formerly were the rule. A large group of paper mills in Wisconsin, and others in Hamilton, Ohio, and Michigan,

² Others included are flour and cereal mill workers in Illinois and Wisconsin; last makers in Salem, Mass.; tin, steel, iron and granite ware workers in Illinois; cooks and waiters in Tampa, Florida, and others as diverse in kind and location.

³ Union	No. of Men Affected	No. of Hours Reduced	Present Hours
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers	800	4	44
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers	3,500	4	50
International Hod Carriers, Building & Common Laborers	984	½	..
Granite Cutters	6,000	1	44
International Brotherhood Teamsters & Chauffeurs	30,000	1	..
United Brotherhood Carpenters & Joiners	700	1	8
International Fur Workers of United States and Canada	2,500	5	..
Wood Carvers (Furniture Shops)	300	3	48
Laundry Workers	300	1	9
Quarry Workers	200	4	..
Bakery & Confectionery Workers	1,700	..	..
Amalgamated Lace Operatives	500	1	9
Stove Mounters	400	1	9
International Photo Engravers	..	6	42
International Typographers	all classes	5.5 (average)	..
Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators & Paper Hangers	3,437	..	8-9
Window Cleaners (Cleveland)	..	1	9

have recently introduced the change to eight hours. Oil refineries all over the United States have reduced hours to eight within the past year.⁴ Various factories making one variety or another of metal goods, have recently shortened their hours. In the last two months three large shoe and leather factories, two in New England and one in New York, have established the eight-hour day.

Attitude of Employers

OF THE employers some have merely yielded to the inevitable, apparently considering, as one of them said, that "the eight-hour day has arrived." But certainly with many the change has expressed the real conviction that shorter hours mean increased efficiency and a wiser business policy.

Of those who yielded to the movement, though unconvinced of its complete wisdom, a prominent company of Kalamazoo, employing twelve hundred people, writes:

"We would frankly state that, while the system is not entirely satisfactory as far as the efficiency of our plant is concerned, it seems to be in keeping with the times and age."

Similarly the American Steam Pump Company of Battle Creek, Mich., said: "We do not believe in the eight-hour day with ten hours' pay," but with a nine-hour day, they report, "Our experience in this matter has been quite satisfactory."

The Timken-Detroit Axle Company, while expressing doubts of the "straight eight-hour day," has successfully introduced the fifty-four-hour week, affecting four thousand men. And the big Chicago plant of the International Harvester Company reduced its hours from fifty-five to fifty a week, thus shortening the work-day for the largest number of employes (15,000) in any one firm reported on.

A more radical change in hours introduced with a stronger conviction of its benefit to both employers and employes, was reported by the Northwestern Steel Company of Portland, Oregon, whose president wrote: "Our reasons were simply that the time has come for the eight-hour day, and it is long enough for anyone to work." Other firms expressing a similar belief in the justice of the eight-hour day were a Wisconsin paper manufacturer and the Dale Lighting Fixture Company of New York city.

"As to our opinion as to results," writes the former, "we cannot see that we have obtained any better service, but are satisfied that it is better for the men, and we believe that where factories are in operation twenty-four hours continually it is no more than right that the men should have the eight-hour shift."

"We adopted the eight-hour day," said John H. Dale, "because we believe it is the right thing to do by our men. We expect those two hours a day to benefit our people greatly and to pay us good dividends in increased good will and efficiency. Those who oppose the new spirit that is springing up between employers and employes will soon find the results of their futile opposition recorded on the wrong side of their ledger."

More important still, the Standard Oil Company of California, following the previous action of the Standard Oil Companies of Indiana and New Jersey (10,000 men affected), announced that all their refinery, pipe line and producing department employes were to be put on an eight-hour day, and wrote of this change benefiting between 7000 and 8000 men:

"The action of the directors of our company relative to the eight-hour day was taken for the reason that they believed it the right thing to do for the men in our employ, and was

acted upon without any request or suggestions having been made by any of our employes."

Efficiency as well as justice was prominent among the motives leading employers to adopt shorter hours. The Ford Motor Company, with its 30,000 employes, bears telling testimony to the effect of the eight-hour day in practice:

"The improvements noticed among our men in the way of increased efficiency, increased production, better habits of citizenship and thrift, may be jointly attributed to the reduction of nine to eight hours per day and also the profit-sharing plan and other minor welfare features, and cannot be attributed to any one of them in particular. We do, however, feel that the eight hours per day has particularly predominated the increased production, degree of efficiency and the reduction in labor turn-over. It is our candid opinion that working year in and year out a man can do more in eight hours per day than in a larger number."

Among shoe manufacturers a large and well-known New England firm—the W. H. McElwain Co.—introduced the eight-hour day in December, 1916, affecting between 6000 and 7000 employes, with the brief comment: "It was felt by the directors to be wise business policy."

Practically all these changes took place without reduction of wages.

No more striking example of the employers' new attitude toward the eight-hour day can be found than a letter from George F. Johnson of Endicott, Johnson & Co., of Endicott, New York, the largest makers of leather shoes in the world. Twelve thousand employes affected by this reduction to eight hours on November 1, 1916, held a great eight-hour parade in celebration.

A Shoe Manufacturer's Testimony

MR. JOHNSON writes: "Our purpose in establishing the eight-hour day was to make proper recognition of the fact that, in a prosperous business like ours, the more people participating in the prosperity, the greater the benefit of same. As our business has grown and prospered, we have recognized this principle: All of the workers should share in the prosperity.

"We have no theories about the eight-hour day. Never have had. We think the eight-hour day has 'arrived.' We think it is a mistake for employers of labor to dispute it. We agree with the President, 'Society has set its seal of approval upon the eight-hour day.' The sooner it is recognized, universally (so far as possible) the better for all concerned, and the sooner the proper adjustment can be made.

"So far as we are concerned, it was the greatest pleasure in our lives to grant the eight-hour day voluntarily, without reduction in wage, and we sincerely hope that it may be made possible for us to still further improve, constantly, the working conditions, and the wage of all our working partners.

"Finally, to sum up, it was simply our honest desire to improve conditions and increase the wage of the people in our employ, just as fast as we feel safe in doing it. Meaning, of course, that we must meet competitive conditions, and safeguard the business always. What it is possible for a concern to do, who are non-competitive, may not be possible for us to do; but we shall, as above stated, keep constantly before us the wish and the fervent hope that we may improve conditions for all, with a proper regard for the rights of the consumer."

There indeed is the new spirit in industry. It sums up a feeling of which one catches glimpses in many industries and many states from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It gives in more detail the general principle already quoted from the letter of the Northwestern Steel Company of Portland, Oregon, "The time has come for the eight-hour day, and it is long enough for anyone to work."

⁴For example, in Texas, the Texas, the Gulf and Magnolia companies, employing about 6,000 men.

The American Bugbear

By *Henry Raymond Mussey*

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

FOR half a century, but more especially since the Russian war, our myth-makers have been prodigiously busy with Japan, creating for us a people as different as possible from the hard-working but not overworked, poor but not poverty-stricken, cheerful but not hilarious inhabitants of the island empire beyond the Pacific.

Our first myth dealt with a race of cunning little yellow-skinned artistic geniuses. They sat forever in the moonlight under a flowering cherry branch and gazed on the ghostly but entrancing outline of Fujiyama. Mostly they spent their time writing poems to hang on their cherry tree, but in brief intervals they created, for the pure love of it, bewitching works of art that we afterward acquired for a song.

The Russian war shattered this myth in fragments, and we straightway created a new one. In this marvelous work of imagination the Japanese no longer mooned under a wistaria. Instead, every man, woman and child of them spent all his time in soldiering and politics. The Japanese began annexing China before breakfast, seizing the Philippines as a forenoon diversion, bombarding a Chinified San Francisco in the afternoon, and signing a peace treaty in Denver or Chicago in time to catch the night train back to Tokyo. They had but one feeling, we were told—loyalty to the emperor; but one desire—to commit suicide in order that the imperial power might be strengthened. In pursuit of this desire and in accordance with their topsy-turvy morals, so our myth-makers assured us, all Japanese preferred, no matter at what cost, to lie rather than tell the truth. And this myth is a cardinal article of faith, apparently, with a vast number of Americans today.

An occasional traveler with leisure discovers, not the people of the myth, but a people on the whole remarkably like ourselves. He finds most of them busily engaged making a living, and hating taxes and foreign politics. In Tokyo he finds men having every shade of political opinion, from the Little Japanner, who regards the Russian war as a mistake and Korea as an expensive blunder, to the blatant imperialist who sees the flag of the rising sun floating over all eastern Asia. In all the cities he finds public administrators, physicians, reformers of various sorts wrestling with problems of finance, sanitation, street cleaning, tuberculosis, infant mortality, alcoholism.

Our leisurely traveler looks about him, he talks with everybody he can. English carries him far even without an interpreter in Japan today. He reads the addresses of public men, he follows newspaper discussion, and he finds himself hunting rather vainly for the Japanese of the myth in their native lair.

In short, he finds the same process of economic development and socialization going on that is occurring in the West. He sees the same forces and motives at work as in the West. In Japan these forces work under conditions of difficulty, owing to the density of population, the natural poverty of the country, the survival of old habits of life and thought—but they work.

It must not be forgotten that in Japan proper we have a group of mountainous islands only three times as big as New York state. But one-sixth of that land is arable, so a popu-

lation six times as great as that of New York city and state combined must be fed from an area only half as great as New York's. The empire has no remarkable mineral resources, though there is some fairly good coal, considerable copper, some zinc, gold and silver, no iron. There is also considerable water power in small units. But Japan is by nature a poor country, and her fifty-five million inhabitants have for centuries had to make a frugal living by the exercise of an industry and economy almost unknown in the West.

Fifty years ago the West knocked at Japan's closed door. Her rulers suddenly awakened to the significance of western science and material achievement, western military and political systems, western economic and social organization. They determined to realize for themselves and their people the new possibilities of wealth and welfare that the West had to offer. They set themselves to appropriate and assimilate all that the West could teach them, and for half a century they have been diligent students.

Moreover, they were wise enough to take the whole nation to school with them. In every remote village of the empire, the biggest building is the public school. Every child must attend school from the time he is six years old, and Japan's percentage of illiteracy has sunk almost to the vanishing point. All school children must study English, and the whole curriculum is essentially western.

Agricultural Progress.

EDUCATIONAL progress is matched by the attempted advance in other lines. Government and people alike are working, for example, to improve agriculture, which employs 60 per cent of the whole population. The government is trying to enlarge the small and irregular fields in use. It has established agricultural banks and is loaning at low interest to cooperative agricultural societies. It has created four experiment stations and two sericultural training schools. It is encouraging the formation of local agricultural societies, fighting plant diseases and noxious insects, making much-needed efforts to improve the breed of stock, and trying in dozens of other ways to increase the effectiveness of this fundamental industry.

Japanese city life shows no less striking advances. Towns and cities centuries old, with all the inherited difficulties of an ancient past, are being made over as fast as finances allow. The broadening and straightening and paving of streets, lighting, sanitation, policing, provision of hospital facilities and public health service, the war on tuberculosis and venereal diseases and alcoholism, the improvement of prisons and the wiser treatment of criminals—all give evidence of the vigorous social life of the new Japan. The rapid rise of the Japanese standard of living in response to better conditions is often forgotten by those who fear the "swamping" of our western coast by Japanese immigration.

The industrial revolution going on before one's eyes reminds one of the England of 1685. As an enthusiastic Kyoto professor put it, "Osaka is a beautiful city—it is so smoky." But Japan, with western experience to profit by, does not have to blunder along for half a century without protective legislation, as England almost unavoidably did. After many post-

ponements, due, just as in the West, to the opposition of manufacturers, Japan's first factory act went into effect at the beginning of September. It is by no means an advanced act, yet some of our southern states might rejoice had they one as good.

All these new movements have accompanied a vigorous reaching out for more wealth; for the Japanese, without doubt, are alive to the main chance. Poor in resources, they looked hungrily at those of their neighbors, and a vigorous and not too nice expansionist movement arose, just as in western countries similarly situated. Formosa and Korea and South Manchuria are its fruits. In China the Japanese saw the Europeans seizing territory, mapping out spheres of influence, exacting concessions for mines and railways—by threat of force, if necessary. Again Japan proved an apt pupil, and, so far as an outsider can judge, her diplomacy in China has been of a piece with that of Europe.

Entering a fraternity of armed burglars, Japan apparently did the "practical" thing, determining to play the game with the accepted weapons according to the accepted rules. She did not make the rules, but was quite ready to accept them, if one may judge by her acts. Responsible Japanese statesmen concluded that the only way for Japan to get her share of the loot was by building an army and navy strong enough to command the "respect" of the other looters. The Russian war and the consequent exaggerated estimate of Japanese military prowess testify how well the task was done. Given Japanese economic and political conditions, in the face of the situation Europe had created in China, it is hard to see how Japan, even from a purely defensive viewpoint, could have avoided the military development of the past thirty years. Now, however, the issue is in a fair way to be joined between militarist expansionists and the advocates of peaceful development and social reform, with the militarists for the time being in a position of advantage, but by no means altogether having their own way.

Suspicion of America

WHAT part is the United States playing in this Japanese development, fraught with consequences so big for the whole future of civilization? From the day when Commodore Perry anchored in Mississippi Bay down to the end of the Russian war, the Japanese looked gratefully on Uncle Sam as their great and good friend, just as China does today. Following the triumph of the Japanese arms there came a change in the previously friendly tone of the American press. Admiration and liking seemed to change to distrust and fear. The San Francisco school discrimination, western anti-alien land legislation, and the whole California anti-Japanese agitation were interpreted in Japan as meaning that we were a nation of boors. The Japanese, not understanding the western laborer's point of view, could not see why a Japanese laborer, physically, intellectually and morally the equal of one from Europe, should not be treated as well. But that, of course, was only Japanese topsyturvydom. Japanese newspapers, if anything more yellow than our own, began to spread exaggerated reports of the exaggerated and untrue statements concerning Japan that passed current among us for truth. Some of our newspapers meanwhile breathed out threatenings and slaughter against the little brown men. It is small wonder that they were puzzled—and angry. Then came Secretary Knox's proposal for the neutralization of the Manchurian railways, which the Japanese did not at all understand, which they regarded as a distinctly unfriendly move, and which they suspected of being an occasion of picking a quarrel with them. Along with all these dark doings of America—for they think

of us in terms of the nation, just as we do of them—the Japanese saw the American navy growing, and heard fervid patriots here constantly comparing it with Japan's fleet. They saw American naval power creeping nearer, with Hawaii, Guam and the Philippines as points of support, and the American navy parading around the world just to show what it could do at need.

Our suspicious acts have continued down to the present day, as we may see at once by a glance at the figures. In the eight years from 1908 to 1915 Japan spent on an average \$98,000,000 a year on her army and navy; the United States, \$291,000,000. Japan's military and naval expenses fell from 36 per cent of her budget in 1908 to 31 per cent in 1915, while ours rose from 35 to 41 per cent. In 1917 it will be 52 per cent, and in 1918, 59 per cent. This, too, despite the pinching of Japan's economic and social budget by her poverty and the swelling of her military expense by the complications of European intrigue in China, and despite our unexampled national wealth and our expenditures on the Panama Canal, which cut down our percentage of military expense.

And what about that Panama Canal, which the United States built, and fortified, with such unctuous assurances of altruistic desire to benefit the world's trade? Could not intelligent Japanese see that the king of swashbucklers himself took the land we wanted for this unselfish enterprise; could they not read what our naval strategists set down in black and white, that the canal would double our fleet's effectiveness by making the Atlantic unit available against Japan? In the face of such evident facts, what availed our assurances that we harbored no hostile designs against their empire? Would sensible Japanese believe such deceitful claptrap? Would they not trust the plain evidence of their own eyes and ears as against the siren song of a hypocritical and treacherous foe? Was there ever a clearer case for newspaper strategists and politicians hungry for big naval appropriations?

Then came our preparedness hysteria of the past year. The Japanese did not hear a great deal about it; yet the press did bring word to Japan of sober American citizens marching by tens of thousands to demand a greater army and navy. News crossed the ocean that our president, after taking a manly stand against greater military preparation, had finally backed down, yielding to a general public clamor, and that our two great parties were seeking popular favor by trying to outbid each other in promising a big army and navy. Finally, amid a torrent of patriotic fervor, our Congress passed a bill appropriating for military—and notably naval—purposes a sum \$200,000,000 greater than was ever before voted by any nation in peace time for such objects. Is it any wonder that some sensational newspapers issued warnings to their countrymen, and that some Japanese were nervous as to our intentions? If they had been as timorous as we, they would have started out next morning on an American spy hunt. Who was there to tell them that we were just a lot of frightened children getting ready on general principles to repel an imminent invasion from Germany or from Japan—or from Mars, an equally likely source of armed incursion, in their view?

Sober, informed Japanese students of American affairs, needless to say, did not see an American fleet of new super-dreadnoughts sailing into Yokohama harbor on twenty-four hours' notice. But such students are no less scarce in Japan than are corresponding students of Japanese affairs here. In view of our overt acts during the past ten years, vastly more threatening to Japan than hers to us, in view of our vastly greater wealth and strength, in view of our immunity from

danger, is it any wonder that some of Japan's irresponsible newspapers have published and some, if not many, of her people have believed preposterous tales of our aggressive designs toward her? And is it strange if such tales make it easier to get appropriations for Japan's army and harder to get them for her schools?

Rather I find it strange that during three months and a half of the past spring and summer, while this anti-Japanese campaign was going on here, an ordinary American traveler, wandering all over Japan, visiting all sorts of places from Tokyo to the most remote rural hamlets, talking with people of every station from prime minister to coolie, was everywhere received with perfect friendliness, exquisite courtesy, apparently with entire openness. Superheated congressmen in Washington at the time were belching forth denunciations of Japanese duplicity and were revealing Japanese designs against our life and liberty. Patriotic newspapers, seconding their efforts, were spreading Japanese scares and cultivating anti-Japanese feeling throughout America.

And I, a plain American, was strolling through the busy streets of Kyoto, sitting under the marvelous cryptomerias of Nikko, wandering along the lanes of Kyushu, bordered with their masses of wild roses—and everywhere talking, in sign language, in my phrase-book Japanese, in English where that was understood, with dozens and hundreds of friendly and kindly men and women whose only thought seemed to be that I was a stranger whom they could serve. Perhaps the Japa-

nese appreciate the value of making a good impression on the foreigner; yet their courtesy disarms criticism.

Dread of the ultimate, if not the immediate, possibilities of American militarism is not wholly confined to the ill-informed in Japan, however. I shall never forget the private statement I heard of the views of a certain Japanese scholar of international reputation, a man whose broad and sympathetic first-hand knowledge of American life goes back not over years but over decades, a man intensely patriotic, yet intelligently international, a lover of justice and an indefatigable worker for social improvement. He looks forward to the day when the United States, already in his view on the way, and China alike will have become militarist states. Between Russia and China on the west and United States on the east he sees his beloved Japan caught in the jaws of a military vise and crushed out of existence as an independent people.

Shall we justify the fears of this lover of humanity, this admirer and friend of the America that has been? Or shall we dash away the poison cup that is even now being held to our lips? Shall we reassert our ancient faith in liberty, fair dealing and straightforwardness as the basis of individual and international relations alike? Shall we throw the weight of our example to aid the Japanese liberalism struggling against heavy odds for a Japan free from the grip of her militarists? Shall our torch of idealism still burn for the hundreds of millions in the east struggling toward the light? Japan, China, India, the whole world await our answer.

Reconstruction in England

By Herbert W. Horwill

HERE is no parallel in American history to the situation that will confront the British nation on the declaration of peace. The period of "reconstruction" in England, as it has come to be popularly called, will show little resemblance to the period after the Civil War to which the same name is given. In Great Britain there will be no problems analogous to those of restoring the prosperity of the devastated southern states and reorganizing their government. At the same time, the disbandment of the Union army created no such industrial and social difficulties as are expected to follow the demobilization of the British forces. For one thing, recruitment in America had not affected so closely the everyday life of the country, and, for another, the needs of the opening west offered almost automatically opportunities for ex-soldiers and others in search of employment.

"Nothing will be the same after the war" is today the one prediction on which everyone seems agreed. In the first place, the political machinery of the British Empire as a whole will be thrown into the melting-pot. As early as possible, the overseas dominions, largely as a reward for their services in the war, are to receive a share in the control of imperial policy.

To effect this momentous constitutional change without serious friction will tax the resources of both home and colonial statesmanship. The peculiar status of India will demand special consideration. Such readjustments must have profound effects upon trade developments in distant parts of the globe—Australia, for instance, will have something to say about relations with Japan, and therefore upon the conditions of British labor.

In domestic politics changes are expected almost immediately that will produce speedy reactions upon industrial life. The existing electoral roll has been made obsolete by the disturbance the war has caused, and its revision is likely to be drastic. A demand for the extension of the franchise not only to women, but to all adult males has suddenly acquired unprecedented strength.

It has even been seriously urged in the *Times*, of all papers, that the existing system of representation should be completely scrapped, and that members of Parliament should no longer be elected by districts, but by industries or occupations. The reference to localities, it is argued, is in these days an anachronism, the real community of interest being not between neighbors, but between persons who follow the same trade. Now the basis of election to the Parliament that will have to undertake the work of reconstruction will make a great difference to the quality of the resulting social changes. Whether, for instance, the land laws will be revolutionized or only tinkered with will depend upon the more or less democratic character of the new House.

Any such reconstruction of the machinery of government will be the more far-reaching in its effects in view of the stimulus the war has given to the extension of governmental activity. When peace comes, the citizen will already have become habituated to forms of state regulation which were scouted as undesirable and impracticable before the war. For more than two years the railways have been a state department. Other industries—coal, shipping, agriculture—have been brought to a greater degree than ever before under the control of the state, either as purchaser or lessee, or as regulator of prices. In certain areas the liquor traffic is now a

government monopoly, and everywhere it has been made subject to new restrictions. These emergency measures have done much to prepare the public mind for collectivist experiments on a larger scale. A more ready hearing is nowadays being given to pleas for the permanent and complete nationalization not only of the railways, but also of the canals, the coal supply, shipping, life insurance, and land.

Free Trade or Protection?

AN ALLIED problem will be the relation of the state to new trades that have been built up during the war to supply commodities formerly procured from Germany. There will be a struggle between those who want these "infant industries" protected by a tariff, and those who propose that they shall be taken over and worked by the state, as being concerns of national importance.

The question that has hitherto aroused most discussion is that of "demobilization." "Today," says Sidney Webb, "at least seven millions of our wage-earners (probably not far short of half the total wage-earning population) are engaged on war work, either in the army and navy and their innumerable subsidiary services, or in the 4,000 factories making munitions, or in the countless other establishments working on government orders of every kind. These millions, together with their managers and officers, and the shareholders and other capitalists who are living on their labors, are being fed from the five million pounds per day that the treasury is disbursing. From the very moment that peace is assured, the treasury will do its utmost to stop that expenditure. . . . No such economic convulsion has ever threatened the inhabitants of these islands. . . . What is approaching in all the belligerent countries, so far as the mass of the people are concerned, is more like an Indian famine than like any ordinary depression of trade."

In forecasts of what will happen at that moment, there are several doubtful factors. First of all, the proportion of soldiers released from service with the colors and of munition workers dismissed from the factories will depend upon the nature of the terms of peace. If these are such as to make likely a renewal of the struggle at no distant date, neither the army nor the navy will be reduced to its normal peacetime establishment, nor will the provision of war material go back to the scale of ordinary times. If military conscription is made a permanent British institution, that in itself will largely diminish the anticipated surplus of labor.

There are some further questions that no one can positively answer. Will the discharged soldiers wish to go back to their old jobs? What proportion of them will prefer to start a new career in some colony or foreign country? If they want to emigrate, will the government permit them to leave, or will the present restrictions on the movements of men of military age be continued after the war? Will the women who have taken their places in office or store or factory want to stay in their new occupation? How far will the number of industrial openings available be affected by the increased use of labor-saving appliances that has been brought about by the recent shortage of labor in almost every occupation?

At the beginning of the war the general anticipation of a period of widespread unemployment came to naught mainly because the extent of England's military contribution to the operations of the Allies turned out to be so immensely beyond the maximum calculation of the part she would play in a European war. It may be that, when the war ends, some unexpected event will once more upset all the forecasts of the economists. This possibility must impair the value of

any schemes prepared beforehand. The various committees and sub-committees now considering the problem of demobilization must inevitably do a good deal of their thinking in the dark.

There is one industry, however, that will without doubt need a radical reconstruction in conditions of employment, whether the surplus of labor is large or small. Agriculture, everyone admits, cannot go back to what it was before the war. It will be faced at the same time with a demand for greatly increased production in the national interest, and with an inability to secure labor—whether of discharged soldiers or of other persons—on the old conditions. Before the war the status of the agricultural laborer, not only with regard to wages, but with regard to housing also, was a national scandal, and the farmers of the country will have to contrive some means of running their farms that will enable them to offer a decent livelihood to the men they employ. The expedient they will themselves suggest will probably be a tax on the nation's food, but under a more democratic franchise the demand pressed upon Parliament will rather be for the liberation of the land itself from the fetters that have so long restricted its use. Whether the land laws are radically reformed or not, the needs of the treasury will almost certainly compel the imposition of a high rate of tax upon big incomes, and this of itself will bring many large estates into the market. This is apart from the proposed tax upon the capital value of land with the object of persuading its owners to employ it for the most productive purposes. Single-taxers are looking forward to a great opportunity for their propaganda when money has to be raised for the payment of the interest on war debts.

A further problem of employment will arise from the tremendous slump in small businesses. Already thousands of shops run by one man or by two or three men have been closed. The rise in the price of meat, for instance, forced hundreds of small butchers to put up their shutters. The process has lately been accelerated by the drafting of men into the army under conscription. This will incidentally affect commercial conditions in all parts of the country, as it will increase the tendency—already marked before the war—for both the manufacturing and the distributing business to find its way into the hands of large corporations.

Menace to Unionism

ONE of the most serious of the industrial tasks impending will be the restitution of the rights surrendered temporarily by the trade unions in response to the appeal for national unity. There is reason to fear that this will not be accomplished without a struggle. The most definite pledges were made by the government that the departures from trade-union rules and customs that were agreed to—in relation, for instance, to piecework and the employment of unskilled and female labor—should last for the duration of the war only. But employers are reported to be openly boasting that the trade unions are already half destroyed, and that it will be easy to finish them off after the war.

Strong pressure will be brought to bear to induce the union leaders to drop or modify their demands for the restoration of the previous code of restrictions. While lip service is being paid to the principle that all pledges to labor should be redeemed, suggestions are being made—usually in the form of an offer of something else "just as good"—that would be practically equivalent to a refusal. What many authorities on the labor question are afraid of is the proposal by the government of some specious alternative, privately suggested by the employers, to which some of the union leaders

may be induced to agree in despair of getting anything better, but which will not satisfy the rank and file. The trade unions are really eager to get much more than a restitution of the *status quo*. They are anxious for the establishment of a ministry of labor, with new guarantees for the health of the workers and other industrial improvements, but, according to present indications, they will find all their work cut out to get back to the conditions that prevailed before the war.

A good deal has been heard of proposals for a general educational reconstruction when peace returns. Here, again, there will be an appalling amount of leeway to make up before any plans for improvement can be undertaken. There are the thousands of boys and girls who have been excused from school attendance in order that they might work in field or factory. There is the general shortage of teachers, compelling the grouping of the children into larger classes. There has been the closing of many training colleges, thus cutting off the supply of teachers for the future. There has been the wholesale enlistment of undergraduates and younger tutors at the universities, reducing these institutions to mere shadows of their former selves and threatening the continuance of the traditions that have contributed so much to their special character.

The mere work of building up again what has been broken down will be no easy matter, but, as though this in itself would not make heavy demands upon the national resources, demands are being heard from all quarters for important additions to almost everything that was in operation in peace-time. Continuation schools are to be set up, to carry on the teaching of pupils beyond the normal age for leaving school. There is to be a closer co-ordination between elementary and secondary education. The curriculum is to be drastically revised, greater attention being paid to science and modern languages. Every education method that has ministered to the commercial and industrial strength of Germany is to be introduced into England, but the acclimatization is to be effected in such a way as to secure all the advantages of the German system without its defects. And this expensive programme is to be paid for by a state that will be compelled to lay unprecedentedly heavy burdens upon the taxpayer in order to keep even the ordinary functions of government going.

There are other departments of the national life in which considerable readjustments will be necessary in order to repair the wastage of the war. How is the shortage of doctors to be made up? There are suggestions that the state shall

take the matter in hand, and make the whole medical profession a branch of the civil service. There may be far-reaching changes in the ecclesiastical life of the country also, beginning in the federation or union of churches that find it no longer possible to keep up a separate and more or less competitive existence under the new economic strain. It is, indeed, impossible to compile at present anything like an exhaustive list of the changes that will be necessitated by the new order. There will be surprises of peace as there have been surprises of war.

In any speculation as to the course events are likely to take in the near future, there are certain considerations to be kept carefully in mind. One is that the nation that will be confronted with these problems will be a nation of exhausted men and women. The daily wear and tear of the war upon body and nerves in the belligerent countries has not yet been generally realized, but wide-awake observers may detect many signs of its severity. It is not only upon the men in the trenches that the tension of war-time will leave a permanent mark. The notion that the present high standard of production can be maintained when the pressure of the struggle is relieved and the enthusiasm of the conflict has passed away is the wildest of delusions. One may reasonably expect that the general "tired feeling" will bring with it an irritability that will not tend to make the process of readjustment any smoother. And irritation is by no means a strong enough word to describe the mood that has already been created among a considerable section of the laboring classes by the actual working of such legislation as the Munitions Act and the Military Service Acts. There has been little or no open disaffection—other war-time enactments effectually prevent that—but the resentment that is now rapidly spreading is taking the form of a distrust in official pledges and even of an antagonism to all constituted authority.

This new spirit will make a very real difference to the prospect of an amicable settlement between divergent interests. A further point is that the temporary prosperity of the war trades has raised the standard of comfort in many working-class homes.

In the munition areas, at least, tens of thousands of families are now better clad and better fed and are living in better furnished houses than ever before. People who have thus shared in these standards of living will not accept privation with the contentment that prevented a revolutionary outbreak during the hard times that followed the Napoleonic wars.

Sympathy

By *Flora Shufelt Rivola*

ONCE when the night grew dark and long
 Despair came by and clutched me;
 Once when grim Trouble stalked the earth
 His stark, gaunt hand swift touched me:
 And since, no pain comes moaning by
 But my heart echoes to its cry.

Once when my garden was stripped bare
 And love had from me flown
 I knew the poignant ache of grief
 That sits at night alone:
 Since, never sorrow grieves in dark
 But that I find my heart a-hark.



A SMIRCH ON CLEAN CLOTHES

Although laundry work is very unhealthy, many states have not even a sixteen-year-age limit for the employes in these establishments. Washing and ironing often mean twelve hours a day continuous standing in an overheated room, and in some cases, tending unguarded machinery.



A CHIP OFF THE OLD BLOCK

Dangling from a rope and other stunts are every-day affairs for this five-year-old acrobat in a Philadelphia theater. A fellow artist, aged three, is in the team.



"WEXTRY, JUST OUT!"

Horse-cars and newsgirls are street sights gradually giving way to a new order.



TENDING STORE

The thirteen-year-old grocery boy may become a merchant prince. But the chances are he'll be an underpaid clerk all his life—worn out at forty.

Beyond the

The new federal child labor law will catch little
But one and a half million child laborers may and

"WELL, what harm does it do for a boy to work a few hours a day in a drug store?"

asks the benevolent person who does not wish to see a future captain of industry cut off in his childhood from ways of thrift and diligence. "It's all right to pass a law forbidding them to employ children in cotton mills, and coal mines. But surely—in a store!"

Surely, in a store! It was in a store that a fourteen-year-old boy worked eighty-five hours a week in Springfield, Illinois, last year. It was in a store, too, another drug store in the same town, that a fifteen-year-old learner worked seventy hours a week regularly. And this in a state that forbids the employment of a child under sixteen more than eight hours a day, or at night!

Because, probably, of the popular misconception of children's work in stores, there are twenty-eight states that allow children under sixteen to work more than eight hours a day in stores and local establishments, nineteen that allow them to work at night, and sixteen that have no fourteen-year limit for such employment.

All this is but one phase of child labor. The child in the store has been discussed not because he is our most important problem, but be-

YOUNG BR

WHO'S WH

- Bakers
- Barbers
- Bootblacks
- Clerks in stores
- Clerks (not in
- Delivery boys..
- Teamsters
- Dressmakers, r
- Farm laborers.
- Hostlers
- Janitors
- Laundry work
- Office and bund
- Newsies
- Printers
- Retail dealers..
- Salesmen
- Servants
- Stenographers ..
- Stockherders ..
- Telegraph mess
- Telephone opera
- Waiters

(According to

Reach of Law

...ers and factory hands, if they don't watch out. ...l work all day (and some all night) care-free ... afraid

Photos by Hine

cause he is a good example of the thousands of child workers our state laws neglect and our federal law cannot reach.

The most remarkable thing about these children is that we know so little about them. Most of us know a great deal about the southern cotton-mill child and the Pennsylvania breaker-boy; but we are ignorant about the cashgirl, the grocer's delivery-boy, the newsie, or the messenger. Any attempt to regulate their labor is always met by a chorus of, "Why, what harm does it do? Children ought to be able to do some kind of work!"

The problem of the 1,850,000 child workers in industries outside federal jurisdiction is not a negligible one. The great thing for us to realize just now is that the federal child-labor law has not solved the child-labor problem in the United States. As Julia Lathrop put it, "It marks not the end of work, but a fresh start. A standard is set which will never be lowered. We must push forward, freeing other children from other types of untimely labor and gradually securing for all children their fair chance in this fair world whose youth they must renew in beauty and justice."

HELEN C. DWIGHT.

WINNERS

10-15 YEARS

.....	1,267
.....	1,595
.....	1,831
.....	7,432
(es) ..	12,680
.....	8,682
.....	4,085
ers.	8,418
.....	1,419,098
.....	1,567
.....	865
.....	3,627
boys.	52,187
.....	20,450
.....	3,511
.....	1,380
.....	16,329
.....	89,508
.....	2,707
.....	3,422
ers..	4,612
.....	2,608
.....	3,581

0 census)



THE CAREER OF THE WAGON BOY

Along with boxes this youngster is piling up shiftlessness and ignorance. He "should worry" about school, since school doesn't worry about him. Even the National Child Labor Committee believes in work for minors—but work with a future ahead, and always work with classroom education.



CHECK, WAITER!

His grown-up togs may be cute, but his grown-up work is hard and exhausting.



NOT THE SURVEY TYPE

This twelve-year-old printer would probably be studying geography in England, where an eighteen-year age limit and medical examination are recommended for this trade.



PASTORAL SCENES

The weekly pay envelope of this dairy driver in Kentucky contains \$3.25. He drives a dairy wagon from 7 a. m. till noon, then does chores till sundown.

Begging Bread for Poland

Five Months of Fruitless Effort to Obtain War Relief

Ernest P. Bicknell

DIRECTOR OF CIVILIAN RELIEF, AMERICAN RED CROSS

IMMEDIATELY upon the return of the Rockefeller Foundation War Relief Commission from Poland to Berlin (see the SURVEY, December 2, 1916), negotiations were begun with German and Austrian authorities and with the American ambassador, to formulate plans for an International Commission for Relief in Poland.

Delays which seemed almost interminable followed. We were engaged in endless conferences. Our plans were passed from one official to another, first by the German government and later by the Austro-Hungarian government. We even waited a long time for the approval of the trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation. But one by one the varying wishes of all parties to the agreement were reconciled. At last the important document was completed and signed by Dr. Theodor Lewald, for the Imperial German government; James W. Gerard, the American ambassador, for the International Commission for Relief in Poland; and Ernest P. Bicknell, for the Rockefeller Foundation War Relief Commission.

The agreement provided for a three-part organization, based on the appointment of a German committee, whose function would be the collection of money with which to purchase relief supplies. This committee, with the authority and backing of the government, pledged a minimum of two million marks (about \$500,000) per month, to be advanced through a bank, in order to assure a steady income. The bank in turn was to be reimbursed by the German committee. The Rockefeller Foundation agreed to contribute \$10,000 per month to defray necessary administrative expenses, in order that the contributions by the German committee might be applied entirely to the purchase of supplies.

The next step in the plan was the creation of an administrative organization, to be known as the International Commission for Relief in Poland. Money contributed through the German relief committee was to be paid over to the International Commission and by it expended in the purchase of relief supplies in neutral countries. The commission was to be neutral in character and personnel. The American ambassador at Berlin was made chairman and Eliot Wadsworth, of Boston, who had recently come to Germany as a member of the War Relief Commission, was appointed director-general in complete charge of all undertakings, subject to appeal to the American ambassador. The Dresdner bank, of Berlin, the bank which had agreed to advance money for the relief work, was made treasurer of the commission. Headquarters were established in Berlin.

Finally, the scheme of organization called for the creation of local relief committees in many cities, villages and districts of Poland to receive the supplies shipped into the country and to have the responsibility, under the direction of the International Commission, for actual distribution among the needy population.

Supplementary agreements were of much importance. The German and Austrian governments, for example, pledged themselves to give free railway transportation for all relief supplies into Poland, the German admiralty promised safe conduct to neutral ships carrying such supplies into German harbors, and, further, proper harbor and dockage facilities;

German and Austrian military officers volunteered to expedite the shipping and distribution of materials.

The spirit of cooperation in connection with this effort may be illustrated by the following paragraphs, quoted from the agreement to which the governments committed themselves:

I. The German and Austro-Hungarian governments will engage to requisition no food in that part of Poland which their forces occupy.

II. The Imperial Government will further engage to refrain from levying money requisitions upon any part of occupied Russian Poland comprised within the boundaries heretofore set forth . . . unless a military fine is levied for an offense for which the whole population is both jointly and severally responsible.

III. It is also understood that the chairman of the International Commission for Relief in Poland may send agents through any of the territory already occupied by Austria-Hungary or Germany. These agents will be furnished with requisite passes by the military authorities and their names must be furnished to the general headquarters of the military authorities at the time the application for the pass is made. . . . Said governments will also furnish passes and facilities to the members and employees of the International Commission for Relief in Poland, in order that they may supervise and direct the transportation and distribution of supplies . . . and these governments will agree to provide benzine, oil and tires for automobiles, and will also agree not to requisition any automobiles or other supplies that may be imported or otherwise obtained for the use of the commission in its work. . . .

When the completed document containing the entire plan of relief organization had been approved by all parties and had received the official signatures which brought it into life and made it effective, we felt that the weeks which had been devoted to the matter had been well spent, and we rejoiced that at last we were ready to set the wheels into motion.

But at this point began a series of crushing disappointments. Our agreement with Germany and Austria-Hungary provided that relief supplies should be purchased in neutral countries and imported into Poland. The blockade maintained by the Entente Allies had made it impossible for the Central Powers to import food supplies for their own population, and they accordingly took the position that they could not spare from their own depleted stocks the food necessary for Poland's millions.

In Search of Supplies

FROM such information as we possessed, we believed that our best opportunity for purchasing relief supplies was to be found in Rumania, reported to have had large grain crops in the preceding year. Therefore, we went first to Rumania, hoping to make large purchases of wheat. Although the American minister in Rumania, Mr. Vopicka, gave us cordial assistance in laying our mission before the proper governmental authorities, our hopes were soon dashed.

The Rumanian government at that time occupied a difficult position in relation to the belligerent countries. While endeavoring to maintain a neutral position, its policies apparently vacillated as the representatives of England or of Germany and

Austria exerted in turn dominating influence. A Berlin banker is my authority for the following statement:

Germany, in the latter part of 1914, purchased wheat in Rumania of a value of \$60,000,000. Upon Rumania's demand, the purchase price was paid in advance. The wheat, however, was not delivered at the Hungarian border en route to Germany in accordance with the agreement. After a great deal of negotiating, it appeared that Rumania had not been able to live up to her bargain because of a lack of railway cars in which to ship the wheat which she had sold. Germany thereupon sent cars into Rumania, but the cars never came back, and the German losses in investment in Rumanian wheat were increased by the value of a large number of railway cars, at a period when Germany particularly needed all such equipment.

A Waste of Wheat

WHATEVER the truth of the story, when we went into Rumania to purchase supplies for Poland we saw enormous quantities of rotten wheat in huge mounds on the ground beside the railways. Upon inquiry we were told that this wheat had been sold to Germany and had been delivered at the railway stations by the individual sellers, but that railway facilities had not been sufficient to transport the wheat out of the country. As the sellers had completed their part of the contract and had received payment in advance, their interest ceased when they had piled up the bags of wheat on the ground alongside the tracks. Here the wheat had remained during the fall and winter of 1914-15. When we reached Rumania in February, 1915, even the bags in which the wheat had been delivered at the stations had rotted and fallen to pieces. Millions of bushels of grain had been wasted, while the unhappy people of Poland, less than 500 miles distant, were dying of starvation.

The real explanation of this state of affairs was to be found, apparently, in the rise of English influence in Rumania soon after the Germans and Austrians had made their large wheat purchases. Naturally, the English were strongly opposed to permitting the entrance of food supplies into the back door of Germany and Austria at the same time that the Entente Allies were exerting every effort to starve out the Central Powers by blockading their front doors.

Possibly the same influence which resulted in this great loss to the Central Powers accounted for Rumania's declination to sell us wheat for shipment into Poland. We were not frankly informed, however, that our failure was the result of political pressure. Rather, it was stated to us that Rumania's reserve of wheat was small, that her crops of the preceding year had been very poor, that she had no more grain than was needed for the support of her own population. Through unofficial channels we were assured that the country contained a large reserve of wheat, and it was further stated that at that time Rumania was bartering wheat with the Central Powers in exchange for munitions of war.

Disappointed over our fruitless errand to Rumania, we applied to other neutral countries for grain. Our agents visited Holland, but the Dutch authorities, while assuring us of their sympathy and their desire to assist the Polish people, were permitted by England to import their own necessary food supplies only on condition that none of these supplies should be permitted to go into the territory of the Central Powers. In Denmark, also, our efforts were met with identically the same reply. Inquiries in Switzerland brought the same answer, and for the same reason.

The Swedish foreign minister, Mr. Wallenberg, stated that England had placed so strong a restrictive hand upon Sweden's imports of the necessaries of life that the Swedish people were

undergoing privation, and were meeting much difficulty in obtaining such food as they were obliged to buy abroad. He said that a national purchasing committee had been created by the government with sole authority to import food supplies.

As our attempts to bring help to Poland successively failed, we thought of asking Russia whether, in view of the fact that the Polish people whom we wished to aid were Russian subjects, and that in Russia vast quantities of wheat were in store, she would sell us grain and permit its transfer through German territory into Poland. We knew it would be impossible to take wheat directly across the German and Russian fighting lines, but we had a theory that wheat in Russia might be shipped to a port on the Baltic sea, there put on board ship and transported to a German Baltic port from which it could be taken quickly by rail into Poland. This plan we suggested to the German authorities, and while they expressed great skepticism as to Russia's attitude toward such a proposal, they placed no obstacle in our way. In fact, the German admiralty stood ready to give safe conduct to ships which might come from a Russian Baltic port to a German Baltic port with our purchases, the only condition attached being that such ships should sail under a neutral flag.

Accordingly, we first visited Sweden to inquire whether it would be possible for us to obtain Swedish ships for the service which we had in mind. The Swedish foreign minister, without any hesitation, gave us the promise of the Swedish government that it would supply all ships necessary for the transport of Polish relief supplies from Russia to Germany.

Furthermore, the Swedish minister declared that he regarded such an attempt as we were making of peculiar value because, in his opinion, it contained possibilities of even more far-reaching importance than feeding the Polish people. He believed that a neutral humanitarian effort which established a certain community interest between two belligerent countries and opened an unofficial and informal channel of communication might prove to be the first step toward peace.

The Journey to Petrograd

FROM Stockholm we made the long, circuitous journey to Petrograd. All communication by water between Sweden and Russia had been suspended because of the danger from mines. The only method of reaching Russia was to travel by rail around the northernmost tip of the Gulf of Bothnia, which at that point almost touches the Arctic Circle, and thence to the south and southeast through Lapland and Finland to the Russian capital. A single line of Swedish railway extends northward through this vast and sparsely inhabited region.

It is a country of rocky hills covered with forests of pine or other dark evergreen growth, and dotted with small lakes, all solidly frozen in winter. Wood-choppers drag their logs to the steep, snow-covered slopes of the hills and then shoot them down like arrows to the ice of the lakes or rivers below. When the ice goes out the logs are floated to the mills or to the railroad.

The pines are not large, but slender, straight and beautifully graceful, as they stand in uncrowded, unarranged groupings over and among the gray rocks, their lighter trunks gleaming stiffly through the dark masses of their feathery foliage. For hundreds of miles we passed through these forests, with their scattered population, through small farms in the flat valleys and through widely separated villages with wooden houses usually painted red or white, the red predominating.

The trains do not carry dining cars, but stop about a half-hour for meals three times a day. In each railway restaurant

is a very large table piled with food, hot and cold. Nearby are heaps of plates, cups, saucers, cutlery and spoons. Passengers stream into the restaurant and swarm about this huge table, helping themselves; with heaping plates they sit down at small tables around the room. There is no limit whatever to the amount or variety of their selection, and they may refill their plates and cups as often as they please. The leisurely train waits until all have had ample time to satisfy their appetites. The price is the same for all, no matter whether much or little has been eaten. One could not help thinking that such a system would shock the deepest feelings of a German at this moment, and one also thought of the starving Poles just across the narrow Baltic Sea from Sweden.

A New Kind of Ferry

THE Swedish and Russian railway systems do not connect, the termini of the two being on opposite shores of the wide river which forms the boundary between the countries. When we reached the end of the Swedish railway, at a crowded little wooden town bearing the name of Karungi, we were informed that we would be taken across the river on sledges. These sledges were small, boat-shaped structures on low runners. Each conveyance was drawn by a spirited pony, invariably driven at a swift trot, no matter how rough and uneven the roadway.

With our baggage, we were piled into a sledge in a half-reclining position, buried under blankets, and at the signal went bounding and bumping over the frozen ground. The shaggy pony, with head high and mane and tail wildly flying, seemed to tear along out of pure joy of living.

Presently we came to the edge of a wide stream of water, free of ice, and flowing with a swift current. We held our breath as we approached, but the horse plunged in with a splash. The water rose about us, but our sledge was lined with a sort of oilcloth, so that, although we could distinctly feel the rush of the stream beneath us, we escaped the icy bath which seemed so imminent. Leaving a wake at our stern like that caused by a swift boat, we fairly flew through the water, and soon came out to a slushy shore of ice on the other side. We afterward learned that the ice went out of the river at that point on the following day.

Along the high bank on the Russian territory we found ourselves in a scene of confusion which afforded a vivid illustration of the congestion of traffic caused by the war and the inadequate railway facilities. A level space of ground, perhaps a half-mile long and one-eighth of a mile broad, was densely covered with supplies, which had been brought over by the sledge route and were awaiting transportation into the interior by the single line of railway connecting this remote point with the city of Petrograd, almost a thousand miles to the southeast.

The contents of many cases, packages and bales were scattered about the ground, where they had been trampled under foot or destroyed by the weather. The waste of material, which had been purchased at vast expense in America and other countries, was almost unbelievable. A great part of the freight stacked up in the open area had obviously been lying there untouched for weeks or months.

One does not wonder that Russia was handicapped at the beginning of the war by a shortage of munitions and other necessary supplies, when it is realized that for half the year two single-track lines of railway must bring in all of the nation's imports. The war has afforded an impressive illustration of the importance to Russia of a free outlet through the Dardanelles.

In Petrograd we immediately set about the business which

had taken us into Russia. Several days passed while we waited impatiently for an appointment at the foreign office, but for first one reason and then another we were delayed.

After a number of days without prospect of an audience at the foreign office we decided to see what we could do in the way of an unofficial short-cut. During our stay in Stockholm we had become very pleasantly acquainted with the Russian minister to Sweden, who had expressed sympathy for our mission into his country and had given us a personal letter of introduction to one of the under-secretaries in the foreign office at Petrograd. Accordingly we decided to make use of our letter of introduction. The secretary to whom the note was addressed promptly had us brought into his office, was most cordial, and assured us that he would gladly do everything within his power to expedite our mission. The next day, at his invitation, we called again, when he went with us to the office of Mr. Neratoff, the secretary next in rank to the foreign minister himself.

Mr. Neratoff was equally cordial and helpful, and assured us that he was in sympathy with our desire to purchase wheat in Russia to be shipped into Poland. He said he was sure that the Russian government would be glad to do what it could to enable us to carry our plan into execution. He made an appointment for us with the minister of agriculture, in whose jurisdiction lay all questions relative to the sale and exportation of grain. The minister of agriculture in turn assured us that the government was in sympathy with our purpose, and that we would be given authority to purchase such supplies as we desired. We were feeling much encouraged, and hoped that our long search for food for the Polish people was soon to end in success.

But our hopes were short-lived. We discovered that the only wheat which we could purchase was in the great wheat region of the Volga River, perhaps a thousand miles from the nearest Baltic port; that the canals and rivers were still ice-bound, and that the one method of moving the grain from the Volga to the sea was by rail. The minister of railways said that the demand for engines and cars for the movement of troops and army supplies was so great that he thought it would be impossible to allow us the necessary engines and rolling stock to transport the wheat, even if we purchased it. He suggested that the Grand Duke Nicholas, who at that time was in command of all the Russian armies, alone had authority to grant us the use of railway facilities such as our mission required.

Abandonment of Hope

BACK we went to the foreign office and explained our difficulties. The foreign office thereupon officially took up the matter with the Grand Duke, at his military headquarters, and, after a day or two of waiting, received a message in reply stating that it was wholly impossible to provide us with engines and cars for our purpose.

Before leaving Russia, however, we decided to visit Poland, in order to ascertain conditions among the Polish people on the Russian side of the fighting line. On May 7, 1915, we left Petrograd for Warsaw. Within two hours we began to see signs of spring. Little yellow wild flowers starred the slope alongside the track. The willows were cloudy with soft, unfolding, tiny leaves, like swarms of delicate green insects. It seemed that Petrograd had been held prisoner by the ice-bound Neva river, while the country a little outside its influence was free and spreading its young wings in joy.

All passenger trains except one a day had been taken off the road between Petrograd and Warsaw. This solitary train was densely crowded, and at each station a clamoring throng

struggled to get on board. Many were left begging and protesting, often weeping. A soldier with a bayonet stood at each end of each car of the train to keep the people from forcing their way on board.

In the dining car of our train the conductor neither understood nor spoke a word of English, and his Russian meant nothing to us. Our French likewise conveyed nothing to him. Then one of us tried German. After a moment the man replied in the same language, in a half-whisper. We were last to leave the car, and the conductor told us in German that that language is forbidden, at the same time making a dramatic and significant gesture, which consisted in lifting his chin and drawing his hand across his throat.

En route we met many hospital trains, equipped with primitive bunks and crowded with wounded soldiers. The tops of these cars were painted with huge red crosses upon a white ground, as a mute request for mercy from enemy aeroplanes and zeppelins. Some of the soldiers inside lay motionless upon their backs, their drawn, white faces still and expressionless. Others turned their heads to see the crowds at the stations. Red Cross nurses could be seen busily at work among their patients. As a rule the nurses seemed surprisingly young. Many, apparently, were girls under twenty.

At each station on the way to Warsaw, close alongside the platform, is a large brick furnace containing vats in which water was constantly kept hot. As soon as a troop train stopped scores of men with tin pails scrambled off and rushed for the hot water, which they carried back on board. Small food stands were also convenient at the stations, and the soldiers swarmed about them, purchasing bread, bacon, crackers and canned goods.

Barbed Wire and Barbarism

IN THE afternoon of the second day of our journey we passed through the city of Grodno and other strongly fortified places. Here we began to observe vast stretches of defenses consisting of barbed-wire entanglements. This is a new element in warfare, and a formidable and terrible thing it is. A barbed-wire entanglement is always placed where it is easily commanded by machine guns, of a fort or from the trenches. While the attacking troops are struggling in its horrible embrace, the guns mow them down. Little could the Iowa inventor of barbed wire have imagined the use to which his invention would be applied.

Warsaw, with its million inhabitants, is one of the most beautiful and attractive of European cities. At the time of our visit to Warsaw the fighting-line lay about twenty-five miles west of the city. Both sides were strongly "dug in," and had scarcely moved either backward or forward for five or six months. At night the booming of cannon at the front could be distinctly heard upon the streets of Warsaw, but this condition had continued long enough to allow the population of the city to become indifferent to the ever-present threat of destruction.

Life went on in the city very much as in normal times. The streets were thronged with people. Shops carried on a rushing business. Theatres were crowded; and the sidewalk tea rooms, such as are so popular in Paris, were overflowing with customers during the afternoons. Gaiety and an atmosphere of freedom from care and anxiety were apparent. A visitor might very easily have spent days in Warsaw and have taken his departure without discovering that it had any sordid or tragic aspect.

During our first afternoon in the city we took a long walk through the section set apart for the Jews, which normally contains more than one-third of the total population, but to

which had then been added about eighty thousand Jewish refugees from the interior towns and villages of Poland. In some sections of the Jewish quarter the crowds which filled the sidewalks were comfortably dressed and the streets and houses reasonably clean and well kept.

Poverty of the Jews

IN MOST of the streets in this quarter, however, poverty, squalor and filth were in overwhelming evidence. The city blocks are very long, and at short intervals passages lead from the streets into interior courts, where live swarming thousands, whose miserable condition was only too obvious. Shops which line these streets were mere cubby-holes, dark and noisome, their average floor space not more than one hundred square feet. The rags and dirt, the inferior and often repulsive quality of the wares for sale in shops or by the hawkers, and the offensive odors, all spoke of deep and hopeless poverty.

Among the thousands of brightly dressed people in the Saski Garden, listening to the music in the afternoons and drinking tea at little tables under the trees, not one of the sorrowful denizens of the Jewish quarter was to be seen. Parks and the attractive public places were not for them. They were buried in their crowded courts and squalid tenements and roaring streets. They were a city of wretchedness in the midst of a city of wealth and beauty.

Fully one hundred thousand non-Jewish refugees had also fled from the interior to Warsaw for safety. These had been gathered together in certain large buildings, so far as possible, where they were lodged and fed through the charity of relief committees. One great committee, known as the Central Citizens Committee, gave especial attention to the refugees, while another committee looked particularly after the welfare of the resident population, which was suffering from the privations brought on by the war. A powerful Jewish committee devoted its attention to Jewish refugees as well as destitute Jewish residents. Extensive provision had been made by these committees for the care of their charges.

Kindergartens had been established for the younger children, and workshops were maintained in which employment was given to many men and women. Contracts had been made with the army for the manufacture of harness, shoes and clothing. The money received for these manufactured goods was then employed in the purchase of additional raw materials, the payment of wages and other expenses. Nowhere else in Poland did we see so systematic and well-organized relief as in Warsaw.

During our stay in this part of Poland we had an excellent opportunity of observing the manner in which farm lands had been damaged by the digging of trenches. Several parallel rows of wide, deep trenches, a few hundred yards apart would go zigzagging across the country for miles. From each trench heaps of yellow clay had been thrown out, covering the fertile soil. Years will be required to restore the farms which have been damaged in this way to a normal state of productiveness.

An illustration of the effect of war even where actual destruction of property does not occur we found in the city of Girardow, named from a Frenchman, Girard, who was the first manufacturer of linen. The mill which he established at this point employed at the outbreak of the war fifteen thousand persons, and was the sole support of the entire population of the place. Girardow, when we visited it, was but two or three miles from the firing-line. The mills were closed, their great rooms converted into hospitals and eating places, and the population, completely idle, was wholly dependent upon charity.

The Russian government was contributing extensively to the relief of refugees and resident dependents in Warsaw in the spring of 1915. Strong private organizations also were collecting funds for expenditure in Warsaw and in other Polish communities still in Russian control. For these reasons the condition of the Polish people living east of the firing-line was much superior to that of those living west of the line. It did not seem necessary at that time to supplement the relief distribution already in effect, in part because of the amount of assistance immediately available, and in part because back in the interior of Russia were great stores of food supplies, which presumably could be drawn upon.

After the Russian Retreat

A FEW months after our departure from Warsaw, however, the German armies swept eastward in overwhelming force, captured Warsaw and overran all the remainder of Poland together with many thousand square miles of Western Russia. When this drive occurred, the Russian armies in retreat destroyed everything which they thought might be helpful to the enemy. Through stretches of country east, northeast and southeast of Warsaw every house was burned, all live stock killed or driven off and all food supplies carried away or destroyed. The hapless Polish and Russian people who occupied this devastated land were left without food or shelter, and hundreds of thousands of them perished miserably from exposure, disease and starvation.

It has been estimated that along the great highway extending from Warsaw toward Moscow, within a distance of 250 miles, 400,000 of the resident population died within a period of six weeks. When this story is fully told it will reveal one of the most pathetic and terrible tragedies of the entire European war.

Leaving Warsaw, we traveled to the south and east, through numerous Polish cities and towns, and coming to the Russian city of Kief, paused for a day to visit a large hospital in charge of a group of American Red Cross doctors and nurses. Kief at that time was about four hours by rail from that part of Galicia in which the Russian armies were being defeated and driven back with tremendous losses. Trainload after trainload of wounded men was rolling into Kief day and night. Many hospitals had been established in that city, with a total capacity of thirty thousand patients. All were filled to their limit, but as rapidly as men could be moved farther into the interior they were taken out of the hospitals to make room for the fresh cases coming in. Open street-cars had been equipped with slides which exactly fitted the ordinary litter upon which wounded men are carried. Each street-car thus became a huge ambulance, for twenty or more patients. During the day which we spent in Kief we were informed that eight thousand wounded men arrived from the front. By means of this arrangement a wounded man was transferred from the field hospital immediately behind the fighting-line all the way to the hospital at Kief without the pain and danger which would have been caused by lifting him repeatedly from one litter or cot to another.

As we traveled about Russia we heard much concerning the effect produced by the proclamation of the czar prohibiting the manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks. It was feared disorders would result from the discontent of the population and that one of the largest items of revenue for the support of the government would be cut off.

Beneficial results from the enforcement of the prohibition edict became apparent at once, however. Thousands of men who had been accustomed to spend every Sunday in drunkenness and every Monday in sobering up soon became dependable

workmen six days in the week instead of five. During the first six months after the prohibition edict became effective the savings bank deposits amounted to about 750,000,000 roubles, as compared to 266,000,000 in the corresponding six months of the preceding year, and this in the face of the fact that this huge increase occurred while the country was involved in war.

We left Russia by the southern route, as we wished to make one more effort in Rumania to obtain food for Poland. Arriving again in Bucharest, we renewed our plea for help. The Rumanian government still maintained its former position in declining to sell wheat, but informed us that corn might be had in large quantity. This information again filled us with optimism. Knowing the wholesomeness and the nutritious qualities of corn bread, corn meal mush and other kinds of food having corn as a basis, we saw large possibilities opening before us. We therefore telegraphed to the German relief committee in Berlin, giving information of our success and asking that a substantial credit be opened for us in Bucharest immediately, in order that we might begin purchases.

Again our plans were balked, for we received a prompt reply from Berlin stating that the Polish people could not eat corn products, and that people who ate corn became the victims of serious diseases.

Thus ended our effort to provide food for the people of Poland. The greater part of five months had been expended in investigating conditions, in working out a comprehensive and practical plan for relief distribution and in endeavoring to find a source from which to draw the necessary supplies. Since that time similar attempts have been made, but none have been successful. In the meantime, disease, starvation and exposure have done their deadly work. The children and the aged have perished by hundreds of thousands, while millions who survive have been weakened by lack of sufficient nourishment and are ready to fall victims to typhus, cholera, tuberculosis and other epidemic diseases.

Distrust of Promises

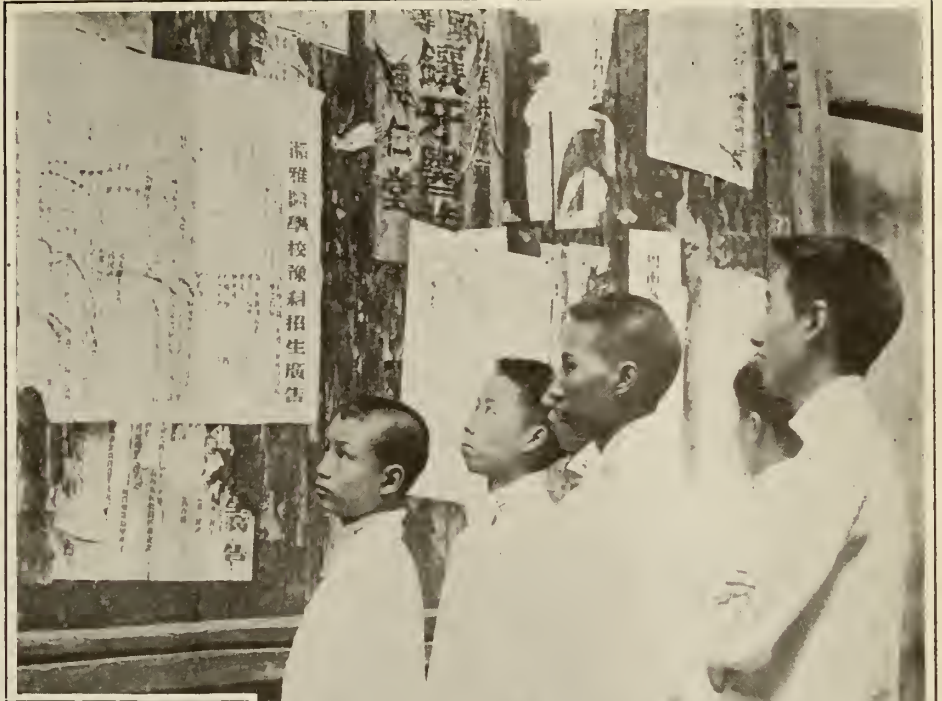
BOTH Germany and Russia have promised Poland a semi-independent government of her own, with her own monarch and legislative body. Although for more than a century Poland has vainly pleaded for the opportunity which is now promised her by each of her two great neighbors, the world must not expect her to evince any great amount of enthusiasm. Polish leaders know that neither Russia nor Germany has made this promise out of disinterested friendship. The Poles have too long suffered from the oppressions of both the Germans and Russians to accept the present proposals without skepticism. Both Russia and Germany realize the value of Poland as a buffer state between them, serving as an obstacle to attack from either side.

The more immediate purpose of the great nations, however, is to obtain the military support of Poland. It has been stated that Poland could enroll an army of three-quarters of a million soldiers, and both Germany and Russia would very much like to have this large addition to their fighting force. Germany's offer of self-government to Poland is, without doubt, conditioned upon Poland's willingness to form an army to fight with the forces of the Central Powers, while the unselfishness of Russia's immediate purposes is no less to be doubted. It is to be feared that if Poland accepts either proposal she may become the object of hatred and heavy penalty from the country whose offer she rejects. If, on the other hand, she accepts neither proposal, she may become an object of hatred from both sides and at the close of the war the victim of oppressive measures from the victor.

The Medical Renaissance in China

By *Wu Lien Teh, M.D.*

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THEORIES of health and of sickness in China, based on an incomplete knowledge of anatomy and physiology, might be compared to those of the early Greeks. The comparative backwardness of scientific medicine in China of the present day is largely due to belief in these theories held by both the educated and uneducated classes for over three thousand years. The ancient Chinese, however, were far ahead of their times. For instance, inoculation for smallpox was practised first in their country, even before Lady Mary Wortley Montagu introduced it into England.

Medical statistics were published by the government during the Chou Dynasty, six hundred years before Hippocrates. Medical men were required to pass a state examination before they were allowed to practice, and even isolation of cases of infectious disease was generally known. The notorious usurper, Tsao Tsao, had as his medical attendant Hua To (221-264 A. D.), the great surgeon who was supposed to have performed several cases of intracranial surgery, and who in a famous painting was actually depicted in the act of operating upon the distinguished general, Kuan Ti, for necrosis of the elbow.

The National Pharmacopeia, handed down for nearly twenty centuries, is still very extensive and includes not only important drugs known in the West, such as mercury, arsenic, iron, sulphur, camphor, aconite, castor oil, digitalis, etc., but other inert or repulsive substances, like insects, snakes' skins, tigers' claws, deer horns. The Chinese have a strong belief in all kinds of drugs, spells and charms. They also spend a considerable portion of their income on medicine.

Organotherapy, that is, treatment of diseases with substances derived from organs similar to those diseased, has existed for a long time in China.

To the man in the street the word "hygiene" is synonymous with "sanitation," which again is synonymous with "drains"; and, since drains are apparently non-existent in China, he draws the obvious conclusion that hygiene is not practiced there. The science of hygiene has, however, for hundreds of years before Christ been known to the Chinese, and although sanitation as we understand it nowadays is rarely seen in Chinese cities, the people have from time immemorial practiced, and are still practicing, a certain system of hygiene.



YOUNG CHINA LOOKING FORWARD
Announcement of the new medical school at Changsha aroused much interest

Su Wen Ling Ch'u, a book written about 2,600 years ago, defines hygiene as health preservation in order that life may be lived to an old age. It holds that true hygiene is in conformity with nature's laws:

"Everyone who attends to them can reach a hundred years. In order to reach long age you must live moderately, and there are two comprehensive laws of health which you must obey in order to attain this, namely: Restraint in all the appetites; and cleanliness in house and person."

The term corresponding to hygiene in Chinese is *Wei Sheng*, which, so far as I have been able to discover, first appeared in the writing of the sage, Chuang Tzu, of the third century B. C., who annotated the famous sayings of the

philosopher, Lao Tzu. But regulations for the proper preservation of health had long before that time been mentioned, as witness the following extract from Chou Li, or collection of works written by Chou Kung (1105 B. C.), brother and adviser to the first emperor of the great Chou Dynasty:

"In every country there are sick as well as healthy people. When treating the former, they should be separated into those suffering from internal and those suffering from external complaints (i. e., medical and surgical cases), and careful notes kept. At the end of the year these notes should be rearranged and the records tabulated. From information thus obtained, rules regarding treatment and dieting may be revised, and, wherever possible, adopted. If, after this, future statistics show that out of ten cases treated all get well, every satisfaction may be felt. If, however, only one out of ten dies, the results may be regarded as good; if two out of ten die, the results are only fair; if three out of ten die, they are poor; if four out of ten, they are bad."

Courtesy Harvard Medical School of China



TREATMENT OF EYES AND THROATS

A New York dispensary is little better equipped than this out-patient clinic of the Eye and Throat Department of the Harvard Medical School at Shanghai

Also, health and dietetics were by no means unrelated subjects in those days. Food was rarely eaten uncooked. Another chapter of Chou Li says:

"In spring, eat more sour stuff; in summer, try more bitter things; in autumn, cook more hot dishes, and in winter, consume more salt food. Beef should be eaten with rice, mutton with grant millet, pork with panicked millet, dog's flesh with kaoliang, wild goose with barley, fish with sea-grain and so on."

That the ancient Chinese also knew something of drainage is proved by the following memorandum on military defense:

"The officer of defense looked after the defensive efficiency of the inner and outer walls, the moats and ditches, and planted trees along the drains. They dug moats and utilized the earth to build the inner walls around the city. They dug trenches and utilized the earth to build the outer walls surrounding the suburb, and had drains as outlets for the water."

Truly the duties of a medical officer of health were well defined 3,100 years ago! This is the more striking as Hippocrates, the father of medicine in the West, about whom so much has been written, was born in 460 B. C., less than 2,400 years ago. It may also be mentioned in passing that during

the Chou Dynasty, when these rules were laid down for the guidance of medical officers, a proper state examination in medicine was held for those qualifying for doctors.

But in spite of some excellent methods of treatment and useful drugs handed down from the ancients, until more lately nothing has been done to improve that knowledge or to keep abreast of the times. The result has been deplorable. The majority of native-trained physicians are completely ignorant of the true causes of most diseases, especially epidemic diseases, their methods of diagnosis and modes of prevention. Certain maladies, like cataract of the eye or malarial fever, are still regarded as incurable. Syphilis is terribly rampant; tuberculosis is common. The simplest measures of prevention are not practiced even among the educated classes. Cases when diagnosed are not treated properly, and, as a result, numbers of the most promising young men are sacrificed to an early grave.

Every civilized government now enforces vaccination, so that smallpox has almost disappeared from those countries. But in China thousands of children are either killed outright or become blind and incapacitated forever. In Peking, one out of every three native-born women show old pock-marks. Pestilences like typhus or cholera still claim numerous victims every year, spreading more rapidly with the spread of railroads and other means of rapid transportation. Yet often only the most primitive methods are adopted to cope with these evils.

There are indeed early vague records of contact with western medicine. During the Mongol invasion, for instance, when on the staff of the conquerors were several Persian *savants*, one of these, Fuh-lin, established a charitable hospital in Peking in 1272. Likewise the Manchu Emperor K'ang Hsi—patron of art and soldier-statesman—encouraged the Jesuit Fathers to promote education throughout the country, and an authorized translation of human anatomy from western textbooks was actually begun by Perennin. The plan was soon frustrated by native physicians.

The actual beginning of modern ways, however, dates from the establishment of the East India Company's offices at Canton and the introduction by Dr. Arthur Pearson of

vaccination instead of inoculation to prevent smallpox. This was in 1805.

In 1820, Robert Morrison, the first protestant missionary to China, opened a dispensary in connection with his work in Canton. The first purely medical missionary was Dr. Peter Parker, an American, who established an ophthalmic hospital to treat the numerous cases of eye disease in that city. Dr. Parker was in 1852 appointed United States Minister to China. Dr. William Lockhart of the London Missionary Society, in 1838, began his work at Macao, extending it eventually to Peking, where, in 1861, he founded the hospital that became the nucleus of the present Union Medical College. The list of foreign medical missionaries in China grew throughout the century to include over 400 names of men and women.

The progress, which throughout the nineteenth century was slow though steady, has in the twentieth century been remarkably accelerated. The first event of unusual importance in modern Chinese medical history was the great pneumonic plague of 1910-11, which killed more than 50,000 persons in the course of five months.

This epidemic started from an endemic center in Siberia (not from the Mongolian marmot, as so many imagined), infected Chinese coolies stationed at the border town of Manchouli in northwestern Manchuria, and spread with extraordinary rapidity along railway lines and trade routes. Almost every city of note was visited in the three provinces of Manchuria. Peking and Tientsin were attacked, and the pest extended even as far as Chefoo. No authentic report of recovery was known, and the greatest anxiety prevailed throughout the country. Fortunately, the government placed unusual powers in the hands of the western-trained physicians with Dr. Wu Lien Teh, a Cambridge graduate, at their head, and the course of the plague was stopped in March, 1911.

In the following April an international conference of medical men from eleven countries was held at Mukden at the instigation of the Chinese Central Government to study this virulent form of plague and to make recommendations. Although the revolution occurred soon afterwards, the new Republican government decided to carry out many of the recommendations, and established the Manchurian Plague Prevention Service with headquarters at Harbin, erected isolation camps at the main railway stations in the north, and encouraged sanitary reform in general.

The effective work of the Manchurian Plague Prevention Service since its inauguration in 1912, with its staff of English and American trained as well as home-trained medical officers, is well known. Not only does this service prevent plague, but it promotes public health by means of illustrated lectures, lantern demonstrations and popular pamphlets. It treats ordinary hospital patients at its many hospitals. Its reports are published annually.

An interesting break with the past was the promulgation of a presidential mandate in November, 1913, authorizing the performance of dissections on dead bodies. This, together with the imperial sanction for the cremation of cadavers from plague in 1911, has undoubtedly removed a great deal of the superstition connected with ancestor worship, which has made China one of the most backward countries as far as medical science is concerned.

An equally important presidential mandate was issued on September 30, 1915, when western medical science was officially recognized by the central government. In this mandate three out of twenty-three branches of learning relate to the profession of medicine; namely, medicine proper, pharmacy and veterinary science. The subjects which candidates are



A HUMAN AMBULANCE

Some poor Chinese carry their sick "rig-a-back" for miles to the hospital. The "ambulance" seems cheerful despite his burden

required to pass are the same as those insisted upon by all progressive countries.

One of the most interesting events of the past year was the formal opening of the first isolation hospital of Peking. The capital of China has been notoriously backward in matters sanitary, and cases of infectious diseases like smallpox, scarlet fever and diphtheria have been allowed to pass unnoticed. The present hospital has accommodation for sixty patients. It is satisfactory to note that six months after its opening the community is already clamoring for more room in order to accommodate the increased number of cases. The success of

Courtesy F. W. Peabody, M.D.



THE HOSPITAL WAITING LIST

Another way of conveying patients in from the country is by wheelbarrows, pushed along the road by relatives and friends

Courtesy Yale Medical School of China



READY FOR TEMPERATURES OR PULSE
Dr. Mary Stone and a corps of Chinese nurses

this institution shows how quickly the Chinese appreciate modern methods of medical treatment, and augurs well for the future of preventive medicine.

It is significant to note, too, the evolution of the medical school from a one-man concern to an institution having at least six professors giving their entire time to medical work; a graded course of four full years in medicine; and a high standard of preliminary training. A large number of practitioners have graduated from these colleges and have contributed much toward spreading modern medical knowledge among the people. In this connection it may be said that the record of those who have obtained their qualifications in Europe and America has been a very satisfactory one. Such men have graduated from Cambridge, Edinburgh, London, Glasgow, Paris, Berlin, Yale, Harvard, Chicago, California and other American universities.

The first Chinese to obtain a foreign medical degree was Dr. Wang Fun, of Canton, who graduated from Edinburgh in 1857 and was a favorite pupil of Sir James Simpson, the discoverer of chloroform as an anesthetic. After him came successively Dr. Ho Kai, Edinburgh, who also obtained a law degree; Dr. Lim Boon Keng, Edinburgh; Dr. Wu Lien Teh, Cambridge and Paris; Dr. Shu Su Jen, Glasgow and London; Yen Fu Ching, Yale; H. J. Liu, Harvard; Philip Sze, Johns Hopkins, and several others.

Courtesy Yale Medical School of China



OPEN-AIR PAVILIONS
The Peking Hospital has wards with piazzas

Courtesy F. W. Peabody, M.D.



A MISSION HOSPITAL IN SOUTH CHINA
The bedding looks sanitary, if not comfortable

Many distinguished women doctors have also taken their degrees abroad, such as Drs. Hu Kim Eng, Foochow; Ida Kahn, Nanchang; Mary Stone, Kiukiang; Li Yuen Tsao, Nanking, and Amy Wong, Shanghai.

Owing to the close proximity of Japan to China, and to cheaper educational facilities in that country, quite a number of Chinese graduates have returned from Japan and are holding important posts under the government. For instance, Dr. Fang Chin, chief of the medical department of the Board of War; Dr. Tang Erh Ho, the dean of the Peking Medical College established under the auspices of the Board of Education. To the above should be added the senior graduates of the missionary, Dr. Mackenzie (founder of the Government Medical College at Tientsin), who have done considerable work in forwarding medical science within recent years. These include Dr. W. T. Watt (formerly director of the Sanitary Department, Tientsin, and physician to the late President Yuan) and Dr. Hsu Hua Ching (inspector-general of the Army Medical Service) and first director of the Army Medical College.

In 1913, Charles W. Eliot, president emeritus of Harvard University, visited China on behalf of the Carnegie Peace Foundation, and in his report dealt adversely with the unsatisfactory sanitary conditions that he found there. In 1914, the Rockefeller Foundation deputed a China Medical Com-

Courtesy F. W. Peabody, M.D.



A TEMPLE FAIR
China's "quack" doctors frequent these places

mission to visit China and inquire into the condition of medical education, hospitals and public health in that country. This commission, which arrived in China in April, visited seventeen medical schools and ninety-seven hospitals in China and Manila.

As a result of their recommendations, another commission arrived in China in September, 1915, and stayed four months in the country to investigate further the specific enterprises suggested by the former commission, and to familiarize themselves on the field with the general features of the situation. The following are some of the more important of their recommendations which have been put into effect:

1. The Union Medical College of Peking, established by the mission bodies, has been taken over for the sum of £40,000. It is intended to make this a strong English-teaching college, for which purpose additional teachers from America will be employed.

2. The two senior classes of the above college will stay on to complete their studies in the Mandarin language, but the students of the three lower classes will be transferred to the Union Medical College at Tsinanfu (Shantung). Towards

Courtesy Yale Medical School of China



UNION MEDICAL COLLEGE, PEKING

American teachers will be employed to make this a strong English-speaking institution

this end the China Medical Board has appropriated \$150,000 gold to be expended in five years for additional buildings and increased maintenance.

3. A strong medical school will be established in Shanghai, the teaching to be in English.

4. An annual appropriation of \$16,000 gold for five years is made to the Hunan-Yale Medical College at Changsha for the maintenance of additional members of the staff.

5. Grants have been made to several missionary societies for additional doctors and nurses for certain of their hospitals in China.

6. Six fellowships for Chinese graduates in medicine, five scholarships for nurses, and three for pharmacists have been awarded to enable them to improve their knowledge in America.

7. Roger S. Greene is appointed resident director with offices in Peking.

The two principal medical colleges established by the Chinese government are the Peiyang Medical and Army Medical College, both situated in Tientsin. The former was founded in 1893 by the late Li Hung Chang, and has graduated about 150 doctors. The latter was founded in 1903 by the late Yuan Shih Kai, to train medical officers for the newly

organized modern army, and has graduated nearly 450 doctors. The Peking Medical College, established by the Board of Education, was founded four years ago and has about 120 students on its list.

A most promising landmark in the annals of Chinese medicine was the foundation of the National Medical Association in 1914, consisting of medical practitioners who have graduated in Europe, America, Japan and home colleges. The membership is now considerably over 400. The first annual conference of this association took place in Shanghai in February of this year and was attended by members from all parts of China. Dr. Yen Fu Ching, M. D. (Yale), D. T. M. (Liverpool), dean of the Hunan-Yale Medical School, Changsha, presided. The conference lasted for one week, there being daily sessions devoted to such subjects as preventive medicine, medical education, medical textbooks and patent medicines. In addition public lectures were delivered each day for one hour by the better-known medical men of China. On the last day the following resolutions were unanimously passed by the full conference:

Courtesy Harvard Medical School of China



GATEWAY OF PROGRESS

The entrance leads into the Harvard Medical School of China

That this conference petition the central government to take proper steps for the registration of practitioners of western medicine and of drug shops selling foreign medicine. That the government be requested to establish a central medical board in Peking, consisting of representatives from the government and principal medical institutions with powers to fix the medical curriculum, grant licenses for medical practice and supervise examinations throughout the country.

That this conference draw the attention of the central and provincial governments to the need of combating tuberculosis and venereal diseases.

That the government be urged to establish without delay a public health service throughout the country.

That the board of education and Wai Chiao Pu (foreign office) be asked to make an annual grant of ten scholarships to medical students from the indemnity fund.

Of the first ten honorary members elected by the association eight were foreign physicians who had done special work in China, and the other two were the minister of finance and minister of interior, who had both encouraged medical science, the former by subscribing \$100,000 to the Central Hospital and the latter by introducing municipal reforms into Peking.



"OUT OF CHINA, CROSS THE BAY"

In the distant town of Taheiho the Chinese government has established a large, up-to-date hospital

In many respects, the establishment of the Central Hospital in Peking, which is now in course of construction, is the best proof that modern scientific medicine has taken firm root in this ancient land. Unlike most undertakings of this nature, the funds required for this hospital have been raised partly from the government and partly from private sources, and the whole management is in the hands of a board of trustees. When erected it will have accommodation for fifty first- and second-class patients and one hundred third-class patients. Thus rich and poor may obtain the best treatment under the same roof. All the latest appliances known to medical science will be installed. Every attempt has been made to meet local conditions, and if no untoward accident occurs it will be the most up-to-date hospital in China when completed.

In the planning of this hospital the promoters have considered the urgent need of establishing an institution in the capital, where all the highest officials constantly meet, and may, in their turn, introduce the blessings of the latest medical science into any province to which they may be sent.

In the awakening, so to say, of modern sanitary science and progressive medicine throughout China, American doctors and scientists have played and are playing a most important part. From its geographical position and greater facility of access, southern China has made greater strides, and in Changsha, the capital city of Hunan Province, American and Chinese graduates of American colleges are working side by side for the advancement of science and the alleviation of suffering among the poor. Even in cold northern Manchuria, there is now an American veterinary surgeon employed by the Chinese government to study and prevent cattle disease. In the Plague Prevention Service, a young American bacteriologist, who has worked under Professor Zinsser, of Columbia, is giving most valuable assistance to his Chinese chief, a graduate of Cambridge, England, in the elucidation of plague problems.

Truly, it may be said that the government of the United States showed a remarkable foresight seven years ago when it decided to return its portion of the Boxer indemnity for the education of Chinese students in America.

A Child

By Hortense Flexner

The little maid next door is fair
As the white, wild-plum in May,
She runs with a leap and flying hair;
But tears are in her play—

She holds my hand when we go to walk,
Or ride in the crowded car,
Yet her round eyes shine through her baby talk
As sad as the fairest star.

I tell her tales of elf and fern,
Wee, happy folk that fly;
She hears—but O where did she learn
To smile and then, to sigh?

Wilfred Wilson Gibson

Poet of Tenement and Trench

By Rev. John Haynes Holmes

Pond Lecture Bureau

ARIDE on a London bus to the far East End, a walk down a dirty slum street a-swarm with children, a three-flight climb up the stairs of a dingy tenement, entrance into a small back room, crowded with books, flooded with sunshine, adorned with a typical English tea-table, and picturesquely overlooking a wilderness of roofs and yards—it was thus on an August afternoon, 1913, in company with my friend, Rabbi Wise, that I found Wilfred Wilson Gibson, whose forthcoming visit to this country is an event not only for lovers of literature, but for social workers as well. Since this happy day of visitation to the little garret, which was once, at least, made radiant by the presence “like sudden April” of Rupert Brooke,¹ the poet has been beguiled from “the lonely road”² of bachelorhood. A loved wife has taken him from the tenement “to the little old house by the crossways”³; and there “in a gold glow of happiness,” he dreams “diviner dreams the years shall yet fulfill.”⁴ But I know that he is the same quiet, gentle, almost timid man that I saw within his haunt that afternoon; and his verses show that today he is a greater singer than before.

It was *Daily Bread*, published in 1912, which first made Gibson's name familiar. An unpretentious collection of seventeen dramatic sketches, all brief, all written in the simplest poetic style, this book yet constitutes one of the most impressive works in the field of social literature which has appeared in recent years. What elevates the plays to an almost unique position of power and appeal is not so much their poetry, characterization, or dramatic action, as their marvelous depiction of the conditions of working-class life in modern England. What Charles Booth did in volumes of statistics for London, Gibson does in a few lines of simple verse for city and rural slums. And he presents not merely outward material facts, but inward spiritual reactions upon these facts. For Gibson is a man who sees reality, and adds to this the magic art of making others see.

Here in his little dramas are miners, fishers, steel-workers, firemen, tenement-dwellers, factory girls, slum waifs, rural laborers, fathers, mothers, children. Here are people whose lives from morning until night, year in and year out, are concerned with the bitter problem of getting enough bread to hold body and soul together. Here are people who have become so used to hunger, cold, nakedness, weariness, disease, death, that they have lost the habit of complaint, or revolt, or even inquiry, and accept their misery as passively as the flower takes the gust of the hurricane or the chill of the autumn rains. And here are people who, amid a thousand ills of fortune, preserve unimpaired their love for one another, their fidelity to duty, their faith in God.

Nothing can describe the power, beauty, pathos, of the revelations embodied in these little sketches of “how the other lives”—and dies! The very simplicity of the style, not unlike the rhythmic cadences of prayer, the very commonplaceness of the characters and the situations, the very obviousness of the stories which center about the most ordinary relations of



WILFRED WILSON GIBSON

father, mother, child and toiler, the very triteness of the themes, which are only those of unemployment, sickness, industrial accident, daily work for daily bread, the very monotony of the episodes of life and death, are what constitute the book's peculiar power. Go into a factory village, and here, in *The Betrothed*, *The First Born* and *The Family's Pride* is what you would be most likely to see. Go into a mining town, and here, in *The Nightshift* and *Mates*, is what you would encounter. Knock at any tenement door and open, and here, in a half-dozen or more of these sketches is the picture which you would behold. Speak to the first person whom you chanced to meet on some country lane or in some city square, and here is the story which you would hear.

Wonderful is the skill with which, through selection of incident, character and speech, the poet has revealed the truth about the dull routine of life in the home, and labor in the mine and mill. And not merely the truth, but the beauty also! For behind the commonplace is shown the heroic and sublime. In all he makes us see, is the light of poetry; in all he makes us hear, the call of prophecy. We have known these things be-

¹ See *Battle and Other Poems*, page 45.

² See *Borderlands and Thoroughfares*, page 76.

³ See *Borderlands and Thoroughfares*, page 7.

⁴ See *Battle and Other Poems*, page 76.

fore in an unheeding way, from figures of economists, reports of investigators, treatises of scholars. There is nothing new in situation or emotion. But here is a poet who turns the cold and lifeless facts into quivering flesh and flowing blood and tears. He lifts his chant:

"All life moving to one measure—
Daily bread, daily bread—
Bread of life, and bread of labor,
Bread of bitterness and sorrow,
Hand-to-mouth, and no tomorrow,
Dearth for housemate, death for neighbor . . .
Yet, when all the babes are fed,
Love, are there not crumbs to treasure?"

For the first time we see, we feel, we know. For the first time we really understand. Well did Canon Cheyne cry, on the appearance of this book, "A new poet of the people has risen up among us. The story of the soul is written as plainly in *Daily Bread* as in *The Divine Comedy* and in *Paradise Lost*."

Since *Daily Bread* other books have appeared—*Fires*, in 1912, *Womankind*, in 1913 and *Borderlands and Thoroughfares*, in 1914. In each there has been the same penetrating insight into the psychology of social misery, the same prophetic understanding of the wants and woes of submerged men, the same august revelation of the secrets of the heart that is robbed of its heritage of love. With this has come as well, in these later books, a personal note of infinite tenderness and charm, which has inevitably served to deepen the poet's appeal. And there still endures that chaste simplicity of style, marking the soul which sees things elemental and brings them to our gaze.

How such a man would react upon the great war might well have been foreseen. Even those who knew him best and loved him most, however, could hardly have anticipated the awesome verse which Gibson put forth some months ago in the volume entitled *Battle and Other Poems*. Here is war as seen not by the medieval bard, who still flourishes so abundantly, but by the poet of the new social era. No heroics, no dithyrambic eloquence, no trumpets and drums, no flags and banners, no martial lilt and thrilling song, no appeals to patriotism, no flamboyant adjurations to Britannia, no pious prayers to tribal gods. All this is gone! And in its place appear the dirt of the trenches, the ugliness of the bombardment and the charge, the deep-down emotions of the common man as, torn from his native soil and thrust down into the flaming ploughshares of "battle," he communes with his stark and starving soul. Nothing like these poems for grim humor, sardonic horror, tenderest pathos and "the human touch" has ever been written. Nothing comparable to this poet's sympathy with the trivialities and the sublimities that together make up the content of human living at its climactic moments have I, for one, ever discovered. In their almost uncanny simplicity and directness, these battle-pieces cut like sabre-blades, thrust like bayonets, shock and stun like bullets. Listen to this:

"I do not fear to die
'Neath the open sky,
To meet death in the fight
Face to face, upright.

But when at last we creep
In a hole to sleep,
I tremble, cold with dread,
Lest I wake up dead."

Or this:

"That was his sort,
It didn't matter
What we were at,
But he must chatter
Of this and that
His little son
Had said and done:
Till, as he told
The fiftieth time
Without a change
How three-year-old
Prattled a rhyme,
They got the range
And cut him short."

Or this:

"This bloody steel
Has killed a man,
I heard him squeal
As on I ran.

He watched me come
With wagging head.
I pressed it home,
And he was dead.

Though clean and clear
I've wiped the steel,
I still can hear
That dying squeal."

And finally this:

"I cannot quite remember . . . There were five
Dropt dead beside me in the trench—and three
Whispered their dying messages to me . . .'
Back from the trenches, more dead than alive,
Stone-deaf and dazed, and with a broken knee,
He hobbled slowly, muttering vacantly—

'I cannot quite remember . . . There were five
Dropt dead beside me in the trench—and three
Whispered their dying messages to me.

'Their friends are waiting, wondering how they thrive,
Waiting a word in silence patiently . . .
But what they said, or who their friends may be

'I cannot quite remember . . . There were five
Dropt dead beside me in the trench—and three
Whispered their dying messages to me . . .'"

This is a new note, making cheap the "sounding brass and tinkling cymbals" of Rudyard Kipling, and even strangely unreal the dignity and pathos of John Masefield. This, I venture to say, is the war poetry of the future. Wilfred Wilson Gibson has in this last book opened a new page of literature. Alone of the poets this day, he has seen to the heart of things in "battle." Under the impact of the greatest crisis in history, he has been not stunned to silence or babbling song, but awakened to understanding and sober speech, and thereby has proved his genius.

The arrival in and tour through this country of such a man as Mr. Gibson is an occasion of great moment. Lovers of literature will be quick to do him honor. But let not these outdo the leaders of social change and the seekers after an end to war, for whom this man is at once seer and prophet.



COMMON WELFARE

CHRISTMAS ON THE ISLAND OF CULION

ON the island of Culion, some two days' trip by water south of Manila and the Philippine Islands, live thirty-seven hundred lepers. Last year they had a Christmas. The Woman's Club of Manila formed its committee, sent out appeals for aid, and gifts were sent to the whole colony, with some special articles asked for in pathetic notes from the lepers.

Two years ago this same club sent a delegation of women, ten Americans and one Filipino, to Culion to look over the situation and report. "One does not rub shoulders with living death in its most heart-rending form for nothing," writes Bessie Dwyer to the SURVEY.

The woman's club has many other activities. Miss Dwyer, herself a member, writes that one of the first reforms undertaken which she, as chairman of the penology committee, brought to pass and which was suggested to her through an article in the SURVEY, was the appointment of three police matrons.

Each year a new day nursery has been established by the club in Manila. "Good houses were secured, a trained American superintendent placed in charge, graduate Filipino nurses supplied and a campaign of publicity and popularity unceasingly waged."

In the center of Manila the women have set up a flower market, which today controls the retail flower trade and is operated entirely by Filipinos. Miss Dwyer tells of further things which the women have done:

"A woman's free legal aid has been established, under club auspices, by two young Filipino women lawyers, who graduated brilliantly from the University of the Philippines and passed the bar examination. Their names—and they should go down to fame—are Paz A. Legaspi and Natavadiid Almeda. Many cases of poor and abused women have already been adjusted by these wonderful girls.

"A woman's free employment agency is also promised the club for next year

by the government authorities, with a woman of special abilities in charge, and a plan has been devised and worked out by which the civil service bureau and the bureau of labor will, in future, cooperate and further the interest of the eligibles on the list of the former, by forwarding the names of those who do not object (and not otherwise) to the bureau of labor, who will maintain them for call by the business and mercantile firms. It is thought that this plan, if properly handled, will greatly aid the men and women hitherto entirely depending upon their civil service qualifications to find employment, and at the same time aid the business men to get better-equipped material for their specific needs.

"Some twenty women's clubs, based on the constitution and by-laws of the Woman's Club of Manila, and fostered by literature, in English and Spanish, specially prepared and sent broadcast throughout the islands, have this year been formed. They are coming into fashion, and it is hoped that a federation of them may later be formed. The power for good in this Oriental country, wielded by its women, is enormous. They are foremost in all good work, and the best 'business men' in the islands—that is, they match wits with the Chino and other foreigners in the retail and wealth-producing factors and seldom come out second best. Good mothers, warm-hearted friends, charitable and extremely quick in perception are the Filipino women."

THE END OF THE MESABA RANGE STRIKE

FOR the shooting and killing of Deputy Sheriff James Myron out on the Mesaba Range last summer, three strikers were sentenced on December 15 last to terms in the state prison not to exceed twenty years. The three men are miners, and it was in the house of one, Philip Masonovitch, the affray took place. [See the SURVEY, August 26.] His wife, who was among the eight indicted and imprisoned in connection

with the affair, had been previously released on bail.

The cases against the three Industrial Workers of the World, Sam Scarlet, Joe Schmidt and Carlo Tresca, the latter known to have been far from the scene of shooting, all arrested as "accessories after the fact," were continued indefinitely. According to Margaret Culkin Banning, director of the social center department of the city of Duluth, "It is so extremely improbable as to be almost certain that their cases will never come to trial."

Mrs. Banning writes further to the SURVEY:

"This action came as a complete surprise to nearly everyone interested in these cases. The trials had been scheduled to begin about December 20 in Virginia, Minnesota, and from all appearances a spectacular series of trials was about to take place. A defense fund committee had been created and appeals for contributions had been widely circulated on the plea that the Industrial Workers of the World organizers were preparing an elaborate legal defense. Unions all over the country responded with small donations in the most generous spirit. . . .

"Almost immediately after the trial the Industrial Workers of the World organizers and all of the leaders, including members of the defense fund committee, left the range. They have promised that a detailed report of the defense fund will be sent to every contributor, permanently disposing of the charges that the funds have been misused. They leave behind them an Industrial Workers of the World organization of disputed strength, with which Elizabeth Gurley Flynn expects to work in the spring when she and other organizers will return to the Mesaba Range.

"On November 22, 1916, the United States Steel Corporation announced a raise of 10 per cent to all employes, which was followed shortly afterwards by similar announcements by various independent mining companies. Official word of this had not come to Duluth at

RING IN THE NEW—IN PRISONS



that time, but it is undoubtedly a fact that wages will be increased here as elsewhere in the branches of the steel corporation. This, of course, affects one of the miners' demands—that for better wages. It is not conceded in the form of a minimum wage as requested, and the officers of the Oliver Iron Mining Company, which is the local branch of the steel corporation, declared that it has no bearing on the recent strike. The Industrial Workers of the World insist that it comes as a necessary concession because of the cost of the strike to the steel corporation. The contract labor system has not been abolished. The strike leaders believe, however, that because of the agitation, less corruption exists under it than formerly. There is no change in hours of labor as demanded, nor in regard to the form of payment.

"Lastly, and most important, there is no change of attitude on the part of the mining companies toward organized labor. They will neither recognize it nor deal with it.

"Statistics of the number of miners who left the range are difficult to get. Undoubtedly several thousands did go.

"What appears rather drearily on the surface, in spite of the assurances of the Industrial Workers of the World that an advance has been made, is that the advance is pitifully small. They have established a permanent organization, but none of their demands has been granted. It is impossible to prove that this rise in wages which took effect all over the country was actuated by the Mesaba strike. It is quite probable that general labor discontent and the good wages prevailing in other industries were contributory causes.

"If all the slight advances on the Range are going to cost as much as this in human suffering, in hunger, in violence, in loss of life and liberty, the distance to go before relations are satisfactory between employed and employer seems unbearably long."

ABOVE
*Bungalow for
prisoners at the
county farm*

TO THE RIGHT
*Barbaric relics
from an old New
Jersey jail*



A NEW JERSEY COUNTY JAIL DELIVERY

BY erecting on its county farm a small bungalow at a cost of \$2,500, Morris County, New Jersey, has this year accomplished something definite in the evolution of its colonial jail in a colonial court house into a temporary place of detention for persons awaiting court action. How this came about is of interest to persons everywhere who are perplexed to know how to attack a jail situation in rural and semi-rural counties.

The colonial court house at Morristown is often mentioned in the history of Revolutionary times. It had in its basement four dungeon cells with stone walls of unusual thickness. One small semi-circular peep-hole admitted light into each of these dungeons from the dimly lighted basement. Handmade lattice iron doors were hung within the oak doors. From such jails as this Dorothea Lynde Dix rescued insane men and women in her campaigns for better care of the insane from 1845 to the beginning of the Civil War.

But it was long after the Civil War that Morris county abandoned this dungeon jail. When the New Jersey State Charities Aid Association was formed in 1886, the Morris County jail was found to be overcrowded and unsanitary. In spite of agitation, year after year went by with slight effect. Two years ago,

after repeated presentments by grand juries, inspections by the State Board of Health and public reports by civic agencies, officials came to believe that the people of the county would like to have a better jail if a way could be found without adding to the tax rate.

A simple plan was made. It was found that if the jail prisoners could be employed in the work, the old dungeon cells in the basement could be broken down and the space utilized to other advantage. As a result, the basement now contains a large, well-lighted dormitory room for drunk and disorderly persons, a shower-bath with a dressing room for change of clothing, a fumigation closet and a congregate dining room. Food is no longer pushed through jail bars to prisoners in their cells.

This being accomplished late last year, the next step was comparatively easy, and a new set of officials who came into office in January were persuaded to attempt the experiment of sending prisoners out to the county farm back of Morris Plains. The same fear of expense appeared, and a plan was prepared for a bungalow to cost \$2,300. There was enough public sentiment in the county to win official approval, and a contract was signed.

The sheriff and the jail committee of the county board had by this time become strongly interested and gave much time and study to the development

of the project. A jitney bus was secured and jail prisoners were transported daily to the farm, carrying with them a few sandwiches for a mid-day lunch, and actual work began. Throughout the growing season there have been from eight to sixteen men at work upon the county property, without any trouble other than one incipient threat of a strike because of the frugal mid-day meal, which was readily settled by giving the men enough to eat.

They built and repaired fences, re-surfaced and repaired the roadways about the place, trenched and laid a water pipe to a spring on a hillside so that water is now supplied by gravity to the county buildings instead of being pumped by steam at considerable annual expense for coal and labor; they excavated for the bungalow, extended the sewer system of the county Tuberculosis Hospital on the farm, cultivated garden and field crops, and in general accomplished so much that by October the prisoners were considered to have demonstrated that this method of keeping them has great advantages over congested jail quarters and total idleness.

The first group of prisoners moved into the bungalow in October. They occupied a dormitory room lighted on three sides, with cot beds and blankets, with a cement floor to insure sanitary conditions, a shower bath and a closet

for lavatory purposes hard by. There is a dining room, a kitchen with a new range, a food closet and a furnace in the basement. Here the men will live this coming winter with a wholesome program of work in the open air ahead.

To the farmers and officials of Morris county the demonstration has meant that men serving terms for disorderly conduct because they could not pay a fine are willing to work for the county if suitable conditions are made in the way of decent housing, decent food and decent treatment. The physical and mental improvement resulting from this form of jail treatment will, it is hoped, become clear also. It has been no unusual thing for the men to say to their sole guard and foreman, "You have treated me square and I have no kick coming." Then, with a formal shaking of hands and expression of determination never to return, the discharged man re-enters civil life in much better condition to meet his responsibilities than when he left his congested jail quarters at the court house after weeks and months of dreary idleness.

SALOON AND SCHOOL IN BOSTON POLITICS

AT the municipal election in Boston, held on December 19, two questions of general interest were voted

upon. One related to the school system, and the other to the licensing of saloons.

Massachusetts has a law which provides that every year its cities and towns shall vote on the question of licensing its saloons. This year, with Billy Sunday holding a series of widely attended meetings in Boston, many believed that No-License might carry in that city. A spirited fight was waged and the brewers, saloon-keepers, and certain real-estate interests spent large sums of money in circularizing the voters and in advertising in the newspapers. They were effectively supported by a large part of the trade unions and by men aligned with the political machines, Republican as well as Democratic. Although the no-license forces, led by the Massachusetts Anti-Saloon League, put up a spirited fight, the majority in favor of license was increased from 14,000 last year to over 23,000 this year.

The influence of the Sunday campaign was problematical. Those favoring the saloon made skilful use of the sectarian issue, and the campaign for no-license in many quarters was construed as a Protestant movement; this, in spite of the fact that some of the most prominent supporters of no-license were of other religious beliefs. Of unusual interest is the fact that the Associated Charities came out officially for no-license, and that many leaders in social

Political Advertisement Political Advertisement Political Advertisement Political Advertisement

THE LICENSE QUESTION

We, the undersigned, believe that the policy of license is the best in every way for the City of Boston, and hereby recommend to its citizens a continuance of that policy so that the business shall be properly regulated and not get into the conditions that prevail under no-license.

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VOTE NO

We believe that under a No-License Policy Boston will gain both financially and morally. We strongly urge all citizens to go to the polls Tomorrow and vote NO.

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BOSTON DRY CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE OF THE MASS. ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE, 314 Tremont Building, Boston, Mass., ARTHUR J. DAVIS, Supt.

PRE-ELECTION ADVERTISEMENTS IN BOSTON PAPERS

The "vote-yes ad" appeared on the front page of all papers at a cost of about \$3,500. About half the signers are selfishly interested as attorneys of saloons or brewers. The rest are citizens of excellent standing. A. Shuman and Co., a big retail store, later retracted their signature

work in Boston signed a petition printed on the first page of the leading papers in favor of no-license. This list included such prominent social workers as Robert A. Woods, Joseph Lee, Dr. Richard C. Cabot, and Jeffrey R. Brackett; influential business men such as Henry L. Higginson and John F. Moors; widely known clergymen, such as Bishop William Lawrence and the Rev. Paul Revere Frothingham; and educators, including ex-President Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard University, and Lemuel H. Murlin, president of Boston University. But though license carried Boston, no-license made smashing gains throughout the state. Six license cities this time voted no-license,—Fall River, Taunton, Haverhill, Leominster, North Adams, and Fitchburg.

The two candidates elected to the school committee were Judge Michael H. Sullivan, who had the endorsement of the Public School Association, and Henry Abrahams, a broad-gauge man active in the ranks of organized labor, who ran as an independent candidate.

The Boston Finance Commission recently had an exhaustive investigation made of the Boston school system. As a result it was recommended that executive authority be centralized in the superintendent of schools, that assistant superintendents be nominated by him, and that the board of superintendents be abolished. Considerable executive authority had hitherto been centralized in the board of superintendents, composed of the assistant superintendents.

There was a vigorous difference of opinion between the members of the Boston school committee as to what should be done with the report rendered. The progressives, headed by Joseph Lee and Frances G. Curtis, urged that the recommendation of centralizing authority in the superintendent of schools be adopted. This was opposed by Michael H. Corcoran and other members of the committee. At the recent election the Public School Association, a non-partisan organization interested in conserving the best interests of the schools in Boston, refused to give Mr. Corcoran its support and he was defeated. Undoubtedly, one result of the election will be that greater consideration will be given to the Van Sickle survey than would have been the case had Mr. Corcoran been re-elected a member of the school committee.

"PASSING THE BUCK" TO THE SUPREME COURT

IN the face of the refusal last week of the railroads to put the eight-hour day into effect January 1, the chiefs of the four brotherhoods have put the whole matter once more up to the membership. What future move this may indicate is unknown, but that act itself, on December 29, removed all likelihood

of a strike being called on January 1, the date when the Adamson law nominally went into effect.

It is the failure of the law to take actual effect on that day that has gone so far toward bringing on a new crisis in railroading. By an agreement with the attorney-general of the United States no attempt is to be made to enforce the law until the Supreme Court has passed upon its constitutionality. A test case now before the court will be argued January 8, and it is hoped by railroad men that a decision may be handed down by the first of February. The feelings of the learned justices, being pressed to pass in jig time upon legislation which was passed by Congress pell mell, may well be imagined, especially as the legislation raises issues which are fundamental, demanding deliberation both as to the principle involved and its adequate expression in the statute.

The railroads have agreed with the attorney-general to keep a careful account of hours and mileage and are to make such adjustments of back pay as the interpretation of the law by the court may require. This arrangement is not satisfactory to the brotherhoods. The rank and file believe that Congress had the power and meant to give them a basic eight-hour day with ten hours pay to go into effect January 1, and they want it, court or no court.

A few weeks ago in a speech before the business men's group of the New York Ethical Culture Society, Warren S. Stone, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, said: "I know what the President intended us to have. I know what Congress intended. That we mean to get regardless of court decisions." He said further that Congressman Adamson had told him that if the interpretation of the court were such as to withdraw from the law some of the effect that had been intended, he would draft another law that would insure an eight-hour day on the basis of the former ten hours pay.

A conference was held in New York, December 28, between representatives of the railroads and the men in an effort to arrive at some working agreement on January 1. When the railroads refused to consider any other arrangement than the one they had made with the attorney-general, the conference came to an end.

Next day the four brotherhood chiefs issued a statement which calls attention to their acceptance of the President's proposition in August that time and one-half be waived and that the eight-hour day be instituted with pro rata payment for overtime.

Continuing, the statement reads:

"Our men believed in so doing they would secure the eight-hour basic day at once, but the enactment of the Adamson eight-hour law, effective January 1,

1917, made it necessary for them to wait patiently until that time, to find later that the railroad companies instituted injunction proceedings against the government's enforcement of the eight-hour law, and at this time the entire matter is in litigation, such litigation making it impossible for the Special-Committee appointed by the President, as provided for in the law, to proceed with their investigation as of January 1, and the probability of additional litigation being commenced by the railroads, even though the law is declared constitutional by the Supreme Court, will seriously affect such investigation, in fact can and likely will delay the investigation until the commission cannot make its investigation as the law contemplates, thereby defeating the intent of the law and at the same time postponing the benefits promised by the law, which will unquestionably meet with general dissatisfaction among the membership of the railroad organizations.

"The entire situation is to be placed before the membership by special circular."

In the meantime, the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce has begun to hold hearings on a tentative draft of a bill to prohibit strikes or lockouts on railways pending the publication of a report on the controversy. The investigation must be completed and the report made within three months, but the men are not to be allowed to strike for a month after that. Heavy penalties are prescribed not only for employers and employes who violate the law, but for "any person inciting, encouraging or in any manner aiding any employer or employe" to violate its provisions.

COOPERATIVE UNITY OF PROTESTANT CHURCHES

THE cooperative unity of the Protestant churches seems to be an accomplished fact at last. That for the third time between 400 and 500 delegates representing 30 or more denominations, aggregating 18,000,000 members, met in the quadrennial session of their Federal Council at St. Louis last month, signifies the passing of the movement out of its critical experimental stage. From having been at first an association of the most interested individuals in some of the denominations, it has become both in organization and in the participation in its work an interdenominational federation, constituted of delegates appointed by the highest courts of all the churches.

Long before the organization of this council, of course, there was an alliance of most of these churches, but it was chiefly a platform on which interdenominational amenities were exchanged and from which such platform declarations as they could unite upon were sent across denominational boundaries. For the most part, what was

thus crystallized went into solution between these meetings, to be precipitated again when the alliance reconvened. It led, however, to a much larger and more permanent cooperation of some of these churches on their foreign missionary fields.

The Federal Council was initiated eight years ago in the hope of a far closer, more continuous and more actively practical cooperation, despite the many differences in doctrine, ritual and polity, and in their very conception of the functions of the church, which had so long made any union of the denominations seem hopeless.

The practicability of their cooperation was self-demonstrated in an effort to maintain federal headquarters, with continuous administrative functions under one general secretary. Its annual budget now amounts to \$100,000 a year. This headquarters development may be attributed to the pressure of the Christian social spirit and the demand for social service within each denomination. Most of the strong church fellowships were organizing social service commissions of their own. Their secretaries began to confer and cooperate. And when the Federal Council established its Social Service Commission, these denominational executives became its associate secretaries. Thus gradually but rapidly the social service work of the council was self-developed and self-led. Even now, however, has it a claim upon only the part-time service of the field secretary, the well-known Rev. Charles Stelzle, recently appointed to that office to be available for the administration of this growing department of the council's work.

The federation's bold declaration of its advanced social standards for the churches and their members has scarcely been challenged during these years. One denomination after another has either formally adopted or tacitly accepted this new creed of the church's social, economic and industrial faith. The report of the Social Service Commission at St. Louis took advanced ground on the right to work, the equality of industrial opportunity for women and men, a shorter working day and one day's rest in seven, a living wage and the demand for industrial democracy in collective bargaining, with larger control over working conditions by the workers. Yet it failed to meet with any opposition and was adopted without dissent, and with the outspoken approval of several representative employers present.

Equally advanced positions were taken on housing, recreation, commercialized vice, prison reform and the educational training of the ministry and membership for social service. The Commission on the Family recommended the requirement of uniform marriage licenses, with an interval of



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several days between the issuance of the license and the performance of the ceremony, the delay of the trial of divorce suits, the raising of the age of consent, the exaction of evidences of normality and physical fitness as a condition of marriage, sex instruction by parents and in the advanced grades of the public schools, and legislation to encourage marriages and births by making provision for nursing mothers who are indigent or dependent upon self-support.

The council went on record in favor of national prohibition, but advocated substitutes for the saloon in meeting social needs.

Local inter-church federations employing executive secretaries in fifteen of the larger cities are helping to avoid duplication and competition and are aiding in securing administrative efficiency in city government, higher standards in the distribution of public charities, more cooperation with the courts and police in dealing with juvenile delinquents, and the repression of the drink and vice evils.

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS AND ITS PLANS

THE annual meeting of the American Red Cross, held last month in Washington, was one of altogether unusual interest, not only because of the extensive activities of the Red Cross in connection with the European war, but because of the steadily developing efficiency of the Red Cross itself, not only for war relief, but for any demands which may be made upon it. Since the reincorporation of the American Red Cross in 1905 there have been almost annual changes more or less radical in the organization, but none of them have been revolutionary in character or

brought about as a result of external pressure. All have been made by the authorities of the Red Cross itself as a result of experience and from a persistent determination to make the Red Cross fit to serve its purpose in peace or in war.

Three competent executives, all devoting their entire energies to the work, have now been put in general charge—Elliot Wadsworth, vice-chairman of the executive committee; Ernest P. Bicknell, director-general of civilian relief, and Colonel James R. Kean, director-general of military relief. "From the reports which these executives and their associates in charge of particular departments of work gave of their stewardship and from the plans which were outlined for the future," writes an active Red Cross volunteer, "it is evident that, as never before in its history, the Red Cross is now in position to meet any obligations which the financial resources at its disposal and the demands made upon it may create. Financial resources and demands must, of course, be considered together. If one considered only the needs, the responsibility created by the European situation alone would be well-nigh staggering. But the opportunity for usefulness is limited by financial resources, which means, in the case of the American Red Cross, by voluntary contribution.

The gratifying increase in membership during the past year argues well for the future. A membership of nearly three hundred thousand means just so many possible centers of interest and propaganda. If the Red Cross is to meet such appealing needs as those simply but dramatically presented by Frederick Walcott as a result of his

visit to Poland, the response must be immediate and far more generous than any which has yet been made since the war began."

In response to a resolution introduced by Jerome D. Greene, of the Rockefeller Foundation, and unanimously adopted, Vice-President de Forest appointed a strong committee to consider by what means the Red Cross could bring more effectively to the American public such situations arising out of the war as that in Poland which Mr. Walcott described.

Special attention was given in the course of the meeting to the activities of local chapters; the institutional membership; the nursing service, the three branches of which have been reorganized under a single committee; and the creation of base hospital units. The meeting left upon those who attended it "the impression of a live, expanding, and well-conducted enterprise, one with which President Woodrow Wilson, who is president of the Red Cross; ex-President Taft, who is chairman of its executive committee; Mabel Boardman, who has done the lion's share of its work for over ten years, and their associates in the Central Committee, may all be proud to be associated."

DRYING UP THE DOMINION OF CANADA

THE Dominion of Canada is today practically "dry territory" from coast to coast. For many years liquor has been under the ban in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. Nova Scotia, except the city of Halifax, has been dry for a considerable time. Four-fifths of the French-Canadian province of Quebec has been under local option for years. On July 1, 1915, Saskatchewan closed 450 barrooms (all she had) and substituted a government-owned and controlled dispensary system comprising twenty-three stores located in the cities and larger towns. By vote of the people three of these were closed in December, 1915, and on the second Monday of December, 1916, the people of the province, by an eight to one majority, decided that the remaining stores should be closed forever. The government immediately issued an order in council closing its "boozoriums." By a vote of the people, Alberta passed under prohibition rule on July 1, 1915. British Columbia followed Alberta a few months later. Manitoba has been under prohibition since July 1, 1916. Old Ontario followed the lead of the western provinces by "drying up" in September last. Now comes the announcement that Quebec contemplates closing its saloons at an early date and substituting the German system of liquor selling, and that a movement is on foot to secure a federal prohibition act from the Dominion Government.

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THE SURVEY

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Photograph by George J. Hare, Buffalo



OLD AGE

One of those whose story is told in Ten Tales, or Salaries vs. Relief, by Frederic Almy, secretary of the Charity Organization Society of Buffalo

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WITH little law and no machinery for law-enforcement, international relations are much like industrial relations; war is a tremendous strike. J. E. Williams, one of the most widely experienced of industrial arbitrators, applies his knowledge of negotiating peace in garment trades and mining, to war-torn Europe.

The Survey Next Week

The GIST of IT

"SWEARING OFF" is apt to be a flimsy resolution if saloon lights beckon at every street corner. Elizabeth Tilton, originator of the Massachusetts poster campaign against Alcohol, started out with the idea that beer is the best antidote for alcohol. Now she believes absolute prohibition the only cure for the drink habit, as well as a large part of crime, disease and poverty. She has had long experience as a social worker and has lots of statistics to prove her case. Page 417.

JOHN H. FINLEY, president of the University of the State of New York, disagrees with the boy in New Rochelle who dropped out of school because he refused to take the military training prescribed by recent act of the New York legislature. Mr. Finley thinks the law will not only improve health, but arouse a new sense of service. Page 424.

A PENNY saved will be a penny earned at the expense of childhood if New York city persists in its present management of the school system. Eleanor Hope Johnson knows the situation from A to Z. Page 425.

A BINET test is a strange court exhibit in a murder trial. But out in Laramie, Wyo., a man was saved from hanging because psychological examination before judge and jury proved the mental age of the defendant that of a child between six and seven years. Page 427.

CRIPPLED limbs and blindness are not the only backwash of the war in France. Tuberculosis has so increased that the Rockefeller Foundation has sent an expert from America to study ways of checking the scourge. Page 436.

THE Mutual Welfare League at Sing Sing has lost another friend by the resignation of Deputy Warden Calvin Derrick. Page 429.

CABBAGES and onions take the place of daffodil and aster in English gardens during wartime. Page 432.

"THE real enemy is established inside every country," says a British member of Parliament. Page 430.

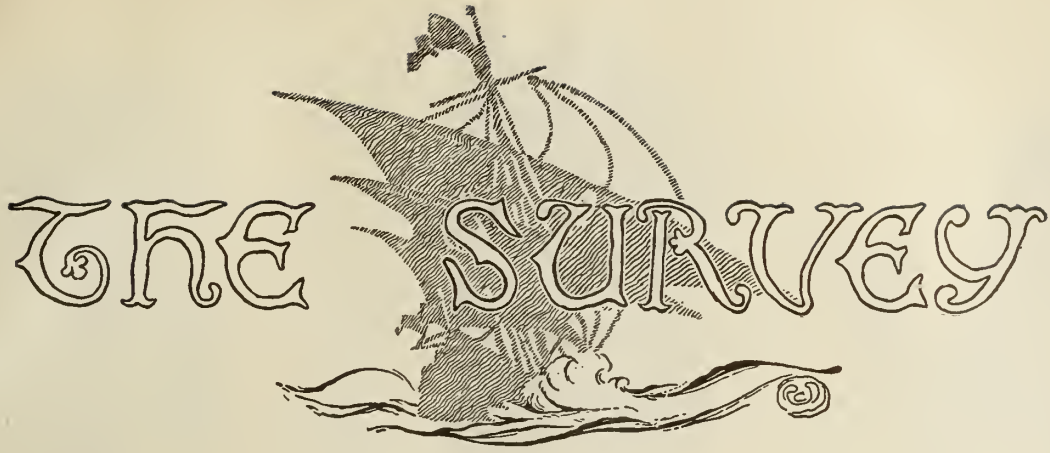
YOU might have bought leprosy with an oriental rug in New Jersey not long ago. Beside this leper salesman, 5,000 others suffering from this dreaded disease are without hospital protection in the United States. Page 436.

CHAIRMAN Adamson announces he will push through the House a bill prohibiting railroad strikes. Bills to the advantage of labor will probably collect dust until another session of Congress. Page 430.

ARE we efficient? If not, why not? Should the state make us efficient? What d'ye mean, efficiency? It was a few questions like these that, according to Prof. John R. Commons, disturbed the eminent bodies who met in Columbus last December. Page 422.

LAZINESS used to be a luxury of being ill, but work is now an anti-toxin prescribed for some diseases. Page 431.

BY a unanimous vote, the Smith-Hughes bill, which appropriates large sums of federal money to aid the states in establishing vocational education, passed the House of Representatives on Tuesday. It passed the Senate last July.



Turning Off the Spigot¹

I. What Makes Men Stop Drinking?

By Elizabeth Tilton

"The alcoholism of the white race must be overcome or that vice with the licentiousness that it provokes will overcome the race."—*Charles W. Eliot.*

IN a recent article on the liquor problem, that well-known social worker, Robert A. Woods, speaks of the "almost total lack on the part of social workers of any intelligent approach to the liquor problem, which occupies so great a space in the middle of their stage." It is true. Where alcohol-prevention is concerned, social workers seem to suffer a paralysis of mind. It is the more amazing when one realizes the great cumulative costs of alcohol in social work—for, roughly speaking, the sum adds up somewhat thus:

Alcohol is the immediate cause of about 10 per cent of our insanity; is an operating factor (at least in wet territory) in about 24 per cent of the families reporting to organized charity; the Court of Domestic Relations in Chicago finds that over 40 per cent of their broken homes connect with alcohol; the Committee of Fifty found 45 per cent of children annually deserted or neglected have intemperate parents or guardians; drink is a first cause in 31 per cent of crimes, an indirect cause in 50 per cent.

Evidence of the connection between crime and intemperance is furnished by Mr. Fanshawe in his book on *Liquor Legislation in the United States and Canada.*

INDICTABLE OFFENSES IN CANADA

Nature of Offense	Percentage of Causes 1885-88	1889-91
Offenses against the person		
Moderate drinkers	44.00	38.04
Immoderate drinkers	47.00	51.50
Teetotalers	9.00	10.46
Offenses against property and violence		
Moderate drinkers	50.00	46.37
Immoderate drinkers	35.00	41.63
Teetotalers	15.90	12.00
Offenses against property without violence		
Moderate drinkers	50.84	47.90
Immoderate drinkers	31.56	39.70
Teetotalers	17.60	12.40
Forgery and offenses against the currency		
Moderate drinkers	62.22	56.10
Immoderate drinkers	26.67	34.10
Teetotalers	11.11	9.80

¹ I want to thank Miss Stoddard, Mrs. Trauseau, Prof. Irving Fisher, Dr. Eugene Lyman Fisk, Prof. James Ford, Ernest Gordon and others for the valuable help that they have given me. In spite of their kind offices, I know I shall be found, in turning over such amounts of statistics and foreign matter, to have made some mistakes, and I shall welcome all corrections, as it is the truth that I am after.—THE AUTHOR.

An investigation made by Carroll D. Wright for the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor, 1879-80, showed that in Massachusetts during a period of twenty years (1860-1879), out of a total of 578,458 sentences, 340,814, or 60 per cent, were sentences for "rum offenses." Another investigation, 1894, showed that out of 26,672 convictions, 94 per cent of the offenders were addicted to the use of liquor.

And to this count must be added all the disease furthered by the lowered vitality that alcohol brings, all the licentiousness provoked by it, all the degeneracy that follows in its wake. So careful a writer as Dr. Scharffenberg of Norway says: "A striking connection can be shown between the arrests for drunkenness and doctors' reports of new cases of venereal disease in Christiania. The fight against venereal disease cannot be effectively carried on if the fight against alcohol is neglected; alcohol acts as a pimp and spreader of infection."²

Only the other day I heard a leading social worker declare that he believed that mothers' pensions would turn out to be a great bill paid for intemperance either directly or through ill-health fostered by alcohol. At every turn the alcohol problem knocks at the social worker's door, but read the subjects brought up for discussion at state conferences and you see that the answer to these ubiquitous knockings is, "No admittance."

Indeed, social workers always seem to have a sort of snob-bishness about alcohol-prevention work—as of a cause "not in their set." It is all wrong, I am sure. But I should not be harsh, for so recently this same attitude was mine.

Everything that could be done with the alcoholic I think I have done: tried cures which usually did not cure; got him countless new jobs which his bad nerves seldom allowed him to keep; taken him to a farm colony (I hope that your state has one), or transplanted him to the soil where, in my opinion, the alcoholic lasts the longest, partly because liquor is less accessible, partly because such outdoor work builds up nervous resistance. And all this time my furthest dream was to get a permanent home for chronics, get them away from their families. A great need, surely!

² Internationale Monatschrift, March, 1914.

Silhouettes by Charles B. Wheeler, judge of the Supreme Court



FRANCE

The greatest drinker of them all—first in wine, first in distilled liquors.



UNITED STATES

Of sixteen drinking countries, fifth in beer, eighth in distilled liquors.



FINLAND

The most temperate of the drinkers—1.54 liters per capita of pure alcohol.

Then something happened. Perhaps I can best describe it by saying that the auto-hypnosis about alcohol suddenly retired. I began to think on the subject. I saw all of us friendly visitors behaving like insane people; baling water out of a tub with the tap turned on; letting the drink custom and the liquor traffic run full blast while we limply stood around and picked up the wreckage. I suppose the thinking process had been long gathering, but I remember the day, the hour, the very sidewalk in Charlestown, Mass., where thinking on the alcohol problem finally set in.

Peter Q. brought me to it. He was the best of men—when sober, and I had had him sober so long out on the soil that I had even gone so far as to take his wife to see a little farmhouse near him, thinking to transplant the entire family. She did not take the house because it had *stairs!* She told me that poor as she was, and her mother before her, they had always been able to take the tenement on the lower floor. But it was fortunate as things turned out, because a few days later Peter "broke back" to the city. I found him lying dead drunk on his kitchen floor and over him stood his small daughter and his three little sons.

"It's father," said the little girl, just as if that were what a father was in Charlestown.

Well, we got poor Peter off the floor and I went out of that house saying: "It is father, but it shall not be brother if I can help it."

And then I remember standing there on that slushy sidewalk, five brightly lighted, beckoning saloons in sight, and feeling hot indignation with the American people who allowed such things to be. How were those little boys to be saved under the supposedly advanced conditions offered by the city of Boston?

"Nowhere to go but the saloon," as a poor fellow said to me. "Nothing to do at the saloon but drink."

Here was the eternal social instinct, the desire to hobnob, rising every night over the city like a great steam and we, the

people, allowed the liquor dealer to harness this natural instinct to alcohol and exploit it for gain. It seemed like unintelligence rampant, for I believe that the boy who craves alcohol is rare, that the social instinct and the drink custom make the mass of young drinkers in our congested districts.

Standing there that afternoon with five saloons in sight, I saw that I stood in a world in which the idea that man must drink was writ large—the tradition glowed on every side. The custom was so strong around me that it possessed me, too. I said, "Evidently man must drink, but he need not drink distilled liquors and we need not have private profit in the thing, forcing sales on every adventurous boy."

I saw a scheme something like this: Let distilled liquors be abolished by law; let beer and light wines be kept; let the state take over the business and allow a disinterested company to manage it, not for gain, but for public welfare; let light beer be served in free and easy clubs sprinkled throughout the city and owned either by state or city.

It is an excellent scheme—on paper. It has a quality of non-fanaticism very pleasing to the novice. But to obtain such legislation there would have to be beforehand a deal of education. Massachusetts is an alcohol-backward state. So

after a time there came to be the Poster Campaign against Alcohol of the Boston Associated Charities. We got out posters, forty-two by twenty-nine inches, posters that could be read at a distance and at a glance. We chose posters because they gave a fresh handle to a time-worn subject, encouraged organizations to adopt them, and—most important—made news for the press. From that day to this those posters have never stopped going. Their continuous sale shows what a vast tide of sentiment is rising in this country and Canada against alcohol.

I saw this sentiment rising, and yet so peculiar is the Tory mentality where I live that I refused even a bowing acquaintance with prohibition. Then I went to Chicago to show our posters at the biennial of the



MR. KANSAS

"Prohibition does prohibit."



MR. WORLDLY WISE

"License for me. Everybody drinks. Prohibition doesn't prohibit."



MR. EVERY MAN

"Beer is the cure for drunkenness. Ask Germany."



THE PROFESSOR

"Take away the profits—the Gothenburg system's the thing."

General Federation of Women's Clubs. And as I spoke to those 7,000 women, I knew by their response that such a fire against alcohol was already kindled in this nation as should never again be put out, and though I personally was not yet for prohibition I knew that the bulk of my audience was.

What those 7,000 women heard from me I do not know, but I know what I heard from them: "A saloonless nation by 1920." And on the way home, as the train carried me through state after state, it came over me, with potent shame, that I had condemned prohibition from tradition, but not from personal knowledge. I had no first-hand knowledge of any prohibition state but Maine, no knowledge of the old prohibition wave in my own state, no facts about southern prohibition or Kansas.

It was really the figures coming in to me at this time that made me a prohibitionist. I had to bend to them—to the healing in their wings, thus:

MURDERS IN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

1909—dry	130
1910—dry	138
1911—dry	88
1912—wet	306

Tradition had said, "Prohibition doesn't prohibit." But figures and much reading said, "Prohibition helps more than anything else, wherever it has behind it a good total abstinence sentiment," total abstinence going ahead and prohibition following after. Indeed, this is the way in which all old customs have been killed—not by compromising with them, but by giving them no quarter, treating them in the Covenanter way, like Isaiah, Luther, Cromwell, Lincoln. These men did not kill old evils by countenancing them in the home and legalizing them on the street. Rather they demanded total abstinence from and prohibition of the evil—and the evils retired. That is the treatment that virile nations give to the uneconomic, and it grew clear to me that as we were virile so should we give this treatment to the liquor problem and thus gradually force it into the limbo of the past. Prohibition would never do it alone, but a full-fledged understanding of the economic value of total abstinence plus prohibition. To disprove my first theory, the beer-Gothenburg idea, and to

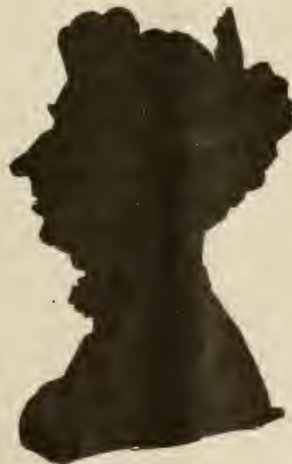
prove my last theory, total-abstinence-prohibition, will be the objects of the articles that are to follow.

II. What the Nations Drink

Any doctor who wants to open his eyes can see the degenerative effect of alcohol on bodily tissue and population. I merely add that in Norway and Sweden, which in the first half of the nineteenth century were the most alcoholized and degenerate, the energetic anti-alcohol movement which began about fifty years ago has brought about not only a standstill in mental disease, but has considerably raised the number of recruits for military service. In central Europe opposite conditions have caused opposite results.³

I want to put briefly before my readers what the various nations are drinking and what nations are "sobering up." In short, I want to introduce you to Dr. Gabriellson's tables, the value of these tables being that they expose snapshot judgments,—such a conversational tidbit, for example, as that the Germans do it right, beer is the cure for the drink evil; or that if we only did it as France does it—a little wine with our meals—all would be well. These tables show that Germany not only drinks more beer than we do, but also more distilled liquor. They show that while France drinks much more wine than we, she, too, drinks much more distilled liquor. Again, the table on page 420 shows that we are a beer-drinking country, our per capita consumption being 90.6 per cent beer, 6.5 per cent distilled liquor and 2.8 per cent wine.⁴

The table on page 420 also shows that the low alcohol-consumptions are in the northern lands. Finland leads, then Norway, European Russia, Canada, Sweden. The nations that get the most alcohol into their systems are the wine-drinking countries. France is the greatest drinker. Not only has she the largest wine consumption, but her distilled liquor consumption is the second highest of the nations given in the table. Denmark has the highest distilled liquor consumption—while Austria comes third, Germany fourth. France will also be



MISS W. C. T. U.

"I'm for total abstinence."

³ Forel. Deutsche Monatsschrift, Vol. IV, 1903, p. 276.

⁴ Consommation des Boissons Alcooliques dans les Différents Pays. Dr. Johannes Gabriellson, Librairie Felix Alcan, Paris, 1915. Figures probably as accurate as can be had.

found to have a rapidly rising beer consumption. France really has let herself go before alcohol; hence the great reaction now rising.

WHAT THE NATIONS DRINK

Average Yearly Per Capita Consumption of Alcoholic Beverages, 1906-10
Measure Used Liters—(A Full Quart)

	Distilled Liquors at 50%		Wine		Beer		Total Consumption in Pure Alcohol
Finland	2.31	0.61	7.25	1.54			
Norway	2.87	1.16	18.43	2.37			
Canada	4.23	0.42	22.61	3.31			
European Russia	6.09	0.86	6.52	3.41			
Sweden	6.87	0.54	21.64	4.33			
Holland	7.16	1.55	27.28	5.01			
Denmark	10.44	1.50	36.16	6.82			
United States	5.51	2.37	76.25	6.89			
Germany	7.29	4.76	104.98	7.47			
Austria	7.40	19.72	52.20	7.78			
Great Britain	4.17	1.23	123.06	9.67			
Belgium	5.47	5.16	220.82	10.58			
Switzerland	3.82	55.63	69.01	13.71			
Spain	3.24	69.50	84.05	14.02			
Italy	1.02	128.58	1.63	17.29			
France ⁵	8.8	144.00	71.66 ⁵	22.93			

The great beer drinkers come in the middle as regards total consumption of pure alcohol. Belgium leads, then Great Britain, which has comparatively a low whiskey consumption. Germany is third in beer, while of the countries given the United States is the fifth largest beer drinker and the eighth largest drinker of distilled liquors. In short, the table above, What the Nations Drink, thoroughly riddles the theory that we should be better off if we "did it like Germany or France."

The Nations That Are "Sobering Up"

I COME now to tables showing some nations that have made headway over a long period against John Barleycorn, Finland, Norway, Sweden. All three were very drunken at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Now they have developed to an extraordinary degree preventive measures looking toward general race hygiene, and in the forefront of the battle for health they place the battle against alcohol. In all these countries the bulk of the population, from 70 to 80 per cent, have lived for many years under forms of prohibition; the remainder more or less under the Gothenburg system, and behind and above all, there have been fiery campaigns for total abstinence. The abstainers in Sweden and Norway form large and powerful political groups.

Finland has the lowest alcohol consumption, 1.54 liters per capita (terms pure alcohol). Here is her story: Since the eighties of the nineteenth century, Finland has had a strong total abstinence movement, with prohibition for its legislative goal. Indeed, the bulk of the people has been now for many years under a dry régime, the Gothenburg system having been used only in certain cities.

The Finnish parliament twice passed national prohibition (before Russia allowed the partial prohibition now existing), but always behind these legislative movements is the abstinence sentiment. No labor union allows the use of alcohol in its rooms. Restaurants in the Parliament House, the National Theater and the Students' Union allow no alcohol to be served, nor is any served at any of the parliamentary banquets. Most Finnish newspapers accept no liquor advertisements and 75 per cent of the pupils in the high schools are members of total abstinence societies. In short, it seems fairly clear that total abstinence plus prohibition is the main factor in giving Finland the lowest consumption of the alcohol-drinking peoples.

⁵ 34.45 l. of this is cider.

TWO OTHER COUNTRIES MAKING HEADWAY Progress of Drink Consumption by Year and Per Capita (In Terms of Pure Alcohol—Measure, Liters)

	1851-60	1861-70	1871-80	1881-90	1891-95	'96-1900	1901-05	1906-10
<i>Norway—</i>								
Distilled liquor	2.70	2.30	2.64	1.62	1.77	1.35	1.57	1.43
Wine.....	.....	.....	0.15	0.15	0.20	0.43	0.27	0.20
Beer.....	.....	0.48	0.73	0.64	0.80	0.98	0.84	0.74
Total.....	.....	.....	3.52	2.41	2.77	2.76	2.68	2.37
<i>Sweden—</i>								
Distilled liquor	6.25	4.88	5.48	3.75	3.34	4.02	3.81	3.44
Wine.....	0.06	0.06	0.12	0.09	0.09	0.11	0.10	0.08
Beer.....	0.39	0.41	0.63	0.82	1.04	1.25	0.93	0.81
Total.....	.....	.....	3.52	2.41	2.77	2.76	2.68	2.37

The next tables show us some of the countries that are beginning to "sober up"—Germany, Great Britain, Switzerland, Belgium, Austria, Australia. It is very noticeable that these countries had rising consumptions until recently, then they apparently heard a new message and responded to it. They heard the voice of science coming to them from the laboratories of Europe, telling them that alcohol is not what they thought, a "life-giver," but a "life-destroyer." These countries, then, are sobering up, but we are not with them; our group up to 1906-10 is another one—the one with still rising consumptions.

SOME COUNTRIES BEGINNING TO "SOBER UP" (Liters Pure Alcohol)

	1851-60	1861-70	1871-80	1881-90	1891-95	'96-1900	1901-05	1906-10
<i>Germany—</i>								
Distilled liquor	.....	.....	4.45	4.20	4.40	4.34	4.04	3.65
Wine.....	.....	.....	0.67	0.80	0.76	0.87	0.92	0.67
Beer.....	.....	.....	2.38	2.81	3.27	3.47	3.56	3.15
Total.....	.....	.....	7.50	7.81	8.43	8.68	8.52	7.47
<i>Great Britain—</i>								
Distilled liquor	2.70	3.28	3.05	2.56	2.60	2.73	2.60	2.09
Wine.....	0.18	0.31	0.38	0.28	0.28	0.30	0.24	0.20
Beer.....	6.42	7.26	8.87	7.57	8.10	8.61	8.05	7.38
Total.....	9.30	9.95	12.30	10.41	10.98	11.64	10.89	9.67
<i>Switzerland—</i>								
Distilled liquor	.....	.....	.....	.....	3.05	1908 prohibits	absinthe	1.91
Wine.....	.....	.....	.....	9.11	9.98	11.01	11.25	8.35
Beer.....	.....	.....	.....	1.62	2.58	3.37	3.19	3.45
Total.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	15.61	16.81	16.47	13.71
<i>Belgium—</i>								
Distilled liquor	3.10	4.00	4.25	4.45	4.92	4.36	3.51	2.73
Wine.....	0.30	0.38	0.49	0.42	0.50	0.55	0.60	0.67
Beer.....	4.21	4.76	5.55	5.36	5.95	6.75	7.09	7.18
Total.....	7.61	9.14	10.29	10.23	11.37	11.66	11.20	10.58
<i>Austria—</i>								
Distilled liquor	.....	.....	.....	4.10	5.20	4.00	3.54	3.70
Wine.....	.....	.....	.....	2.58	1.89	2.03	2.05	2.25
Beer.....	.....	.....	.....	1.84	2.16	2.49	2.40	1.83
Total.....	.....	.....	.....	8.52	9.25	8.52	7.99	7.78
<i>Australia—</i>								
Distilled liquor	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.21	2.13	2.32	2.02
Wine.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0.64	0.66	0.76	0.30
Beer.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.76	3.19	3.24	3.33
Total.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5.61	5.98	6.32	5.65
<i>Canada—</i>								
Distilled liquor	.....	3.82	3.46	2.31	1.90	1.70	2.22	2.11
Wine.....	.....	0.11	0.21	0.08	0.07	0.06	0.67	0.07
Beer.....	.....	0.51	0.59	0.66	0.81	0.89	1.14	1.13
Total.....	.....	3.94	4.26	3.05	2.78	2.65	3.43	3.31

The tables on page 421 give some of the countries whose consumption up to 1906-10 was still rising. Dr. Gabriëlsson, however, says that had several of the countries with rising consumptions been carried on to 1914 they, too, would have begun to bend to the command of modern science.

This is true of the United States. Our per capita consumption has not risen since 1907, when the new prohibition wave began. Then it reached its highest point, but since then has hung about stationary, very slightly declining. Dr. Gabriëlsson calls attention to our marked decline in distilled liquor consumption between 1850-70; it never rose to its former height again. But beer has carried our consumption almost steadily upward. It is odd that the average man should think us primarily a great whiskey-drinking country.

SOME COUNTRIES WITH A RISING CONSUMPTION

(Liters Pure Alcohol)

	1851-60	1861-70	1871-80	1881-90	1891-95	'96-1900	1901-05	1906-10
<i>United States—</i>								
Distilled liquor	4.83	2.00	2.70	2.90	2.63	2.11	2.67	2.76
Wine.....	0.16	0.18	0.26	0.24	0.20	0.19	0.25	0.32
Beer.....	0.45	0.80	1.34	2.12	2.92	2.95	3.35	3.81
Total.....	5.44	2.98	4.30	5.26	5.75	5.25	6.27	6.89
<i>France—</i>								
Distilled liquor	2.04	2.41	2.84	3.92	4.27	4.49	3.56	4.41
Wine.....	6.30	10.50	10.71	9.88	9.56	13.67	14.60	15.12
Beer.....	0.70	0.86	0.91	0.98	1.04	1.13	1.62	1.68
Cider.....	0.64	0.78	....	1.44	2.53	1.96	1.88	1.72
Total.....	9.68	14.55	....	16.22	17.40	21.25	21.66	22.93
<i>Italy—</i>								
Distilled liquor	....	....	0.53	0.87	0.61	0.58	0.67	0.51
Wine.....	....	....	....	12.38	12.14	11.93	14.85	16.72
Beer.....	....	....	....	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.06
Total.....	....	....	....	13.28	12.77	12.53	15.55	17.29
<i>Russian Europe—</i>								
Distilled liquor	....	4.25	....	....	2.40	2.50	2.62	3.05
Wine.....	....	....	....	....	0.40	0.44	0.48	0.10
Beer.....	....	....	....	0.15	0.18	0.20	0.23	0.26
Total.....	....	....	....	....	2.98	3.14	3.33	3.41

If you will take the trouble to study the above tables of the United States, Canada, Germany, Sweden, Belgium, Austria, Switzerland, Great Britain, Norway, you will see a marked liquor event of the nineteenth century—the invasion of beer.

In the old days men got drunk on beer, ales, wine and mead. Then about the fifteenth century distilled liquors appeared, supposed to have come from the Arabs. Gradually these heavier drinks somewhat drove out the lighter drinks. So it was with us, and many other countries. Lecky in his *England in the Eighteenth Century* describes the gin epidemic as the most momentous fact, considering all its consequences, in the century. In 1825 England lowered the duty on distilled liquor, and drinking and crime rose to alarming heights.⁶

Fighting Hard Liquor with Beer

THOROUGHLY frightened, England called upon men to drink beer. Said Lord Brougham: "Under the circumstances beer is a moral species of beverage." Gradually, in that early temperance wave, the idea spread that beer was the way out of the drink evil, and you can see it spread in some of the tables above. Distilled liquor consumption retires somewhat, and beer consumption takes its place.

This idea was very prevalent in the United States in the seventies. The Massachusetts Board of Health issued a pamphlet, which was widely copied, saying that drinking was cosmic. It was cosmic to drink wine in southern lands and beer in the United States. "The trouble with these great thinkers is," said John Bright, "that they so often think wrong." The tables show that the great befriending of beer in the nineteenth century was not the way out of the drink evil.

To sum up, then, the above tables as they concern ourselves: We have a lower consumption than many of our sister countries, but our consumption has not responded so quickly to the modern scientific movement against alcohol as has theirs. I think the explanation partly this: Our lower per capita

⁶ Dorchester, Liquor Problem in All Ages.

consumption (in terms of pure alcohol) is due in a measure to our forebears who, between 1825-60, carried on an active fight for total abstinence plus prohibition. By this fight they presented us with what few foreign nations have, a large class that tends totally to abstain—a great health asset.

After the Civil War we relaxed our strenuous anti-alcohol crusade, so far as the bulk of influential men were concerned, but the women did their best and the Women's Christian Temperance Union and other faithful workers did enough to retain for us our dry middle class. But they could not keep consumption from rising against two forces, the incoming foreign immigration, people with the drink custom born and bred in them, and the bad influence exerted by the more academic classes who often stood for moderation and open saloons.

When the Kaiser Snubbed John Barleycorn

GERMANY has not begun to have the anti-alcohol education and agitation that our country has had, but hers has told faster on recent consumption. First, because she has a more stationary population to educate; second, because her education has come from the top down, from the trained scientist, the physician, from the Kaiser himself. When you are trying to kill a custom one snub from the natural leaders, business men, physicians, is worth years of snubbing from good women or from the working classes. Our natural leaders have been so reluctant to "cut" John Barleycorn.⁷ Professor Forel on a visit to this country said: "There appears very plainly animosity against the kind of procedure of the religious women who direct the movement and especially the fear of compromising one's scientific position with such elements. The fear of compromising one's scientific position by siding against alcohol is unscientific. It is also disgraceful human weakness."

That great English statesman, Gladstone, said that in the many years of his public life, the titled and cultivated classes had been on the wrong side of every movement. It always seems to me somewhat thus. Great movements usually come out of what men call "the smell for truth" of the great mass of mankind, come out of mass common sense. The rich or the trained sometimes tend to lose this vision without which the people perish. First, because comfort makes men slow to change anything; second, because trained thinkers are reluctant to move until they have scientific evidence proved to the last analysis.

But luckily in this alcohol question laboratory evidence is now joining hands with the common sense instinct of the middle class and swelling the call for total abstinence. The scientific man who now stays outside this world-movement is really harkening to the things he despises—tradition, prejudice. The tables above show that abroad scientific evidence is beginning to oust tradition, and if we are to bring our country abreast of our sister lands, by leaders and not laggards, we must educate not only the immigrant, but the influential.

This should be the task of social workers, for there is no one tangible thing that would remove such cumulative costs as would the elimination of alcohol.

⁷ When the Alcohol Committee of the Boston Associated Charities wrote to the Massachusetts State Conference of Charities and Corrections to ask if they might hang their alcohol education posters in the hall of the conference, the answer was that "every crazy scheme" was pestering the conference for admittance, but the answer to such requests must be "no." You cannot promote by such attitudes what the Scandinavians call the greatest of race-hygiene battles, the battle against alcohol.

[*What Grandfather and Father Thought About Drink, the next article in Mrs. Tilton's series, will be published in the SURVEY for January 27.*]

When Wise Men Disagree

Joint Meetings of the American Economic Association, the American Sociological Society, the American Statistical Association, the American Association for Labor Legislation

By *John R. Commons*

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

WHEN I asked an eminent economist what he considered the most significant thing in the meetings of the "learned societies" this year, he said, "the talk about coercion; they used to discuss the voluntary phenomena of society." And a Columbus woman who had been attending the meetings thought these were all associations organized to deal with legislation. So I counted the topics on the joint program of the four societies and found twenty that seemed to deal with governmental action and twenty-two that seemed to deal with voluntary action.

Just then, however, the man who was announced to speak on *The Place Which Accounting Should Occupy in Any Scheme of National Preparedness*, arose. I soon found that instead of talking about voluntary accounting where I had listed him, he was going beyond the limit of coercion. He was an accountant, and not an economist, and he proposed to have the Federal Trade Commission prescribe and enforce systems of accounts for about every business man, partnership and joint stock company in the country. His argument was good but naïve. The nation would then be in a position to show business men of the country how terribly inefficient they really are, he said, and by compelling them to know what their costs actually were, would induce them, without further coercion, to become efficient. So the accountant becomes the all-pervasive functionary of a supposedly efficient government.

At this point my eminent economist friend threw up his hands and went down under the tidal wave of coercion, while I revised my count of topics and found that twenty-one of them dealt with government action and twenty-one with voluntary action.

This question of efficiency bobbed up everywhere. Father Ryan, of the Catholic University at Washington, told how a prominent business man, now member of the Federal Trade Commission, had come to that commission with a feeling of opposition to the Sherman anti-trust law. When, however, as a member of the commission, he discovered how inefficient business men are, he changed his position. He saw that, without that law, business men would cover up their inefficiency and throw the cost of it onto the public by resorting to monopolies, agreements to stop competition and other forms of what is now rather facetiously called cooperation.

As a kind of finishing touch to this indictment of business efficiency, Professor Doten, chairman of a minimum wage board in Massachusetts, showed how the action of that board in raising the minimum wage of women workers some \$2 or \$2.50 a week, had coerced, as it were, the business men of that line of industry into a thorough study of their own incompetence. It was up to them to quit taking their inefficiency out on the living wage of women and girls.

So, our naïve accountant was not so far off the track, after all. Only he started at the back end. Instead of compelling the business man to keep governmental accounts the minimum wage law compels him to pay a living wage, and then he

voluntarily keeps his own scientific accounts that he may find out his costs and locate the inefficient spots.

This efficiency proposition took another direction in the hands of Professor Taylor of the University of Wisconsin, under the head of *Two Dimensions of Economic Productivity*. He had induced some fifty farmers in a certain neighborhood to keep accounts for a year or so. He had worked out standard units of measurement so that the relative efficiency not only of farmers, but also of cows and acres of land was apparent.

But, on the whole, there was impatience with the papers that tried to play up and work out these precise measurements. The discussions from the floor broke away from the topic and went after the questions, *What is the use of being efficient? What do you mean by efficiency?* The old discussions of economic theory regarding the "production" of wealth and its antithesis to the "consumption" of wealth, have now taken this new form—the antithesis between efficiency and liberty. *Why be efficient and produce more wealth if you have to do it the way somebody else tells you is the only way? Maybe you would like to be an efficient consumer of wealth.*

This issue was precipitated at the very start of the joint sessions of the four associations by the presidential address of Professor Carver, of Harvard University. He seemed to get back to the idea that *The National Point of View in Economics* is solely the standpoint of the greatest net production of wealth. Hence consumption of wealth and the happiness of individuals are relegated. Likewise ethics, fair distribution of wealth, such terms as "ought" and "rights" and "duties" have no place, from the national standpoint. The nation must survive in the struggle of nations. Survival, efficiency, production, *not* justice, liberty, happiness, are the national points of view.

By these conclusions Carver stirred up the whole menagerie. Evidently "efficiency" needed definition. Apparently the associations were wrestling with several kinds of efficiency—for example, the coercive efficiency of government and the voluntary efficiency of people.

This swing toward government action would have been even more pronounced than it was had not the Political Science Association this year gone off by itself and held its meetings in Cincinnati. The Economic Association tries to be non-committal and academic on these questions. It is a forum, not a hustings. For this reason propagandist associations have been splitting off from it. One of these has definitely committed itself to the promotion of governmental action. This is the Association for Labor Legislation. Its president, Irving Fisher, of Yale University, under the heading, *The Need for Health Insurance*, gave what will doubtless prove to be the most telling brief summary of the case for use in propaganda. After his well-known fifteen years of study of the preventability of sickness, he is convinced, he says, that the great virtue of universal compulsory health

insurance, "for decades, perhaps for centuries to come, will lie in the prevention of illness." Then he showed how "the immediate financial motive to reduce illness" will operate upon localities, upon trades, upon employers and upon employes. Incidentally did he bring out the point that, by the elimination of casualty companies and the substitution of the mutual associations provided in the "model" bill of the association, the cost of collection, the cost of advertising, and other costs of securing business, as well as lapses and the necessity for accumulating a large actuarial reserve, would be entirely eliminated.

The main contribution to an understanding of the proposed legislation was made by Dr. Alexander Lambert, chairman of the Social Insurance Committee of the American Medical Association. While it is the profession of the accountant that is raised into social significance in the case of minimum wage legislation, it is the physician who becomes a social functionary in the case of health insurance. The whole problem resolves itself into how to get, keep and organize the doctors for cure and prevention of illness. The issue was brought out quite clearly by Dr. Lambert, and his own position and that of the association was unmistakable. Instead of making the physician a government official, subject to all that we know under the head of "politics," the physician is to be employed either by the individuals or by the mutual associations of individuals who actually pay their own money into the funds. The compulsory activity of the state is not to be used to build up a new "machine" of government doctors, but is to be used to induce individuals and associations to choose freely their own doctors. The doctor shall then not only treat illness, but also act as referee to decide whether the sick man shall go "on the fund" and when he shall go back to work. Here is, of course, a crucial point in the health insurance program, and Dr. Lambert's explanation of the bill covers the ground in all its details.

A new line of labor legislation was brought to the front at this meeting. It was introduced by William B. Dickson, of the Midvale Steel and Ordnance Company. Mr. Dickson stated forcibly his views of the hardship, monotony and brutalizing effect of the twelve-hour, seven-day system in the

steel industry, in which he has been a prominent executive both in the United States Steel Corporation and in the company of which he is now vice-president and treasurer. The only remedy that he could see, after several years of unsuccessful effort toward bringing his colleagues in the industry to a voluntary agreement, was that of a federal law limiting the hours of labor in the continuous industries to three shifts of eight hours each, instead of two shifts of twelve hours. Mr. Dickson's presentation of the need for such a law was practically conclusive. The details of the proposed bill were submitted and discussed by the writer of this report. John A. Fitch, of the SURVEY magazine, who is the leading investigator on the subject, and who represented the American section at the international conference on continuous industries at London in 1912, showed the origin and progress of the one-day-rest-in-seven movement.

The extensive interest of the associations in the field of agricultural economics and sociology was shown by the many topics discussed under this head. The matter was thrown open by President George E. Vincent, of the Sociological Society. Either a nation of small farmers doing their own work, absentee farmers leaving the work to tenants, or large farmers with hired laborers, are the alternatives in this country for future agricultural development. Professor Ely, of Wisconsin, shattered some of the traditional economic theory of land and rent. He proposed a classification of land and cooperative studying of the actual facts, preparatory to programs of legislation. So prominent was this subject of rural economics and sociology, and so numerous have become the students of the subject, that the association resolved to provide an organization for the investigation of land colonization in all its aspects.

But the most striking event of the sessions was the proposal of Professor Sprague, of Harvard University, that modern nations finance their wars by immense income taxes; by taxes on luxuries instead of loans and huge debt-burdens on future generations. Supported by his thorough economic analysis and by the evident justice of commandeering wealth when we proceed to conscript labor, Sprague's proposal won very general assent.

The Schoolmaster

Dedicated to Walter B. Gunnison, principal of Erasmus High School, Brooklyn. Died December 19, 1916

By Florence Ripley Mastin

W H o ever love thee see thee stand
 At every shadowy turning of the Hall,
 Smiling as a thousand footsteps fall
 Upon thy ear. No king of any land
 Has held such court as thine. Thy gracious hand
 Has brought Truth's benediction. At thy call
 The feet of youth have scaled the shining wall
 Of dreams. Flaming they went at thy command.

There is a wind among the stately trees.
 Along the quad the music breaks and dies.
 Another year is drawing to its close—
 Yet, as the sunset deepens into rose,
 The night comes down with starry memories,
 And in the purple east thy sun will rise.

In the Service of the State

By John H. Finley

PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

WHEN I came to take the headship of a school in New York city I employed a physical training teacher to spend several hours with me every week in helping me to get, in the minimum time, the exercise I needed for doing my work. Before long I became aware that the boys in the school—two thousand or more in number—had themselves no instruction or training whatever as to health or the care of their bodies, nor even five minutes a day of systematic exercise in the school. This made me so uncomfortable that I arranged to have my teacher give to the boys as much time as he was accustomed to give to me. A few pieces of apparatus were gathered, the free use of an abandoned armory was had, and as many boys as could be cared for were given some training.

In that institution—the College of the City of New York, maintained wholly at municipal expense—there is now a most efficiently organized department of physical training and hygiene, and every student is required before graduating not only to undergo frequent medical examination, but also to take courses intended to promote health and bodily as well as moral discipline.

This splendid provision did not grow out of the meager exercises of my own initiative, but it followed closely after them and illustrates what has been recently done by the city for thousands of its boys, not only in its college, but in scores of elementary and high schools. I refer to this particular provision because since coming into the commissionership of education for the state I have said again and again that I wished something like this in kind could be done for all the boys and girls in the state, both in the country and city, and especially in the country, where it is erroneously assumed there is no need for such systematic instruction or training.

And now, that which was my first desire for all the boys and girls—the desire for their health and happiness as they undergo the mental and moral training which the state deems essential to its life—has with unexpected quickness been put into the general law of the state. By an almost unanimous vote of both branches of the legislature and upon the recommendation and approval of the governor, the state, in an act requiring just such provision, has given expression to its concern for the physical well-being of every child within its borders, native-born or alien. It remains only to give that desire and purpose, now expressed in law, its full and universal effect. The boy of sore eyes and face whom I found one winter morning in the snows of a mountain valley may have at least as much attention as the alien boy or girl in a congested block in New York city.

It is necessary here to make clear the purpose and scope of two acts, passed by the New York legislature in 1915, which are generally confounded.

(1) There is, first of all, this act requiring the *physical* training of all boys and girls eight years of age or older in all the schools of the state, public and private. It is mandatory upon the districts of whatever size, villages and cities, to make provision for this training; the state undertakes to contribute half the amount of the salaries of the special teachers or supervisors required for such tuition. The courses of train-

ing are to be prescribed by the Board of Regents, and to be given under the supervision of the above authorities.

(2) A second act provides for such *military* training as the Military Training Commission may prescribe (not to exceed 3 hours per week) for all boys between the ages of 16 and 19 who are "not lawfully and regularly at work." This training is to be given under the supervision of the Military Training Commission and not under that of school authorities or within school hours. Summer training camps are to be established for boys of these ages, attendance upon which is voluntary.

There is one, and only one, bond of connection between the two acts. That bond is the Military Training Commission, created by the second act, but required also to make recommendations to the Regents of the State University as to courses in physical training to be prescribed under the first-named act. The regents may or may not accept these recommendations. On the other hand, the Military Training Commission has authority to appoint a physical training inspector, with assistants, who may inspect such training in the schools and report upon it to the commission. The fact that such a service has been required of such a commission intimates a concern that the child shall be prepared, both in body and in social attitude, for whatever obligation one may be called upon to meet as a citizen.

The Military Training Commission consists of three members. The ex-officio head, Major-general John F. O'Ryan, has been in command of the New York state troops on the Mexican border most of the time since the creation of the commission. The other members are George J. Fisher, the well known and capable secretary of the International Committee, Young Men's Christian Association, and myself.

Of the program which the commission is to prescribe for military training, as provided in the second of the two acts, I am unable at present to speak, for the reason that it is still under consideration by the commission of which I am a member. This only I may say: that I accepted a place in the commission in the hope, first of having a part in determining the physical-training program, and second of reaching a program of training beyond, which would give every boy a specific activity for the expression of his "state-mindedness."

The commission has given its attention, first of all, to the physical-training program, which it prepared with the assistance of Dr. Storey, Dr. Crampton and others. This program was submitted to school superintendents throughout the state, and to men and women of highest authority in physical education, and, after modification in details to meet varying conditions in the state, was adopted and a syllabus was, upon like advice, prepared to give it practical application in the schools.

This program, when fully in force, should give such basic health education as no other state, or country perhaps, has ever sought through law and public agency to provide. It is a program for strengthening the physical foundations in which our higher intellectual and spiritual curriculums are to find support.

What it comprehends is set forth in the following statement, made at the time of its submission to the Board of

Regents: It covers medical inspection, talks and recitations in hygiene, and all forms of healthful physical exercise, such as setting-up drills, gymnastic exercises, supervised recreation, organized play, athletics, and a great variety of individual recreational activities. Under it health habits will be emphasized; natural play will be fostered; refreshing, invigorating and healthful exercise will neutralize the degenerative effects of prolonged sedentary curriculum requirements; the educational values of interesting play will be recognized and used; games and play will serve as attractive sources of educational development, promoting happiness, interest, sharper wits, obedience, correct posture and bearing, alert response, respect for rules, orderly conduct, courtesy, self-restraint, love of fair play and a habit of playing fair, loyalty, honesty, a sense of justice and duty, and a spirit of cooperation under leadership.

A feature of the program which is most promising in its possibilities is one which must in large measure be postponed to another year: that of supervised recreation for which home and club activities may be exchanged. Not only will the opportunity come in the highest degree, through this supervised recreation, for developing those qualities which are most desirable in American men and women, but through it will come also the opportunity of encouraging health activities in the home and other centers of social life, and of bringing home and school closer together.

I think of all this not as something added to our elementary and secondary programs—though it will mean ultimately a longer school day, because it will include some of the play-day—but as something on which all their disciplines must rest and in which they must be enveloped.

I think of the series of prescribed exercises not chiefly as a means of physical development, important as that is, but as a medium through which the fundamental purpose and ideal of the school is to be most simply and effectively and universally expressed and practically illustrated, namely, the purpose of helping the individual to a realization of his obligation to the society in which he lives and to readiness of spirit and body to meet that obligation in his daily life. On the state both the community and the nation depend in large measure for this early tuition, and it is gratifying that the state has taken the lead in this national educational service.

I find myself wishing that there were songs or civic and

patriotic rhythms, instead of numbers, to which these daily exercises could be performed—that the boys and girls could be made conscious that it is not for themselves alone that they go through these motions, but for themselves as happier, healthier, more efficient members of what the philosopher William James has called a “collectivity” (whether it be community, city, state or country) superior in some respects to their individual selves.

This is to be the supreme value of this program if it is rightly used—a program which is worth while as a health program, lengthening the lives of these millions of children as men and women, the state’s most precious asset; but it is to be worth more as a program of moral discipline and of social and patriotic service.

Speaking of this program, Prof. Irving Fisher, of Yale University, said in a public address a few weeks ago: “Above all, I look forward to higher health ideals, out of which all improvement in human vitality must henceforth proceed. These ideals will link health with patriotism. Our boys and girls will, I hope, feel that in developing their manhood and womanhood they are dedicating themselves to their country and to that broad humanity for which their country stands.”

In an article which I wrote a few months ago, telling how, when the great war came on in Europe, men with whom I traveled went to certain places to find their uniforms in which they were to serve their country in its time of peril, I suggested that every man, every woman, should have an invisible uniform always ready in home, office, factory or public locker, to put on when he or she was called to perform a public service of any kind, great or small; and I added that the weaving of this uniform should be begun in childhood—that is, the preparation for such service should begin in the school days. I prepared this article for grown people, but in the midst of writing this preface a letter came telling how a group of children had translated its suggestion into their own language and in their summer camp play had shown this “magic uniform,” as it was called, in use in the home, in business, in society. If this idea can be translated into the every-day work and play of the boys and girls of this entire state, through the help of this program, it will give a civic asset even more valuable than the physical vigor and lengthened life of its children in manhood and womanhood.

Children vs. a Great Machine

The Need of Reorganization in the New York City Public Schools

By Eleanor Hope Johnson

WHEN the New York city Board of Aldermen recently struck from the municipal budget an item appropriating \$10,000 for the salary of a business manager for the public schools, and reduced from \$10,000 to \$5,000 the salary to be paid Supt. William Wirt, of Gary, who is adapting a number of New York schools to the Gary plan, it again called attention to the increasing difficulties that have attended the administering of New York city’s public schools. These difficulties are only too typical of educational administration throughout the country.

Mayor Mitchel vetoed the action of the aldermen and the original appropriations stand. Meanwhile the situation calls for clear discussion and the formulating, if possible, of a school policy that will lead New York city out of chaos.

For some time public education in New York has been beset on all sides by criticism, advice and exhortation. Opposite opinions are held by those who from theory or practice are supposed to understand public school matters, while an effective method of administering business affairs has not been discovered and a plan of reorganization satisfactory alike to schoolman and layman seems difficult either to adopt or to install. To add to the confusion, there are many who feel that no plan of reorganization is necessary.

There are two ways in which the public schools of a great city may be considered. One view of them is of an aggregate of immature human beings starting out on the road to potentially useful citizenship, and guided by adult individuals who have been appointed to help them toward that end. The other

view is of a great machine consisting partly of real estate, partly of salaried groups of persons, by means of which necessary education is given out to children.

Both these views are important. Both are wrong when one is held to the exclusion of the other. A very confusing situation results when the persons who hold only the first view try to work with those who hold only the second. Worse than confusion ensues when, added to these two groups, are people connected with the administration of the schools in any capacity who think of them in neither of these accepted ways, but regard service in them as a means to personal prestige and aggrandizement.

A Semi-Independent Body

WHEN we look back for the beginnings of the present difficulties the causes stand out with reasonable clearness. A few years ago a new era dawned in the city's government. Ability to administer municipal affairs became a reason for election to municipal office. The new Board of Estimate and Apportionment, elected on a non-partisan and efficiency basis, attacked one abuse after another in the various city departments; men of whom the citizens could well be proud were gradually appointed to help in the municipal housecleaning and interest in the work of reconstruction grew steadily.

It was soon found that the waste of city money had been constant and enormous, so that budget-making took a place of unusual importance. More strict accounting was essential, and volunteer agencies gladly offered the services of financial experts to the board and the departments under its control, and these services were as gladly accepted.

One department, thought by many to be the most important of all, the Department of Education, spending perhaps the largest amount of money of any city department, was alone not wholly under the control of the Board of Estimate. It held power from the state to demand a certain fixed payment from the city and to spend this as it deemed fit. Power also rested with the state to make rulings with regard to this department which might easily be at variance with the will of those at its head, as well as of leading city officials. This department had suffered as had the others from wasteful, ignorant or dishonest city administrations, and now that the realization of a need for better things had come and housecleaning was attempted here. Note the difficulties in the way.

Besides holding this power from the state, which often only added to the confusion, the Department of Education was not headed, as were the other departments, by one man appointed by the mayor and responsible to him for the proper performance of his duties. It was headed by forty-six unsalaried men and women, chosen by successive mayors for all sorts of reasons—geographical arrangement, religious preferences, friendly feeling, sometimes long association with the schools in a volunteer capacity with or without a record of accomplishment. Presumably they were appointed on the theory that as interested citizens they would in deliberative assembly determine the policies of the schools, leaving it to paid experts, elected by them, to determine methods and carry out these policies effectively. But where we should expect to find a pedagogical expert to attend to pedagogical requirements and a business expert to attend to financial adjustments, was a board of nine, called the Board of Superintendents, with a chairman at its head. Some special powers were delegated to this chairman (the city superintendent of schools), but his authority was in most questions shared by his associates, men appointed for no special acquaintance with any one division of the subject, but because of a general knowledge and a more or less varied experience in school work.

To add to this complexity, the board of forty-six had found it could not deliberate successfully, partly because of numbers and partly because few of its members had been chosen with any reference to their wisdom and ability in council. It therefore had divided itself into a large number of committees on all sorts of school subjects and was deciding, or at least discussing, questions of minute detail regarding textbooks, buildings, teachers, janitors and many other such subjects. At the same time, members of the group of paid experts were assigned to various similar subjects, not in the least because they were specialists along those lines; and a third group of persons was employed to head various bureaus and departments dealing with many of the subjects which were already being considered by committees of the unpaid officials and by single members of the supervisory staff.

We cannot be surprised, therefore, that under these conditions budget-making, to mention only one phase of school administration, was an unemployed science, nor that distrust and dislike of each other grew apace in the minds of the Department of Education and the Board of Estimate. The friction that developed was pleasant to no one and soon became a source of positive harm to the schools. Added to this came the activities of financial experts quite unable to take any but the "machine" view of the schools, and of a few persons whose aim was mainly one of personal gain.

In these ways, then, the present situation arose. The Board of Estimate in its righteous zeal for better business management regards the school system as the educational machine of the city—as indeed it is—and wishes to mold it to that end, to all intents and purposes disregarding the more human aspects. The Department of Education thinks of numbers of children and numbers of teachers, as indeed it should; disregarding, however, the more businesslike view or being temperamentally unable to take it. The self-seekers, though comparatively few in number, have been high in office and much in the public eye, and personal relations and reactions have most influenced them. And now the public, a bit slow it would seem, is at last aroused but does not in the least know where it stands.

Poor Accounting and Worse Economies

AT THE hearing on the first educational budget under the present administration, city officials warned the school authorities that retrenchments must be made and a stricter accounting rendered. A year rolled by and the time to discuss the next budget came. Nothing had been done. The Board of Education demanded a larger sum than the year before on the plea of sure disaster to the schools if it were not granted. The Board of Estimate refused, on the ground that its just and reasonable requirements had not been complied with, but promised further appropriations if plans of reorganization approved by its own experts were adopted—never a conciliatory procedure, no matter how justified.

Further recriminations ensued, with pleas from both teachers and parents to city officials not to destroy the schools. Instead of rendering wasteful departments more efficient, or efforts to curtail certain activities, desirable in prosperity but not necessary to the fundamental work of the schools, a mad frenzy of saving seized the whole department. With an apparent unanimity, amazing to interested outsiders, they began to lop off wherever any development toward a juster adaptation of the system to the weakest among its pupils stood out from the general uniformity, and, worst of all, they appeared to be tampering with the foundations rather than taking from the top. Kindergartens, classes for backward children and for the untutored immigrant, vacation schools and the proper assign-

ment and number of teachers in the lower grades were the first activities to suffer.

If the public-school system does not provide all the children of the city who are able to learn, even the weakest and slowest of these, with a full elementary school education, no other agency will. If the public school does not accomplish this effectively for pupils of elementary school age, much of the work it attempts to do for them later in their course will be wasted. It would be a great satisfaction to see a budget made out along these lines in times of necessary retrenchment. No guiding principle such as that, or any other, was apparent, however, in the work of the Board of Education on its own budget; as with budget-making, so with plans for school reorganization along various lines. Power to change old policies and adopt new ones has been sadly lacking.

During the last two years the personnel of the Board of Education has slowly changed and it has adopted a more progressive attitude. It cannot wholly control the situation, however, because of its complexities and the reactionary element within the department. Business efficiency, too, is seemingly impossible. The suggestion has therefore been made by the Board of Estimate that a new office be created—that of business manager or executive officer of the Department of Education—and the suggestion has commended itself to the majority of the board itself. It is difficult to understand the objections to this. The Department of Education conducts an enormous business. Such an officer would save his salary many times over by preventing duplication, doing away with extravagant delays and finding out and eliminating waste. No one who knows the

school system can deny for a moment that all these evils exist.

In past controversies the sympathy of the citizens has been with the schools, which need it sadly. But as a rule the Board of Estimate is blamed for cutting down appropriations. Different groups have different admonitions to give and advice to offer, and confusion has reigned in their councils. In the present situation the public, because it is ignorant of the necessity for such a position, feels that the expenditure of \$10,000 for a business manager may not be justified. Undoubtedly reorganization is the greatest need, but a business manager is certainly essential to efficiency under present conditions. In the last analysis, are not the citizens of New York themselves to blame for the whole confused situation in that they have permitted an important department of their city government to become and to continue so unwieldy that by reason of its topheavy nature it is quite unable to perform its task in any proper fashion? And is not the fundamental difficulty that of a faulty organization of the whole department rather than financial inefficiency or the lack of a progressive attitude toward education?

Better working conditions certainly exist at present between those groups of officials whose views of the schools naturally differ. A more progressive attitude is in the ascendancy. But no matter how wise and able some people in the service of the schools may be, it is hard to believe that a real improvement can come about without a radical change in the machine itself, and a more permanent readjustment of the powers of the educational and financial authorities of the city instead of one which appears to depend for any measure of success upon a fortunate personnel.

A Mental Examination in Open Court

How the Binet Tests, Given by a Psychologist in Presence of Judge and Jury, Saved a Man from Hanging in Wyoming

By June E. Downey

PSYCHOLOGIST AT THE WYOMING STATE UNIVERSITY, LARAMIE, WYO.

LAST April a brutal murder occurred in Rawlins, Wyo. The jailer of the county jail was killed by a young fellow, James Howell by name, confined in the jail for a misdemeanor. The murder was committed under suggestion from two fellow prisoners who had practically hypnotized Howell into submission to their wills. They had instructed Howell to seize the jailer's keys and open the way to freedom. Howell, however, proved inadequate in the crisis. The act of striking the jailer blotted from his mind, apparently, the reason for the act. He was found after the crime running animal-like over the top of the cage in his cell.

Howell had neither friend nor relative interested in him, so the court appointed an attorney to take charge of the case. From the first this attorney was baffled by the boy's seeming indifference and apparent inability to comprehend his situation. He would give little information about himself, less and less as time went on. Mostly he answered a question with "I dunno," or "First one thing, then another." He was either feigning loss of memory, or had actually forgotten all the circumstances of the murder, even those that might have been utilized in his own defense. Interviews became more and more unsatisfactory until finally his attorney was convinced

of Howell's mental unsoundness and had two examinations conducted, one by a physician, a general practitioner specializing in nervous diseases, the second by the psychologist at the state university, the writer of this report.

Physician and psychologist agreed that the case was one of insanity, the particular form being dementia precox, a disease characterized by disorientation, loss of memory and mental deterioration, so that at certain stages it simulates the condition of imbecility.

Up to this point the case had been conducted on orthodox lines. It is fortunately no new thing for the psychologist to be called as an expert witness concerning the mental status of the principal in a court case. Still more fortunately is it true that in our most progressive states the testing of court cases by physician and psychologist is fast becoming recognized as the standard method of procedure, and that in many instances the recommendation of psychologist and physician is final. Obviously, the examination should be a part of the regular procedure rather than instigated by the county attorney or the attorney for the defense.

In the present instance, however, an interesting variation was introduced in that Howell's attorney, Will McMurray,

of Laramie, conceived the notion of having a psychological examination conducted in the very presence of judge and jury. Mr. McMurray had been present at the cell examination. Up to that time he had wanted the psychologist's opinion as that of an expert; after that, he wanted the examination itself to form part of the evidence. His plea was successful—first, that there be a sanity inquisition without complication by other factors, and second, that the examination be made in the presence of the jury. At every point Judge V. J. Tidball cooperated with him in the interest of a scientific procedure.

For the first time, therefore (so far as the writer's knowledge goes), a psychological examination according to the standardized methods of the laboratory was conducted in open court. Here was an opportunity that any psychologist would welcome with extended hands—the opportunity to open the eyes of the public in a dramatic way to the contribution psychology may make to the intimate understanding of a fellow creature.

Making the Jury Understand

THE case required careful presentation if the jurymen were to catch the points at issue. Howell, it will be recalled, was suffering from a form of disease that induced a lethargic condition and a general passivity of attention. These made it impossible for him to comprehend a long question. To overcome his apathy it was necessary to attract his interest through voice, manner and personal encouragement; to get him to answer in return it was necessary to remember that he could hold in mind only eight or ten words, and that the long polysyllabic phrases, thundered at him by the lawyers, passed completely over his head and left him dazed. He could comprehend only as a child comprehends.

Essential to success, also, was the need of getting him in some way to respond to the examination, since the opposition would urge that sheer negativity and silence could be explained as wilful obstinacy or skilful shamming.

So definite was Howell's mental deterioration that it was possible by use of the now famous Binet tests to exhibit definitely the symptoms of a mind diseased, living in a confusion of time and space that no brutal insistence of the opposition could pierce. It was indeed fortunate that the nature of the disease was such as to permit the employment of the Binet tests, which, although designed for determining the mental level of the normal child and of the feeble-minded of all ages, have also proved valuable in locating specific mental defects in certain forms of insanity. Where a fall in the mental level is an outcome of the disease they are especially valuable. Record blanks for scoring Howell's answers were supplied to judge and jury and throughout the questioning Judge Tidball kept his score with accuracy and interest.

Imagine the attentiveness of jury and spectators as the questioning began with the tests for the three-year-old child. I realized that this beginning might make the whole affair seem absurd, since the normal adult, and even the child of eight or nine, finds these questions ludicrously simple; but Howell answered with the naïveté of a very small child. He pointed with perfect solemnity to his eyes, nose and mouth, and repeated after me, "It rains, I am hungry."

One question asked the four-year-old is whether he is a little boy or girl. For Howell I varied the question a trifle, asking whether he was a man or a woman. To my surprise the answer came hesitatingly, "I dunno; I ain't thought much about it," at which a ripple of excitement passed over the courtroom. Later I put the question in the usual form and Howell answered, "Boy."

The child of seven or eight years is able to repeat five digits,

but Howell was unable to give more than three, the digit-span of the four-year-old child. Again and again he tried to retain four digits; he would name them on his fingers as a little child might have done, but always in reproducing them he found that when he reached the fourth finger his bird had flown.

One of the Binet tests exhibits the capacity of a child to comprehend what should be done in a given situation. Asked what he ought to do if he were going somewhere and had missed his train, Howell said, "I'd run," and he insisted that he could run any distance. He would also run if he had broken something that didn't belong to him, or if someone should ask him his opinion of a person whom he knew only a little. Another test involves seeing an absurdity in a statement. For example, you ask the eleven-year-old child to point out what's wrong in the statement: "I have three brothers—Paul, Ernest and myself." The average child retorts, "He says he's his own brother!" In the cell examination Howell answered, "He didn't say how many sisters he had"; in the court examination he answered, "That's all right!"

It was the same throughout the examination. Shown a picture of a man presumably in prison and looking wistfully out of the window, Howell manifested not a flicker of emotional interest. He merely enumerated a few objects that he saw and, because the foreground was light, spoke of "Heaps snow," with no consciousness of the fact that the scene was indoors.

The effect of the examination was to demonstrate conclusively that Howell's mental age was that of a child between six and seven years of age. Only an expert psychologist could have "faked" answers so consistently characteristic of a given mental level. Fortunately, as one factor making court examination possible, Howell's narrowed attention gave little access to distraction by the presence of spectators.

The verdict was "insanity," first ballot, and to this the psychological examination undoubtedly contributed. This verdict was achieved in spite of the strongest prejudice in the community, and the accepted notion that the man was shamming, an opinion supported by the testimony of the physicians who had been called by the opposition. So completely had these physicians been obsessed by the notion of "shamming" that they had contented themselves with superficial examinations, which could not withstand the searching cross-questioning of Howell's attorney. It is a popular notion that mania is the one and only form of insanity. Howell was suffering from a disease very different; and it was curious to find physicians succumbing to the popular notion and labeling the boy sane because of the absence of signs of acute mania.

Criminal Acts—Not Criminals

APART from the intrinsic interest in the case itself, and one's sense of justice that revolts at any brutality of method that might lead to hanging a brain-sick man, the case is worthy of remark for two other reasons. In the first place, we must welcome every innovation in the direction of bringing into court not the expert witness only, but the scientific evidence upon which he bases a positive opinion. Secondly, any enlightenment of the public as to the need of intimate investigation of the life and mind of the so-called criminal should be welcomed. More and more we realize that there are criminal acts but no criminals, and that society, if properly alive to the problem, could protect itself and the unfortunate man who may become a so-called criminal, by discovering him before he commits a crime and saving him, not from the consequences of his acts, but from his own inherent limitations in adjusting himself to a world growing daily more complex.



COMMON WELFARE

SING SING LOSES A FRIEND OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

THE resignation of Calvin M. Derrick, deputy warden of Sing Sing, which took effect December 31, is again causing friends of the self-government program inaugurated by Thomas Mott Osborne to wonder what is to be the future of that reform under the new warden and the new state superintendent of prisons.

Mr. Derrick went to Sing Sing last August to take charge of the self-governing activities of the inmates. He had successfully demonstrated this method of conducting a penal institution during his four years as head of the State Reformatory for Boys at Ione, Cal. He was given a year's leave of absence from that institution and went to New York at the request of Mr. Osborne, who turned over to Mr. Derrick his own salary as warden. When Mr. Osborne resigned in October, Mr. Derrick became acting warden and drew the warden's salary from the state. The appointment of William H. Moyer as warden early in December created a new situation with respect to the status of Mr. Derrick.

The reason for his resignation, as given out by both the state Department of Prisons and the warden's office at Sing Sing and as published by the newspapers, was that Mr. Derrick had accepted another position. This is denied by Mr. Derrick, who said to THE SURVEY:

"I was given to understand by my superiors that the only relation in which I could continue my work at Sing Sing under Warden Moyer was that of 'confidential clerk' at a salary of \$1,500. The law does not establish the position of deputy warden. I did not feel that I could afford to remain at Sing Sing as confidential clerk, unless the salary of that position were augmented, as was proposed, from outside sources. Since there was some question concerning the legality of such an arrangement, I asked for an opinion from the attorney-general. My superiors informed me that the attorney-general would not render an opinion on this point. At the same time I was urged to remain as confi-

dential clerk and was assured that an adequate income would be in some way provided. It was suggested to me that I need not concern myself with the sources of this income, provided only that I got the money. In view of the doubtful legality of such an arrangement and the lack of any opinion thereon from the attorney-general, I felt that this was an impossible position in which to place myself, and therefore resigned."

Mr. Derrick had been promised a free hand in working out the principles and methods of self-government at Sing Sing. His departure leaves no one at the prison who has had experience with those principles elsewhere and removes the last avowed advocate of self-government from the prison administration. His place has been taken by John J. Mollo, formerly assistant confidential clerk. Meanwhile Mr. Derrick has been engaged by the Department of Corrections of New York city as a consulting expert on some of the problems facing the wardens of city reformatories. He is still on leave of absence from Ione.

The gravity of Mr. Derrick's departure is being interpreted by friends of the self-government program in the light of several paragraphs from Governor Whitman's annual message to the legislature, transmitted January 3. Drawing upon his speech before the American Prison Congress last October, quoted in the SURVEY for December 16, 1916, Mr. Whitman said:

"In swinging away from the brutal, it is not necessary to swing into the maudlin. It is possible to think of the rights of the prisoner without forgetting the rights of society. The essential feature of any sound system of prison reform is iron discipline.

"This kind of prison reform is necessary, not only because it is right, but because it is better business. Common sense and decency dictate it. Rightly conceived and properly administered, prison reform is social insurance. Not the least drawback to intelligent progress has been the revulsion against well-meaning theorists who have tried to proceed through sentiment instead of through system."

BOOM FOR SOCIAL INSURANCE IN MASSACHUSETTS

"I ASK you to consider carefully certain forms of social insurance. I am strongly of the opinion that there is no form of social insurance that is more humane, sounder in principle, and that would confer a greater benefit upon large groups of our population and upon the commonwealth as a whole than health insurance."

With these words, uttered on January 4 at almost the very opening of his inaugural address to the Massachusetts legislature, Governor Samuel W. McCall issues a recommendation with which the old Bay State is now ringing. Reviewing the grave burden of sickness, the heavy loss to employers, the misery to employes and their families, he points to the benefits in relief and prevention of disease secured in most European countries through compulsory health insurance and recommends that the legislature "establish a compulsory system with a reasonable benefit during the period of sickness, and that the system be made to include members of the family, as is done in many of the German funds."

But Governor McCall does not stop here. An even more extended discussion of old-age pensions immediately follows. Modern industrial conditions require provision against invalidity and old age which most individual workers are unable to make. The so-called "industrial insurance," under the management of private companies, is "loaded with an enormous charge for administration. This charge could be very largely done away with under a system of compulsory state insurance, and any profits of the business would be entirely saved to the insured." In industrial insurance premiums (mostly as burial insurance) \$12,251,000 was paid by the people of Massachusetts in 1915, says the governor, and only \$4,094,000 came back to them in benefits.

After comparing the contributory old-age pension systems of Great Britain and her colonies with the contributory system of Germany, Governor McCall

expresses himself as in favor of a pension of about \$65 per year, to be paid by the state and its subordinate governments without contribution, to its deserving citizens seventy or more years of age who do not have children able to support them nor an income of more than \$200 a year, and who have been residents of the commonwealth at least ten years.

An active newspaper discussion has followed on the heels of the governor's inaugural. The two great subjects of health insurance and old-age pensions are now officially before the people of Massachusetts.

UNCERTAIN STATUS OF THE LABOR BILLS

DESPITE the fact that hearings are going on at Washington before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce on the proposal of President Wilson to enact a law that would prohibit strikes on railroads pending investigation, Chairman Adamson of the House Committee introduced a bill of his own last week which is practically identical with the Senate bill. It has an added feature of importance, however. It provides that no railroad shall either require or permit its men to work over eight hours a day unless permitted to do so by an order of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Incomplete polls among members of Congress indicate that no measure forbidding railway employes to quit work will secure a majority in either branch. From the White House come intimations that a measure merely requiring investigation of railroad industrial disputes, and publication of the findings, will be acceptable as a last resort in the President's attempt to prevent a walkout.

Spokesmen for the railroad brotherhoods at Washington have suggested no substitute for the Adamson eight-hour law, in the event of that measure's being declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. They anticipate another affirmative strike vote by the brotherhoods and rely upon this as their best weapon in dealing with the railroad companies if the law is found invalid.

Government ownership and operation of the railroads, now said to be steadily gaining adherents in both Senate and House, is looked upon by the operatives with suspicion. They do not believe that Congress will give them a real voice in the management of industrial conditions in the industry such as they now consider is theirs through the power of their organizations.

Labor legislation reported during the past year by the House Committee on Labor will not come before the House during this session, except through the unlikely chance of suspension of the rules. To suspend the rules in order to bring forward a bill requires a two-thirds vote.

Measures thus apparently sidetracked for the remainder of the sixty-fourth Congress include the Nolan bill granting a minimum wage of \$3 a day to government employes; the Casey bill appropriating \$42,000 for the establishment of an independent women's division in the Department of Labor, and the London resolution providing for an investigation and report on the subject of social insurance.

Chairman David J. Lewis of the House Committee had expected to secure a vote on several measures. But the call of committees, taking place unexpectedly and when he was absent from the chamber, gave the floor to other committee chairmen who will retain it until March.

While the women's division bill is thus held up indefinitely in the House, it has been reported in seriously crippled form in the Senate. As brought from the Senate Committee on Education and Labor by Senator Kenyon it allows only \$24,900 in place of \$42,000 for the first year.

TO PROVIDE A HOSPITAL FOR LEPERS

A FEW days ago, a seller of oriental rugs in New Jersey was proven to have leprosy. The man has been in this country but two and a half years. So, detained in a "quiet room" of the hospital, he awaits deportation.

The conviction forming in the minds of those acquainted with the facts, that leprosy is increasing slowly but steadily, 2,000,000 lepers are to be found in the Far East, according to recent studies by Frederick L. Hoffman, of the Prudential Life Insurance Company. At least 5,000 cases are believed to exist in countries under control of the United States. The disease has been found in eighteen states of the Union.

In only three or four states is there adequate provision for the segregation and care of lepers. Their interstate travel is not yet supervised by federal authorities, and they are hurriedly passed on from one state to another and avoided at every town.

A bill (S. 4086) providing for a national leprosarium was passed by the House at the last session of Congress. To avert the danger that in the rush of work at the present short session the bill may be overlooked in the Senate, efforts are being made to get unanimous consent for its consideration. The bill would transfer to the federal Public Health Service for a leper hospital any suitable military, naval or other reservation not in use, and would give the provision of equipment and care of patients to the service, whose officers assigned to duty at a leper post would receive additional payment. Apprehension and detention of lepers is already provided for under various federal quarantine acts.

The scientific as well as humanitarian value of such an institution as this has been frequently emphasized during the past two years since the agitation for a leprosarium was begun.

A relatively small amount of money is needed to carry out this plan. Generosity may be stimulated by the example of a group of Siamese lepers, whose income is forty cents a week. Hearing that lepers in Persia were in worse plight than themselves, they sent first \$8, then \$10 and finally a special gift of \$12 for relief. Perhaps their next donation will be to the American leprosarium!

THE DOVE OF PEACE AS A CARRIER PIGEON

THE sly dove of peace has now for the third time escaped the British censor's cage, and flown to America with messages of English longing for the end of the war. Bertrand Russell and Charles P. Trevelyan have already smuggled in word [see the SURVEY for December 9, 1916, and December 30, 1916]. And recently Arthur Ponsonby, M. P., member of the Union of Democratic Control, and Charles Boden Buxton, brother of Noel Buxton, M. P., and known as an English diplomat, have sent similar appeals for early peace to the American Neutral Conference Committee.

Both letters hint that some secret diplomacy is unreasonably extending the war.

"The government is not aiming at a reasonable peace," says Mr. Buxton. "I do not profess to know the exact objects which they have in view. What I do know is that they must have other and further objects in view than those which the people of this country took up arms to secure. One of them, indeed, they have openly announced. They have 'approved' the resolutions of the Paris Economic Conference, which involve the establishment of a commercial boycott against the Central Powers. To add this to our objects means to prolong the war long after it might otherwise have been ended. Beyond this we are kept in the dark.

"The issue is now clearly raised between the original, legitimate, defensive objects of the war, whose realization might lead to permanent peace, and the new, aggressive and partially concealed objects, which would lead to the perpetuation of war in the Europe of the future.

"It is no longer for Belgium, France or Serbia that our sons and brothers are being called upon to fight. Belgium, France and Serbia might be freed tomorrow. It is for commercial boycott or territorial aggrandizement or a mere knock-out."

Mr. Ponsonby asks: "Are you sure

the war is not going on because of secret agreements we have made with Russia, with Italy and with France? What are these agreements? Ought we to go on fighting without knowing what we are fighting for?

"The only Powers that can stop this war are Great Britain and Germany. The Allies depend on us. Our financial strength gives us a predominant position. Would it be a weakness on our part deliberately to take the lead and bring Europe back to Peace? It is a far greater weakness to go drifting on just for the sake of what is called 'winning the war,' not knowing what winning means, not knowing what winning may cost us, only knowing how little permanent gain ever comes from the mere triumph of force.

"Force and violence cannot bring any government to reason but only to temporary submission. Force and violence cannot bring contentment to any people. Force and violence cannot create a peaceful Europe. Surely it is better for Great Britain to come forward as the champion of civilization than to continue to be a participant in the most hideous barbarism the world has seen.

"Liberty and justice are not the gift of any existing government. Militarism and oppression are characteristic in varying degrees of them all.

"What has been the effect of our attempting to crush German militarism by force of arms?

"We have established militarism at home. We have deprived men of their liberty, punished men for their consciences, censored opinion and suppressed free speech. Militarism can only be crushed by the people themselves in a country where a free democracy exists. We cannot free the German people by warfare, but we can enslave our own.

"The war for liberty and justice has yet to come. It will be the war of united democracy against the stale traditions of discredited governments—not a war of people against peoples. It will be a war against bad conditions, against poverty, misery and ignorance. The real enemy is established inside every country. It is the spirit of tyranny, greed, materialism, intolerance and militarism. It is the unfair distribution of wealth, the neglect of education, the idolization of riches. The victims of that enemy are to be found in slums, in workhouses, in asylums and in prisons. Why not make ready to fight that enemy instead of wasting life and treasure in the slaughtering of men who are as anxious as you are to turn their attention to the real evils that surround them?

"The longer you continue this European conflict, the outcome of diplomatic intrigue and the product of the reckless ambition of governments, the longer will the real war be delayed."



CRIPPLED MEN MAKING RAFFIA BASKETS AT CITY HOSPITAL

SOMETHING TO DO—THE NEW MEDICINE

"THE most important addition to health-making in the past ten years has been the work cure," said Dr. Frederic Brush, of the Burke Foundation, New York, recently. The therapeutic value of work for the majority of chronic and convalescent patients is becoming widely recognized. Earliest among the experiments was that by Dr. Philip King Brown at Arequipa Sanatorium [see the SURVEY for December 7, 1912]. Recently extensive work has been begun in Massachusetts, where twelve of the training schools for nurses now offer courses in manual training.

And recently, into the public hospitals and City Homes of the New York Department of Public Charities, an experimental plan has been introduced by a

committee on occupations, appointed by Commissioner John A. Kingsbury. This committee is undertaking to provide teachers of handicrafts in order to give a new chance for self-support and a return of self-respect and hope to the sick and infirm. Of this committee's work, Marion R. Taber, secretary, writes as follows:

"Most of those who come to port at the City Homes regard it as a disgrace. They have fought to maintain themselves and have failed. Many look backward or else 'just sit' until someone can take them out. This is not necessary. One old woman who always sat by some geraniums at the end of a corridor said to me:

"I had lots of flowers, too, when my husband was a tobacconist on Broadway."

"Do you tend these now?" I asked. "Oh, no; I might slop the water. An attendant does it."

"In the hospitals," continues Miss Taber, "worry over the future or over some permanent physical defect may retard convalescence. There is a moment when a teacher is needed. This depression was voiced by a little boy who had lost his right arm when he said to me, 'I can't do anything, lady—I just can't.'

"As far back as 1872 the visitors' reports of the State Charities Aid Association record this same dreary idleness. To be sure, some work was always done by dependents, but these were hangers-on, and January 1, 1916, saw the last of such unpaid help. Eight years ago the New York City Visiting Committee sent a teacher of handicrafts to our City Homes, and her efforts were so successful that the city now has three paid instructors. But these instructors alone cannot meet the need of the patients and



THE TOYMAKER

inmates of the Department of Public Charities, nearly 6,000 of whom are probably capable of occupation."

In 1913, Henry C. Wright, chairman of the committee appointed by the Board of Estimate to inquire into conditions in the charities and corrections departments, sent an investigator to visit large almshouses all over the United States. At no place was there a pretense of employing most of the almshouse inmates. They would employ the more vigorous, but fully 40 or 50 per cent were not occupied. A medical examination was then made of 500 inmates at the City Home on Blackwell's Island, and 58.59 per cent were found able to work; 41.41 per cent were sick or infirm—*i. e.*, bedridden. Many of these would, of course, be glad of something to do and should really be classed with the 60 per cent who would contribute to their own support. At Blackwell's Island, at Flatbush and also at the Farm Colony on Staten Island, much of the work is done by inmates; but it is not within the power of the superintendents at present to give work to all, nor to ascertain the strength and aptitude of the persons under their charge.

Finally, last January, under the leadership of Mr. Wright, certain members of the New York City Visiting Committee who had been interested in improving prison-made goods, called a meeting for action. The flood of testimony in behalf of occupational therapy was enough to float any new craft.

Striking emphasis was given the new plan by a letter read at the meeting, written from abroad by a former professor. He says: "You preachers of the need of the re-education of dependents are wasting your time in America, where you have to spend a whole day in the endeavor to get the president of a college to admit a premise which is self-evident to every shopkeeper in Europe. No one here can look out of his window without seeing a dozen maimed men; he knows that his sons, his nephews and his brothers are in the same condition, that he must help them, and that at any moment his own house may fall.

"He throws his arms up to heaven and cries in anguish, 'My God! I am willing, but how can I support them all?' That there is little use in 'getting a man well,' if he is to starve to death in a year or two, is perforce already generally admitted. And that the sick man can, to his own therapeutic advantage, do far more than the medical profession has heretofore contended is undeniably proved."

It was said that "there are more dependents in the United States by several millions than there are today in Belgium."

Generous gifts from several donors have secured two teachers and one director. These teachers will give their

first attention to the neurological patients. Three classes have been formed among the nurses at Kings County Hospital, Cumberland Street Hospital and the City Hospital. A course is being given at Teachers' College on occupation for invalids. Volunteers from Pratt Institute and Teachers' College, besides many private individuals, have offered their services. The attempt, if successfully carried through, will mean, it is believed, not only important preventive work, but an economic gain to the city.

ENGLISH GARDENING IN WAR TIME

"TAKE my own case," writes an English clerk. "I don't have meat more than three or four times a week now, whereas formerly I used to have it twice a day. Some men are certainly getting very high wages in many cases. But I should say that on the whole the standard of life of the workers has lowered considerably." He then states a number of reasons which are well known and proceeds:

"You will know much more about the influence of allotments and gardens than I do. But I can say from experience that they have been a greater boon to workers since the higher prices rule than ever before. From my own garden, which does not take up more than an hour or so of my time each week, I never have to buy any vegetables except potatoes. I was speaking only a few days ago to a railway worker who has two of these lots. (They are about a fourteenth of an acre each.) He candidly said that he would have been in the workhouse had it not been for the food he was able to grow himself. I have been on the lookout for an allotment for a worker for some months but have not been able to get one. Even where men have been called up for service, either a friend or wife has kept the allotment on for him, and there is no likelihood of any becoming vacant."

"It is surprising," a German garden expert (A. Steffen, editor of the *Praktische Ratgeber*) wrote a few years ago after a trip to England, "that English workpeople grow hardly anything but flowers. In our little gardens and backyards people mostly grow fruit and vegetables. I have been greatly interested in the social significance of these gardens. . . . Even in Blackley, a suburb of Manchester, climbing plants and flowers relieve the depressing uniformity of the rows of small houses."

As a reason for this difference between the practical German gardener and the flower-growing Englishman, Mr. Steffen discovered that the latter was tackling all his outdoor pursuits, including gardening, in a sporting spirit. By specializing he succeeds in growing for exhibition sweet peas, roses, asters,

daffodils, of which any professional gardener might be proud.

But the visitor commonly notices only the little front gardens in an English suburb, which are devoted to flower growing. In addition, most cities have considerable areas cultivated by industrial workers in what our correspondent describes as "allotments" which, owned by the city and sometimes devoted permanently to this purpose, are rather more than "vacant lot" gardens. They are not rented anew each spring, but tenancy is continuous so long as the weekly or monthly rent is paid. Since in England gardening is possible most of the year, and even during the winter it is possible to leave cabbages, celery and sprouts in the ground to cut as needed, tenants are willing to pay rent all the year round and, in some cases, to vest comparatively large sums in manures and frames.

These allotments at all times, and more especially during the present time of high prices, are of real economic benefit to small wage earners. They are so greatly appreciated that in the larger cities where land values are high it is impossible for the city government to provide enough of them. Even where the municipal effort is amplified by philanthropic provision of vacant lots, there are normally many times more applicants than available lots.

There is not, as a rule, an organized effort to teach the best gardening methods, though one or two agricultural colleges—notably Leeds—render such services in neighboring cities. But there is much friendly mutual help, and those who have never handled a spade learn in a surprisingly short time to grow enough vegetables for their own table. In a typical instance, the average yield over a period of three years, valued at the lowest retail prices current, averaged 20 cents a week per allotment of one-fourteenth of an acre. But in individual instances the returns are higher. The value to the family of vegetables freshly gathered from the ground is more than their retail price. In the case of men normally engaged in factories, warehouses and offices, the recreational value of the open-air occupation of gardening is also an economic asset.

Since the outbreak of the war, many of the gardens attached to small houses have been dug over and planted with potatoes and vegetables. Prize-winning flower roots and bulbs have been ruthlessly sacrificed to make room for food. In rural and suburban communities school gardening has been taken up with added vigor. Even in the absence of men, yields often have been increased and, what is equally important, have been gathered and stored more economically than before.

The provision of garden allotments both for rural and urban workpeople

was an important item in Lloyd George's ante-war land program. The new president of the Board of Agriculture, Mr. Prothero, once a fierce opponent of radical land reform, agrees with the prime minister on this part of his program. We shall, therefore, expect to hear shortly of legislation in Great Britain extending the financial provision of state and cities for the purchase of land to be devoted to allotments.

OLD AGE INSURANCE FROM THE BOTTOM SIDE

THE members of the Home Workers Union of the Hudson Guild, New York city, had listened attentively to the exposition of a contributory old-age insurance scheme. At the end of the address a discussion was called for.

Mrs. Haley was the first to respond. She rose with difficulty. Spending the greater part of every day on one's knees scrubbing is not conducive to agility.

"I don't suppose there's one of us here," Mrs. Haley said, "but what's had spells of wondering what's going to happen to us when we get too old to work any more. Now this insurance plan, so far as I can make it out, seems to be a mighty good thing for most men and a mighty poor one for most women. Men that's working steady won't have any trouble, as their part of the insurance will be paid regularly by their employer out of their wages. And some women will be fixed the same way. But how about women that goes out by the day and has maybe four or five different employers every week? How about us? This insurance don't seem to give any plan for getting us a share. Don't we get old too? And won't we need the money as bad as the others?"

"Anyhow we're after makin' something as long as we can keep goin'," put in Mrs. Murphy, "and there'll maybe be some way for us that's earnin' to get in on the insurance even if our employment ain't regular. But what's to become of the woman that stays at home and takes care of the house and raises the children? It seems to me she's the worst off of all of us. Maybe her husband will get some insurance if he lives long enough, but like as not it won't be enough for both of them, and why isn't her work as deservin' of a reward as his? Goodness knows it ain't any easier."

"Folks with families has their children to depend on," suggested Mary Mulligan.

"I've had ten children," said Mrs. Harrigan, "and I've got them all pretty well raised. There ain't one of them that would refuse me a home when I get too old to do for myself, but some of them has families of their own already and all of them will probably have about as much as they can do to look out for themselves and their children. I've always felt so far that I was earnin' my



way even if I wasn't getting paid for it and I don't like the idea of getting to be a burden to anyone."

"It's straight old-age pensions like army men gets and not insurance that we're needin' in my opinion," said Mrs. Mulligan.

"And I can tell you, ladies," added Mrs. Murphy impressively, "that we won't be after gettin' any of it until we have the vote."

MERGING SOCIAL AGENCIES IN PHILADELPHIA

THE beginning of 1917 sees the adoption of several new and interesting amalgamations of the many kinds of social work now carried on in the special interest of children in Philadelphia. Formerly there was a Child Labor Association, a Public Education Association and a Child Federation. The titles of the first two sufficiently describe their work. The third interested itself primarily in public health work with children, and while the reduction of the infant mortality rate was its chief concern, it did not confine its activities exclusively to baby-saving.

Of these three societies, the first two effected a coalition a few years ago under the name of Public Education and Child Labor Association. In 1917 this association is to experiment with a consolidation with the Child Federation. It is definitely understood that the arrangement is tentative, the effective agreement to be renewed at the end of the year if it proves mutually satisfactory. Meanwhile the more inclusive name of Child Federation will serve for both. Each organization retains its own executive head, Albert Cross for the Child Federation and B. M. Watson for the Public Education and Child Labor Association, and each organization has definite and approxi-

mately equal representation on the executive committee and the staff of officers.

The immediate aim of this consolidation is the reduction of overhead charges. It is estimated that a direct saving of \$3,000 a year will result at once and that there will be other savings. It is expected that a closer coordination of the work of these associations will bring forth proportionately larger results.

The Municipal Court of Philadelphia is also consolidating certain of its hitherto separate departments. It began three years ago with five courts, as follows: one criminal, two civil, one domestic relations and one juvenile. Since then it has added a court for misdemeanants. Social investigation and probation work has been done with all but the civil cases. Of the personnel of the court—some 270 in number—a hundred are probation officers. These had been divided into two groups: those working in the domestic relations, criminal and misdemeanor courts were under a "supervisor of probation officers," those working in the juvenile court were under a "chief probation officer." Both officers were directly responsible to the president judge of the court. The supervisor received a salary of \$2,500, the chief probation officer \$3,000. On the resignation of the latter, Thomas G. Parris, the former, Jane Deeter Rippin, was promoted by President Judge Charles L. Brown to the new position of chief probation officer at \$5,000, and the two groups of probation officers came under one head.

While no detailed plan of reorganization has been announced, it is understood that the Juvenile Court will thus be brought into closer relation with the other branches, and a "family court" will be evolved in the course of time.

URBAN LAND RECLAMATION FOR ST. LOUIS

CITIZENS of St. Louis have become restless of late because other industrial centers on the Mississippi have grown more rapidly. St. Louis, expanding like most cities without plan and order, has reached the inevitable phase in urban development when it no longer competes successfully with smaller communities in the offer of attractive, cheap and accessible sites for factories and homes.

Yet, with a special effort, directed by intelligent planning, it is possible to overcome any temporary handicaps. Nor is the effort required so very great. This is clearly shown in a report issued by the City Plan Commission on the valley of the Des Peres, a small tributary of the Mississippi. Here, within the city limits, is an area of nearly a thousand acres, now rendered useless by occasional floods and by repulsive odors from sewage which this stream carries and at times distributes over the adjacent lands. Such an area is not only a dead loss to the city, so far as taxable value is concerned, but it depreciates the advantages of the city as a whole. The economic loss from leaving this acreage unused and a nuisance must, capitalized, amount to a huge sum. To reclaim it by building a storm-water channel, closed sewers, and other works, according to the commission's report, will cost less than \$6,000,000.

But mere reclamation in a modern city is not enough to make land available for the greatest utility of which it is capable. There must be a careful plan of transit connections to give access to every part of it, and there must be provided amenities for industrial and domestic life. The fact which distinguishes the River Des Peres plan from many other city plans for land reclamation is its clear realization of the complex needs of modern urban development. At an added expenditure of a little over \$2,000,000, the commission proposes to construct a double-tracked industrial railroad, a semi-circular driveway connecting the main arteries—and incidentally offering a view of interesting scenery—and a viaduct giving direct access from the area to the largest park on that side of the city.

Equally important are those parts of the plan which cost nothing but foresight and the services of a city planning staff, namely, the careful subdivision of the area into residential and manufacturing zones, the drafting of regulations which will preserve the character of both, and a preliminary planning of the main streets on lines which will make them satisfactory traffic-bearers and distributors when the area is completely developed. The saving in subsequent street widenings and re-planning alone which will result from the adoption now of a

street plan calculated to meet future needs will represent an economy, judging from the experience of nearly all great cities, which will pay several times over for the actual cost involved in the immediate project.

The commission, in the report, lays emphasis on the fact that "the establishment of residential and industrial districts will cost nothing; the extension of the major streets will be consummated gradually, but should be planned now, the cost of such street construction to be borne partly by the abutters and partly by the city in the customary manner."

It is only within recent years that American cities have tackled a job of this character in so far-seeing a manner.

PORTO RICAN WORKERS RE- TAIN THEIR BALLOT

AGREEMENT by the official Porto Rican commission, sent to Washington to urge the early enactment of the Jones bill providing for civil government in the island, that there shall be no property qualification for membership in the legislature, and no restriction of the franchise of those who are now entitled to vote, is hailed by Washington labor leaders as a victory for the labor movement in Porto Rico and a setback for the sugar, tobacco and coffee companies that have been potent in the administration of the island.

Governor Yager, who sponsored the proviso in the House bill limiting the suffrage to the literate or to those paying taxes of \$3 annually, testified that the illiterate mass of the workers in Porto Rico had been used by certain employers for the corruption of politics.

Santiago Iglesias, president of the Free Federation of Workers of Porto Rico and organizer for the American Federation of Labor, retorted that the governor's own reports showed that there had been no apprehension on this score until after the workers had become organized and had engaged in two great strikes, involving the sugar plantations, in which the government's activities were all on the side of the employers. In his report for 1915 Governor Yager had praised the manner in which the Porto Rican elections were conducted—this despite the fact that 75 per cent of the voters are illiterate and without property.

So sharp has become the division between the proponents and opponents of disfranchisement that F. C. Roberts, labor commissioner of the island, has within the past week resigned his office. He had come to Washington to support Iglesias' pleas to the Senate committee when he was summoned back to Porto Rico by the Governor, on the ground that the public unrest over the "high cost of living" required Roberts' presence at his post. Roberts refused to go, and gave up his office.

Action on the Porto Rican bill in the

Senate will be sought by the Senate committee early in January. The election which should have been held last November, and was suspended by special act of Congress, is set by the pending bill for next July.

THE FAILURE OF COUNTY JAILS

FETID cells, ill-smelling and without light; dungeons where vermin and disease abound; crowded, unwashed bodies, vying with their own excreta in giving off bad odors; damp floors and walls, untouched by direct rays of light; children and minors huddled in cages with men; idleness for days at a time for large numbers of men and women; these are conditions existing today in the county jails of Illinois and described in a pamphlet just issued by the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago.

Another pamphlet, issued by the California State Board of Charities and Corrections, gives a companion picture with respect to that state.

Together the reports constitute one of the severest indictments against the county jail system in this country that has been made in decades. The reports agree that this system must give way to state control of all minor prisons and that county jails, after being made fit places in which to live, must be used only for temporary detention of persons awaiting trial, while industrial farm colonies take their places for convicted misdemeanants.

The Illinois report, which was written by Edith Abbott, chairman of the Committee on Crime of the State Conference of Charities, wastes no time in discussing half-way measures of reform. It opens by saying: "The only way to solve the county jail problem is to abolish the county jails."

The report recalls an effort made in 1870 by the then newly-created State Board of Charities to improve conditions in the jails. As a result a "new jail law" was passed, requiring that jails be kept sanitary and clean and that different classes of prisoners be separated. These provisions, however, have never been enforced. According to Miss Abbott there are precisely one hundred and one different local authorities that must be brought up to an adequate understanding of the county jail problem before any reforms under the present law can be attempted. More than that, in two years a new set of officials will be elected, and the work must begin all over again.

Miss Abbott gives some interesting information on what are called "jail improvements" in Illinois. "The inspector for the state board," she says, "reported that the records of county expenditures showed that large sums were expended last year on what were called

'jail improvements.' But these improvements were 'not new plumbing, or fresh paint, or new bedding, or a few windows,' . . . but 'almost invariably a new porch for the sheriff, a new garage for the sheriff, a new bathroom for the sheriff, or a new hardwood floor for the sheriff. With the exception of the appropriations for new jails, not \$5,000 was expended in the last year in the state of Illinois on improvements on the jail proper.'

The California document views the situation from the standpoint of prisoners rather than of conditions in jails. It emphasizes the weaknesses of the state's whole system of handling petty offenders.

Of more than 31,000 prisoners received in California jails in 1914, 35 per cent had been in the county where arrested not more than one week before landing in jail. Of those charged with vagrancy only 30 per cent received jail sentences, and in four counties only 5 per cent were even convicted.

These men constitute a floating population of misdemeanants passed on from one county to another. They are sent to jail for five days or ninety days, according to whether a judge is lenient or severe. Recidivism is so frequent that many a prisoner, according to the report, boasts that he has been "in half the jails of the state." No attempt is made to cure or reform a man. In the words of the report: "He comes out of jail sometimes better and sometimes worse physically, but usually with less ambition, less self-respect, more knowledge of vice and crime, more bitterness. In a few weeks at most he will be back again. If he is defective from birth, he is bound to fail. If he is normal, but has formed habits of recklessness, irresponsibility, intemperance and vice, the jail sentence cannot replace these habits; more likely it will accentuate them. Suppose the man is not sent to jail, but is discharged with orders to leave town in an hour. How much better off is he? Granted that he has violated some law, what assurance has the community that he will not repeat the offense? He has simply gone on to the next county unknown and unwelcome. An already overdeveloped 'wanderlust' has been gratified; hatred of organized society is increased. Instead of an upward lift, we have given the man a downward push."

From such a premise the report goes on to show how the jail can never be more than for temporary detention and now institutions of a new type are needed for the permanent care of misdemeanants—lodging houses and labor exchanges for the unemployed, incidental offenders; institutions of the farm-colony type where the mentally defective can be committed for life; places of a similar nature, with more provision for

medical care, for the indefinite commitment of inebriates and drug habitués. "For the normal but rebellious," the report points to the need of "an indeterminate sentence to institutions industrial and agricultural in character where discipline and training are emphasized."

Farm colonies for misdemeanants in Indiana, Virginia, Ontario and Kansas City are recorded by the reports as showing the possibilities of this type of treatment. Indiana's experience in starting such a farm was described in the SURVEY for January 1.

Reasons for a state system of the character of this and the others mentioned are given as follows by the California report: state laws have been violated in most cases; migratory men should be cared for by the state rather than by the county; the "floater custom" is merely "passing the buck"; uniformity of treatment is lacking; short sentences do little good; recidivism would be reduced; sanitary conditions could be economically introduced; enforced idleness would be displaced by useful labor; discipline would be improved.

\$40,000 A DAY IN TRADE ACCIDENTS

THE total number of industrial accidents in New York state for the calendar year of 1916 will probably reach 60,000. This was the statement of Commissioner James M. Lynch of the Industrial Commission at the first State Industrial Congress, held December 11 to 14, at Syracuse.

"On the basis of past experience in this state and elsewhere," went on Commissioner Lynch, "it is estimated that these 60,000 cases will include 1,500 deaths, 120 permanent total disabilities, 6,180 permanent partial disabilities, and 52,200 temporary disabilities with loss of time of more than two weeks. The amount of compensation under the law (exclusive of medical benefits) for these 60,000 accidents will be in round numbers \$11,500,000, including nearly \$5,000,000 for deaths, nearly \$4,500,000 for permanent injuries, and over \$2,000,000 for temporary injuries. Or, translating again into figures per working day, compensation for accidents is being paid this year in New York state at the rate of nearly \$40,000 per day."

Enormous as these sums are, it was pointed out that they do not represent the total economic loss from accidents in New York state. To the \$11,500,000 would have to be added several other items, including the cost of medical benefits, of administering the compensation law, of administering insurance, and the wage and medical losses of injured employes which are not covered by compensation.

Quoting from an estimate prepared by the chief statistician of the commission,

Commissioner Lynch stated: "It appears that the total direct cost represented by wage loss, medical expenses and cost of paying compensation for accidents covered by the compensation law, reaches in this state \$30,000,000 per year at present. Reduced to a working-day basis, this means losses at the rate of \$100,000 every day."

A suggestive comparison was made between the economic saving which a very moderate reduction in accidents by safety work would mean and the cost of administering the department of labor. The total appropriations for the New York State Industrial Commission for the current year amount to \$1,139,784. If, therefore, as a result of the safety movement, the economic loss from accidents were to be reduced only 4 per cent, that would be a saving to the people of the state equal to the entire present cost of the commission, many of whose activities have to do with other matters than accidents. Or, again, if the number of accidents were reduced by 10 per cent, the saving in amount of compensation alone would equal the present appropriation for the entire department.

That a reduction of 10 per cent is quite within the range of possibility was clearly indicated by a review of the results accomplished by nine plants in as many different industries, which have been making vigorous efforts to prevent accidents. Of these nine industries, five firms had in two years reduced their accidents 40 per cent, and two had made a 50 per cent reduction. Another firm with longer experience had reduced its rate by 75 per cent in four years.

This congress, the first to be called in this state to discuss industrial safety, is expected to be the precursor of many similar meetings having as their object the elimination of the accident hazard.

FORTY-EIGHT-HOUR STANDARD ESTABLISHED

THROUGH the efforts of William T. Thompson, a member of the Arbitration Board under the Hart, Schaffner and Marx agreement in Chicago, and Judge Julian W. Mack, chairman of the Arbitration Board in the Dress and Waist Industry in New York, the strike of men's clothing workers in New York [see the SURVEY of December 30, 1916] was settled last week.

A conference was arranged between the American Clothing Manufacturers' Association, employing 30,000 men, and officers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. As a result of the conference the forty-eight-hour week was established and an advance in wages amounting to about 12 per cent was granted. These were the points for which the union was contending. The agreement makes the forty-eight-hour week the standard for the men's clothing industry of the United States. It has been

established in every important center for the manufacture of men's clothing, excepting Philadelphia, where a movement is now on foot to secure an agreement embodying a similar schedule of hours.

In New York agreements have not yet been reached with all of the independent manufacturers, but it is expected that there will be no delay now that the American Clothing Manufacturers' Association has signed up.

AMERICAN TUBERCULOSIS EXPERT TO FRANCE

TO apply to conditions in France the principles of the sanitary survey and administrative control of tuberculosis which he has so greatly furthered in this country, Dr. Herman M. Biggs, commissioner of health of New York state, sailed on the Kroonland, January 9. Dr. Biggs goes on leave of absence, the department work meantime being in charge of the deputy commissioner, Dr. Linsly R. Williams.

Initiative in this important survey has been taken by the Rockefeller Foundation, members of whose war relief commission in France saw urgent need for measures to relieve the situation there. Besides reports from their own agents, there have come to this country pleas from private voluntary organizations, and from a committee of French citizens in cooperation with their government. France has regularly a very high rate of tuberculosis, but as yet has no work comparable to the tuberculosis campaign in this country for education or prevention. The past two years have brought an aggravation through the exposure of hundreds of soldiers in trenches and through the crowded conditions of camps, that must promptly be reckoned with. To care for the soldiers sent home from prison camps or returned from the front demands a large and prolonged expenditure under expert supervision.

That Dr. Herman M. Biggs has been appointed to study conditions and to recommend measures is a tribute to his work in New York, both city and state—facts which you learn not from himself but occasionally from reports or conversations with those who have been for years associated with him. Dr. Biggs' work began just when the new bacteriological theory had reached this country and was being applied first to sanitary conditions and then more widely to methods of the control of public health. The first report made in this country on the sanitary condition of water supplies appeared in Massachusetts in 1870, at the request of the newly organized State Board of Health.

During the "wonderful decade" between 1885 and 1895, bacteriology as a science won its recognition in this country. Its possibilities for public health

were quickly recognized first perhaps by the founding in 1887, of the experiment station at Lawrence, Mass., where, authorized by the state legislature, the State Board of Health began its studies of purification of sewage and water. Michigan opened an experiment station the same winter at Ann Arbor; Providence, R. I., followed the next year with what is believed to be the first municipal laboratory of public health in the country. All these laboratories were devoted, however, to the sanitary rather than to the medical aspects of the science.

Then in 1892 cholera broke out abroad. A number of ships from Hamburg were detained at the port of New York. It was Dr. Biggs who then suggested examining the waiting immigrants by the new methods of bacteriology to detect the cholera cases or carriers among them. This led to the opening of a "division of bacteriology and disinfection" in the Department of Health in New York city, later renamed, with the modification of scientific method, the bureau of laboratories.

This was the first municipal laboratory devoted primarily to diagnostic work. Quickly examinations for diphtheria were introduced and also those for tuberculosis. Now a staff of over 200 in this one laboratory examines over 75,000 diphtheria cultures annually, in addition to the hundreds of other tests for tuberculosis and practically every other communicable disease.

In administrative control also Dr. Biggs has been a leader. In 1894, tuberculosis was not even a reportable disease. Steadily the influence of his scientific information and practical experience has been felt until legislation, municipal and state, not only exists but is enforced. And active means of controlling this disease are studied from the angle of every division in the health department and advanced by all the resources under their control.



A BICYCLE SWEEP

THIS velocipede street-cleaner was snapped on the Place de l'Opera, a thoroughfare as thronged as Fifth avenue. The "white wings" of Paris fly along on up-to-date bicycles, with a revolving brush attached in the rear.

SURVEYING THE HEALTH OF HOOSIER FARMERS

WITHIN the last few years health authorities, previously preoccupied with municipal sanitation and federal quarantine and regulation, have awakened to the fact that rural districts present their own peculiar sanitary problems. New York city's death-rate, after a long decline, finally dropped below that of the rest of the state. Such facts as this gave rise to the questions, Is there something the matter with the country districts? What should state health departments do about it?

While the comparison of vital statistics for city and country is a hazardous undertaking, even a superficial examination showed that people were dying of preventable diseases in the country and that an opportunity for preventive work existed.

A number of state departments of health have sent inspectors through the country to observe conditions on the farms. The inspectors are furnished with score-cards and the results expressed as sanitary surveys. In the nature of the case, very imperfect statements must be taken as to the health of the family and the standards for measuring other conditions are likely to be relative rather than absolute. Still, such pioneer work visualizes conditions as they exist on the farms and brings to light certain insanitary conditions.

An example is the rural sanitary survey of four Indiana counties, made by the Indiana State Board of Health during the summer and fall of 1915. Every house in the rural part of the counties was visited and the results were entered under ten subjects on a score-card: site, sanitary conditions, house, cellar, ventilation, water-supply, sewage disposal; barn, barnyard, pig-pens, coops; disposal of manure, health of family. Each subject was scored on a scale of ten, the maximum total score thus being 100. The criteria used in scoring were chiefly cleanliness, neatness, decency and comfort. A farm scoring less than 75 per cent was considered insanitary. On this basis, of 1,374 farm houses inspected, 84 per cent were insanitary. The average score was 53.

Perhaps the most important results were those having to do with water supply, sewage disposal and disposal of manure, the scores usually being in each particular deplorably low.

Altogether the survey of these counties, which are stated to be typical of the rural districts of Indiana, points out sanitary weaknesses in many rural homes and shows ways in which farm life may be made more healthy and attractive. That the farm needs to be made more attractive is emphasized by the fact that during the last ten years the population decreased in three of the four counties.

Book Reviews

SEX-EDUCATION

By Maurice A. Bigelow, M. D. The Macmillan Company. 251 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.35.

Boy
and
Girl



This is a book on education by an educator. Professor Bigelow is a trained biologist with a distinctly judicial mind and with the ability of a scientist to recognize the importance of proven facts as compared with mere assertion. He

has been associated with Morrow, Balliet, Eliot and Keyes in the development of sex education, and has been in a position to obtain the views of trained women in close contact with the problem. Clearly, his equipment is unusual.

The book will be discouraging to those who are opposed to sex-education on grounds of ignorance or mere prejudice. There is here shown great familiarity with all the objections; the validity of some is admitted, the irrelevance of others is proved; it is well balanced, never extravagant.

In the chapter on The Meaning, Need and Scope of Sex-Education, Professor Bigelow takes a broad view. He realizes that sound teaching in the home, though eminently desirable, is to a considerable extent impossible. He points out that teaching in the schools must be begun with caution, always with the cooperation of parents, and that it must continue from childhood to maturity.

In discussing the Problems for Sex-Education he realizes that it is first essential that parents should know the reasons for the need of instruction. He has more confidence in the results attainable by legislation than experience of others has proved sound.

The discussion of illegitimacy and the extent to which the whole problem is influenced and clouded by ignorance is particularly interesting. It is most encouraging to find here a caution in regard to the excessive stressing of immorality as a part of teaching. There is clear appreciation of the fact that teaching does not consist in simply imparting knowledge.

His chapter on the Educational Attack on these problems shows careful work. No claim is made that education is likely to work miracles or prove a cure for all social ills, but it is advocated as an advance certain to produce benefit. He points out that one of the most im-

portant aims of sex-education should be to develop a serious, scientific and respectful attitude toward the problems of human life. Further, that it should give a sufficient personal knowledge of the mechanism of the sexual apparatus to serve as a basis for a healthful and efficient living. The development of personal responsibility in regard to social, ethical and eugenic aspects of sex is interestingly brought out; and finally, that an elementary knowledge of the destructive character of venereal disease should be taught as a part of the general knowledge of the protection of the community against infectious disease. On this latter topic it is properly pointed out that only the essentials of knowledge are here necessary and that details are not only undesirable but may be harmful.

As might be expected, his views in regard to the characteristics essential to a teacher of sex knowledge are extremely valuable. Undoubtedly this has been a considerable stumbling block, not only in the minds of those who tended to disbelieve in sex-education, but also in the practice of those who were entirely cordial to such teaching. Unless competent teachers can be supplied no instruction should be undertaken. Children may be properly taught, and best taught, by women. At the adolescent period the teacher should be, with rare exceptions, of the same sex as the pupil, and it is properly insisted that men, even though qualified physicians, should not undertake the instruction of girls or young women.

Some difference of opinion may properly arise over his view that unmarried women are likely to prove satisfactory teachers for adolescent girls and young women. Certainly, unless teachers can discuss the subject quite without embarrassment, unless they are known to be unusually normal people, they should probably be discarded. Great balance is clearly an essential not to be found in the average man or woman.

Four chapters are devoted to the discussion of the teaching essential for the different groups. In the pre-adolescent years an important effect of such education is in the protection which it gives against faulty information and bad teaching. Professor Bigelow's discussion of education of boys and men in regard to manners with the intent of developing chivalry, with regard to the relation of dancing to sexual excitement and along somewhat the same line in regard to women's dress, is interesting but not entirely convincing. He is more hopeful

than some of us of the results to be obtained, and one might differ from his view that modern fashions in women's dress, though obviously intended to create sexual disturbances, is a problem which should be met by educating boys to resist it rather than by developing public opinion to discountenance it. He lays too much stress upon the responsibility of the male and too little upon the responsibility of the female. I should entirely agree with his view that the unprotected girl is entitled to almost as much knowledge of the snares and pitfalls of the world she lives in as is her brother. Though the nature of her temptation is different, protection, if it comes at all, will only come through knowledge of the facts and strengthening of moral fiber to meet it. More stress might have been laid upon the importance of teaching young women in regard to their responsibility toward the opposite sex. There is altogether too much assumption that all the sexual evils of the world arise from the uncontrolled wickedness of man and too little appreciation of the fact that the strain more or less intentionally put upon young men by women, not always young, is quite beyond anything which normal mankind can be expected to withstand. Blame in this regard should be more fairly apportioned if we are to avoid the sex antagonisms, of the existence of which Professor Bigelow is fully aware. His final confession of faith in regard to sex education shows the breadth of his grasp of the subject.

In retrospect, we may properly say that this book fairly represents the soundest attitude of the teacher of sex problems. Its logic is unanswerable except either by a denial of the necessity for such instruction or by a denial of the possibility that any education addressed directly to the subject can be of benefit.

HUGH CABOT, M. D.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

By Alexander Morgan. Longmans, Green and Company. 252 pp. Price \$1.20; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.28.

Reforms
for
Schools



The relation of education to preventive philanthropic work is the peg upon which Mr. Morgan hangs a loosely connected series of chapters on education. He sets forth with a brief analysis of the pathological conditions

of poverty, vice and crime, and the exploitation of the weak by the strong. For these conditions, defective heredity, defective environment and defective education are responsible. The chief remedial agent is educational reform.

In this setting, education is discussed primarily from the vocational stand-

point. The importance of a practical education, an education that shall turn out productive workmen, seems to be uppermost in the author's mind. This treatment results in a much narrower exposition than the title would indicate, or than is set forth in the author's preface. The rôle of education in preparing for the use of leisure time, or for the general opportunities of citizenship is but lightly touched.

In view of the recent output of books on education, this is one that will hardly appeal to the American who has more than an incipient interest in the problem. It may well happen, however, that Mr. Morgan, who is principal of the Provincial Training College, in Edinburgh, will find a group of readers in communities where educational experiment is not active or where orthodox educational theories have not been sharply challenged.

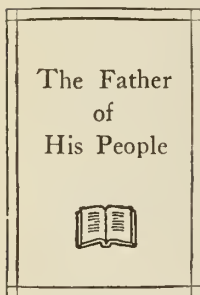
EMILIE J. HUTCHINSON.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

By B. F. Riley. Fleming H. Revell & Company. 301 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.62.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON—BUILDER OF A CIVILIZATION

By Emmett J. Scott and Lyman Beecher Stowe. Doubleday, Page and Company. 330 pp. Price \$2; by mail of the SURVEY \$2.12.



We have often been told that we do not know the real George Washington, the first great American; that his admirers made him into a myth, obscuring his personality. The same thing is likely to happen to the second

great Washington, save that he has left us, in *Up From Slavery*, a vivid account of his childhood and youth. The two biographies that have appeared since his recent death, November 14, 1915, contribute little new to our knowledge of the man and his work.

The first to appear is by a southern white man, B. F. Riley, who is in sympathy with the aspiration of the Negro for fuller self-expression in the South. It furnishes some new data regarding Washington's early privations. Its style is prolix.

The official life by Emmett J. Scott and Lyman Beecher Stowe starts where Washington's own book, *Up From Slavery*, ends. It tells of his founding of the Negro Business League; of his exhausting efforts to raise funds for his school—a task that occupied two-thirds of his time; and of his intimate relations, both with distinguished white men and with simple colored folk. The chapters descriptive of Tuskegee are pleasantly

written, but contain little that cannot be found in Washington's own writings. Two chapters attempt, not very convincingly, to show that while Washington was always diplomatic and kept on friendly terms with the white South, he was as radical in his utterances as his colored critics among the talented tenth. Some delightful anecdotes brighten up a book that on the whole impresses one as hastily put together, and that fails as a work of reference since it contains no index.

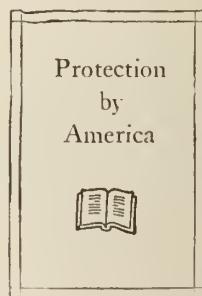
The authors, however, tell us in their preface that this is not a biography in the ordinary sense, and that the exhaustive *Life and Letters of Booker T. Washington* remains still to be compiled. We fear, however, that the promised work will also show us, not the true Washington, but the demigod, a figure set up for worship, and one that, like the figure of the first Washington, will soon become a myth.

What a story it would make could we see this great African-American as he really was! Intensely practical; worshipping success; impatient of all education that did not immediately relate itself to the life of the recipient; filled with a humor that overflowed in his speech and gave us a wealth of good stories surpassed only by Lincoln's; giving himself so unstintingly to the service of the Negro race that he died worn out at fifty-nine; tenderly affectionate to old people and little children; a dictator, desiring not co-workers but subordinates; ambitious; above all, human. We shall never know this "father of his people," but his work will increasingly be recognized and honored with the years as that of one of the foremost educators of the world who brought life-giving, practical knowledge to the poorest and the most despised.

MARY WHITE OVINGTON.

JEWISH DISABILITIES IN THE BALKAN STATES

By Max J. Kohler and Simon Wolf, American Jewish Historical Society. 169 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.61.



Though primarily intended as a contribution to the literature on Jewish history and not written in a form which will attract the general reader, the present volume is likely to help in formulating the policy of this country concerning European reconstruction after the present war. Its scholarship and authority give it unusual weight as a brief for American intervention on behalf of the oppressed Jews in Rumania and other Balkan states.

The authors are able to show, from a wealth of historical documents, that

the United States government, the Monroe doctrine notwithstanding, has for over seventy years—in fact, since the action taken on behalf of the Jews at Damascus in 1840—consistently used its influence for the benefit of the Jewish race wherever it was suffering from persecution, whether American interests were involved or not.

It is hardly necessary here to refer at length to the dangers which threaten the citizenship and religious liberty of Jews at the end of the present war. These dangers must be averted, humanitarian considerations quite apart, to prevent an unmanageable flow of migration to this country which is bound to occur unless the United States and the liberal powers of Europe succeed in securing for the Jews security in the territories which they now occupy.

In Rumania especially, in spite of the express agreement of the powers at the Berlin Conference of 1878, reaffirmed from time to time, the Jews are not recognized as citizens; yet, not being subject to any other sovereignty, the state compels them to render military service. The plight of the Jews in Russia is universally known and pitied.

Another problem is the possible further reduction of Turkish territory in which Jews form a considerable part of the population. While there is much testimony that under Turkish rule the Jews enjoy practically complete immunity from persecution, history shows that as soon as a state dominated by the Greek church obtains sovereignty over such territory, their security and freedom are menaced.

The guarantees of the past, especially the articles of the treaty of Berlin, for the protection of the religious and other liberties of minorities in the Balkan states have been useless because their enforcement remained subject to diplomatic relationships which covered a much wider field of statecraft. Thus, Emperor William I. assured Prince Karl Anton of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, father of the first king of Rumania, that he had no intention of holding him to the commitment concerning the Jews of Rumania forced upon him at the Berlin conference by his own chancellor, Prince Bismarck, among others. Nor have any of the other signatories been in a position—though some of them have tried—to bring the non-enforcement of that agreement to an issue. Similarly, lukewarm interventions on behalf of distressed Judaism in Greece and other Balkan states have never led to aggressive international action, because each nation had so many other interests at stake that it could take no risks on behalf of a purely humanitarian cause.

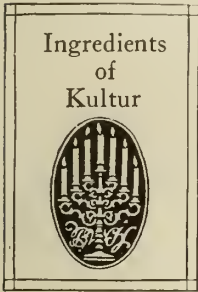
It seems that in the international conferences for European organization, after peace has been concluded, it will rest with the United States to throw the

whole weight of her influence on the side of the religious and racial minorities which will not be directly represented. And this influence, to be of permanent value, will have to be exerted in the direction of securing a permanent machinery, independent of the political constellation at any one time as regards alliances and rivalries, for enforcing the international decrees.

BRUNO LASKER.

CULTURE AND WAR

By Simon N. Patten. B. W. Huebsch. 62 pp. Price \$6.00; by mail of the SURVEY \$6.50.



Germans, pro-Germans and neutrals who wish to remain on good terms with the German cause, should read and master Culture and War. It is much the most convincing and seductive interpretation of Kultur that

has appeared in English. If other propagandists had presented the German conception as well, they would have made more converts and fewer enemies.

In this little book of sixty pages Dr. Patten is thoroughly himself—the economist of The Dynamic Economics and the social economist of The New Basis of Civilization. Germany and her Kultur furnish the text for reiteration, in a new and attractive form, of his philosophy of social progress.

Dr. Patten does not believe that a long peace is the worst of evils; that prosperity softens the race; that nations have their inevitable period of youth and decay; that the unfit breed more rapidly than the fit; that we are in serious danger of race-suicide; that we must seek a moral equivalent for war in economic hardships, struggle and disagreeable toil. He does believe in activity, in health-culture, in social changes which will insure a certain minimum of income, much larger than the day laborer now receives. He believes that the increase of productive power already permits the attainment of this minimum, that a new social level is now possible. Character is a result of longevity, health, income and knowledge, not of particular biologic traits.

Culture and War, however, does more than reassert these fundamental ideas of Dr. Patten's earlier writings. Along with its sympathetic interpretation of the new German philosophy there is an analysis of German thought—what the author himself calls "correcting and completing" it—which sharply differentiates the elements which may become a world philosophy from the national, accidental and obnoxious elements. War and struggle are foreign to corrected German

thought. Service, conformity to natural law, and growth are the basic ideas of this true civilization for which the world will perhaps one day acknowledge indebtedness to Germany as freely as to the Jew for religion, to the Greek for intellectual culture, and to the French for democracy. In each case national elements have had to be eliminated. In this instance, culture and war, Kultur and Krieg, must be completely divorced.

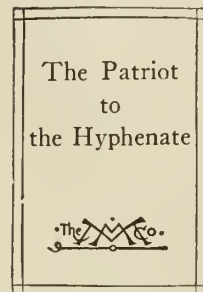
Dr. Patten is as strongly opposed to "end moralities" as any pragmatist; as enthusiastic for the "world pulse" as any Bergsonian. Yet he is distinctly himself, a vigorous, original, thought-provoking, modern American thinker. No German would say just the things that Dr. Patten, with his British and American inheritance, says; but any German of the wiser sort might wish that he had.

Americans of British stock and others who sympathize with the cause of the Allies, if they do not mind receiving a gentle shock from a battery in which there is not so much as a chemical trace of malice or bigotry, will find reading Culture and War a pleasant and refreshing occupation.

E. T. D.

THEIR TRUE FAITH AND ALLEGIANCE

By Gustav Ohlinger. Macmillan Company. 124 pp. Price \$5.00; by mail of the SURVEY \$5.50.



In decorated boards of red, white and blue, the Macmillan Company produces a series of fifty-cent volumes dealing with our national problems. One of them, by Gustav Ohlinger, is called Their True Faith and Allegiance. Owen Wister (who is himself the author of another volume of the same series, entitled, The Pentecost of Calamity) writes a preface exhorting "all Americans who believe in union, in Lincoln and in liberty" to read Their True Faith and Allegiance not once but two or three times; and Theodore Roosevelt in a public address tells people to read both Mr. Ohlinger's book and Mr. Wister's. Both pieces of advice are good.

The possessive pronoun "their" seems to refer to disloyal hyphenated German and Irish-Americans. Neither Mr. Ohlinger nor Mr. Wister has any patience with them, and both gentlemen are in such deadly earnest that they see no necessity for mincing words or sparing the feelings of those whom they attack. Mr. Ohlinger is especially severe on the *Fatherland*, the National German Alliance, its bulletin, and the German press in general, and the campaign for compulsory teaching of German in the schools. His little book is chiefly valu-

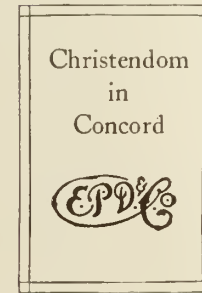
able, however, for its brief historical sketch of the persistent attempt at the Germanizing of the United States during the past century.

It is an anti-German campaign pamphlet rather than an impartial review, but it is not less interesting and hardly less profitable reading on that account. Much of the German propaganda in this country has been such as to invite just such rebuke.

E. T. D.

THE CHURCH ENCHAINED

By Rev. William A. R. Goodwin. E. P. Dutton and Company. 372 pp. Price \$1.25 net; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.40



The spectacle of war-ridden humanity is deepening the Christian consciousness and quickening the Christian conscience within the divided churches of Christendom. Challenged by the supreme obligation and opportunity to serve

the distracted peoples, the church finds itself, according to this author, "enchained" by its divisiveness, and therefore incapable of meeting the supreme emergency of her whole history. The links of the chain which fetters her freedom to serve are defined to be the logic of her formulas, which restrains the liberty of her life; the enjoined conformity to her orders of ministry and observance of sacraments which circumscribe her real catholicity; the exclusiveness of her emphasis upon the individual, which obscures and weakens her corporate consciousness and power.

The emergency created by this war, therefore, calls upon this loyal son and clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal church to plead for the "church of the reconstruction," and to urge his own church to become such by being comprehensive enough at least to confer and cooperate with other Christian bodies. However one may sympathize with his plea and respect the dignity and devotion with which he urges it, it seems almost pitiful to the average reader that the author is constrained to turn about from facing needs as wide as the world and deep as humanity to argue with his brethren who fear for the validity of their orders in case their church should cooperate with others.

In the face of a world at war it seems strangely incongruous that such an impassioned summons upon the church to meet the greatest emergency of modern civilization should be halted to plead for official permission to free this church to cooperate with others. But he magnifies his plea for the freedom of his own and all other churches at least to confer and cooperate with each other by showing how far the effect of this united ef-

fort would transcend the groundless and belittling fears of invalidating distinctive tenets. This conference and cooperation he suggests might begin in the Episcopal church by having its missionary and educational boards join in the councils of other religious bodies to provide the medical and educational service of the church on their foreign mission fields. It has already proved practicable for the Anglican and Baptist missions of Great Britain to cooperate in China with the American Congregational and Presbyterian missions in the educational work and equipment of the Shantung Christian University. While each of these communions is reported to be carrying its full dogmatic system into this university, the result is said to be "not discord but large and catholic concord."

To obviate the objections of those who are not willing to recognize, even to this extent, the parity of other ministering orders, the author urges the Episcopal church to be comprehensive enough to permit and regulate this larger cooperation of those within it by providing a conference and cooperative commission to supervise and promote the affiliation of such churchmen as desire to join in federated efforts. While regarding such federations as the Federal Council of Churches to be more temporary expedients than permanent adjustments, he considers these, nevertheless, as more promotive than preventive of that organic unity of the church which is the further quest of many in the Episcopal church.

Not since William R. Huntington published his volumes, *The Church Idea* and *A National Church*, has such a frank and fearless plea been made for cooperative federation as is urged from every angle in this earnest and able volume. If a divided Christendom made this world war more possible, not the least of the few good things to be rescued from the war's evils may be a more reunited church, federated for cooperation, if not as yet combined organically.

GRAHAM TAYLOR.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- ARMENIAN POEMS. By Alice Stone Blackwell. Published by Robert Chambers, Boston. 295 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.59.
- BATTLE AND OTHER POEMS. By Wilfrid Wilson Gibson. The Macmillan Co. 198 pp. Price, \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.34.
- CHRIST'S EXPERIENCE OF GOD. By Rev. Frank H. Decker. The Pilgrim Press. 335 pp. Price, \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.37.
- EDUCATION BY LIFE. By Henrietta Brown Smith. Warwick & York, Inc. 211 pp. Price, \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.34.
- A LAYMAN'S HANDBOOK OF MEDICINE. By Dr. Richard C. Cabot. Houghton-Mifflin Co. 524 pp. Price, \$2; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.16.
- LEAVENING THE LEVANT. By Joseph K. Greene. The Pilgrim Press. 353 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.65.
- THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CAUVOUR. 2 vols. By Wm. Roscoe Thayer. Houghton-Mifflin Co. 604 and 562 pp. Price, \$3 per set; by mail of the SURVEY, \$3.25.
- THE MENTALITY OF THE CRIMINAL WOMAN. By Jean Weidensall. Warwick & York, Inc. 332 pp. Price, \$1.75; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.90.
- THE PASSING OF THE GREAT RACE. By Madison Grant. Charles Scribner's Sons. 245 pp. Price, \$2; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.16.

- MEDIATION, INVESTIGATION AND ARBITRATION IN INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES. By George E. Barnett and David A. McCabe. D. Appleton & Co. 209 pp. Price, \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.33.
- A POINT SCALE FOR MEASURING MENTAL ABILITY. By Robert M. Yerkes, James W. Bridges and Rose S. Hardwick. Warwick & York, Inc. 218 pp. Price, \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.37.
- SOCIETY'S MISFITS. By Madeleine Z. Doty. The Century Co. 255 pp. Price, \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.35.
- THE STUDY OF THE BEHAVIOR OF AN INDIVIDUAL CHILD. By John T. McManis. Warwick & York, Inc. 64 pp. Price, \$.75; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.80.
- THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUE. (Hart, Schaffner & Marx, Prize Essays in Economics. By Yetta Scheftel. Houghton-Mifflin Co. 489 pp. Price, \$2; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.14.
- VIVISECTION. By Hon. Stephen Coleridge. John Lane Co. 240 pp. Price, \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.32.
- THE VOICES OF SONG. By James W. Foley. * E. P. Dutton & Co. 181 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.60.
- WAR BREAD. By Edward Eyre Hunt. Henry Holt & Co. 374 pp. Price, \$2; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.15.

- THE TEACHING OF GOVERNMENT. Report to the American Political Science Association by the Committee of Instruction. The Macmillan Co. 284 pp. Price, \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.10.
- OF WATER AND THE SPIRIT. By Margaret Prescott Montague. E. P. Dutton & Co. 56 pp. Price, \$.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.53.
- LET'S BE HEALTHY IN MIND AND BODY. WHAT TO EAT AND WHEN. THE WOMAN WORTH WHILE 3 vols. By Susanna Cocroft. G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, \$3.95 per set; by mail of the SURVEY, \$4.25.
- THE DRAMA OF THE SPIRITUAL LIFE. By Annie Lyman Sears. The Macmillan Co. 495 pp. Price, \$3; by mail of the SURVEY, \$3.25.
- THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF SOCIETY. By Carl Kelsey. D. Appleton & Co. 406 pp. Price, \$2; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.12.
- THE SINS OF THE CHILDREN. By Cosmo Hamilton. Little, Brown & Co. 352 pp. Price, \$1.40; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.52.
- SOCIAL RULE. By Elsie Clews Parsons. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 179 pp. Price, \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.09.
- WHEN THE PRUSSAINS CAME TO POLAND. By Laura de Turczynowicz. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 281 pp. Price, \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.37.

Communications

HOME RULE

To the Editor: A friend calls my attention to the possibility of misconstruction of a sentence in my article on Home Rule published in the SURVEY of December 2. What I said was that "the civil war settled adversely the question of independence for the southern Confederacy against the all but unanimous desire of its people." I should have said "of its electorate," and even this is perhaps too sweeping. I have no desire to overlook or minimize the union sentiment of Kentucky, North Carolina and other states, and still less to seem to deny the right of southern Negroes to be included among the southern "people." I meant only that the cause of the confederacy was the popular cause in the South and that, nevertheless, the overthrow of the confederacy did not mean permanently an end of home rule in the South.

E. T. D.

UNCENSORED

To the Editor: I have noticed lately in many towns that the moving-picture shows are cutting out the censored films and throwing upon the screens arguments against any censorship. As a result I have observed that the public is being regaled with a series of pictures of a more insidious and demoralizing type than existed even before there was any censorship. In two important towns recently I have seen detailed portrayals of rape whose obscenity beggars description. In one picture a "distinguished American sculptor" is represented as committing rape on his model and a second attempt on another model. Aside from the obscenity of this exhibition it teaches a falsehood, since my acquaintance with American sculptors has convinced me that their standards of morals are as

high as those of any other profession, and I have never heard of an attempted criminal assault by one of them.

I hope you will reopen at once the question of control of picture shows, and without delay give the public some information in regard to the film companies that specialize in obscenity.

JEROME DOWD.

[University of Oklahoma]

Norman, Okla.

RUSSIAN PRISONERS

To the Editor: I have seldom read a brief article, evidently well intended, that contains probably a larger amount of misinformation than the one entitled *Hungry Russians in Germany* [the SURVEY for December 23]. First of all the Russians so much interested in reading, is entirely a misrepresentation of a Russian prison camp where 80 per cent of the prisoners do not know how to read at all. The only way the Germans could improve the physical condition of the Russians was by putting them through all sorts of drills which gave their mind and body something to do.

I was in a great many prison camps a year ago last summer and know what I am talking about. At that time they were better fitted physically than they had ever been at home. I never saw men more physically fit than the Russian prisoners. They were also receiving food from Russia, dried bread that had been three months on the way and not half as good as they could get in their own camps.

The story regarding the garbage cans and crumbs reminds me of the fact that if they had been a day or two on the march and although good food might be waiting them in an hour or two, they would rustle the garbage cans for food.

I think that is about all there is to that story. Of course, I presume the food program is more acute in Germany today than it was a year and a half ago. But I went to Germany expecting to find everybody hungry, and there has been so much misrepresentation along this line that I am skeptical as to anything they say concerning hunger now.

L. M. POWERS.

Gloucester, Mass.

THE WOMAN'S BUREAU

To the Editor: In the article on The Solid Front of Labor, December 2, 1916, I notice that you make reference to the resolution to create a woman's bureau in the United States Department of Labor. This resolution was introduced by Delegate Fitchie, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. This resolution was sponsored by Elizabeth Christman, of the Glove Workers' Union, and Mary Anderson, fraternal delegate of the National Women's Trade Union League. Miss Christman and myself were watching this resolution very closely, but there were members on the Education Committee, to whom this resolution was referred, who worked against us very successfully. We asked repeatedly for an opportunity to be heard before this committee, but were told that the committee had not yet reached this resolution.

We heard afterwards that meanwhile Mr. Ferguson, secretary of the committee, under instruction of the Education Committee, conferred with Grant Hamilton to find out about this bill. Mr. Hamilton said it was a bad bill and was aimed to create a job for some woman other than a trade unionist.

The resolution was taken up in the committee late on Thursday evening after eleven o'clock, and, without giving us a chance to be heard, was reported to the committee as follows: "Resolutions Nos. 38 and 79 were considered by this committee, both relative to the same subject—the establishment of a woman's bureau in the federal Department of Labor. Your committee has been informed that the machinery now exists in the Department of Labor for the establishment of this bureau and therefore it makes non-concurrence in both resolutions." The report of the committee was adopted. The committee reported it in such a way that it went unnoticed by us. When it was discovered that it had passed we protested vigorously. The committee had a rehearing Friday night, and again we were not told about the hearing. Mr. Gompers appeared to be heard in favor of the resolution. We were told by the secretary of the education committee that Mr. Gompers, in his remarks, said that the committee's action in turning down the resolution was a slap at Secretary of Labor Wilson.

The first thing next morning Andrew

Furuseth made a motion to reconsider the report of the committee and refer the whole matter to the executive council of the American Federation of Labor. The motion was lost, and that was the end of it in the convention. Mr. Valentine, chairman of the committee, was very much disturbed when he understood how serious it all was and assured us that just as soon as the executive council meets he is going to take the matter up with them.

MARY ANDERSON.

[Organizer, National Women's Trade Union League]
Chicago.

MR. RUSSELL'S OPEN LETTER

To the Editor: Bertrand Russell, Englishman, virtually recognizes the requirement involved, and by the Allies declared, demanded by Germany's attack upon civilization. He believes the destruction of Prussianism impossible and therefore urges [the SURVEY for December 30] a patched-up peace by some treaty with the unconquered Hun, while in the words of Kant, "No treaty of peace is worthy of its name, if contained therein are the hidden germs of future war," and of Guicciardini, "The making of peace is to be desired and regarded as a blessing, when it can insure us against the suspicious designs of our neighbors, when it creates no new danger and brings the promise of future tranquillity. But if the making of peace is to produce the opposite of all this, then for all its deceptive title it is no better than the continuation of a ruinous war."

President Wilson chooses to ignore the Allies' requirement, declared at the first irruption of Germany, that Prussianism must be crushed and that if the Kaiser continues the war until he has "no more" subjects willing to be sacrificed, while it may be a dreadful continuation, it is not to be avoided if the end is only thus to be attained. Such slaughter of our own sons and brothers we witnessed and the outside world witnessed, through the war between the states, when the destruction of slavery required it, as now the overthrow of militarism seems to demand a similar tremendous sacrifice.

ERVING WINSLOW.

[Secretary, the Anti-Imperialist League]
Boston.

To the Editor: The letter of Bertrand Russell is fittingly answered by the recent reply of the Allies to Germany's so-called peace proposal. Why, as of old, do people cry Peace! Peace! when there is no peace? We all lament the terrible disaster that has overtaken Europe, for which in part we are also to blame. Let us put our house in order lest we, too, come to grief by our lack of preparation.

WILLIAM P. WHITE.

Lowell, Mass.

MORE'S UTOPIA

To the Editor: There is no reason why the SURVEY need exact scholarship and historical sense from its contributors where the matter in hand requires neither the one nor the other quality. But, even in the SURVEY, even in these days of a lack of scholarship, a lack of historical knowledge and a lack of general perspective together with an amazing complacency in these *lacunae*, it is distasteful to read [the SURVEY for December 2] of the opening of the sixteenth century in Europe that "religion offered scholars a theology of mummified sayings by church fathers, a Bible mutilated and overshadowed by ancient commentaries. It offered the common people the privilege of kissing the relics of the saints and of buying pardon for their sins."

This sort of thing did very well in England—and in New England—before the days of Gairdner and Gasquet, and in Germany before the days of Janssen, Denifle and Grinar, but, making all allowance for the slowness of percolation of facts, I really think that before anyone comments on More's Utopia, they ought to know a little more about his time than the fair author of your article seems to know, if I may judge by the remarks I have quoted. Don't you think so yourself?

THOMAS F. WOODLOCK.

Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

To the Editor: In reply to the above letter, I offer the following statements:

First, writing as briefly as I have done of the religious situation in Europe at the beginning of the sixteenth century, it was impossible to give any modifying exceptions to the generalization in the main true. Of those modifying exceptions I am quite aware, especially of the exceptions in some parts of Germany.

Second, I find nothing to contradict my interpretation of the known facts of this period of history, either in the secondary works referred to by Mr. Woodlock (I wonder if he has really read with care Gairdner's last important tome, Lollardy and the Reformation), or in the contemporary material from which I try to get my "historic sense." May I suggest a reading of The Letters of Obscure Men (German), the letters of Erasmus, Colet and More, a study of the effect of Colet's lectures at Oxford on the students, as throwing light on what religion had been giving scholars, and a careful pondering over the effect of the too-hastily pushed Reformation in England during Edward VI's reign to understand what religion had been giving to the common people.

Third, it might be interesting to Mr. Woodlock to read the remarkable chapter in Professor Allen's (University of London) book, The Place of History in Education which embodies three different ways of writing on the Reformation

using substantially the same facts. These facts, passed through three minds with very different intellectual and emotional preassumptions, bring forth three quite different interpretations. The same point might be illustrated from a comparison of Mr. Gairdner's earlier and later historical writings.

MARY BREESE FULLER.

Fredonia, N. Y.

HEALTH INSURANCE

To the Editor: The *Ohio State Medical Journal*, in its December issue, quotes about two pages, which, it states, are taken from a report by Dr. Alice Hamilton in the *SURVEY* for November 11. This *SURVEY* article purports to cover certain papers and discussions concerning health insurance at one of the meetings of the American Public Health Association in Cincinnati. The last paragraph of the quoted article refers to what I was presumed to have said, but is, indeed, a considerable distortion and a surprise to me, the last sentence especially being obnoxious. I quote it direct:

"Dr. E. R. Hayhurst, of the Ohio State Board of Health, was also in favor of placing the medical service connected with health insurance in the hands of salaried men who ought to work in close connection with the institutions now existing, the hospitals and dispensaries. If this was not done, we might end in providing the wage-earner with poorer medical service than he now obtains, for we should be taking him away from the modern dispensary with its specialists and its diagnostic laboratories and throwing him back into the hands of the mediocre practitioner."

I certainly never made any such statement as this. May I, therefore, be allowed to restate in your columns what, in essence, was the theme of my remarks at that time (unfortunately, no stenographic notes were taken covering this discussion). I was called upon by the chair (Dr. Hamilton) to say something upon the subject under discussion, and spoke about as follows:

"I do not wish to be taken as qualifying as an insurance expert and I have come to no definite conclusions concerning any phase of this question of health insurance, and wish to limit my remarks solely to the single feature of the proposed conduct of the medical service. I am of the opinion that one way to handle this would be through dispensaries and hospitals similar to the organization plan of free dispensaries and hospitals which now exist. The ambulatory case should go to the dispensary and the bed case should be taken care of in the hospital. A great increase in such dispensaries and hospitals would, of course, be necessary and groups for that purpose would have to be formed. In place of the free dispensary would be the pay dis-

pensary, since everything is to be paid for. Physicians might be employed by these dispensaries and hospitals upon a salaried basis. By such means adequate services could be gotten to the workers covered in the insurance plan, but it must not be forgotten that a definite incentive must be given to the physician to do good work."

I may say, *a propos*, that I am very much more in favor of the panel system proposed than any salaried service, except for medical supervisors, and district physicians or those who work for dispensaries or hospital units.

I regard the statement above, which seems to have first appeared in the *SURVEY*, as due to the occasional mental trait of reporting incidents negatively instead of positively and without any ill intentions whatever; but since not all persons who are hit may so construe such instances, and the same therefore gives readers the wrong impression of me, I respectfully request that you give my communication space and perhaps comment in your columns in a very early issue.

Knowing that we all have at heart the best interests of the sick, those who are to treat them, and the best means to accomplish this, I beg to remain, Yours very respectfully,

EMERY R. HAYHURST

[Department of Public Health and Sanitation, Ohio State University]

Columbus.

[The best interests of the sick, as Dr. Hayhurst says, and the prevention of sickness are the motives not only of the discussions at the Cincinnati meetings and of the *SURVEY*'s report of them, but of the whole vital matter of health insurance. We welcome this statement of his position and the opportunity to print it.—EDITOR.]

ANOTHER GOAL

To the Editor: Instead of using scarlet danger-signals I have dropped a mourning veil over the use of words ending in *tion* by our beloved runners toward New Year goals [the *SURVEY* for December 30.] Precisely because so many of these words are unavoidable—e. g. *probation, protection, inspection*—in our semi-technical columns, surely the utmost patient ingenuity ought to be applied to finding, and using, substitutes for them wherever this can be done. *Education, instruction* are ugly words. Why do we never substitute for them *teaching* used as a noun?

Why in Heaven's name does the Catholic University say "utilization" for "use"? I found I could not get on without three, *notion, corporation, protection*, but in future I shall refrain from "extending protection"!

I think one lonely contributor "handed" his problem instead of solving it, and I cannot put my finger on that act

of clumsiness at this moment. And please do tell, in the next issue, what are "resident states"?

In general it is a good, sound, positive, helpful program collectively considered. And it will be carried out far more easily as its advocates gradually come to write English. Yours hopefully,

FLORENCE KELLEY.

[Secretary National Consumers' League] New York.

JOTTINGS

NEVADA has been added to the states which face a dry campaign. A petition bearing 7,821 signatures—more than twice the necessary number—has been filed, attached to a prohibition initiative, which goes first before the legislature, and then, with any amendments or substitutes added, to the people of the state. The petition has been worked up quietly by a committee acting on the suggestion of Bishop Hunting.

RAY PERLMAN has been appointed executive secretary of the girls' branch of the Jewish Protectors and Aid Society, with offices in the Children's Court Building, New York city. Miss Perlman was formerly supervisor for the Bronx and Harlem districts of the United Hebrew Charities, prior to which she spent some years as field agent for the New York section for the Council of Jewish Women.

IN FIFTEEN weeks following its organization the New York Committee on After Care of Infantile Paralysis Cases reports that "5,773 children have been referred to the committee by the Department of Health, and 5,504 are now under treatment or otherwise satisfactorily accounted for; 51 have died since they were discharged from quarantine, 30 have left the city, and the nurses have not been able to locate 152; leaving 269 not yet under treatment."

THE old-time experience meetings, described in the quaint language of the day as "assemblies of religious persons who meet for the purpose of relating their experience to each other," have been adopted by the Committee of Home Economics of the National Special Aid Society, New York city. An experience meeting, at which all who attend will have "opportunity to ask the best-known experts any question concerning the problems of the home," will be held at the Hotel Astor January 23. The chairman is Annie Nathan Meyer, 259 Fifth avenue.

A MAGAZINE which aims to be "educational but not soporific," called the *World Court*, A Magazine of International Progress, is now being edited by Frank Chapin Bray and published by the World's Court League, Inc., Equitable Building, New York city. The magazine will report all active peace organizations and movements, and will try to suggest opportunities for effective concentration of effort. In the December number William H. Taft writes upon "What the League to Enforce Peace Proposes," and William Jennings Bryan responds with four objections to these proposals.

STANLEY H. HOWE, for a year and a half secretary of the Department of Public Charities of New York city, has been advanced to the position of third deputy com-

missioner. Mr. Howe is twenty-six years old and the youngest officer of this grade in the city's service. Mr. Howe assisted in organizing the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania and later organized a committee of this association for western Pennsylvania. His first experience in social work was gained in the service of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

THE New York State Department of Health has issued a small pamphlet on Amusements for Convalescent Children, prepared by William Byron Forbush, of the American Institute of Child Life. The manual aims to relieve overtaxed mothers and nurses who better understand physical care than play devices, and at the same time to employ the play interest of children during convalescence. The plays are selected with full regard for the limitations of a sick child, and aim to avoid undue excitement and activity, though fully providing for the interest of the little invalid.

WHILE the government clerks and the American Federation of Labor have joined in an effort to secure the passage of the Nolan bill, granting a minimum wage of \$3 a day to federal government employes, another means of dealing with the high cost of living is suggested by Senator Gallinger. He has introduced and secured the adoption of resolutions in the Senate instructing the secretaries of war and of the navy to report on the feasibility of extending to other government employes the privilege now enjoyed by army and navy officers and employes of buying food supplies from government depots.

DECLARATION of a boycott against the Associated Charities of the city of Washington by the Piney Branch Citizens' Association, because members of the District of Columbia Board of Charities favored the building of a modern municipal hospital on a site purchased by Congress for that purpose sixteen years ago, has again drawn attention to the lack of a great hospital and clinic in the national capital. The relatively obscure citizens' association which made this attempt at retaliation upon the advocates of early construction of the hospital plant exemplifies the fears and bitterness shown in most American cities when hospital locations are proposed.

CHENEY C. JONES, for three years general agent of the Cleveland Humane Society, has resigned to become superintendent of the Associated Charities of Detroit. During his incumbency the Humane Society greatly increased its staff and service, added a Home Finding and Child Placing Department, which acts as clearing-house for Catholic, Protestant and Jewish orphanage children, and occupied larger and better quarters. Mr. Jones will be succeeded in Cleveland by James E. Ewers, assistant counsel of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in Boston for the last eight years. Mr. Ewers is a graduate of Yale College and Yale Law School.

THOUGH early returns from the election in Missouri showed that all three constitutional amendments had been defeated, the official compilation now shows that the amendment to authorize pensions to the blind was carried by a large majority. The amendment permits the legislature to adopt any form of pension system it chooses. This is the second time the proposition has been submitted to the people. It is estimated that there are about 500 blind who will be provided for. Already Missouri had created a state Commission for the Blind, which, with a fund of \$25,000, half of which was raised

by private subscription, is providing employment and rendering other aid to the needy blind.

EDUCATORS and religious leaders will get together to consider the religious significance of the present world struggle in the fourteenth convention of the Religious Education Association, which meets at Boston, February 27 to March 1, 1917. The program is planned to face the question: "How should youth be trained and prepared to meet the needs and demands of the great changes that are sure to follow the world war?" It is therefore a convention on preparedness not by armament but by education. Since the association is an international organization with members in all the warring countries, it is expected that the attendance will represent many nations. Altogether there will be about thirty-two meetings open to the public. Programs will be sent on request, as they are issued by The Religious Education Association, 332 South Michigan avenue, Chicago.

WHEN first I saw you in the curious street,
Like some platoon of soldier ghosts in gray,
My mad impulse was all to smite and slay,
To spit upon you—tread you 'neath my feet.
But when I saw how each sad soul did greet
My gaze with no sign of defiant frown,
How from tired eyes looked spirits broken
down,
How each face showed the pale flag of
defeat,
And doubt, despair and disillusionment,
And how were grievous wounds on many a
head,
And on your garb red-faced was other re'
And how you stooped as men whose strength
was spent,
I knew that we had suffered each as other,
And could have grasped your hand and
cried, "My brother!"

—Joseph Lee, in the *London Spectator*.

STRIKES have broken out in the lumber camps in northern Minnesota under the auspices of the Industrial Workers of the World, Margaret Banning writes to the SURVEY from Duluth. The Industrial Workers of the World implicated in the mining strike on the Mesaba Range, which is now ended (see the SURVEY, January 6), have left the range, she says, but other workers remain to begin work among the lumberjacks. The *Public* feels that by the decision of the court, which practically frees Tresca, arrested as "accessory after the fact" in the killing of a deputy sheriff, "a great danger is removed from all organized labor." Henceforth, "evidence establishing some physical complicity in the deed will have to be introduced before a speaker or organizer can be held for crimes committed by other persons."

THREATENED with death by the aldermen of New York city, and saved by the Mayor, the Public Employment Bureau will continue its work. It was two years old last November. All its previous records for successfully filling jobs and placing people in employment were broken in the second anniversary month. In November, 1916, 2,546 persons were placed in positions. In November, 1915, there were 749, while in two weeks of November, 1914, 36 jobs were found. Last November's record of applicants exceeded the best previous month by 10 per cent. The number of applicants for work (2,269) fell off 10 per cent from October, but was up to the nine months' average. The number of jobs offered by employers, 3,166, was 5 per cent less than in

October, but was the second highest record. In contrast with these results the Massachusetts and New York State Bureaus report a falling off in places filled as well as in demand during the month of November.

ALLISON G. CATHERTON, lawyer and legislator, has been persuaded to become probation officer of the Superior Court of Suffolk County, a new position created by the judges to supervise the entire work of Suffolk County, which includes Boston, Charlestown and Chelsea, and to direct the other seven probation officers in this most important district. Mr. Catherton is known to readers of the SURVEY for his articles upon social legislation. During his very first year in the legislature, 1913, he was one of the prominent members of the Committee on Social Welfare, which secured the enactment of the uniform child-labor law, the mothers' aid law and much other important social legislation. For the last three years he has been house chairman of the Social Welfare Committee and one of the leaders of the legislature. This year he withdrew from the legislature for the sake of becoming a candidate for the mayoralty of Beverly. At the beginning of his campaign he was picked for the new position by Probation Commissioner Herbert C. Parsons and withdrew as a candidate for mayor.

ANNOUNCEMENT was made on January 5 of the appointment by President Wilson of the members of the commission which is to administer the new workmen's compensation law for federal employes. The appointees are Frances C. Axtell of Bellingham, Wash., the Rev. R. M. Little of Philadelphia and John J. Keegan of Indianapolis. Mrs. Axtell has been a member of the Washington legislature and was interested in the passage of a minimum wage law for working women. Dr. Little has been for nearly four years secretary of the Society for Organizing Charity in Philadelphia. Labor will be represented on the commission by Mr. Keegan, who was for five years an organizer for the International Association of Machinists. During the past year he has been employed by the United States Department of Labor as mediator in labor disputes. The new workmen's compensation law went into effect on the day of its passage, September 7, 1916. A good many cases have accumulated that require adjustment. There is therefore work for the commission to do as soon as it can be organized.

THE officers of the Central Relief Committee, one of the three agencies responsible for raising of several million dollars for the aid of Jews suffering in the war zone, announces the collection throughout the country of \$1,515,359.38. This announcement is made on the eve of what bids fair to be a very strenuous and interesting campaign to raise for the year 1917 \$10,000,000. The little more than a million and a half dollars raised by the committee came from as many as 28,693 sources, and is the individual and collected contributions of men and women to whom a dollar represents hard toil and real sacrifice. The feeling is that there is more need now than ever before for funds, since the misery and suffering abroad has taken on such tremendous proportions. To the already existing misery, there is added the hunger and want of another people—the Roumanian Jew. Keeping these facts in mind the committee is bent upon tripling its efforts of the last two years and thus collecting for 1917 at least three times the amount collected in the past. To accomplish this end, it is necessary to obtain the entire cooperation, material as well as sympathetic, of the entire country. Harry Fischel, 63 Park Row, New York city, is already in

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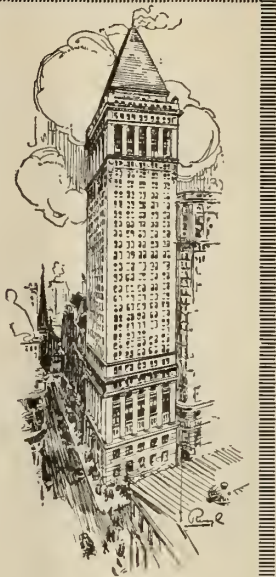
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receipt of pledges and checks for the new campaign from all over the country.

"WHAT is killing the army today is lack of appreciation on the part of the public," said General Leonard Wood, before the Senate and House Committees on Military Affairs. This was his answer to the argument of former Secretary of the Interior Walter L. Fisher that the trouble with the army is low pay; that wages of \$30 a month would solve the recruiting problem. General Wood asserts it is the anti-militarist agitation in recent years which has impaired the respect of the people for the uniform. He told the Senate Committee that the country today "is absolutely and totally unprepared" for defense against an armed invader, and only by universal training and service can the situation be met. Such service, in his view, would be "democratic." Announcement by Major-General Hugh L. Scott, chief of staff of the army, that the general staff is now drafting a bill providing a detailed scheme of universal military training for the United States, and that the measure will be ready for introduction in Congress within a month, has been hailed by some of the more militaristic agitators in Washington as "the beginning of the big drive." Experienced Washington observers, however, state that there is little likelihood of any army reorganization going through at this session, although there are indications that the war department, the preparedness group in Congress and the various propaganda organizations in cooperation with them are endeavoring to pave the way for legislation next winter by a combined assault on public opinion at this session. The American Union Against Militarism and kindred organizations are meeting the situation by marshalling expert witnesses in opposition.

THERE is satisfaction all around in the decision of the United States Supreme Court on Tuesday sustaining the Webb-Kenyon law, which gives force to the state laws prohibiting the shipment in interstate commerce of liquor consigned to persons in dry states. Prohibitionists, at whose instance Congress passed the law, find it a tower of strength for prohibition states. Opponents of national prohibition welcome it for the same reason, but on the ground that it will tend to head off the proposed dry amendment to the federal constitution. On the same day the Senate passed the Sheppard bill which, if the House concurs, will make the District of Columbia dry after November 1.



CONFERENCES

THE AMERICAN Civic Association held its twelfth annual convention at Washington, December 13-15. Margaret Wilson presided the first afternoon. Percy Mackaye brilliantly visualized the community drama, and John H. Gundlach, of St. Louis, made practical his pictures by describing the organizing and conducting of the wonderful St. Louis pageant of a few years ago. A strong committee of the association will be organized to develop the pageant idea in the United States as it relates to civic education. For the first time in any convention in this country on city planning, the relation of the aeroplane traffic to the subject of city planning was introduced as an extra feature by Henry Woodhouse, secretary of the Aero Club of America. The officers of the ensuing year are: President, J. Horace McFarland, Harrisburg, Pa., and first vice-president, John Nolen, Cambridge, Mass.

Classified Advertisements

Advertising rates are: Hotels and Resorts, Apartments, Tours and Travel, Real Estate, twenty cents per line.

"Want" advertisements under the various headings "Situations Wanted," "Help Wanted," etc., five cents each word or initial, including the address, for each insertion. Address Advertising Department, The Survey, 112 East 19 St., New York City.

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POSITION as Playground Supervisor by experienced man for July and August. Address 2442, SURVEY.

JEWISH WOMAN, nine years as cottage mother and settlement and day nursery worker, is open to position where experience will count. High-grade references. Address 2443, SURVEY.

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COLLEGE WOMAN, School of Philanthropy training, one year's experience charity organization, desires position. Good references. Address 2447, SURVEY.

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SUPERVISOR of boys. State experience, age, salary expected, etc. Apply HEBREW ORPHANS' HOME, 12th Street and Green Lane, Philadelphia, Pa.

WANTED—Young woman as assistant headworker in small settlement in Jewish neighborhood. Please state full particulars. Address 2441, SURVEY.

WANTED—Executive Secretary for Social Service Federation in city of western Pennsylvania. Man, trained in social work and with executive experience. Address 2444 SURVEY.

NURSE WANTED, registered, Protestant, to take charge of baby house and training school for nursery maids. Troy ORPHAN ASYLUM, Spring Avenue, Troy, N. Y.

MATRON with experience wanted for Texas State Training School for Girls. Address Box 452, Gainesville, Texas.

WANTED: Position open. The Good-year Tire and Rubber Company, Akron, Ohio, is anxious to start military, drill and setting up exercises as a form of physical exercises in connection with the present preparedness campaign. The idea of eventually forming a Battery is also in mind. At present we require a man of military training, able to handle factory hands and mould them into a military organization. Address D. R. STEVENS.

November 25 Wanted

Extra copies of this issue are needed because an unexpected demand has exhausted the stock in this office. Will all readers of The Survey who do not keep their issues for binding, forward copies of November 25 to

THE SURVEY

112 East 19th St., New York, N. Y.

To those who are able to help us out, our hearty thanks.

W.P.

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SOUTH of the Rio Grande, where we have a moving-picture notion of a land red with blood from dagger wounds, sits a calm group of business men, ranchmen, school-teachers, lawyers and workingmen, revising the laws of Mexico. Bernard Gallant has been for some time associated with the Mexican revolutionists and with pictures and descriptions has but recently returned to New York city from this congress called by Carranza. Page 449.

DAVID stood up before Goliath and the giant fell. So perhaps the timid mediator might help to end the war. J. E. Williams, practiced in settling industrial disputes, cautiously approaches the monster abroad, and his ideas may serve to lay him low. Page 447.

SING a song of sixpence or of any old thing—only sing, says W. Gladstone Fuller. And though there may be rhyme, and rhymes are scarce, in the song, Izzy, Get Busy, there is a sweeter melody in Blow Away the Morning Dew. Page 454.

LAND of promise has too long been the immigrants' conception of America. Why not turn our country into a land of fulfillment, suggests Arthur J. Todd, professor of sociology in the University of Minnesota, by assuring every alien of a good job at fair wages? A scheme for restricting immigration that hurts nobody's feelings and gives everybody a chance to earn a living. Page 452.

DEAD flies or pure water—which is more necessary to safeguard the public health? Given a department of health with a limited appropriation, Dr. Alice Hamilton and Gertrude Seymour indicate a program of health work discriminating between activities that will actually conserve human life and "aesthetics," such as swat-the-fly campaigns, white-washing dairy barns or smoke-abatement measures. Page 456.

WHILE a crowd of strong Englishmen practice marching with guns over their shoulders, women shovel coal, clean cars and do other handy housewifely work. Their hours are lengthened to make up for their lack of strength and skill. This seems to be the effect of military control in industry. Page 465.

WHETHER or not the schoolboy shall be compelled to spend some of his time learning the gentle art of shooting foreigners is a question postponed until the next session of Congress by the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives. Page 460.

IF THE Mexican revolutionists had arranged to fight their battles during "recess" the little Mexican boy and girl might have had an education uninterrupted. Now with free public schools proposed for all of Mexico, a chance will be given for these sober scholars to pour oil upon the waters. Page 460.

A BLOODTHIRSTY mob tried to lynch a Negro in Kentucky. Governor Stanley heard of the trouble, hopped a train, entered the mob and calmed them. If Georgia's governor did this occasionally, her lynchings might be fewer. Page 461.

INDUSTRIAL revolutions may not usher in utopia, but sometimes they let the light into prison cells. Page 461.

THE Chicago cop is going to reform. No more bribes, no more staying up late Sunday night, no more dissipation. Page 462.

PERHAPS if children knew how tired one gets just oiling spools, hookey would lose its charms, and nobody would care about going to work at fourteen. Page 463.

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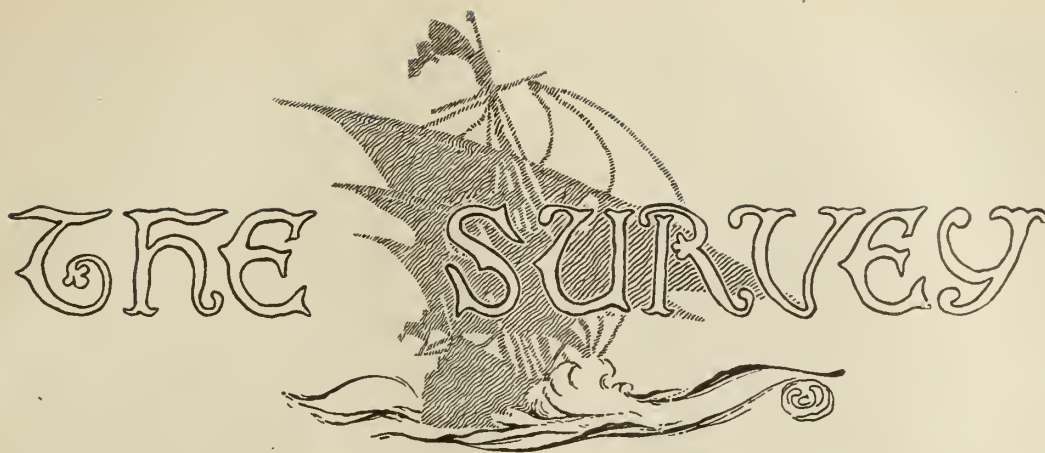
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L INCOLN'S TOWN,—a typical small city, with many homes and some slums, good schools but old-fashioned schooling, prosperous business but low industrial standards, lots of health and a good deal of sickness—this town knows more about itself than any other American community. A study of the methods and of the astonishing results of the Springfield Survey in

The Survey Next Week



The Chances for Negotiated Peace

As an Industrial Mediator Sees It

By J. E. Williams

CHAIRMAN BOARD OF ARBITRATION, HART, SCHAFFNER AND MARX TRADE AGREEMENT

USUALLY time and stress of conflict work changes in the psychological state of combatants. After sufficient grief has been endured proposals that before were intolerable have been found to be worthy of consideration, and sometimes of acceptance. And this has not always been due to recognition of superior force on the other side, but by an actual change in mental reaction caused by the slackened tension of the mind after enduring a long strain, and by the hard thinking forced on it during the period of struggle.

This change, when it comes, is the opportunity of the mediator. He must be one who has the absolute confidence of both parties. He must be entirely free from adverse prepossessions or interests of his own in order to deserve this confidence. He must have good will toward both combatants, an intelligence keen enough to discover and understand the real causes of difference, and a genius for creating affirmative constructions in which the differences may be resolved. He will interpret the parties to each other, try to make them see each other in a more favorable light. Coming as a friend his words will not be deflected by the armor of antagonism but will penetrate unhindered to the judgment of the combatant where they will leave their just impression.

He will have an important function as a medium for the transmission of terms. It often happens that belligerents are willing to settle for less than they are publicly demanding, but dare not say so for fear their opponents will

construe it as a sign of weakness. In such a case both sides can confide their minimum terms to a trusted mediator without danger of publicity. He may find they are not so far apart but that a happy suggestion may bring them together.

These offices may be useful in repairing a transient breach, but the work of the mediator will not be permanent unless he can find an adequate ground of common interest between the combatants, and so interpret it to them that they shall be convinced of its soundness and sufficiency. It need not be one hundred per cent perfect; it is enough that it be distinctly better than war; but it must genuinely meet the real factors in the problem and not be satisfied with a cheap reconciliation that ignores the vital causes of controversy. The synthesis when made must not only include the essential causes of difference, but must also provide for any new or unforeseen factor that may arise in the future. In addition to this the peace agreement, when made, must provide a tribunal to adjudicate differences of interpretation of terms, which shall have sufficient power to enforce its decisions.

I have sketched in a large and, I fear, rather a vague way, the lines that impress me as being somewhat parallel in the industrial and international situations. But as I write I am impressed with the magnitude of the differences between them, and I fear I have oversimplified. Even in industrial disputes, mediation and arbitration are not simple. Some cases are, confessedly, not arbitrable at all; and hardly any of them are susceptible of pacific or rational treat-

ECONOMIC cleavages are newer by many centuries than national ones. We have only begun to build up civil government in the industrial field. For this very reason the men who are contributing to the slow formulation of practice in industrial negotiation, arbitration and settlement, have broken with many of the old legal and political precedents. Men like Brandeis and Neill, Knapp and Williams, are not interested in putting out decisions like a judge. The very fact that there is no enforcing authority has lifted the process to a new level.

Industrial relations, therefore, afford an interesting analogy in considering international relations where likewise there is today no enforcing authority; and where, whether a settlement is reached by a smashing victory or by a negotiated peace in a military stalemate, its permanence depends after all on its "rightness."

Mr. Williams is chairman of the board of arbitration under the Hart, Schaffner & Marx trade agreement. He was vice-chairman of the Cherry Commission, a member of the Illinois Mining Investigating Commission, and chairman of the advisory board of the Illinois Free Employment Agencies. He has acted as arbitrator in the coal industry and in garment trades, east and west.

This article is based on the essential core of his experience which is that "an adequate solution cannot be obtained unless it reconciles the essential interests of the parties in dispute."—EDITOR.

ment until the fighting spirit has been eliminated or greatly modified. The naked will to conquer is not infrequently a more stubborn obstacle to peace than the economic factors which are the ostensible causes of conflict.

In the foregoing I have assumed that a permanent settlement presupposes the discovery and demonstration of an adequate ground of common interest, and the question that oppresses me in regard to the international situation is this:

Is there an adequate ground of common interest? If there is, can we demonstrate it to the combatants in a convincing manner?

The question oppresses me, because the answer to it seems to be taken for granted by some of the combatants. Their national interest is bound up with territorial expansion, and this idea seems to me to create an interest that is impossible to reconcile with other interests, to raise an obstacle against world peace which is insurmountable. A nation can only extend its boundaries by taking the territory of some other nation. The dispossessed nation can only submit by being willing to commit suicide, and, unless it is willing, it may logically enough argue that it is better to die fighting than to accept extinction without striking a blow. Clearly, therefore, territorial expansion is irreconcilable with other factors in the problem and, unless it can be eliminated, presents a permanent barrier to the establishment of an adequate ground of common interest. But is territorial expansion, in fact, a real national interest? Is a nation greater because it is bigger? Is extension in itself desirable and, if so, to whom?

If the American conception of government is right we can answer these questions emphatically in the negative. If the well-being of the individuals composing the nation is the criterion of success in government then we may be sure it has no necessary relation to bigness. Bigness may be, in fact, distinctly disadvantageous to good government. Mere magnitude may add to the complexity and difficulty of government without in the least adding to the elements that make for efficiency. If you want proof look at our big cities. Or ask yourself whether you would prefer to live in a small country like Holland or Switzerland or in a big one like Russia. If you are an American consider whether it would help you personally if our government were to make itself bigger by taking on the burden of Mexico. Or if a German workman ask yourself whether it would add to your wages, earning power, or comfort in life, if your government were to extend itself over, say, the Balkan states.

These questions answer themselves. It is scarcely conceivable that an individual can gain anything that counts in

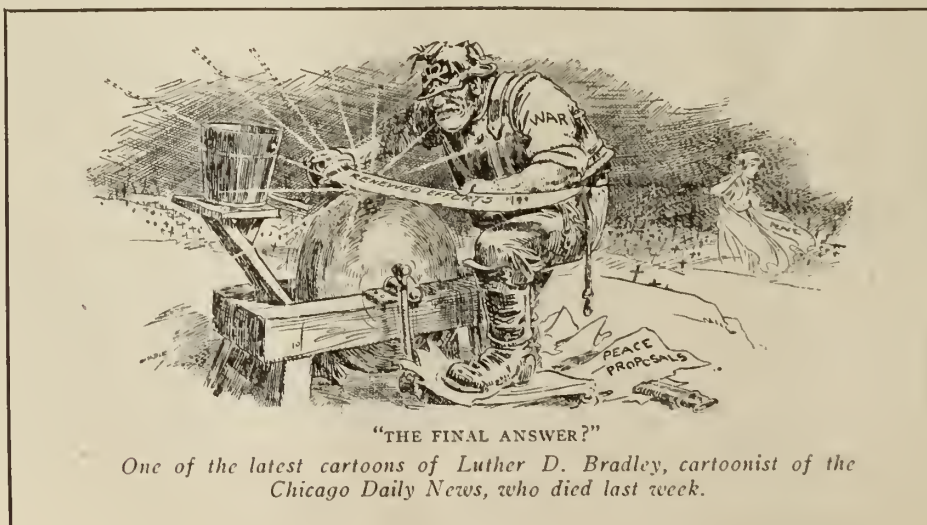
the practical values of life by merely extending the boundaries of his government; unless, indeed, it be increased security against predatory neighbors. And against these it is part of our present problem to provide insurance. The case against mere bigness as a national end was summed up by Froude in these words: "It is not progress for two people to starve to death where one formerly lived in plenty."

Who then profits by an expanding empire? No one, unless it be the ruler or the ruling class. These may experience an inflation of personality, a greater sense of power, of glory, of fame; and in so far as they think they own the country, they may feel themselves richer in their increased possessions much as a farmer does who adds another quarter section to his farm. The humble citizen may be made to feel a little of the reflected glory, but hardly enough to make him want to shed his blood for it, or to have it stand in the way of peace.

But the humble citizen is shedding his blood, because he does not know. He is misled. He is the victim of a patriotic fallacy. He identifies his country's greatness with might of arms, and, too, often, with territorial aggrandizement. He has inherited a state of mind, and in it is imbedded this false idea. To change this state of mind is the crux of the whole problem. Without it an adequate ground of common interest cannot be established, and the problem of world peace will remain insoluble.

There are able publicists who claim that this state of mind cannot be changed without a decisive and complete military victory, that only by a crushing of the opposing nation can the desired psychological point of view be induced. These are hardly likely to heed the voice of the peaceful mediator. I would not dogmatize on this point, not being an authority on the psychology of nations, but I have my serious doubts about a fallacy being killed by a bullet. If for a time crushed, a false idea, like a true one, will tend to rise again reinvigorated by its temporary suppression.

I confess my art as a mediator fails me in proposing a remedy for a national state of mind. I am certain, however, that it is in this direction that the world's peace must be sought. I am certain, too, that it cannot be fought out; it must be thought out; and that friendly measures are more likely to be successful than hostile ones. And finally, I think it possible that the strain of struggle may have modified the psychology of the nations at war so that the rigid thought forms of the past may have become so far softened that even now they may be ready to listen to the voice of sanity, of truth, and of peace. If so, they are ready for mediation, perhaps even for arbitration. If not, no peace can be more than a truce.



"THE FINAL ANSWER?"
One of the latest cartoons of Luther D. Bradley, cartoonist of the Chicago Daily News, who died last week.

Making Laws for Mexico

The New Spirit Revealed in Mexico's Constituent Congress

By Bernard Gallant



ARRIVAL OF GENERAL CARRANZA AT THE CONGRESS

FROM every nook and corner of the land beyond the Rio Grande, two hundred and forty-two delegates have gathered at Queretaro, Mexico, to the first Constituent Congress summoned since the days of 1857. At elections held in the month of September revolutionary Mexico was given its first opportunity to exercise its newly acquired freedom from domination by the sword. For the first time in its history political parties were formed, each one opposing the other, but guided by the spirit and ideals of the Constitutionalist party. Among those who sent members to the congress are the National Workingmen's party, the National Democratic party, the National Liberal party and many other little groups which have sprung up with the rising sun of Mexico's liberty.

For more than a century Queretaro has been the stormy center of revolutionary upheavals. There the plans for national independence were formulated and fought. There the Archduke Maximilian with his small army of European adventurers who battled for a dream of foreign empire was shot down. The place of his execution is but a few blocks from the Teatro Iturbide, the meeting hall of the present congress. And from its windows can be seen the little garden where he dreamed of conquest. While Queretaro is only 167 miles north of Mexico City, it is entirely different in spirit and tradition from the capital of the republic, which has been and still is the seat of the reactionaries and its famed "cientificos." Mexico City has never warmed up to the Constitutionalist government, never taken kindly to the reform laws and the spirit of revolution. For these reasons Carranza chose Queretaro as the provisional capital of the new government and the meeting place of the first congress.

The preliminary sessions of the congress started on the twentieth of November. General Carranza, who was coming on horseback with his staff and an escort of 800 troops, could not reach the city in time for the opening, and wired asking that the day be postponed. The answer of the delegates to his request was very laconic. "It is against the law," they wired back, thus, for the first time since the revolution began, placing consideration of the law above the authority of a leader.

When, however, General Carranza reached Queretaro six days later, the whole city turned out to see him. It was a people's holiday. There was no manufactured enthusiasm and

prearranged display. The audience was not glittering or well dressed, but it smacked of honesty and sincerity. Those Indians and peons knew that their first chief was in town, and they came to bid him welcome. It was not the kind of gathering that would have greeted Diaz or Huerta.

Every part of Mexico responded to General Carranza's call to convention. Such a gathering was an unheard-of thing before in the country. Besides, the idea of discussing law and order carried an appeal, for, in truth, Mexicans are utterly weary of their bitter internal strife. Among the delegates to the Constituent Congress are members from the rebellious states of Chihuahua, far-off Lower California, aristocratic Yucatan, and the recently conquered Zapata stronghold, the state of Morelos.

Perhaps the most hopeful thing about the congress is the fact that it is not controlled by the military element. Of all the 242 delegates, no more than a dozen are members of the army or in any way connected with it. Even those who do belong to the army do not possess the powerful influence or national popularity of men like General Obregon, General Pablo Gonzales or even Alvarado. They are men of small rank and no following, the majority drawn into the army by force of circumstance, for whom military life is neither a goal nor an irresistible temptation.

This freedom from militarism is a significant fact which must not be overlooked. Upon it depends, to a very large measure, the successful outcome of the entire gathering. The Mexicans have not forgotten the Aguascalientes Congress two years ago, which "Pancho" Villa packed with his generals and officers and which precipitated the tragic break between himself and Carranza. Villa at that time surrounded the congress hall with ten thousand troops and, practically at the point of a gun, forced the gathering to act according to his desires. At the Constituent Congress the few members who belong to the army have been forbidden to appear at the sessions in military garb, and not a single one of them has attempted to violate the regulation.

The greater part of the delegates are typical of present-day, strife-torn Mexico. Among them are many small business men, ranchmen, school teachers, lawyers, journalists and workmen. It is not the kind of crowd that would have been found discussing laws during earlier days. Its members are



DEPUTATION OF INDIAN WOMEN

Their plea for better labor conditions was a feature of the congress

not aristocrats or men of wealth; they are drawn from the middle class of society to which Mexican revolution has given birth. It is a sincere and earnest element which will cement all the forces of that unfortunate land and bring order out of chaos.

To be sure, these men are not polished parliamentarians or shrewd manipulators of the law. But to declare that the entire gathering lacks such men would be doing a great injustice. Among them will be found profound students of the law, who were famous even in the days of Diaz, but who, nevertheless, joined the banner of Carranza.

Such a man is Señor Manuel Rojas, the president of the congress. It was he who accused Henry Lane Wilson of being implicated in the tragic death of Francisco I. Madero, hurling against our former ambassador twenty-four charges, which caused his recall. Last summer, when the Carrizal incident nearly precipitated war between United States and Mexico, Señor Rojas was chosen as the chairman of the Informal Peace Conference, which was called by the Anti-Militarist League. The fact that this incident was advanced as an argument for appointing him president of the congress is indicative of the pacific tendency of the constituent convention.

At the very beginning of the sessions two distinct tendencies were visible among the members. The main and strongest tendency was that of the older, more experienced leaders who realize the necessity of moving cautiously. These men of practical ideas are not blinded by the sweep and sway of the revolution. They know that Mexico is passing through a dangerous period and are not carried away by high-sounding phrases. The opposition is from a younger set of men, imbued with lofty dreams and great ambitions, but without the practicality which can only be acquired with age.

The first group is known as Bloc Roja (The Red Block) and the second as Bloc Blanco (The White Block). The Reds, deemed conservatives, are headed by Señor Felix F. Palavicini, a man of dynamic force, who formerly held the portfolio of Minister of Public Education in Carranza's cabinet. He is famous as an educator, is a brilliant politician, an excellent orator and had a great deal of experience in political strife in the days of Diaz, Madero and Huerta. He worked his way through school, became a school teacher, later

became famous as a pedagogue and today is the publisher of a well-known daily, with Associated Press service, *El Universal*. Around him rally such men as Manuel Rojas, José N. Macías, a famous international lawyer, Alfonso Cravioto, and others of the same calibre. The Whites, who are considered the radicals of the congress, are headed by Manuel Agirre Berlanga, a famous lawyer and Sub-Secretary of the Interior.

Soon after the opening, the struggle for supremacy assumed such proportions that Candido Aguilar, a member of the congress and the holder of the portfolio of Minister of Foreign Affairs, in an eloquent appeal pleaded for the cessation of hostilities. He pointed out that Mexico was still in danger from many of its reactionary elements and begged the two sides to compromise. He termed their deeds a waste of energy which might be utilized for the good and mutual welfare of the fatherland. But the Whites stopped at nothing. They hurled the accusation against the Reds that they were supporters of Huerta, a serious charge in Mexico now, and made serious attempts to reject their credentials. Finally they carried their charge to General Carranza himself, but he refused to act, claiming that he had no authority over the congress.

The preliminary sessions ended with a considerable victory for the Reds. By the first of December, when General Carranza appeared before the congress to urge his reforms, embodied in the Mexican Magna Charta, the Whites had given up the struggle and the delegates, reunited, were hard at their task.

The Constituent Congress of Mexico is not actually a political body. It is a scientific congress, whose object is to revise the old constitution of 1857, make a thorough study of it and introduce the many necessary reform measures for which the present revolution has been waged. It is an attempt to bring Mexico's laws up to date and to place the nation in the line of march with the rest of the world.

However, the congress and its attainments mean more than that to Mexico. Upon the success or failure of these civilian law-makers depends the entire future of the country. Upon the strength and the durability of this congress depends whether Mexico will remain in chaos or turn to peace and reconstruction. General Carranza more than any other man realizes the tremendous importance of the outcome.



WORKINGMEN ON PARADE

Mexicans realize that the congress represents the common people

"The Constituent Congress," said he in addressing the body "will determine the successful completion of the revolution against the various reactionary forces and the resumption of law and order. With the beginning of this congress Mexico is taking its place among the family of nations of the world. We are now laying aside the rifle and the bullet and are taking up international laws, our constitution and the many necessary reforms for which we have fought so bitterly. From now on the many frictions which have arisen between us and our neighbors will be possible no longer, for we have ceased to be a nation in upheaval.

"While the revolution has been dominated and led by military men, the Constituent Congress is guided and directed by civilians. The military have accomplished their task. Now benefits are being introduced for all the people, those who never fired a shot, as well as for those who actively participated in the struggle. It is a people's congress, and that is the main difference from apparently similar gatherings in our history."

The congress is empowered to call the elections of the president of the republic, of senators, judges, governors and various other representatives of the nation. This gigantic attempt alone is for a nation like Mexico, which has been for the past six years in a state of constant turmoil, a tremendous step forward.

Perhaps the most dramatic moment of the entire congress has been not the stately appearance of General Carranza, nor the clashes between the radical labor leaders and the conservative older element, but the appearance of a delegation of women workers to plead their cause with the law-makers. Outside of Queretaro are located the famous Hercules Cotton Mills. Owned by French capitalists, they give employment to several thousand Indian women. On the morning of the first session those women came marching into town, headed by a band and flying numerous banners and proceeded to the congress. They were not the attractive shop girls of our own factories. Life had not been kind to them, and they came to demand that their lives and the conditions of their labor be improved. In no uncertain terms did they express these demands, for it was for them and theirs that the revolution had been fought, and now, when Mexico was remodeling her laws, they refused to be forgotten. The recep-



FIRST SESSION OF THE CONGRESS
By raising their right hands the delegates took the oath of office

tion which the congress gave them spoke eloquently the fact that the people's day had arrived.

The clearest indication of the popular victory in Mexico is the program of reforms outlined by General Carranza as necessary for the country if she wishes to make her place in the world as a center of commerce and industry. The most important of the measures advocated are:

A divorce law to place the family relationship on a basis of love, and a law defining the nationality of the children born in Mexico. The divorce laws were shaped after a careful study of those of the United States.

Labor laws to fix minimum wages and maximum hours of labor, and calculated to abolish the hideous state of peonage which has existed in many different parts of the republic. Also measures to prevent strife between labor and capital.

Abolishment of the vice-presidency as an office breeding trouble. In case of temporary or permanent absence of the president, a successor is to be chosen by the congress.

Abolishment of the office of Ministry of Education. In the future each state will direct its own schools and will be guided by a commission appointed by the central government.

Laws prohibiting men who are actively connected with the army from participating in the politics of the country or holding any political office.

Home rule for all cities and municipalities.

Laws granting the vote to women who are self-supporting and not married.

The absolute independence of the judiciary.

The strict adherence to the constitution of 1857.

Among foreigners, and particularly among Americans, there is a feeling that the laws passed by the congress will be too extreme, too radical.

But if one is to judge the results of the Mexican upheaval by the reconstructive measures already adopted by the congress and the sentiments of its leaders, Mexico is not drifting towards socialism or even single tax. It becomes evident now that the entire revolt was nothing more than an evolutionary period. Mexico has thrown off the last vestiges of her feudal system and is awakening into a great industrial democracy, an impossible development without a strongly conscious middle class. This class the revolution has created. It is the moving spirit of the Constituent Congress.



GREETINGS TO THE FIRST CHIEF
Carranza was welcomed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs

A Job for Every Alien

Plans for Fitting Immigration to the Labor Market

By Arthur J. Todd

PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

SOME of us are still hypnotized by shrill cries of race peril, of impending racial bankruptcy through intermixture with alien blood, and all the other familiar phrases in the litany of race prejudice. Others fall before the pious phrases of our forefathers, phrases once more or less true, but now largely sentimental survivals, phrases about America the haven of the oppressed, the refuge of the victims of religious and political persecution, America the land of promise. More clap-trap appears in vague words about welcoming the alien large-heartedly that our business may expand, implying that every immigrant admitted adds by just so much to the nation's capital; or, more concretely, that our railroads may be stretched, our mines and subways dug, our steel rolled, our small clothes stitched up cheaply.

Most of such talk is obviously to cover up the fact that certain interests—generally large employers of unskilled labor, transportation companies and employment agencies—prefer absolutely unrestricted immigration for their own particular purposes, regardless of the general well-being of the country at large. Both consciously and unconsciously these interests insist on shifting the real issue from the plane of cold business to the planes of religion, or political freedom, or escape from militarism, or esthetics or natural rights or whatnot.

Recent discussions of the perennial restriction bill before Congress have renewed that impression of shiftiness. Apparently some form of restriction is coming. But in the interests of clarity and candor it would seem desirable to keep well in the focus of discussion a few suggestive principles which might be woven into a really substantial and workable policy dealing with the immigrant. Such suggestions as I have to offer are neither new nor highly original; but, apparently, only ceaseless reiteration can ever secure them the attention I believe they merit.

We must recognize that modern immigration is overwhelmingly an economic problem, and keep our restrictive measures aimed at that target. The principle of marginal value and the law of diminishing returns applies to immigration as an industrial asset. Since we know clearly the economic wastes through unemployment, we must sooner or later face the proposition of wiping out the present law against admitting contract labor. Labor organizations have pretty uniformly stood solid for this type of restriction, and for good historic reasons.

A Right-About-Face on Contract Labor

BUT there is at least one possible way of securing their right-about-face. Why not admit that an immigrant with an order in his pocket for a definite job is better than an immigrant chasing a mythical job for weeks, prey to all the perils that lie in wait for the friendless and derelict? Why not let any employer contract for as many foreign workmen as he claims to need, if we make him definitely liable for their support, and deportation charges, should they become in any ordinary sense public burdens? In other words, why could such laborers not be imported *in bond*?

The importer could be required to file a properly secured bond covering his contract to pay a certain wage for a cer-

tain specified time, or to maintain a minimum standard of wages, hours and other conditions of employment prescribed by competent authorities, just as now an importer of merchandise or the relatives of dubious aliens are required to do. In addition he could be required to assume the cost of unemployment insurance.

The result of such a scheme would probably result in the automatic checking of any abuses of contract labor, if not in its absolute desuetude. The margin of risk would be so large as to cut away all profits. Moreover, it would eliminate all masked importation of contract labor, and at the same time could not be charged with discrimination or absolute embargo.

Eventually the whole matter of admitting alien laborers would revert to the Department of Labor. Hence the first business of that department would normally be to determine the true demand for labor, through periodical unemployment surveys and a fully developed system of labor exchanges under federal encouragement, if not definite federal control.

Admissions According to Need for Men

BUT notice that the true demand for labor is not merely the numerical excess of calls for workmen over demands for jobs; it must take into account the social and economic background of the ostensible jobs—such things as the nature of the work offered, hours, working conditions and, most important of all, the prevailing level of wages as well as the specific wage offered. The figures representing the true demand for labor could then be used by the Department of Labor for adjusting a sliding scale of admission to immigrant workers.

This is no radical innovation. Most recent immigration bills have already consecrated the principle. For example, the Burnett bill included this clause: "That skilled labor, if otherwise admissible, may be imported if labor of like kind unemployed can not be found in this country, and the question of the necessity of importing such skilled labor in any particular instance may be determined by the Secretary of Labor."

This provision needs but a little expansion to provide a really workable test for prospective immigrants, and would necessitate absolutely no new governmental machinery. It would meet most, if not all, the objections on the score of discrimination now levelled at the literacy test. It would meet the issue on frankly economic grounds, where, in the long run, it must inevitably be met.

Under this system immigration policy would reduce itself to two simple problems, namely, the determination of real economic demand at home and the technique of selecting candidates from abroad for admission. The latter problem need give us no special concern, for it would involve no new untried machinery. Our consular service is or could be organized for that purpose, as was long ago proposed by American consuls themselves. In addition to viséing certificates from police, poor-relief and health authorities for the purpose of weeding out positive undesirables, consular offices might be authorized to receive from prospective immigrants their formal declarations of intention to migrate. Such declarations might or might not be accompanied by validations from the local administrative authorities.

In all probability, with the huge tasks of reconstruction now facing European governments, they would cooperate heartily in the work of scrutinizing the papers of emigrants. The central point to the plan would be the filing of these declarations at American consulates. Suppose this done. When notice comes from the United States Department of Labor that an authentic demand exists for a certain number of laborers and that so many may be admitted from this or that locality, the consular authority to whom the notice is directed merely takes up the declarations in the order of their filing and certifies the proper number for admission. The immigration authorities at this end would be relieved of an enormous responsibility, which at best they can fulfil in only superficial fashion.

The hitch in the scheme lies, of course, in how to work out a just method of apportioning admissions from the various countries. Here we must have recourse to the general principle that admission of aliens is not yet a fundamental right as between nations. It is at best a phase of international comity, and must at all times be viewed from the standpoint of strict national integrity and well being. Hence domestic considerations must dictate the terms upon which admissions of immigrants should be apportioned among the nations. The apportionment of a given country would normally be calculated upon the basis of its population, upon the nature of the employment offered, and of the assumed fitness of the immigrant for that particular kind of work; also upon the general desirability of the immigrant himself, his assimilability, his willingness to become naturalized, to adopt the English language and the so-called American standard of living.

Such a sliding scale, however, would be based primarily upon the principle of economic utilization and less upon general questions of assimilation or naturalization; and for the

reason that the economic test is simple, obvious and easily applied, while the test of assimilation is vague, complex and indecisive. The economic test should be the final determinant, with the assimilation test as a guide in apportionment. For this reason, while in general accepting Gulick's notion of the sliding scale, I believe it necessary to apply it on economic rather than, as he proposes, on racial grounds. Incidentally, we avoid any morass of implied discriminations against this or that race as race. The advantages of such a test of economic utility over any makeshift literacy test are obvious enough. The chief difficulty of the literacy test is that it is manifestly a makeshift, born of an attempt to evade the real issue or of an inability to see it.

Now that we apparently have made up our minds that a form of restriction is desirable and even inevitable, since at last the federal government has begun to take seriously the problem of unemployment, it would seem almost as though the time were ripe to consider our immigration plans with some show of constructive imagination.

Why should we go on dallying with makeshifts? Why not face frankly the problem as Carver and other economists are facing it and admit that one of our first moves toward solving the problem of poverty is to make the laborer precious, to multiply his productive intelligence and to give him at least the protection of scarcity value?

I am convinced that some such scheme as I have outlined and have been teaching for several years would not only improve the social status of the immigrant and eliminate much needless shame and suffering on his part, but would likewise tend to stabilize our domestic labor market and enhance the worker's economic position without in the slightest degree hampering or crippling legitimate productive business.



TEN young women from as many countries drove the first nails in the "international" platform which was erected in Washington Square, New York city, for the great peace demonstration of the American Neutral Conference Committee on New Year's Eve. At midnight on the first of January the crowd, gathered in the square, recited a litany of peace which had been written for the occasion, and heard from all over the world messages of hope for an early peace.

Bells Are Ringing, Sailors Singing

By *W. Gladstone Fuller*

HOW would it be, if, when an ocean liner bound for Europe or South America swings out into the harbor, all the longshoremen should gather together and sing a rollicking goodbye to the ship and their comrades on board, the sailors on the departing vessel joining in an answering chorus of farewell? And when a ship comes home from her long voyage, suppose she were greeted with songs and cheers from shore. Would not such gay events mark worthily the going and coming of the ships of all nations, hearten and lighten the day's work afloat and ashore, and make our harbors the singing harbors of the world?

Again, let us suppose that every night, their day's work done, the porters in the Grand Central Station should assemble under the great blue arch and sing a song together before going home. So might the bellboys sing together once a day in all the big hotels, and the chambermaids also. And at the stores as many of the employes as cared to stay after closing time might assemble for a few minutes in some central place in each store to try over a song and chorus together (it is not unlikely that Mr. Wanamaker and Messrs. Lord and Taylor themselves would want to join in occasionally).

At first sight these suppositions may seem to be merely fanciful, even absurd. But nevertheless such things might very well come to pass. It isn't only the reasonable and sensible things that happen to us; there's the war in Europe for example, and the other day 75,000 people assembled in the Yale Bowl for the purpose of watching a game of football. It is perhaps hard to imagine the overworked and underpaid workers in modern industry singing happily together in these hard times, singing in the morning as they go to their machines, singing during the day as they tend their machines, and singing in the evening when they leave their machines, to rest and sleep for a few hours. But if they cannot find it in their hearts to sing a happy song, they might comfort themselves with sad songs and laments, or fire their hearts and imaginations with fine fighting songs of courage and hope.

Such thoughts as these were provoked by a visit to Cooper Union one Sunday evening recently when Dorothy, Rosalind and Cynthia Fuller were singing some old English folk songs to an audience that crowded that vast hall. The audience consisted of workers, men and women who should have been singing with the singers, so eagerly were they listening, so sympathetically, to those old songs of the past.

All ye that love to hear
Music performed in air
Pray listen and give ear,
 To what we shall perpend.
Concerning music, who'd—
If rightly understood—
Not find 'twould do him good
 To hearken and attend.

Thus sang those young girls. Their singing carried the conviction that in an ideal state of society people in general would be able to sing as they do, clearly, naturally, intelligently. For that desirable state of affairs we may have to wait awhile, yet it gives at once an ideal and a kind of test for our civilization.

Perhaps singing is largely a question of social manners and customs, like taking snuff or getting drunk. Maybe we shall all be singing together again some day—not as we do now, feebly, respectably, apologetically and only in churches, but heartily, self-forgetfully, boldly, in the street, in the subway and in the home.

But what shall we sing? Most of the so-called popular songs are dreary, weak and stupid both as to words and music. A glance at a catalogue of "popular" songs at a cheap music store gives one these titles: *Come On and Baby Me*, *Keep Your Eye on the Girlie You Love*, *Izzy Get Busy*, *You May Hold a Million Girlies in Your Arms*. Compare these with the names of some old English folk songs: *Blow Away the Morning Dew*, *As I Walked Through the Meadows*, *O Love Is Hot and Love Is Cold*, *Fine Flowers in the Valley*, *She Moved Through the Fair*.

An Art Forgotten

BUT in these hard times—the true stone age, when men's hearts, not their tools, are of stone—who is able and willing to sing save a few professional singers, drunken men and gramophones? In times past people of all ranks sang together as a matter of course. Sailors sang at their work and at their play—peasants of the lowlands and the highlands, men and women, shepherds and ploughboys, smiths and carpenters—all had their appropriate and favorite songs, and there were the mothers with their lullabies, and the children with their singing games. As Andrew Lang says, "the pastimes and the labors of the husbandman and the shepherd were long ago a kind of natural opera. Each task had its own song, ploughing, seed-time, harvest, marriage, burial, all had their appropriate ballads or dirges. The whole soul of the peasant class breathes in their burdens as the great sea resounds in the shells cast up on the shore."

But in these days there is a terrible silence of humanity. Machinery makes all the noise. Ingenious for our own destruction, we have created machinery to destroy us body and soul. True it is that "God made man upright, but he has sought out many inventions."

The silent thousands going home every night in the New York subway if they were happier, freer and more natural men and women would sing aloud and drown the rattle and the roar of the trains as they dash through the tunnels. In the moving picture house where people most do congregate there is a gloomy silence so far as the human voice is concerned, a silence of actors and of audience—an audience that hears nothing. Even in the churches the most devout are content to praise the Lord vicariously through a thousand-dollar tenor or soprano.

As for the lovers in our midst. What are they to do for songs? If they cannot sing to each other, they must satisfy themselves by buying records of somebody else's love songs and listening to them as the machine winds them off; or they must go to a formal concert or to a vaudeville show and make the best they can of the vocal gymnastics of an unintelligible professional singer or of a blatant individual tearing the air with some nonsense about "Come On and Baby Me." And yet all

the time there exists for them, unknown, a simple, heavenly melody to carry such words as:

How gloriously the sun does shine!
How pleasant is the air!
I'd rather rest on my true love's breast
Than any other where.

But it may be said that this old music—these old songs—are out of date, out of harmony with modern conditions and modern ideas. Such a statement can be met with a flat denial. There is a whole world of strong and living music for all time in the great folk songs of our forebears—English, Scottish, Irish, German, French and Russian.

Take the subject of war as treated in English folk song. Where is there to be found a more vigorous condemnation of war, a more faithful expression of the common people's viewpoint than in the old song "High Germanie," which dates back more than two hundred years, to the time when the English and German armies were fighting against French armies:

O curséd are the cruel wars
That ever they should rise,
And out of merry England
Take man and boy likewise.
They took my Harry from me,
Likewise my brothers three,
And sent them to the cruel wars
In High Germanie.

Or again, where shall we find a more searching indictment of the whole bitter consequence of war than in the old Scottish song, *The Flowers of the Forest*, a song of the women of Scotland after the battle of Flodden:

I've heard them singing at our ewe-milking,
Lassies a-singing before the break of day.
But now they are moaning, on every green lonely,
The flowers of the forest have all passed away.

At e'en in the gloaming no youngsters are roaming
Round about stacks with the lassies to play.

But every maid sits dreary, lamenting for her dearie,
The flowers of the forest have all passed away.

There'll be no more singing at our ewe-milking,
Women and bairnies are heartless and sad.
But sighing and moaning on every green lonely,
The flowers of the forest have all passed away.

So might the women of England, France and Germany be singing today after the battle of the Somme.

But the outlook is not without hope. Arthur Farwell and his colleagues are building up a great community chorus in New York, as a result of which thousands are singing songs instead of listening to them. Every year now in many big cities the community Christmas Tree is evoking the popular singing of Christmas carols. Cecil Sharp, the foremost authority on English folk song and folk dance, is now working in this country collecting old songs from the dwellers in the southern mountains. Lorraine Wyman has also been working in this field and is now giving public recitals of these "lonesome tunes," as the mountain people call them. And that supreme artist, Madame Yvette Guilbert, is rejoicing us with her demonstration of the vitality of the people's songs of old France.

These great artists, like the Fuller sisters, are making the old songs live again. They are bringing our hearts back to an old, forgotten, far-off happiness. We must not neglect the opportunity which the presence of these teachers gives us—with their aid we may recreate the *Singing Man* of Josephine Preston Peabody's poem:

He sang above the vineyards of the world.
And after him the vines with woven hands
Clambered and clung, and everywhere unfurled
Triumphing green above the barren lands;
Till high as gardens grow, he climbed, he stood,
Sun crowned with life and strength, and singing toil,
And looked upon his work; and it was good:
The corn, the wine, the oil.

When the people are free they will sing, and when they
sing they will be free.

Let us sing.



Dorothy Fuller, Her Work.

AN ILLUSTRATION FOR AN OLD ENGLISH FOLK SONG
*There were three gypsies a-come to my door,
And down-stairs ran this a-lady, O!
One sang high and the other sang low,
And the other sang bonny, bonny, Biscay, O!*

The New Public Health

II. The Program of a State Board of Health¹

By *Alice Hamilton, M. D., and Gertrude Seymour*

OUT of the various activities possible to a state health administration, the health officer must make his selection. His appropriation is perhaps never large enough to accomplish all that needs to be done. He must spend his money where it will do the most good. A good health officer, it has been said, is he who can raise the most money and spend it to the best advantage. The dictum contains a practical element that should not be ignored in a country where only one state approximates the modest standard of 2 per cent of its revenue for health work.

Here is a place where the trained officer shows his value. An untrained man cannot initiate, cannot lead. He will follow and copy. He is likely to be forced by well-meaning people outside the department to give undue prominence to things not at all of first importance—to “swat-the-fly” campaigns, fights on food adulteration and white-washing dairy barns, instead of attending to such unexciting features as birth registration, sewage disposal and a pure-water supply.

To spend the resources of the department on other peoples' pet projects, on things which, even though desirable, are not in given circumstances essential, is to tithe mint, anise and cummin and neglect the weightier matters of the law. These weightier matters are the activities which experience has shown to be fruitful of real results. They follow paths clearly marked, toward a definite goal—the health of the state.

It may be queried, how are the results estimated? Upon what basis are these results evaluated? The question is not only legitimate but desirable. “The merchant looks to his accounting,” said Dr. C. V. Chapin in 1913, “to show him his best lines; so the health officer must study which line of expense gives the best results.”

Health and Æsthetics

HUMAN life is not priceless (witness war and automobiles), save in the individual case and the stanzas of the poet. An attentive layman does not find himself convinced by declarations of “enormous returns to the city of ——— in lives saved, epidemics avoided and increase of vital efficiency through the comparatively small investment” necessary for some specific task. A work that is worth any investment whatever deserves more exact measurement than such large generalization. History of the place for several years preceding, of its outbreaks of illness, of conditions by and large and particular, should be charted parallel with this new record. Then an analysis of values may begin.

Pioneer studies in such analysis are those by Dr. C. V. Chapin, 1913; Dr. G. C. Whipple, professor of sanitary engineering, Harvard, 1914; and that recently completed by Franz Schneider, Jr., of the Russell Sage Foundation. One test offered in these studies is the discrimination between health

and comfort—between sanitary science and æsthetics. There is need of both; but only one is a legitimate expenditure for the health department. Odors and smoke and most “nuisances” are, in Dr. Chapin's opinion, within the bailiwick of the police department. Terminal disinfection creates an impression of “something doing,” but with advancing scientific knowledge, it is falling more and more into disuse, save for tuberculosis, and is being replaced by concurrent disinfection (that is, of all discharges while the patient is in an infective state). Food inspection, Dr. Chapin considers, has not yet proved its worth to public health; “milk inspection is worth every penny that it costs.” Bearing in mind that conservation of life is more important than comfort or æsthetics, the expenditures of a state should be apportioned accordingly.

The First Task

WITHOUT doubt the work which has proved of highest importance in public health is the control of communicable diseases. This is the object for which boards were originally created, as phrased by the Massachusetts act of 1699: “An act to prevent the spread of infectious sickness.” And the prevention and control of infection must still be the most extensive and important of a board's activities, its methods changing as more is learned about the conveyance of infection.

Fifteen years ago a state department of health could not be charged with neglect of duty if it did nothing to check the spread of hookworm disease. No one knew what to do. Probably ten years hence infantile paralysis will be combated with methods far simpler than those employed this past year.

But today, at the present stage of scientific information, under conditions now prevailing all over the country, what diseases call for most immediate attention? Which should come first on this section of a health officer's program?

To a certain extent, regional conditions answer this question. At least ten southern states have had a problem in hookworm disease that Washington or Minnesota health officers have not had to face. In California hookworm is apparently limited to the deep gold mines; but the possibility of its importation from the East has just been suggested by William C. Billings, M. D., of the United States Public Service, chief medical officer of Immigration Service at Angel Island. Dr. Billings urges that search for hookworm ova be made a part of routine examination, certainly in all doubtful cases. The yellow fever organism stays by its host, and therefore that disease is limited to the habitat of the *Stegomyia (Aedes)* mosquito, and its transmission is in general controlled by quarantine methods. Intercommunication with the Orient and South America makes bubonic plague an active issue in California, part of Washington and in Louisiana. Rocky Mountain fever is relatively local, as its name implies; while rabies, leprosy and typhus constitute occasional perils which every state must be forever prepared to recognize.

In addition to the diseases endemic in certain parts of the country, there occur economic changes which modify the necessary emphasis in health work. Responsibility for occupational

¹ Acknowledgment for material in this article is due to publications of the United States Public Health Service, especially to Bulletin 62 and the sanitary surveys in many states; to writings of Dr. C. V. Chapin, Dr. G. C. Whipple, Franz Schneider, Jr., and Dr. C.-E. A. Winslow. Several secretaries of state boards of health have written at length and have furnished photographs for use in the series. The American Medical Association gave opportunity to examine the survey of state boards made by Dr. Chapin, a limited edition of which was circulated.—THE AUTHORS.

diseases, hardly to be considered in agricultural states, has been specially recognized, for example, in Ohio—where a special appropriation made possible a thorough investigation by the State Board of Health; and in Massachusetts, where the board reported on lighting conditions in factories. According to records of 1915, only thirteen states require notification of industrial diseases, a condition which health insurance may be expected to improve. Arizona faces a special difficulty due to the presence of Mexican labor, for smallpox is always endemic in Mexico. So, practically, is typhus, and outbreaks of this fever in labor camps have been traced in California directly to Mexican immigrants, who, however, it is said, are by no means averse to learning more hygienic ways. Labor camps give New York state also a special problem in water pollution.

So far as we know, the best example of the influence of an economic situation upon public health work is that from California which began with the new commercial enterprise, rice-growing. In the four years since rice was first grown for commercial purposes in the state, the returns have been very great, and the acreage has increased fully 100 per cent. Rice-growing makes possible the cultivation of land otherwise useless, with a profit of millions of dollars to the state. Obviously, here is an industry that has come to stay. But unfortunately, the conditions ideal for the cultivation of rice—land flushed with standing or gently moving water—are ideal also for the growth of mosquitoes. Of the myriads of mosquitoes found during the long summer season in rice areas, 70 per cent were of the *Anopheles*, or malaria-bearing variety. These sections of the state were malarial enough before the rice-growing began; of late the increase of the disease has been so marked as to constitute a menace and to require definite measures for abatement in individual districts.

Another problem in health economics is, of course, the immigration of tuberculous individuals into Colorado and all the Southwest. That this is considered a question of federal dimensions the Kent bill illustrates.

Special situations are created by floods, like that in Dayton a few years ago and like that reported last August from West Virginia. With the relief work resulting from such occurrences the department of health is, of course, closely affiliated. That epidemics also call for special activities goes without saying. The brilliant investigations begun by Vermont two years ago, when infantile paralysis broke out in the state, and continued this year by Massachusetts and New York, deserve a fuller chronicling than space allows at this time.

Too Familiar Facts

BUT, special conditions and epidemics aside, there remains for recognition the fact that a very large number of infective organisms are thoroughly cosmopolitan. Throughout 1916, poliomyelitis was found in thirty-five states. Few climates and no social grades are uncongenial to the tubercle bacillus. Syphilis and gonorrhoea are terribly ubiquitous. So are measles and whooping-cough. Malaria still haunts the southeastern section of the country with endemic foci in almost every northern state, and in spite of its economic importance, it is too little known. Dr. J. W. Trask, of the federal Public Health Service, in a recent address on malaria as a public health problem, said: "In a population heavily affected with malaria, a few cases of smallpox cause immediate measures for control, while the malaria is entirely ignored, although usually of far greater import."

A too familiar disease is typhoid, the indifference to which, in this country, until very recently, has been remarkable in view of the extent of the disease and the economic loss. Says Rosenau: "A wholesome fear of typhoid fever would materi-

ally assist the health authorities in combating what may be considered one of the major sanitary problems of the age." Although it attacks all races, at all ages, of both sexes, its age incident coincides with that of the greatest value of the individual to the community, namely, that of early middle age. In spite of sanitary improvement in many parts of this country, according to figures for 1910, the average death-rate per one hundred thousand in the United States was 25.0; in thirty-three principal European cities, 6.5.

Against which of all these shall the state board direct its energies? On which shall it spend its money?

New Valuations

IN THE study referred to, Mr. Schneider indicates the basis of a logical selection. First, the amount of damage done. Tuberculosis ranks high as a death-dealing disease, especially during the most productive years of life; malaria and hook-worm cause serious economic loss through chronic ill-health. Clearly, these matters deserve investment.

A second consideration is, Mr. Schneider says, preventability. Given the cause, the means of transmission, and a cure for any disease, all that remains is to overcome human ignorance, inertia and prejudice. Witness—malaria, typhoid or smallpox.

Third, the cost of prevention. Ten thousand dollars spent in a fly campaign is largely a contribution to comfort and æsthetics. This amount paid out for the services of public health nurses is invested for returns not only of fly-destruction, but of supervision and teaching, both of children and of mothers; and for a term of years, not for one season only. The choice seems not difficult to make.

Finally, diseases that tend to become readily epidemic call for first consideration. Translated into the phrasing of Dr. H. W. Hill (see the SURVEY, November 18, 1916), communicability means, having the largest number of routes over which infection can pass. "If we guard only water supplies against infection," says Dr. Hill, "we eliminate water-borne intestinal infections. (This, so far as typhoid is concerned, would be perhaps one-third of the total typhoid in America.) We leave untouched intestinal infections carried by food, flies, milk and contact. Also we leave untouched all other infectious diseases . . . If we eliminate flies also . . . milk and contact typhoid remain." The task of protecting the "public routes of infection"—water, food, flies, milk, is the task of the community. One person's best efforts toward hygiene may be neutralized by the carelessness of his neighbors.

However the methods of blocking these public routes of infection may differ in different instances and conditions, there are two agencies without which there can be no effective control of communicable diseases. These are the diagnostic laboratory and the epidemiologist. Epidemics of typhoid fever arise in communities where the water supply is unimpeachable, and only through laboratory tests can they be traced to their true source—a human carrier engaged in handling food. Diagnosis of tuberculosis and diphtheria by laboratory test is becoming rapidly universal; diagnosis of venereal disease is offered in one-half of the state laboratories, though the Wasserman test is as yet available only in some of the larger laboratories. It is the verdict of the test-tube which, under many sanitary codes, raises quarantine in cases such as diphtheria, typhoid and other ills.

Chemical and bacteriological examination of milk is less extensively carried on. Frequently the standard of the milk supply is a responsibility of some other state department than that of health.

Perhaps the greatest services are those of detecting car-

riers who are themselves in good health; and of demonstrating that mild atypical cases are more common than the pronounced typical cases, in communicable disease, but, of course, are quite as dangerous.

Diagnostic laboratories are at least provided for in all states but two, according to latest available reports. In order to meet the needs of all parts of a state without delay, many states have opened branch or cooperating laboratories. Florida reports five such branches; Michigan opened a second station in the peninsula recently. A New York map of 1916 shows seventeen stations.

It is a logical and economical plan to have the state department of health distribute serums and vaccines.

But the laboratory is too large a theme to be crowded into small space. Its value is only indicated at this point. Distinguished alike from exclusively research institutions and from the costly private or the commercial laboratories, under expert direction, it is one of the most reliable and essential means of protecting the public health.

The other essential factor is the epidemiologist, whose importance was first proved in Minnesota. Detailed supervision over a large number of cases during an outbreak; thorough investigation into epidemics whose origin is not known—these important measures cannot be fulfilled by the attending physician, for he has not time, and does not always attend all patients in the outbreak; nor will the local health officer suffice, for cases may develop outside his territory.

Three People, a Storm and an Epidemic

AN INTERESTING piece of epidemiological work is reported from Virginia. Briefly, here is the account: Three days after moving from a northern town of Virginia, the members of a certain family developed typhoid. The time between the family's arrival in its new surroundings and the onset of the disease was too short to make infection at the new home seem possible. A few cases of unknown origin existed in the rural district near by, and contact with these cases had infected others until a definite though small epidemic was traceable in the region. The water supply was apparently above suspicion. Although laboratory examination showed it clean, yet, to allay anxiety, the water company installed a hypochlorite plant and began operations. The epidemiology of all cases showed this outbreak to be of the contact variety. The country custom of visiting the sick was the rule, and since the identity of the disease was, in some cases, not perceived for some time, the spread of typhoid was inevitable until stricter measures were introduced.

But later in the season a second series of cases began, and an even more searching investigation followed. This time the cases were directly traced to the town water-supply. Yet there was the clean record taken earlier in the season, and there also was the newly installed hypochlorite plant. Finally, very close questioning revealed the fact that for a few days the hypochlorite plant had been out of repair and its service interrupted. Just at that time, by ill-fortune, a heavy rain had fallen, and the creek supplying the town had overflowed into the lowlands along its banks, and a hole had been found in one of the feeding pipes through which water from the overflowing creek had entered.

Another interesting bit of epidemiology was reported in Pennsylvania. A number of cases were traced to a certain milk supply, the sale from this producer not having been checked at first because of misrepresentation to the inspecting officer. A victim of the outbreak was a man whose house was supplied by this particular producer, but who said he never drank milk, never used it in tea or coffee, and had not had it

with desserts either in his home or in the hotel in which he worked and ate. The man's wife, however, on being closely questioned, acknowledged that a supply of milk had accumulated in her refrigerator about two weeks before the members of her family had been taken sick. To save this from being wasted she had made it into ice-cream. When the ice-cream was recalled to his mind, the husband distinctly remembered the occasion and acknowledged that he had partaken of the milk in this form.

Before leaving the fascinating subject of epidemiology, reference must be made to a special feature of the work in the Massachusetts division of communicable diseases.

According to Dr. E. R. Kelly, chief of the division, administrative control of communicable diseases is based on a "satisfactory standard by which to judge their variation"—that is, to know whether the individual disease is increasing or not in a given region, or whether the number of cases in any town is above the "normal experience" of that place. The record affording such information is a very simple piece of bookkeeping, and is called the endemic index—that is to say, the index of the number of cases which are constantly present in any locality. Briefly, the method is this: An average is found of the number of cases in a region for each month for five years, epidemics not included. So long as the number of cases during a current month (indicated by international symbols) keeps below the endemic index, conditions are considered normal; if the number of cases reaches or surpasses the index, evidently it is time to inquire of the district inspector.

The endemic index is of interest also as one form of vital statistics—health bookkeeping. For it illustrates to what valuable ends records, which are too often merely "placed on file," may be interpreted by the expert. It can never be demonstrated by figures that the collection of statistics of birth, death and illness has *per se* actually saved human lives; yet there is hardly a subject in the field of health work that is being viewed from more angles. The physician's responsibility to his patient; parents' obligations to their children; the social duty of citizen to community; the legal importance of certificates for identification—all these considerations are involved in the value assigned to vital statistics; plus, too, any intelligent progress of public health work. It is impossible to take proper and economical measures for protecting a community unless the whereabouts is known of those who are spreading disease. The epidemiologist knows where the dangerous cases are today; where they were yesterday is the statistician's record.

The Efficiency Man in Health Work

DR. H. W. HILL compares the vital-statistics man to the efficiency expert in the business world:

"Public health requires exactly the kind of man who has changed the face of business in the last fifteen years, a man who understands all parts of it, but does none himself; a man who knows costs in each department in proportion to production, and where to cut cost, increase production, save time, unnecessary work and waste in general. . . ."

"It is the vital statistician who must do this: collect the facts and set them forth inexorably, with mathematical precision. When it is done, our health department will no longer use up \$30,000 for garbage, with the probability that not a single life will be saved thereby, while spending \$12,000 on all other health department efforts combined."

In tragi-comic contrast to the honest study and effort of many health officers, physicians and citizens, stand out such records as these quoted from one state bulletin by another:

"Of the hundreds of death certificates . . . many, filled

out by local physicians, contain unusual comment as to the cause of death. . . . 'Went to bed feeling well, but woke up dead.' 'Do not know cause of death, but patient fully recovered from last illness.' 'Died suddenly. Nothing serious.'"

The head of one division of vital statistics is actually said to have refused to furnish data to another division. His records were to be filed, not to be used. What was up? Were they trying to catch him in some blunder?

Evidently one of the immediate needs in health work is thorough enlightenment as to the significance of this routine of reporting, and of the invaluable data in an accumulation of accurate records. Cooperation of citizen, physician and health board, with proper legal backing, are necessary to make vital statistics *vital*, a "fundamental social service" in this country which enjoys at present the doubtful honor of being the only civilized country without a complete record of its births and deaths.

For the Children's Sake

SEVERAL other highly important parts of state board of health work must be more briefly indicated than they deserve. Fortunately they are activities toward which public attention is already directed more fixedly than the less obvious lines of work discussed in this article. For instance, the value of work for child hygiene is not denied in many regions, even where it is not zealously prosecuted. The prevention of infant mortality is one of the most fruitful lines of health work. Though it is largely the local boards of health who must carry the main responsibility, there are none the less many ways in which a state bureau may stimulate and assist the local officers. Only four states have definitely organized divisions of child hygiene in the state departments of health—New York, Ohio, Kansas and New Jersey. Several other states, as Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, carry a certain amount of infant welfare work without creating a special division. Wisconsin is said to be planning to establish a bureau of child hygiene. Thirteen state boards of health and two of the Canadian provincial boards used this past year the parcel post exhibit of the National Child Welfare Association. The federal Children's Bureau has just published a report on work of this kind (Infant Mortality Series, 5), carried on by public and private agencies throughout the United States. A brief summary of state activities for the prevention of blindness through "babies' sore eyes" is published by the National Committee for the Prevention of Blindness.

The health of school children is another line of work largely dependent upon local officials for actual performance, yet, in supervision, logically within the purview of the state health department. In some cases the department of education has a division of medical inspection. Occasionally a district that refuses school medical inspection welcomes a sanitary survey. The Pennsylvania State Board of Health, in an effort to extend medical inspection into rural districts of the state, examined upon its own initiative in 1910 over 14,000 children in 572 school buildings in eighty-three districts of the fourth class (i. e., of less than 5,000 population). The following year the school code was revised to include medical and sanitary inspection of schools throughout the state, though allowing option in third and fourth-class districts. The latest report of this work showed that 469,000 pupils in 11,000 school buildings had been examined. The department reports a steady growth of sentiment in favor of inspection—certainly a decrease of the fear of it.

Methods of such health supervision vary greatly. Sometimes only a questionnaire goes to schools from the department of health; the county health officer may be responsible; a special lecturer may be employed. There is also great variation in

frequency of inspection—from the constant attendance of school nurses and daily office hours of physician, to the monthly, quarterly or annual visitation of the state official.

The chief need in this line of work is apparently its extension into rural sections of the country—a need emphasized by investigations of the Public Health Service in many states; and training teachers what to teach about health. A number of teachers are working perforce independently, developing as part of their course in civics some of the fundamentals of sanitary science. Minnesota published not long ago a syllabus of health studies for teachers. New York compiled an excellent bibliography primarily for librarians, but of value to all students of health. Texas has not only a course of study outlined, but a number of wall pictures to accompany it. Kentucky conducts school classes in public health. Many states pay tribute in their bulletins to the teacher's influence, and doubtless intend their bulletins to be of immediate and practical assistance in the sanitary management of classrooms. The importance of aiding teachers to watch and instruct their classes not only in such special crises as the epidemic of the past summer, but constantly, in the fundamentals of health and sanitation is surely evident when one recalls that "less than 1 per cent of the population reach the university, only 10 per cent reach the high schools. The great mass of the mothers of the coming generation, of the whole race, the mothers of more than their average of children, are receiving grade-school education only."

The People "Want to Know"

FINALLY, among the essentials of a state health department's work is the education not only of teachers but of public. The man on the street, that complex and elusive entity, must be caught and taught. A few years ago the public was not taken into the scientific confidence on matters of sanitation and disease-prevention, except in a grave crisis. Now things are at the other extreme. There is a deluge of "health pamphlets"; there are "health columns" in the papers; some newspapers have "health editors"—not, perhaps, always full-time officials; headlines proclaim as pronouncements of distinguished speakers statements which people of fair intelligence who were in the audience cannot recall as part of the address; magazine articles herald the latest discoveries; mere hint of coming events is clutched by the publicist with avidity. And "misinformation is piled upon none," and the path of the interviewer is rendered hard—even though his paper be not as other papers.

A fuller discussion of latest methods of public health education belongs to a later paper in this series, but at this point it should be said that two facts stand out clearly in the whole situation. One is, that the people are entitled to the truth about prevention of disease; the other, that they desire to know it. Prof. C.-E. A. Winslow tells of the editor of a country newspaper who one week omitted from his paper the weekly health hint from the state department. Promptly came a letter from one of his subscribers inquiring the reason for this omission. Never had such a thing occurred before in his editorial experience.

Facts, then, regarding the improvement of homes, families, city and state are increasingly demanded. The truth can be had more surely and more economically from the department of health than from any other source. To supply the facts needed by each individual state is logically within the state department's responsibility.

There is a little more to say presently concerning the things as yet left undone in public health work; concerning responsibilities and other large matters pertaining not to the department alone. But all this will be in another article.



COMMON WELFARE

COMPULSORY SERVICE TO GO OVER A SESSION

ANNOUNCEMENT by the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives, on January 12, that no measure designed to provide universal military training will be considered during the remainder of this session, gave a breathing space to the opponents of militarism in Congress. Of the twenty-one members of this committee an overwhelming majority are said to favor giving the National Guard a chance to prove its case.

The agitation in favor of universal compulsory training, however, has made great gains in Congress since December. It appears that the committee members are swayed in their present direction by National Guard influences at home. They seem to have been only slightly impressed by the public outcry against establishing a vast permanent military organization.

What will be the majority view in the new House, in which 349 out of 435 members will be survivors of the present House, is a matter of conjecture. With neither Democrats nor Republicans holding a partisan majority, the White House will be unable to direct its policy so readily as now, and public opinion will have greater influence upon the House.

Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, is gradually gaining support among Senate Democrats for his universal compulsory training bill. He has conducted hearings at which most of the prominent strategists of the army and numerous militarists from civil life have supported his plan. Efforts to get President Wilson and Secretary of War Baker to commit themselves in favor of the bill have been unsuccessful. The general staff of the army has been permitted, on the other hand, to throw its whole weight into the scale on the side of the Chamberlain measure, giving it semi-official status.

To combat this growing influence of militarism at the capitol, the American Union Against Militarism arranged a series of six hearings, January 13-16, before the Senate committee. Six groups

of witnesses were presented—medical men and physical training experts; college boys “of the age to be conscripted;” educators, parents opposed to compulsory military training; foreign-born American citizens who have had compulsory military training, and former enlisted men of the American Army and National Guard.

Speaking on behalf of the medical men opposed to conscription of the 18-year-old boys of the country, Dr. James P. Warbasse, of Brooklyn, pointed out that adequate physical training need have no connection whatever with military tactics or drill, and that the reasons for the presence of weak and thin-chested young men everywhere in our cities could not be charged to the fact that they had not come under military control. Fundamental causes for the occurrence of so large a number of the physically unfit, said Dr. Warbasse, were the condition of underfeeding of children, of inadequate wages upon which to maintain families in comfort, and conditions which brought two million American women of child-bearing age into the field of industry.

Conscription of the boy of the working-class family at 18 years of age, he declared, was a blow at the income of the poorer families, and indirectly at the health of the younger children. He cited the fact that 90 per cent of the school children in America quit school before completing the elementary grades, and almost invariably, he held, because their services as bread-winners are required. He argued that conscription extended to the soul as well as the body, since the boys would be compelled to serve irrespective of their refusal to endorse the objects for which military ventures might be undertaken. Mexico and Central America were now, he said, places where American troops are unjustly stationed, and where unjust wars may be precipitated.

Senator Chamberlain conceded, on the announcement of adverse action by the House committee, that no report on any compulsory training bill could be secured from the Senate committee during the present session.

FREE, SECULAR SCHOOLS FOR MEXICO

THE report, published last week, of a recent study of educational conditions in Mexico, conducted under the direction of a committee of well-known men headed by President Charles William Dabney of the University of Cincinnati, states at the outset that the only solution of the Mexican problem must come through universal public education of the masses. Its summing up of the political situation is worth quoting:

“There has never been a middle class in Mexico to supply leaders for the people in their struggles with the feudal lords. Organized public opinion is the only basis for democratic government, and that has never existed in Mexico. The only newspapers are controlled by the government, by the landlords or by the big corporations. There are no real political parties. The only politics are wholly personal and the only political organizations are gangs formed to advance the interests of leaders whose names they bear. There are no political campaigns to educate the voters, but only processions and rallies intended to impress them. There is, in fact, no free political discussion of any kind. Elections in Mexico, consequently, are either farces or frauds. Organized public opinion and the free discussion of political affairs so necessary to a free government cannot exist where the masses of the people are ignorant.”

The report traces in considerable detail the development of public education, from the schools, established shortly after the conquest, under the direction of the Catholic religious organizations, through the short-lived systems initiated by the numerous revolutionary governments which followed each other in rapid succession after the war of independence. Up to the revolution in the later fifties, led by Juarez, public education was held to be the exclusive function of the church. At this time the principle of complete separation of church and state was incorporated in the celebrated *Leyes de Reforma* (reform laws), and the rule that the public schools must be free from the interfer-

ence of religious influences has been maintained in the face of powerful opposition up to the present time.

Nevertheless, the efforts of the earlier revolutionary governments toward the establishment of a system of free schools appear to have been made up chiefly of good intentions and impractical theories. As a rule the plans were worked out on a basis of sound educational philosophy and were irreproachable in form. But they failed to work because there was no effective administrative machinery for securing the two prime essentials for an effective school system—funds and teachers. In the main the job of carrying them out was left to the local municipal authorities, who were unable to make much headway against the organized opposition of the church and the obstructive tactics of the large proprietors who believed that education would only make their laborers lazy and discontented.

Although considerable progress was made during the Diaz régime, the amount of illiteracy shown by the census of 1910 was approximately 75 per cent.

The report recommends the establishment in Mexico of an endowed college independent of both church and state control, similar to the Robert College in Constantinople. While its authors believe that such an institution would be of the greatest value in training the future leaders of the country, they recognize that the great need is elementary education for the masses. To realize the dream of Juarez and his fellow revolutionists, a system of universal education *obligatoria, gratuita y laica*—compulsory, free and secular—will be for many years the most important work in the regeneration of Mexico.

A PRACTICAL WAY TO CUT DOWN LYNCHINGS

HARDLY had the newspapers told the country the total number of lynchings last year, when Governor A. O. Stanley of Kentucky risked his life to disperse a fast-growing mob in that state and thereby in all probability cut down the 1917 total of lynchings by one and possibly three. A crowd in Murray, Ky., angered at the postponement of the trial of a Negro charged with murdering a white man, was threatening to kill not only the prisoner but the judge and commonwealth attorney, who had agreed to the postponement. Governor Stanley, hearing of the trouble, chartered a special train and started for the scene with the words, "I'll give the mob a chance to lynch the governor of Kentucky first." Arrived at the town, without bodyguard and unarmed, the executive made a speech in which he said:

"A little more than a year ago, I put my right hand upon a Bible and called God to witness that as chief magistrate of Kentucky and supporter of the law

I would maintain its integrity. I have come here to plead with you to allow the law to take its orderly course, and to declare that I am here to uphold the law and to protect this court with my own body if necessary."

The governor achieved his object and the lynchings were prevented. The speech moved a brother of the murdered man to endorse the executive appeal openly.

Last year, according to the figures of Tuskegee Institute, which keeps annual tab on mob violence, there were fifty-four



THE DYING JEWISH SOLDIER

IN spite of the fact that over 300,000 Jews are fighting in the Russian army, and that the Jewish population penned up in the western provinces of Russia (Poland and the Pale) has borne the brunt of the eastern campaign, the Russian government has not abated its anti-semitic policy. Acts of Jewish heroism are alleged to be suppressed by Russian censorship, crippled Jewish soldiers are refused leave to stay for treatment outside the Pale, or to look for employment. Accusations of espionage, according to a pamphlet issued by the National Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights, have been systematically fabricated both against Jewish soldiers and Jewish civilians, although no court of record has brought out a single conviction. Using the charge of traitor as an excuse, it is said that military authorities have ordered wholesale expulsion of Jews from the provinces of Lomzha, Radom, Lublin and Warsaw. The pamphlet reports that hundreds of thousands of people with only a few hours' notice were herded into cattle cars and for weeks hounded from place to place, debarred from cities without the Ghetto and increasing fourfold the relief problem in other cities. Neither the old, the sick, children of the families of reservists were spared, even wounded soldiers were thus treated as enemies by the Russian government.

lynchings in the United States. This was thirteen fewer than in 1915. Fifty of the lynched were Negroes and four were white.

Three of the whites were put to death for murder; the other (a Mexican) being suspected of cutting a woman. The Negroes were charged as follows: Attempted rape, 9; killing officers of the law, 10; murder, 7; hog stealing and assisting another person to escape, 6; wounding officers of the law, 4; rape, 3; insult, 2; for each of the following offenses one person was put to death: slapping boy; robbing store; brushing against girl on street; assisting his son, accused of rape, to escape; entering a house for robbery or some other purpose; defending her son, who, in defense of mother, killed man; fatally wounding a man with whom he had quarreled; speaking against mob in act of putting a man to death; attacking a man and wife with club.

Georgia led in the number of lynchings, with fourteen. Other states lynched as follows: Alabama 1, Arkansas 4, Florida 8, Kansas 1, Kentucky 2, Louisiana 2, Mississippi 1, Missouri 1, North Carolina 2, Oklahoma 4, South Carolina 2, Tennessee 3, Texas 9.

THE I. W. W. AS PRISON REFORMERS

IT looks as if the New Jersey state prison at Trenton would be the next of the penitentiaries in this country run under a system of repression and brutality, to answer for its evils to a rapidly awakening public conscience on the treatment of prisoners. On Friday last week the *New York Evening Post* began a series of articles exposing in detail the bad conditions there, and simultaneously the *New Republic* published a similar indictment.

For these exposures the New Jersey penitentiary and the public are indebted to an unusual type of prisoner. Conditions at Trenton were first brought to the attention of the *Evening Post*, declares that newspaper, by Frederick Boyd, a sympathizer of the Industrial Workers of the World, who served a term in the prison for his part in the silk strike at Paterson. "Mr. Boyd's statement," continues the first article, "led to an investigation by the *Evening Post*, and these stories are a result. They will be followed by Mr. Boyd's own views of the prison and prison life." The *New Republic* article is by Patrick Quinlan, a member of the I. W. W., who served a term for a cause similar to that of Mr. Boyd.

Trenton prison is declared by the *Post's* opening article, written by Harold A. Littledale, to be "bad in its structure, bad in its influence and bad in its management," and "among the worst in the country." That men have been chained to walls in underground dungeons; that two, three and even four

men are confined in the same cell in violation of the law; that women convicts are confined with men, and that a particular cell is used for this purpose; that there is no dining hall and that men are fed in their cells or in the corridor; that the male prisoners have only half an hour's recreation a week; that consumptives mingle with the well and the first offender with the habitual criminal; that more than 100 men are employed on contract labor in violation of the law; that for ten months of the year each prisoner receives one bucket of hot water a week in which to bathe, and after bathing to wash his clothes and cell floor; and that the cries of convicts protesting against their food have been heard by persons in the streets outside, are among the counts in the *Evening Post's* indictment.

Mr. Quinlan tells of a prisoner, Mangani by name, who, for stabbing a keeper that had compelled him to give up graft, was forced to wear a ball and chain riveted to his leg for four and a half years. The leg became so badly festered that the fetters were removed to allow it to heal, but were placed meanwhile on the other leg. For six years Mangani was kept in solitary confinement, denied speech, not permitted to see a friend, and prevented even from attending mass in the prison chapel. He became insane from this treatment and a few months ago was removed to the state asylum.

Bad as the prison is, the present principal keeper (the title of the warden), Richard P. Hughes, is declared by the *Evening Post* to have "made it much better than it was." New Jersey inaugurated a new governor this week, Walter E. Edge, of Atlantic City, and on him responsibility for improving conditions is declared to rest. As governor-elect, Mr. Edge is quoted as having said: "I intend to hear all sides freely and fairly, for I mean to end the prison problem in this state for all time."

PROBATION DENIED TO FEDERAL OFFENDERS

A SPECIAL and unexpected weapon has been put into the hands of those who are urging upon Congress the passage of the Owen-Hayden bill, which would for the first time give statutory power to judges in United States district courts to suspend sentence in criminal cases and to place offenders on probation. The United States Supreme Court last month decided that such power, frequently exercised by federal judges in the past, especially with respect to youthful and first offenders, does not exist unless specifically granted by Congress.

The case at issue was brought to compel United States District Judge Killits, of Ohio, to impose sentence on an offender whose sentence he had suspended. The opinion delivered by Chief Justice White entirely overthrows the practice

of many federal judges to exercise discretion in imposing and withholding sentences. Indeed, it has been commonly contended that the right to suspend sentence is inherent in all criminal courts. This contention, so far as it relates to state courts, has been upheld by judicial decisions many times—in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, New York and Massachusetts—while legislation has established it in other states where the power was held not to be inherent.

"The present decision," writes Charles L. Chute, secretary of the New York State Probation Commission, which presented a brief to the court in behalf of the good effects of probation and suspended sentence, "means that after every conviction in a United States court, no matter what the circumstances of the offense or the age of the offender, the penalty prescribed by law must be enforced. In most cases this is imprisonment in a federal prison. Heretofore federal judges have frequently suspended sentence, especially in cases of youthful and first offenders, and placed the offender under such supervision as they could command.

"In Massachusetts alone, where the use of the suspended sentence is said to have been the unquestioned practice for sixty years, it is reported that upward of 200 men and boys convicted of federal offenses are now out on good behavior, many of them under the supervision of state probation officers. The practice has been commonly used in New York and elsewhere. Federal courts are now without discretion to exercise clemency, except in the degree of punishment.

"The probation system has established a new and effective method for dealing with offenders capable of reform, whether young or old, without imprisonment. . .

"Few persons realize the magnitude of the criminal work of the United States district courts. In 1915 they obtained no fewer than 13,477 convictions. A great number of boys convicted of offenses under the postal laws, in connection with interstate commerce, under the white slave act and other crimes, come within federal jurisdiction. Of the 2,755 prisoners sent to federal prisons in 1915, 247 were under twenty years of age, and 1,432—more than half—were under thirty.

"Fortunately, the present intolerable situation need be only temporary. The chief justice made this clear in his decision when he said: 'So far as the future is concerned . . . recourse must be had to Congress, whose legislative power on the subject is in the very nature of things adequately complete.'"

The Owen-Hayden bill, which was drawn by the National Probation Association, has been before Congress for three years. At the last session it was favorably reported by the sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, but

got no further. It has now been reported favorably by the Judiciary Committee itself and is upon the Senate calendar. In addition to providing that federal judges may suspend sentence and place on probation in all except the most serious felonies, it permits one probation officer to be appointed in each court on a per diem basis.

TURNING CHICAGO'S POLICE CRISIS

CHICAGO'S police administration took a sharp turn for the worse and immediately an unexpectedly good turn for the better within a fortnight. The state's attorney's detectives arrested a lieutenant of police while he was alleged to have been in the act of receiving the graft levied upon disorderly resorts and saloons by three noted crooks, who were also taken into custody. One proved to be the self-confessed collector of the graft, who is alleged to have had a controlling influence in the appointments and transfers of police officers in the most disorderly districts of the city. The other two men have long been notorious in protecting law-breaking saloons and vicious resorts.

Evidence discovered in the possession of these men and afterwards corroborated by their confessions was made the basis for the arrest of the chief of police and for his indictment on the charge of receiving bribes both from violators of the law and from police officers seeking promotion. Four subordinate officers were charged with the same offenses and many others are supposed to have been caught in the state's attorney's dragnet.

Meanwhile, after a previous indictment, the resignation of the chief of police had been reluctantly requested and accepted by the mayor, to take effect only a day or two after the state's attorney's trap was sprung, to the surprise of all involved. While the cry of "politics" was raised in defense, public confidence in the truth of the charges has been strengthened by the statement of Shelby M. Singleton, the long and well-attested secretary of the Citizens' Association. Being familiar with much of the evidence which he helped the state's attorney to secure, Mr. Singleton states it to be "convincing" and believes "each one of those blistering charges is true," upon which the nine indictments are based. He refers to the situation disclosed as "almost unbelievably rotten, in which police officials were conniving with crooked politicians of both political parties." His statement concludes with these ringing sentences:

"A whole Police Department long steeped in corruption, cannot be freed from the shackles of graft and extortion and the life and the property of citizens made safe without the cooperation of a conscientious, courageous and truly patriotic mayor. The forces of corruption



"OUT TO WIN"

The Massachusetts Child Labor Committee appeals to boys to stay in school. The captions under these pictures from its latest pamphlet are: "Tom, a factory boy, learning to forge tools at an industrial school so that he could earn more wages;" "In the mill George oils all the spindles in the spinning room. When he has finished he oils all the spindles again."

have held Chicago in their grasp for a long time. When the guardians of the law themselves become enmeshed in corruption, and when the police department becomes the tool of crooks and criminals it is the duty of every citizen to rally to the support of every influence that aims to divorce them."

The situation thus squarely put up to the mayor of Chicago, not only by this statement but by the expression of public sentiment through the press, resulted in an unexpectedly good exercise of appointive power by the mayor. He named as chief of police Herman F. Schuettler, who through thirty-four years of continuous and varied service in the department, had worked his way up from a patrolman to the position of first deputy superintendent of police. Under varying and trying changes in the administration of the city and of the Police Department, he has kept close to the police duties assigned him and fulfilled them to the extent which his superior officer or the mayors of Chicago permitted. Occasionally he has discomfited his chief by disclosing and suppressing certain forms of lawlessness, the existence of which had been denied by his superior officer.

In his letter making the appointment, Mayor Thompson gave the new chief a free hand such as neither this mayor nor any other has ever given to any superintendent of police, at least within the last twenty-five years in Chicago. These explicit terms are so direct and unequivocal that it would seem impossible to evade them or reclaim any reservations possibly implied in them. Here is at least the promise of freedom to fulfil the law new to the police of Chicago:

"Your authority over the department is absolute and complete and there are no curbs, limitations or restrictions, except as imposed by law, upon your power or purpose to administer impartially the police system of this city to the best of your ability and for the lawful protection of the people. No person is authorized to come to you, as representing me, to ask for any prestige or favor from the police department, nor shall I grant any myself. No influence need guide you except the sacred influence of duty. If it does, you alone will be to blame.

"Clean out immediately the corruption in all ranks of the department. You are hereby ordered and directed strictly to enforce all the laws of the state and ordinances of the city, which it is the duty of the police department to enforce."

The mayor specifies that his order to enforce the law closing saloons on Sunday shall be rigidly complied with and that the obedience of every other officer to this order shall be compelled.

Hitherto this very order of the mayor has all along been charged, and now again by the state's attorney, with having been used as a club to drive saloonkeepers either to support or not to oppose the political interests of the mayor.

Chief Schuettler gives evidence of having taken his commission at its face value by appointing as first deputy superintendent of police, Wesley H. Westbrook, a young captain, never involved in any police intrigues, and conspicuous for the high standards of his personal character, his administration of his precincts and his training of new officers in the police school, of which he had charge for several years.

MAKING A BOY WANT TO GO TO SCHOOL

MASSACHUSETTS has a law compelling its children to go to school until they are fourteen years old. So have a number of other states. In most of these states believers in more education for children work hard trying to convince the legislature that the compulsory age limit ought to be raised. The legislature may be convinced, but if the child remains an unwilling attendant the benefits of legislation are doubtful.

The Massachusetts Child Labor Committee has therefore decided to supplement this traditional form of activity by going to the children themselves and appealing to them to stay in school longer. It has begun by publishing this month a primer entitled *Out to Win*. This primer contains stories in picture and text of boys and girls who work—some who work at oiling spools and oiling spools until the whole world becomes a spool and the youthful operator feels like crawling into the hole in the center of the spool and sleeping for a year; and others who have continued their education until they can carve in wood or forge tools or do mechanical drawing, or in some other way find an outlet for the creative impulses that knock at the door of expression.

The book, which tells its stories in clear pictures, simple words and large type, is intended to be read by the 30,000 young workers in Massachusetts between fourteen and sixteen years of age. At the bottom of each page is a line telling where more training may be had—at school, settlement, club, Y. M. C. A.

and other places. Along with the advantages of more education, it tells also of the necessity for play and occasional medical examination to learn whether the physical machine is in good trim.

MILWAUKEE'S SICK LOSE THREE MILLION DOLLARS

SOME of the outstanding conclusions drawn from the health census conducted recently by the social workers of Milwaukee under the auspices of the City Club [see the SURVEY for November 11, 1916], are just made public. On the day of the census, 10 per cent of the people in the city were sick; at this rate, sickness must cause a wage loss of \$3,000,000 annually in this city. Fewer than half of the persons sick were under a doctor's care; fewer than one-fourth of the sick had prompt medical attention. Investigation proved that the poor are seriously sick three times as frequently as the well-to-do.

More complete and prompt medical care, and some means of protecting workers against wage loss through sickness, are urgently needed, in the opinion of the City Club committee.

The above estimate is extremely conservative, in the opinion of those who tabulated the results. Many cases of tuberculosis, venereal disease and other complaints were not reported, so that the above total is undoubtedly far too low.

The diseases reported may be divided roughly into three classes: infectious, degenerative and miscellaneous. Of 14,500 cases of infectious diseases, 11,500 were infections of the respiratory system. Of degenerative diseases, 5,130 were reported, of which over half were mental disorders. Other degenerative diseases noted were kidney, liver and heart troubles, and cancer.

Colds were the complaint most frequently reported, 7,250 cases being found. Next comes rheumatism, with 5,100 cases. Other prominent complaints were bronchitis, tuberculosis, coughs, asthma, etc., 3,110; indigestion, 2,450 cases; cripples, 1,620; and nervous disorders, 1,700.

The amount of mental and nervous disease is one of the striking facts revealed by the census. Four hundred insane persons were indicated by the returns. Although feeble-mindedness is usually concealed, 435 cases were reported in the census, and 215 epileptics. One thousand seven hundred persons were found suffering from nervous disorders. These cases were three times as frequent among non-wage-earners as among wage-earners. Housewives were by far the greatest sufferers, and women and girls were much more frequently affected than men and boys.

The connection between poverty and sickness is forcibly emphasized by a study of the relative seriousness of the diseases found among the poor as compared with

those found among the rich. The most serious of the diseases frequently reported were heart trouble, insanity, diphtheria, pneumonia, tuberculosis, kidney trouble, female trouble, and coughs, bronchitis, asthma, etc. In well-to-do sections, 7.7 persons per thousand were afflicted with these diseases; in poor sections 22.2 persons per thousand were so afflicted. These serious diseases were, therefore, three times as prevalent in the poor districts as in the well-to-do sections.

The difference was much less marked in the less severe complaints, such as colds, rheumatism, or indigestion, so that in the total of all diseases, the poor districts suffered only about 80 per cent more per thousand than the well-to-do districts.

Of the 40,000 sick persons, the census indicates that 13,600 were wage-earners. Of these wage-earners, 5,090 were at home from work. Since 187,000 wage-earners were reported for the entire city on that day, 2.7 per cent of the total wage-earners were sick at home. If the day of the census is representative for the entire year, this means that the average worker loses 9.9 days per year from his work through sickness. Estimates for the country at large indicate 9 days as the time lost per year on the average by wage-earners.

On this basis, assuming \$600 a year as the average wage earned by these workers, the daily loss of wages through sickness in Milwaukee amounts to \$10,000, or over \$3,000,000 per year.

Fewer than half of the persons reported to be sick were under a doctor's care. Whether medical care was given was not reported for about one-fifth of the cases noted. The great majority of the unreported cases were probably not receiving medical attention. Less than 40 per cent of the cases recorded actually reported a physician's attendance.

Naturally, the least serious and the more chronic cases were usually those where a physician was not in attendance. Yet in 25 per cent of the illnesses of wage-earners where no doctor had been called, the patient was so sick as to be absent from his work. Even the apparently mild unattended cases, where the patient was well enough to be about, assume a sinister aspect when it is remembered that many of the dangerous maladies get their start in apparently insignificant ailments.

Wage-earners who were sick had medical care in a larger proportion of cases than non-wage-earners. Of the former, 48.7 per cent were reported as under a doctor's care, while of the latter only 32.6 per cent were recorded as having a physician. This seems to be due to the need of protecting the family's income. Illnesses which receive medical care when they endanger wage-earners are neglected when they attack a child or the wife.

Promptness of medical care is another important factor. In the cases furnishing data on this subject, 11 per cent of the patients who had a doctor had been sick more than six months before the doctor was called; 18 per cent had been sick more than two months; 21 per cent had been sick more than one month; 27 per cent had been sick more than two weeks; 33 per cent more than one week, and 53 per cent more than one day.

Since less than half of the cases had a physician's care at all, and only 47 per cent of these called a doctor promptly, it is clear that less than one-fourth of the sick had immediate medical attention.

These are only a few of the conclusions to be drawn from the health census. The data collected forms a mine of information which will be studied and analyzed by the City Club with a view to issuing further reports. The success of the census is due to the co-operation of Mayor Hoan and Archbishop Messmer, who gave letters of introduction; to the club's public-health committee; to many social workers; to sanitary inspectors from the Department of Health; to child-welfare and tuberculosis nurses, and to the Associated Charities and Juvenile Protective Association.

THE HAND OF MILITARISM IN INDUSTRY

H. G. WELLS, in a recent article on the newer developments in war machines, comments on the inability of the British military authorities to grasp the needs of industry. They still go on the principle that in war-time the proper place for every able-bodied adult male is at the front, quite oblivious of the fact that, from the point of view of military utility alone, there are thousands of men whose services to the country would be infinitely greater if applied to the industry in which they are skilled. Many plants, he complains, the increase of whose output is vital to the success of the Allied powers, are starved for expert help, while the men who could render it idle away their days in useless military manœuvring.

Be this as it may, there is much evidence of the danger run by a nation if it allows the military authorities to have a hand in industrial organization. For instance, the British War Office, in September last, issued a manual on Women's War Work, compiled for the use of recruiting officers, military representatives and tribunals, which is intended to prove that there is hardly an industrial occupation in which women cannot and do not take the place of men.

The volume does not contain a single qualification. So little discrimination has gone into its composition that the recommendation to substitute women's for men's work can only be regarded as



FROM "WOMEN'S WAR WORK," THE WAR OFFICE, LONDON

Left, pushing a hand-car filled with refuse—a gang of six women on the single car. Right, trucking bags of flour. Before the war, men preferred almost any other kind of employment to that in the typical old-fashioned English flour mill.

wholesale. The aim of this manual is in the most direct opposition to the efforts now put forward by several government departments and inter-departmental committees to induce employers to apply scientific and humane principles to the allocation of workers and to the management of labor in war and civil employments.

The accompanying illustrations from the manual of the War Office show women engaged in occupations which it is recommended shall henceforth be considered women's work throughout the country. Some of these occupations are obviously unsuitable and dangerous to the health of women. That physical fitness is a necessary consideration in selecting workers for any given job does not seem to have occurred to the War Office. It recommends, for instance, as a matter for general application, that wives, sisters and daughters shall be induced to take up the work of the male members of the household to set them free for military duty—an effort, apparently, to cut the ground from under any cause which may be shown before a tribunal why a male worker of military age is indispensable to the conduct of the

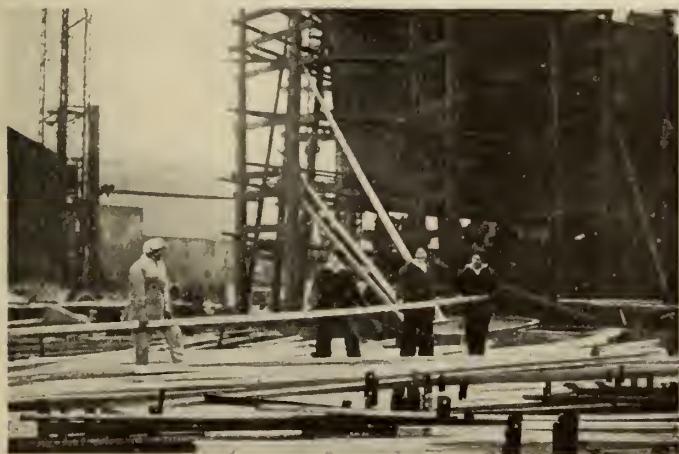


Pork butcher's wife and daughter, with girl assistants, keep the business going while he is at the front. All of them together manage to dress from six to eight pigs a week. If they are paid a living wage, pork must be high.

business of which he is a regular part.

"We have always been among those who have held that there is no physical barrier in the way of a great extension of women's work," says the *London Nation* (November 4, 1916). "But we confess that this publication takes our breath away. . . . There are photographs of a woman stoker working at the furnaces of a large factory in South London, and others of women loading, unloading and stacking pit props and coal, which seem to us cases for immediate investigation by Home Office inspectors. Surely, the War Office does not give its official commendation to the employment of women on such jobs as these."

Since the beginning of the war, almost a million women have been added to the wage earners in industrial, commercial, professional occupations, agriculture, transport, civil service, etc. "Many of these women," says the Board of Trade (*Labour Gazette*, October, 1916), "are not, strictly speaking, replacing the men, but they are doing what was before the war generally regarded as men's work." The estimated number of women reported by employers as directly replacing men was 766,000



THE ONLY MEN IN SIGHT ARE LOOKERS-ON

Left, lifting heavy steel bars in shipyards. Right, women porters in railroad goods (freight) yard loading trucks. Note the heavy barrels, bags and cases in the background.

in July, 1916, and has grown since. Both the Home Office and the Board of Trade have issued series of pamphlets in which the substitution of women for men is made the object of a careful consideration of suitability and conditions, based largely upon the judgment of the factory inspectors and other qualified investigators. But the War Office, in this pamphlet, takes no notice of them; and employers and the women themselves in many cases take no heed of the warning given them by the responsible civil government departments.

Thus women are directly replacing men even in building, mining and quarrying. Considerable numbers are engaged in the metal industries in processes involving excessive physical strain. The number of women and girls employed in grain milling increased from 2,000 to 6,000 between July, 1914, and July, 1916; in sugar refining from 1,000 to 2,000; in brewing from 8,000 to 18,000. One of the principal increases has been in railway work, including not only carriage and locomotive cleaners but also hundreds of porters and laborers in workshops. Municipalities employ women in power stations, on sewage farms, in gas works, in parks, and in road cleaning and scavenging.

In certain occupations it has been found that women lose more time than men in starting machines. But instead of concluding from this that a lesser total daily output must be expected from them in these operations, it is asserted by employers that the proper thing to do is to reduce the number of pauses in the work and to work longer shifts. Only time can tell what the result will be of so widespread a disregard of elementary principles of health. "The health safeguards enforced by law in normal times are now to a large extent broken down," says R. A. Bray, chairman of the London Juvenile Advisory Committee (*Pall Mall Gazette*, September 28). "In many of the cases where girls have replaced boys, they are called on to perform duties for which they are physically unfitted." The same, of course, is true of adult women. It is among the women who have come forward and relieved male labor to so appreciable an extent, says the *Lancet* (November 4), that "the first effects of drastic recruiting will be seen."

SANITATION IN CINCINNATI KITCHENS

THE Consumers' League of Cincinnati has recently investigated 118 of that city's restaurants and has in consequence put 59 on its white list. Fourteen of the kitchens visited were located in basements and 124 had dark, unventilated storerooms. In 55 kitchens there was no stove hood, which meant intense heat and fetid odors. In 80 kitchens no provision was made for

rinsing dishes; in 12 the dishwater and in 21 the dishtowels were dirty.

The law of one day rest in seven for employes was enforced in no restaurant open on Sunday. The women reported weekly wages of from \$4 to \$6; the men from \$10 to \$12, except the chefs of the large establishments. Supposedly the women are protected by the 54-hour law, although 11 restaurants are known to be disregarding this.

In 20 places there was no dressing-room for employes and in 11 the street clothes hung in the kitchen or the adjoining pantry. In 14 restaurants the toilets either opened into the kitchen or were right next to them.

According to the report, shortly after this investigation by the Consumers' League, the Board of Health entered the low-grade eating houses and "marked improvement was noticed in four of the places; two of these have since been added to the white list. Several of the undesirable places have gone out of business. A number are striving to come up to requirements of the Board of Health."

GOVERNOR LOWDEN'S PROGRAM FOR ILLINOIS

NO one of the specific policies announced by Governor Frank O. Lowden of Illinois in his inaugural is more important to the citizens of that state, and of every other, than the appeal for personal attention to public business with which he concluded his address.

"Our public business is the most important of all our business," he said. "We too often say that our private affairs will not permit us to interest ourselves in public affairs. We seem to forget that if government were suspended for a single day our private affairs would be of no moment—that ruin would rule all about us. But government is not automatic. Perpetual motion is an idle dream in government as in mechanics."

The most outstanding policy of the new state administration is the consolidation of the functions now scattered among over a hundred state offices and agencies into nine departments—finance, agriculture, labor, mines and minerals, public works, charities and correction, health, corporate control and education. The basis and argument for this consolidation were solidly laid by the voluminous report of a legislative commission on economy and efficiency in state administration rendered a year or so ago.

Among the policies urged as corollary to this main proposition are a budget system to include all expenditures, the strengthening and extension of the civil service, a short ballot and reduction of the number of elections, home rule for the control of public utilities in large cities and a constitutional convention as the surest and shortest way of securing the long and badly needed new constitu-

tion for the state, which the governor declares should include full and equal suffrage for women.

A shorter working day for women, ample compensation for injury in industry as a factor in the cost of production, soil conservation, reforestation and cooperative farming, good roads, state supervision of private banks, and laboratories and clinics as vital to any scheme for handling defectives, are the progressive measures to which the governor commits his administration. Against all the pressure of the incoming party influences to reward the faithful with jobs, Governor Lowden insists that he will hold in abeyance practically all appointments until his legislative policies are carried through the legislature.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION FOR CALGARY

BY a vote of 2,840 to 1,374 the voters of Calgary, Alberta, recently passed judgment in favor of applying the proportional system to the election of their city council. As the change had already been sanctioned by the provincial Parliament, the popular vote settled the question finally and made Calgary the first community in Canada to secure the new method of election. Ottawa voted in favor of it a year ago, but the Ontario Parliament has not yet authorized its adoption there.

The system of proportional representation to be used in Calgary is the same, in general principle, as that adopted by Ashabula, Ohio, in 1915. It is called the "Hare system." The election is at large. Each voter has only one vote, but he may express on his ballot any number of alternative preferences so that his one vote will be sure to count for the candidate he likes best among those who, considering how all the other voters have voted, can be helped to election.

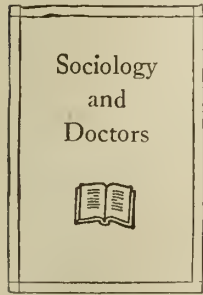
The system works out in the election of every candidate who is desired by enough voters to deserve a representative, and of no candidate who is not desired by that number of voters. For example, if there are seven seats in the council, a seventh of the voters (approximately) who want the same candidate are sure of electing him; and, on the other hand, no party or group of voters can possibly elect more members than they have sevenths (approximately) of the total vote.

In the opinion of its advocates, among whom are included some of the leading men of the country, this system of election will bring into the legislative body persons truly representative of the real interests and aspirations of the community and will break the old parties' corner on the seats in city councils; for they hold there is no question but that with the Hare ballot voters can vote absolutely as they please without risk of "throwing their votes away."

Book Reviews

DISEASES OF OCCUPATION AND VOCATIONAL HYGIENE

By Kober and Hanson. P. Blakiston Sons & Co. 918 pp. Price \$8; by mail of the SURVEY \$8.30.



Sir Victor Horsley, consulting surgeon to the British army in the East, said while lecturing in India recently that the time had come for doctors to study sociology and for people in general to study physiology.

That the dictum has favor and followers in this hemisphere also, is evident from certain recent publications. The avowed aim of these books is to make certain basic facts of disease and its prevention available to the general reader, who is becoming interested, and to give the physician a view of his "case" from the sociological angle. Foremost among them must be mentioned Diseases of Occupation and Vocational Hygiene, a collection of studies each by an expert in the particular subject, edited by Dr. George W. Kober, of Washington, and Dr. William H. Hanson, formerly of the Massachusetts State Board of Health.

The essays are in three main groups. Part one discusses specific and systemic diseases of occupation; part two discusses first the cause and means of preventing occupational diseases, then the various occupations in which exposure to injurious conditions is involved. In part three there is a description of the unique Milan clinic for occupational diseases; then a discussion of statistics, their uses and their fallacies; and last, chapters that contain the latest study of legislation for the prevention of occupational disease; on the *rationale* of making such diseases notifiable and including them in the records of vital statistics; on women's and children's work; and on administrative power and methods.

Concerning these subjects, basic data are presented with a simplicity, clearness, fulness and interest that at first conceal the magnitude of the completed task. The editors have appreciated the value of mechanical aids, such as heavy-faced type for headings, numbered divisions, paragraphs of moderate length and a good index.

The book announces its appeal as "to physicians, to employers, to employes, efficiency experts, public-health officials and legislators." And no member of

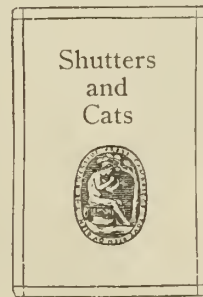
any of these groups can fail to find this volume of limitless value for information and for reference.

Ideals of civilization demand such a knowledge of the gravity and variety of occupational diseases as that offered in this book. Action for their prevention may be intelligent, and that one great social group may be given clearer understanding of some of the difficulties that face another great social group. Such an understanding is that expressed in the words upon the cornerstone of the Milan clinic: "*In aliis vivimus, movemur, et sumus.*"

G. S.

COMMUNITY HYGIENE

By Woods Hutchinson, M.D. Houghton-Mifflin Company. 310 pp. Price \$.60; by mail of the SURVEY \$.70.



The title of this book does not give any idea of its intent, but in the preface we find an argument, the reasoning of which is sound, for presenting teaching of this sort to children, though of just what age these children should be no intimation is given.

Dr. Hutchinson has been before the public as a popular writer on medical subjects for a number of years, and has gained a large following. The present book considers a great many subjects in a popular and readable style. The subtitles of the paragraphs in the chapters are particularly apt, and many of them carry lessons in themselves, for example: "The complexion that won't come off," "Cave dwellings of today," "Second-hand air," "Why drafts are healthful," "Milk and the crops it grows," etc.

The author makes his statements in a dogmatic manner which at times cannot be defended. He speaks of shutters as being "a particularly stupid and unhygienic survival of the Dark Ages," and does not mention the Venetian shutter which throughout the southern part of our country is a necessity. It shuts out the sunshine, and allows ventilation at all times, even during storms, as the ordinary window and shade which he recommends do not.

There is some repetition. A good chapter entitled "our insect enemies" is followed by one called "the spread of disease," in which he again devotes a good deal of attention to insects.

The etiology of infantile paralysis is

more than questionable. He states positively that it has been proven the stable fly carries infantile paralysis, and he suggests also that infantile paralysis is carried from calves, colts, dogs, or chickens! His etiology of pellagra is also open to criticism. If children are to be taught about such things they should be told only what we positively know.

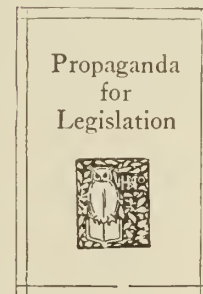
Dr. Hutchinson says, "As a carrier of infections the cat has few superiors." That cats occasionally carry infection seems to have been proved; that it is a common thing, is very far from having been proved. Children should be taught kindness to animals and a love of pets. The good far overbalances the very slight danger which comes from a house pet properly cared for.

The book is a useful one and can be safely recommended. It is very difficult to treat some of the subjects taken up in such a way that they are made plain to children without misleading them, but the author has succeeded for the most part in stating things correctly and in a fashion understandable to his child readers.

MAZYCK P. RAVENEL, M. D.

STANDARDS OF HEALTH INSURANCE

By I. M. Rubinow, M.D. Henry Holt and Company. 322 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.59.



Timely in an unusual sense is this little volume by Dr. Rubinow. In the midst of the propaganda that is rapidly preparing the country for health insurance legislation we get a discussion not primarily of the need for the reform,

but of the basic principles on which health-insurance systems must be built and of the methods of practical administration to insure their successful operation. Seldom, in our campaigns for social legislation, has anybody thought it worth while to make such fundamental and technical inquiries. Had we paid more attention to these deeper questions a few years ago, when agitating for workmen's compensation, perhaps we would not now have "such preposterously inadequate laws as, e. g., those of New Jersey, Colorado or Pennsylvania"; and we might not have to do the work all over again, as with the federal compensation act.

Contenting himself with a summary of the arguments in support of the general policy of health insurance, the author proceeds at once to consider the principle of compulsion. Shall the plan be voluntary or compulsory? On the answer to this crucial question all other provisions must depend. Dr. Rubinow decides unequivocally in favor of com-

pulsion. "The lesson of history is . . . strongly in favor of the compulsory principle in this branch of social insurance," he concludes, after a review of the European systems. And the reasons for it are the demonstrated inability to bring the neediest strata of the working class into the system by any measures short of compulsion; at least a partial responsibility for illness must be placed on industry and on society; also, it is important that the services rendered by the insurance institutions be effective and capable of meeting the problems which call for health insurance.

Having determined upon a definite system of health insurance, two further questions present themselves. To whom shall we make it applicable, and what kinds of sickness shall be covered by insurance? Then come the character of the medical benefits and the amount of money benefits to be paid. Shall maternity and funeral benefits be included in the system of health insurance, and how shall they be connected in administration with the general scheme? These and the question of optional or additional voluntary benefits are discussed in brief but thorough-going fashion. Answers are given to each of the questions to enable those who would frame legislation to see the exact nature of the work that will have to be done as well as the machinery they must create.

In working out the detailed parts that must go into the building of a complete and successful system of health insurance, Dr. Rubinow does not venture much to draw on his "constructive imagination." His searching studies of European systems and his own experience as a medical practitioner enable him to see vividly the social needs, as well as the pitfalls the legislators who attempt to meet them are likely to tumble into.

The burden of cost of the insurance he would place upon the employer, the government and the wage-earner, in the proportions of 40, 40 and 20—this, to stimulate each to active preventive measures and to avoid malingering. He recognizes, however, that the lowest paid workers will be unable to bear their share and would, therefore, distribute the burden in such a way as to have employers, the state and the better-paid workers each pay part of the others' share.

Perhaps the most helpful part of Dr. Rubinow's work for the legislator will be the several chapters describing the administrative organization necessary to get the results contemplated by the laws that may be enacted. Rarely do our lawmakers get from advocates of social legislation such clear-cut and practical details of how to make the laws work as are contained in the chapters on financial organization and the organization of medical aid.

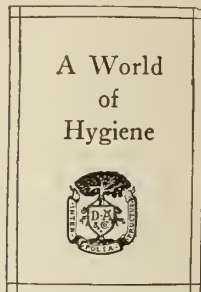
The value of this little book to the

cause of social reform can hardly be over-estimated. It points the way not only to those interested in health insurance, but to all who wish to see the state take a hand in ameliorating social conditions.

WILLIAM M. LEISERSON.

PREVENTIVE MEDICINE AND HYGIENE

By Milton J. Rosenau. D. Appleton and Company. 1,286 pp. Price \$6; by mail of the SURVEY \$6.40.



Books there are, and also volumes, and also publications; but there is an entity in the world of pages and covers not adequately described by these words. Size and dignity; weight, intellectual and physical; significance as a thing to come back to again and again, to be pondered over and realized—all these are connoted by that good word, *tome*. Dr. Rosenau's book is a *tome*. Apart it stands from the mile-a-minute handbooks. It takes the necessary time and space to explain as well as to state. Its appeal is to the increasing number of people, in addition to those officially responsible for public health, who want careful, authoritative details of this relatively new science of preventive medicine.

That Dr. Rosenau is eminently fitted to give such a statement is evident from his position in Harvard University and the Harvard Technology School for Health officers, as well as his experience in quarantine work, in epidemic campaigns, in epidemiological investigations, and in the federal Hygienic Laboratory. He has faced the disease-prevention problem at home, on the continent, and in the tropics.

The book deals with hygiene—that is, the personal aspect of public health; and with sanitation—that is, the environmental aspect. It discusses fully the prevention of communicable diseases, venereal prophylaxis, heredity, immunity, eugenics and similar subjects. It gives both principles and detail concerning food, air, water, waste disposal, vital statistics, diseases of occupation, and much else involved in the relation of environment to public health. This relation is found to be increasingly one affecting the community, since in all such matters the best efforts of the individual may be neutralized by the carelessness of his next-door neighbor. A curious oversight is undoubtedly responsible for the statement that New York is the only quarantine station not under federal control. Since the spring of 1916 Baltimore has enjoyed this undesirable eminence.

In the library of every organization even remotely connected with health work, in the library of every individual

who can economize somewhere else in order to spend on this book, Rosenau's Preventive Medicine and Hygiene will hold an honored place.

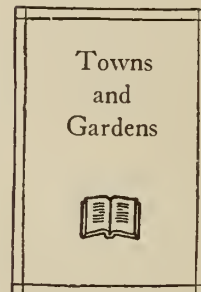
GERTRUDE SEYMOUR.

CITIES IN EVOLUTION

By Patrick Geddes. Williams and Norgate, Covent Garden, London. 409 pp. Price \$1.85; by mail of the SURVEY \$2.05.

CITY PLANNING

Edited by John Nolen. D. Appleton and Company. 447 pp. Price \$2; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.13.



Scholarly study of cause and effect, patient investigations as to the reasons for changes during the long centuries of a city's development, make Professor Geddes a stimulating companion. Unfortunately he has not the intimate acquaintance with American cities that would permit him to do more than generalize regarding them. But the light he sheds upon the cities of Europe illumines a little our darkness. His book is not easy reading. He has a fondness for unusual words and long sentences, a proneness to allusions with which few of his readers are likely to be familiar. His book is the chat of a scholar who is constantly reminded of stray bits of information picked out of an ancient or medieval or modern literary setting, or even from yesterday's newspaper, to serve as texts for philosophizings. He delights in tracing the steps by which the well-made kitchen furniture, of the days when the best people lived in the kitchen, has been moved and transformed into dining-room and drawing-room furniture, often losing its meaning in the process and becoming mere ornament. The kitchen then was neglected, furnished with the cheapest and the ugliest utensils, and finally banished to the basement or cellar that in simpler days had been considered good enough only for storage.

In similar fashion he gives us a picture of the transformation of our cities. Like John Ball, he has a vision of them as they were in a cleaner age, before coal and machinery and railroads had brought the grime and squalor and crowding of the present. And in his vision of the present he sees the second stage of our era already begun, ushered in by the use of the white fuel, water-power, and by electricity in place of smoke-belching furnaces; where the order and beauty of town planning and garden cities take the place of the blindness and chaos and ugliness of Victorian city buildings.

Professor Geddes' picture of the present as a mere step between past and future, his long perspectives into the history of a changing but always aspiring

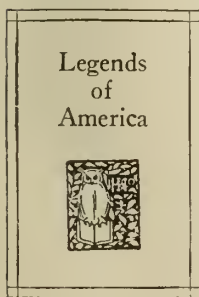
world, beget a confidence that, when Manchester will have become a sort of Greenwich village in "Lancaston," when New York, Philadelphia and Boston will be but sections of one city stretching for five hundred miles along the Atlantic seaboard, we shall have ability to meet adequately this future.

The eighteen papers on city planning edited by John Nolen discuss as many phases of their most complex subject as is possible in a volume of manageable size. Their authors bring to the discussion a knowledge gained by practical experience that gives weight to their arguments. Most of the eighteen writers were engineers or real estate dealers or architects before they were city planners. They have seen the value of the broader vision, of the coordination of many developments. Consequently theory is here united to practice in unusual degree and principles are illustrated by concrete examples. Perhaps one of the most valuable features of the book is this demonstration that we have progressed so far beyond the domain of pure theory in American city planning that we can illustrate the effects of proposals by existing American examples.

JOHN IHLDER.

WAR BREAD

By Edward Eyre Hunt. Henry Holt and Company. 374 pp. Price \$2; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.15.



No American can read War Bread without a thrill of pride and satisfaction! It tells the story of a great achievement — the saving of a nation from starvation by the volunteer work of a host of individuals who had no mo-

tive of self-interest, no racial ties of kinship, no prospect of future recompense—nothing but their great sympathy to guide them, and the inspiration which the bravery, the self-sacrifice, and the sublime patriotism of the Belgians has given to all who value freedom and independence.

Mr. Hunt has told the story of the work of Belgian relief with rare restraint and great modesty, but it is a story which teems with human interest and winsome artfulness. It is not merely an ephemeral "war book," but a book which will live in English literature, both because of its historical value, and its gripping interest.

The Belgian Relief Commission is fortunate in being chronicled by a man who writes so well, thinks so vividly, sees so clearly, and who has kept his sanity and his sense of humor under the most trying circumstances. Mr. Hunt has done his work with great fidelity and perfect taste, both in what he says, and

in what he omits. No fair-minded man can be offended by it, and no one who has any of the milk of human kindness can fail to be exalted by it.

One's natural impulse after reading this remarkable story is to shout aloud—"Hurrah for Hoover!" "Hurrah for Hunt!" "Hurrah for all the Volunteers of the Belgian Relief Commission!" But the author sounds a note of warning in the closing chapter—Belgians, he says, have a marvelous vision of America, which they "believe in as they believe in God." It is a vision "of a new Atlantis, rich, kind, secure from the dangers of war; a land where there is no oppression, a land of toleration and understanding, where every man, woman and child is a democrat, where there are no classes and no masses, where there is no conflict between parties, or between church and state, where every one is a friend to those who are suffering in this war from no fault of their own; a mighty land which can afford to be generous to its neighbors, near and far; a land where there is one language, one spirit, and one flag."

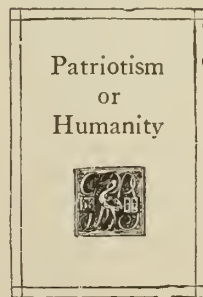
"Of course the picture is overdrawn. Of course we are not much different from Belgians, or any other people in this tired world. . . . But it seems to me this golden legend might be made in part a fact if America were to understand, humbly and humanly to understand, and to support in every way—with money, and service, and national pride in a great achievement—the work of the Commission for Relief in Belgium and of Herbert Clark Hoover.

"That is one reason," says Mr. Hunt, "why this book is written."

HUGH F. FOX.

WAR, PEACE AND THE FUTURE

By Ellen Key. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 271 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.60.



The subject-matter of this book falls into two more or less distinguishable parts; one devoted to a discussion of the feminist attitude toward war; the other an attempt at interpreting a new the concepts of nationalism and inter-

nationalism, patriotism and humanity. It is the latter part which contains Ellen Key's more important contribution to present-day thought on the war's effect upon international relationships. Even the statement of commonplaces may be stimulating if presented by an original thinker and versatile writer such as this famous author. But in addition to much material which is not new, she throws out suggestions which raise controversial issues to the highest plane of political discussion. Such, for instance, is the

clean distinction which she makes between nationalism and patriotism. These, according to the author, "are built on diverging views of the aim and reason for a people's growth." "Whereas nationalism seeks power, honor, and glory through means that endanger other countries, patriotism knows that a country's strength and honor can only be permanently safeguarded through concourse with other countries."

We are not sure whether such a re-definition of these two ethical ideas is justified. It serves in this book to defend the patriotism of pacifists and to throw opprobrium on nationalists of the "my-country-right-or-wrong" school of thought. The patriotism which is not nationalistic, Miss Key says, explains why pacifists in each belligerent country have rallied to the defense of the mother land when its existence seemed imperiled. But is not the conversion of so many pacifists to the militarist creed which the world has recently witnessed really a sign that the humanitarian enthusiasm of these men and women has become submerged under an overwhelming nationalist mass enthusiasm against which they were not fortified by a sufficiently strong intellectual justification of their previous faith? We have not found in this book nearly so illuminating an exposition of the inherent conflict of loyalties in the heart and mind of modern man as has been given us, for instance, by the late Professor Royce.

Human society, today, requires more than mutual tolerance of peoples limited by exclusive preferences, pre-occupations and viewpoints, just as the community requires more than the mutual tolerance of persons limited by selfish individual aims. It is only as in all countries there arise large bodies of opinion truly universal in outlook, without the fetters of the more restricted loyalties, that international solidarity can become established upon a safe and permanent foundation. As the modern community needs citizens preoccupied with questions of public rather than personal welfare, so the world today needs men and women of vision who think in terms of humanity, not of nationality or race. It is this world society, at present small and with little influence upon the current of events, which must be firmly established before the peace of mankind can be assured.

There are curious parallels also in the relapses of emotional tides, which have every now and again carried mankind one phase further towards civilization. For the masses, says Ellen Key, "not even the victory of their country will be able to keep the flames from becoming ashes. The mean souls will again become mean, the wicked ones wicked, and the stupid ones stupid. It is only during a time of national psychosis that they can rise above themselves." But it does

not follow that an intense love of country will not remain among some at the close of the war, as the tide of patriotism subsides. In the same way, there may now be witnessed an ebb of international feeling which leaves exposed a long and dull beach of national and racial separatism, strewn with the wreckage of high ideals of human brotherhood. But the tide will return. The glittering sea of our hopes has receded, but not dried up.

BRUNO LASKER.

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE FLOGGING CRAZE. By Henry S. Salt. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 159 pp. Price, \$.60; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.75.
THE JAPANESE CONQUEST OF AMERICAN OPINION. By Montaville Flowers. Geo. H. Doran Co. 272 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.
THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION. By George Albert

Coc. The University of Chicago Press. 365 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.64.
THE SOCIAL TEACHINGS OF THE JEWISH PROPHETS. By William Bennett Bizzell. Sherman French & Co. 237 pp. Price, \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.39.
UTTERANCES AND OTHER POEMS. By Angela Morgan. Baker & Taylor Co. 106 pp. Price, \$1.40; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.46.
PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING. By Mary S. Gardner. Macmillan Co. 372 pp. Price, \$1.75; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.87.
OUTLINE OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY. By Henry Pratt Fairchild. Macmillan Co., 353 pp. Price, \$1.75; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.89.
A WOMAN AND THE WAR. By the Countess of Warwick. Geo. H. Doran Co. 270 pp. Price, \$2; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.12.
LIVELIHOOD. By Wilfrid Wilson Gibson. The Macmillan Co. 119 pp. Price, \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.32.
GOVERNMENT TELEPHONES. By James Mavor. Moffat Yard & Co. 176 pp. Price, \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.07.
WORKFELLOWS IN SOCIAL PROGRESSION. By Kate Stephens. Sturgis & Walton Co. 328 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.
THE BABY. By Joseph Brown Cooke. J. B. Lippincott Co. 239 pp. Price, \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.06.

any institution has ever objected to this. If the private institution be an ecclesiastical one and have as its primary purpose to supply what it deems the gross defect of state-conducted schools, asylums, and the like, viz., the lack of religious instruction, the state has the right and duty to see that in performing that purpose it does not neglect the physical well-being of its wards nor deprive them of the opportunity to be grounded in the elements of secular instruction corresponding to the standard accepted by the community at large. Further than this it cannot go without inviting the charge of paganization, as Father Blakely puts it, or as I should prefer to say with M. Boutroux, without incurring the reproach of persecuting the religious conscience—in other words, throttling that very liberty claimed by every radical as the cornerstone of his ideal.

J. K. PAULDING.

New York.

THE INITIATIVE FOR PEACE

TO THE EDITOR: When two angered men are fighting, he who acts for the good of each by interposing and separating them, is apt to receive at the time from one or the other, or both, the same kind of hasty, ill-tempered criticism as is now being shown by some of the radical pro-Allies and pro-Germans toward President Wilson.

The Lord Cecils, Hall Caines, Chestertons, Baron de Constants, Westminster Dean Ryles and other war-to-the-end advocates in Europe, like the Becks, Perkins, Wickershams and their sympathizers in this country will no doubt continue to disfavor his peace-note policy, and advocate that the slaughter and destruction go on to the possible limit of Germany's annihilation.

But when such men as Andrew D. White and the leaders of thought, including alike the President's friends and political opponents in and out of Congress, laud his action, and the press of this and the foreign countries at this critical juncture favor his course, can there be any question but that his impartial appeal to the belligerent nations was timely, and now demanded by the broader interests of humanity and by the imperative needs of the warring nations? Does not Lord Trevelyan's recent statement and the Russell letter to the President and many other evidences correctly reflect the hope and prayer for peace now prevailing with the mass of people and the soldiers in England; and similar conditions in all the war-stricken countries?

There may be three underlying reasons why Germany has taken the initiative for peace:

1. As a progressive nation, being first in war, she may now have the determination to be first in peace; for from the day England declared war and became one of the Allies, the statesmen of Ger-

Communications

NEW YEAR GOALS

TO THE EDITOR: I am very much surprised to note that in your issue of December 30, which mentions all current reforms, you ignore taxation and everything which from my standpoint is fundamental. Should not the land question have a permanent place in the program of reform, irrespective of current spectacular showings of progress? Does not your editorial staff appreciate that all these other reforms are dependent for even measurable success on some solution of the conditions under which the source of all wealth is administered? Do you think it pays to devote all our efforts to palliatives and give no attention to engineering work which goes to the root of evil?

C. H. INGERSOLL.

New York.

CHARITY, EDUCATION AND THE STATE

TO THE EDITOR: In an article on the reconstruction of the liberty of conscience in France after the war, Emile Boutroux, the eminent philosopher and academician, has this to say: "At three points, in particular, contact between the state and the churches remains inevitable: charity, education, the recruiting of the religious personnel. It is certain that the religious conscience is oppressed if it is forbidden to manifest itself in these three domains."

And again: "Among the manifestations of social activity charity and education, in particular, cannot be the objects of a monopoly. The first rests on human fraternity and is as much a matter of heart and devotion as it is of intelligence and organization. Education,

too, is a commerce of souls as well as an intellectual relation (*rapport*). Xenophon, disciple of Socrates, was fond of saying that only at the cost of making himself beloved was a master capable of really instructing his pupils. Science, literature, art, morality cannot be confiscated by anybody—they are the common good of every member of a human society."

The present writer is not a Catholic, and holds no brief for the parochial school; he fails to see, however, how that institution can be objected to on democratic grounds, provided it meets this test, on the practical side, of equipping its scholars for such examinations as may be exacted by the state as a qualification for employment or diploma.

When it comes to charity, he ventures to doubt whether modern sociology has discovered a method so universally applicable as to justify the state in proclaiming that in this way and no other shall the bread and water (or wine, if you will) of benevolence be dispensed.

On the contrary, with respect both to charity and education, it would seem that the world still stood to gain from a variety of inspiration, finding expression in fruitful experiment rather than by the opposite method of absorption into this state of all individual initiative in these particular fields of human endeavor.

This is not to say that abuses have not crept into the administration of private and ecclesiastical institutions as they have at all times into those of the state. The right remedy for this is the inspection of state institutions by volunteer visitors and of private ones by officially appointed inspectors of the state. It does not appear that, in theory at least,

many must have realized the futility of an indefinite struggle, which at best could hardly result other than in a drawn battle between the great powers.

2. Germany's conduct of the war, from the rape of Belgium to the Armenian and Polish atrocities and submarine operations, has turned the moral sentiment of the world so firmly against these manifestations of Prussian militarism as to now make some effectual appeal to the world to regain this lost moral sentiment, an urgent necessity.

3. The rapidly growing popular sentiment toward democratic governmental methods throughout the Central Powers as evidenced by the growth of socialism, is gnawing at the vitals of the monarchies, and as the hardships of war multiply in geometric ratio as the slaughter of men, the privation, suffering and loss continue, the thrones totter and a cry for peace and the sacrifices to secure an enduring peace may offer the only solution, now that death and destruction have seemingly run their full course.

All the bluster and cost of Germany's excessive "preparedness" and reliance upon military force to insure peace, and for further territorial or trade expansion in following England's example, as heretofore practiced on weaker or defenseless peoples, has borne its natural fruit, and Germany now becomes the first power to raise her voice that the cataclysm end and the nations for the future be put on a basis of coordinate action to forever prevent a recurrence of any such holocaust hereafter.

President Wilson and Congress, the people of this country, the League to Enforce Peace and the American Neutral Conference Committee with allied organizations, have now an opportunity for humanitarianism and economic accomplishments, rarely open to any body of men in any generation.

FREDERICK W. KELSEY.

New York.

NATIONAL PROHIBITION

TO THE EDITOR: In the article by Robert A. Woods, published in the issue of your journal for December 30, the statement is made that "not far from 60,000,000 Americans now live in dry territory." Had Mr. Woods said "nominally dry" he would be correct, but as a matter of fact there are no "dry" states. The mere enactment of a prohibitory law does not eliminate a desire for the relaxation or stimulation derived from alcoholic beverages, and the people who drank before the law was passed continue to drink. The only difference is that they either import liquor from wet territory, or obtain it from illicit dealers or manufacturers, commonly known as "boot-leggers" or "moonshiners."

The general public, and the news-

papers have been deceived by reports from various alleged "dry" states as to the strictness with which the law is enforced. The records of liquor shipments by freight and express into those states show that the consumption of liquor is not materially diminished by so-called prohibition.

An Associated Press dispatch from Baltimore, Md., dated December 23, states that the "rivers of rum" flowing southward into Virginia, West Virginia and the Carolinas had swamped the express companies, two of which stated that they had been handling from 35,000 to 40,000 packages per day. Nearly all the prohibition states permit the importation and use of liquor; seven of them in unlimited quantities, while in ten of the other states that limit the quantity that can be imported at one time, the amount that can be annually imported by each citizen is from four to six times greater than the average per capita consumption for the entire country.

The New York *Times* called attention recently to the hypocrisy of laws ostensibly intended to prevent the use of liquor, permitting the importation of liquor into dry territory for personal use. Since it is to the "use," and not to the manufacture or sale, of liquor that the ills resulting from excessive drinking by a small minority of weak-willed persons is due, it would seem that its use should be prohibited. The fact that no prohibition state has ever enacted a law forbidding the use of liquor is evidence of the insincerity of those who pretend that repressive legislation promotes temperance.

H. J. KALTENBACH.

[President New York State Wholesale
Liquor Dealers Association.]

New York.

TO THE EDITOR: It will be noticed that when Mr. Kaltenbach gives the full figures in support of his claims as to the increase in the use of liquor, this increase represents a period of years and covers the whole country. As a matter of fact, the national rate of increase has steadily declined and has recently passed the vanishing point.

If it is true that more liquor than ever is consumed in prohibition territory, and under particularly objectionable conditions, Mr. Kaltenbach might explain why arrests for drunkenness are invariably reduced from 40 to 75 per cent.

It may safely be taken for granted that the liquor interests will from now on make one of those sudden shifts away from this argument which are characteristic of their mode of defense. In fact, such procedure is already foreshadowed by their attitude toward the Supreme Court decision on the Webb-Kenyon law which closely restricts, and may even prohibit, interstate sales. Their claim has always been that pro-

hibition does not and cannot prohibit. Now—with the probability in addition that they will not be allowed the use of the mails in promoting their business in prohibition territory—they are apparently beginning to urge that the reason why prohibition is to be considered a failure and a fraud is precisely because it does prohibit.

The suggestion on the part of the liquor interests that as soon as prohibition begins to prohibit toward the vanishing point, the prohibition wave will begin to recede, represents in itself a fair challenge; but as the supporters of prohibition have labored unceasingly to bring about this situation, they are quite unconcerned as to any such danger. The overwhelming momentum of the established and ascertained results that will come in from twenty-three de-alcoholized states, including a dozen large cities, will abundantly provide for the reaction of the small number of persons with whom Mr. Kaltenbach and his colleagues are in touch that vote prohibition for others while still insistent upon a supply of liquor for themselves.

For a whole generation the liquor-sellers' propaganda has been successful in riveting it into the minds of a great number of sensible men that state prohibition was not worth consideration because it meant merely an objectionable change in the mode of distribution. A steadily growing proportion of such men in license states are today leaning toward national prohibition as a project essentially different on account of the relative certainty that it would be really effectual. If now they are to be assured by leading representatives of the liquor trade that even individual states can make a success of prohibition, these particular sensible men and many others like them will feel that the defense has thrown up its case—and that the abolition of the liquor business throughout the country, allowing two or three generations for the disappearance of all the after-effects of alcohol, will bring about a condition like what would have been if intoxicating liquor had never been discovered.

ROBERT A. WOODS.

[South End House]
Boston.

JOTTINGS

PERHAPS the most generous bequest ever made to a municipal university is the gift of his estate of \$675,000, by Francis H. Baldwin to the University of Cincinnati. Mr. Baldwin was a merchant of that city.

THE Sociological Club of New York gives opportunity for anyone interested in the sci-

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NURSE WANTED, registered, Protestant, to take charge of baby house and training school for nursery maids. TROY ORPHAN ASYLUM, Spring Avenue, Troy, N. Y.

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ence of sociology to join a once-a-month lecture course for the nominal fee of one dollar. The director is Emily Palmer Cape, who studied under Lester F. Ward and collaborated in Dr. Ward's last great work, *Glimpses of the Cosmos*. Meetings of the club are held the third Monday in each month from November through March. Further information may be obtained from Mrs. E. P. Cape, 56 West 45 street, New York city.

THE New York *Medical Times* points to the experiment being made on a large scale in Germany on the influence of diet on cancer. It has long been held by laymen and is still held by some medical authorities that a meat diet favors the development of cancer; a vegetarian diet inhibits it. If this is true, the regulation of diet practiced during the war by Germany, with its reduction in the meat consumed, should show some effect on the incidence of cancer. Germany's excellent system of vital statistics will make it possible to demonstrate these results of her great dietetic experiment with entire clearness.

THREE ancient tales of magic made up the opening bill, Christmas week, of the Community Players, a band of forty children organized by the settlement houses of Boston's North End. The performance was held to give ample justification to the belief that the community may provide its own entertainment through self-expression. The actors were children. Children furnished the music. And children, for the most part, made up the audience.

THE recent change in the Russell Sage Foundation, by which the Committee on Women's Work becomes the Division of Industrial Studies, is evidence of a significant development in the work of that department. For a long time it has been making industrial studies quite independently of whether the industries in question employed women or men, and the change in name gives official recognition to that fact. Mary Van Kleeck, who was secretary of the old committee, becomes director of the new division.

AS the European war makes it impossible to send a deputation to Europe to a World Conference on Faith and Order, a step proposed by the Christian churches, a North American Preparation Committee has been formed to collect material for the conference at the end of the war. The committee, consisting of about 175 men from all parts of the United States and Canada, and including members of fifteen communions, will hold its first meeting at Garden City, Long Island, N. Y., January 23-24.

AS PART of its effort to enlist on Child Labor Day—January 28—the cooperation of all interested in the promotion of the child labor program, the National Child Labor Committee has published two pamphlets. One, *More Education Pays*, contains material for linking the child labor problem with modern industrial processes for the history class, with the waste of human resources for the physiology class, with social and political responsibility for the civic class, and with the products of the states for the geography class. The other, *Child Labor in Your State*, is an outline for a study of local child labor conditions with a memorandum of the weak spots that need strengthening in each state law. The pamphlets may be secured from the committee, 105 East 22 street, New York city.

THE Boy Scouts of America, which will celebrate its seventh anniversary on February 8, has just organized an Education Department, which it calls the "most significant development since the organization of

the movement." The purpose of the new department will be to conduct conferences for scoutmasters, to promote training courses in scout leadership either in connection with established educational institutions or with local councils, to develop correspondence courses for scout leaders, and to spread the merits of the scout program among educational and religious groups. The director, Lorne W. Barclay, was scout executive, Manhattan-Bronx schools, New York city, in 1915-16, and prior to that was director of the Social Center Department of the People's Institute, New York city.

NO SOCIAL worker on leaving Chicago has ever had quite such a send-off as was given Sherman C. Kingsley on the eve of his departure for Cleveland. It took the form of a complimentary dinner attended by over 300 of his fellow workers and friends, at which representatives of many social and civic interests undertook a "confidential" expression of their judgment as to Mr. Kingsley's qualifications to superintend the Cleveland Welfare Federation, in response to supposititious inquiries from that city. Former employers, fellow workers and friends vied with each other in earnest and witty expressions of the public appreciation for Mr. Kingsley's initiative, ability to bring things to pass and capacity to lead and promote effective cooperation. Some of the ringing notes he struck in rallying united effort, such as "on the trail of the little white hearse," and "being a baby the most dangerous occupation," reechoed in the speeches. A clock with chimes was the parting token of the occasion.

THE Mann white slave law applies not only to commercialized vice, but to personal "escapades" as well, according to the decision of the United States Supreme Court handed down on Monday. The opinion was based on the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce and it upholds the literal meaning of the act—"transporting, causing to be transported and aiding and abetting the transportation or obtaining transportation of women from one state to another for immoral purposes." The decision confirms the penitentiary terms and fines imposed by lower courts on F. Drew Caminetti and Maury I. Diggs of California and L. T. Hay of Oklahoma.



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PAMPHLETS

- REPORT ON DOCK EMPLOYMENT IN NEW YORK CITY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ITS REGULARIZATION. Price 50 cents. Mayor's Committee on Unemployment, Municipal Building, New York city.
- AUSTRIAN TERRORISM IN BOHEMIA. With an introduction by Prof. T. G. Masaryk. Published by the Czech National Alliance in Great Britain.
- THE SLAVS AMONG THE NATIONS. By Prof. T. G. Masaryk. Published by the Czech National Alliance in Great Britain.
- THE PROBLEM OF SMALL NATIONS IN THE EUROPEAN CRISIS. By Prof. T. G. Masaryk. Price three pence. Published by the Council for the Study of International Relations 1, Central Building, Westminster, S. W.
- THE FUTURE OF BOHEMIA. By R. W. Seton-Watson. Price three pence, net. London: Nisbet & Company, Ltd., 22 Berners street, W.
- HOW AUSTRIA-HUNGARY WAGED WAR ON SERBIA. Personal Investigations of a Neutral. By R. A. Reiss. Price 50 centimes. Librairie Armand Colin, 103, Boulevard Saint-Michel, Paris.
- AMUSEMENTS FOR CONVALESCENT CHILDREN. By William Byron Forbush, Ph.D. Published by the Division of Public Health Education, New York State Department of Health, Albany.
- REPORT OF THE RECREATION CONDITIONS AND PROBLEMS OF GALESBURG, WITH RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTED SYSTEM. By James Edward Rogers. Published by the Playground and Recreation Association of America, 1 Madison avenue, New York city.

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WITH Congress, state legislatures, governors' messages, the federal Supreme Court making news daily of the anti-alcohol movement, there's particular interest in Mrs. Tilton's illuminating contrast of the prohibition ideal of our grandfathers and the temperance ideal of our fathers—and the contrasting results—in

The Survey Next Week

INFORMATION DESK

The following national bodies will gladly and freely supply information and advise reading on the subjects named by each and on related subjects. Members are kept closely in touch with the work which each organization is doing, but membership is not required of those seeking information. Correspondence is invited. Nominal charges are sometimes made for publications and pamphlets. *Always enclose postage for reply.*

Health

WHY THE UNITED STATES LEADS THE WORLD IN THE RELATIVE PROPORTION OF MURDERS, LYNCHINGS, AND OTHER FELONIES, AND WHY THE ANGLO-SAXON COUNTRIES NOT UNDER THE AMERICAN FLAG HAVE THE LEAST PROPORTION OF MURDERS AND FELONIES AND KNOW NO LYNCHINGS. By Henry A. Forster, 76 William street, New York city.

SYLLABUS FOR PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN FIRE PREVENTION. Structural defects; suggestions for their elimination and protection. Price 5 cents. National Fire Protection Association, 87 Milk street, Boston.

STATEMENT AND DECREE CONCERNING THE WAGES OF WOMEN IN WOMEN'S CLOTHING FACTORIES IN MASSACHUSETTS. Preliminary report on the effect of the minimum wage in Massachusetts retail stores. Published by the Minimum Wage Commission, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1 Beacon street, Boston.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN IN DOMESTIC SCIENCE. By Marie Francke. Prepared under the direction of Susan M. Kingsbury. Published by the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, Philadelphia.

CAUSES OF FATAL ACCIDENTS ON HIGHWAYS. By William Smith. Price 15 cents. Published by the Southern California Sociological Society, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.

DIFFERENT METHODS OF WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION INSURANCE. By Edson S. Lott, 80 Maiden lane, New York city.

THE DUQUESNE CHRISTMAS MYSTERY. By Thomas Wood Stevens, to be enacted by the people of Duquesne, Pennsylvania. Decorations by Henry Lawrence Gage.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE CORPORATION AND THE WORKING MAN. By Theodore P. Shonts. President Interborough Rapid Transit Company, New York city.

MEDICAL ASPECTS OF SOCIAL HYGIENE. By Jerome D. Greene. Price 5 cents. The American Social Hygiene Association, 105 West 40 street, New York city.

HEALTH INSURANCE. By John B. Andrews. Secretary American Association for Labor Legislation, 131 East 23 street, New York city.

THE GERMS OF WAR. A Study in Preparedness. By Scott Nearing. Price 10 cents. Published by the National Rip-Saw Publishing Company, St. Louis, Mo.

THE NEW SOCIALISM. By Harold A. Russell. Price 60 cents. Published by the Shakespeare Press, 410 East 32 street, New York city.

A STUDY IN FAMILY DESERTION. By Earle Edward Eubank. Published by the Department of Public Welfare, Chicago.

THE PRICE OF PROGRESS. Legislative Program of the Board of Education. Published by the Board of Education. Frank E. Spaulding, Superintendent of Schools, Minneapolis, Minn.

A LOCAL OPTION BILL THAT CAN BE PASSED NOW. By William H. Hill and Heber E. Wheeler. William H. Hill, the Senate of the State of New York, Albany.

THE YOUNGER GENERATION OF AMERICAN GENIUS. By Scott Nearing, Toledo University, Ohio.

THE ECONOMIC SOLUTION OF THE EUROPEAN CRISIS. By Henri Lambert. Translated from the French for the Papers for War Time, Oxford University Press, 35 West 32 street, New York city.

A STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS IN MEXICO. And an appeal for an independent College. Committee for the Study of Educational Conditions in Mexico, Charles William Dabney, Chairman, Cincinnati, Ohio.

SOME FACTS CONCERNING MANUAL ARTS AND HOME-MAKING SUBJECTS IN ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SIX CITIES. By Joseph C. Park and Charles L. Harlan. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education. Price 5 cents. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

THE DAYTON BUREAU OF RESEARCH. By C. E. Rightor, Director, 613 Schwind Building, Dayton, Ohio.

PRELIMINARY REPORT TO THE MAYOR AND ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO BY THE CHICAGO COMMISSION ON THE LIQUOR PROBLEM. Hon. John Toman, Chairman Chicago Commission on the Liquor Problem, Chicago.

CONSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS OF COMPULSORY ARBITRATION OF INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES ON PUBLIC UTILITIES. By Thomas I. Parkinson. Published by the Academy of Political Science, Columbia University, New York city.

A FEW FACTS ABOUT BRITISH RULE IN INDIA. INDIA AGAINST BRITAIN, by Ram Chandra; a reply to Austen Chamberlain, Lord Hardinge, and Lord Islington. BRITISH RULE IN INDIA, by William Jennings Bryan. THE METHODS OF THE INDIAN POLICE IN THE 20TH CENTURY. Published from The Hindustan Gadar Office, 1324 Valencia street, San Francisco.

PLANNING PUBLIC EXPENDITURES TO COMPENSATE FOR DECREASED PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT DURING BUSINESS DEPRESSIONS. By John R. Shillady. Mayor's Committee on Unemployment, Municipal Building, New York city.

ARCADIAN HIGHWAY FROM LAKES TO GULF. Price 50 cents. By Horace G. Cupples. Published by Lillian Stuart, 510a Pontiac Bldg., St. Louis.

THE PACIFIC MAIL. By Wallace Benedict. Reprinted from the Forum Magazine. Published by American International Corporation, 120 Broadway, New York city.

DRINKING WATER ON INTERSTATE CARRIERS. By J. O. Cobb, C. L. Williams and H. P. Letton. United States Public Health Service. Price 10 cents. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

SEX EDUCATION—New York Social Hygiene Society, Formerly Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis, 105 West 40th Street, New York City. Maurice A. Bigelow, Secretary. Seven educational pamphlets, 10c. each. Four reprints, 5c. each. Dues—Active \$2.00; Contributing \$5.00; Sustaining \$10.00. Membership includes current and subsequent literature; selected bibliographies. Maintains lecture bureau and health exhibit.

CANCER—American Society for the Control of Cancer, 25 West 45th St., New York City. Curtis E. Lakeman, Exec. Sec'y. To disseminate knowledge concerning symptoms, diagnosis, treatment and prevention. Publications free on request. Annual membership dues \$5.

COMMITTEE ON PROVISION FOR THE FEEBLE-MINDED—Objects: To disseminate knowledge concerning the extent and menace of feeble-mindedness and to suggest and initiate methods for its control and ultimate eradication from the American people. General Offices, Empire Bldg., Phila., Pa. For information, literature, etc., address Joseph P. Byers, Exec. Sec'y.

MENTAL HYGIENE—National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 50 Union Square, New York City, Clifford W. Beers, Sec'y. Write for pamphlets on mental hygiene, prevention of insanity and mental deficiency, care of insane and feeble-minded, surveys, social service in mental hygiene, State Societies for Mental Hygiene.

NATIONAL HEALTH—Committee of One Hundred on National Health. E. F. Robbins, Exec. Sec'y., 203 E. 27th St., New York. To unite all government health agencies into a National Department of Health to inform the people how to prevent disease.

TUBERCULOSIS—National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, 105 East 22nd St., New York. Charles J. Hatfield, M. D., Exec. Sec'y. Reports, pamphlets, etc., sent upon request. Annual transactions and other publications free to members.

SOCIAL HYGIENE—The American Social Hygiene Assoc. Inc., 105 West 40th St., N. Y.; Branch Offices: 122 South Michigan Ave., Chicago; Phelan Bldg., San Francisco. To promote sound sex education, the reduction of venereal diseases, and the suppression of commercialized vice. Quarterly magazine "Social Hygiene." Monthly Bulletin. Membership, \$5; sustaining, \$10. Information upon request. Press, Abram W. Harris; Gen. Sec'y, William F. Snow, M.D.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING. Object: to stimulate the extension of public health nursing; to develop standards of technique; to maintain a central bureau of information. Publications: Public Health Nurse Quarterly, \$1.00 per year; bulletins sent to members. Address Ella Phillips Crandall, R. N., Executive Secretary, 600 Lexington Ave., New York City.

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS—Through its Town and Country Nursing Service, maintains a staff of specially prepared visiting nurses for appointment to small towns and rural districts. Pamphlets supplied on organization and administration of visiting nurse associations; personal assistance and exhibits available for local use. Apply to Superintendent, Red Cross Town and Country Nursing Service, Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEALTH—American Public Health Assn. Pres., William A. Evans, M.D., Chicago; Sec'y, Prof. S. M. Gunn, Boston. Object "To protect and promote public and personal health." Seven Sections: Laboratory, Sanitary Engineering, Vital Statistics, Sociological, Public Health Administration, Industrial Hygiene, Food and Drugs. Official monthly organ, *American Journal of Public Health*: \$3.00 per year. 3 mos. trial subscription (to Survey readers 4 mos.) 50c. Address 755 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.

EUGENICS REGISTRY—Board of Directors, Chancellor David Starr Jordan, President; Prof. Irving Fisher, Dr. C. B. Davenport, Luther Burbank, Dr. J. H. Kellogg, Secretary. A bureau for the encouragement of interest in eugenics as a means of Race Betterment, established and maintained for the Race Betterment Foundation in co-operation with the Eugenics Record Office. Address, Eugenics Registry Board, Battle Creek, Mich.

PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS—National Committee for. Objects: To furnish information for Associations, Commissions and persons working to conserve vision; to publish literature of movement; to furnish exhibits, lantern slides, lectures. Printed matter: samples free; quantities at cost. Invites membership. Field, United States. Includes N. Y. State Com. Edward M. Van Cleave, Managing Director; Gordon L. Berry, Field Secretary; Mrs. Winifred Hathaway, Secretary. Address, 130 E. 22d St., N. Y. C.

Racial Problems

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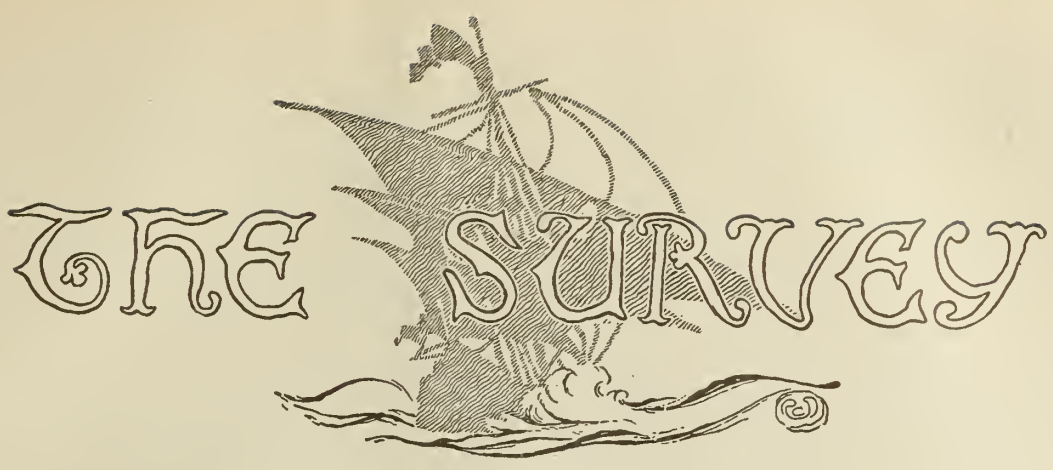
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Everett's Bloody Sunday

A Free Speech Fight That Led to a Murder Trial

By *Anna Louise Strong*

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY SEATTLE COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

THE biggest "labor trial" in the history of the country is now on in Everett, Wash. Seventy-four men are accused of first-degree murder—seventy-four workers who participated in a conflict in which five workers and two deputies were killed. The side which lost the most men is also the side charged with murder. "Might makes right—legally," explains the I. W. W.

Everett's "bloody Sunday" is already a familiar word, almost a byword, throughout the labor press. Yet the occurrences in Everett are little noticed by daily papers or magazines of general circulation, much less the causes that led up to it.

Everett is a small city to the north of Seattle. Its main business is lumber. The big mill-owners control its Commercial Club. Eighteen months ago wages were reduced in the shingle mills of Everett, this in the face of the increasing cost of living. The promise was made that when the market improved wages would be raised again. Early last year shingle prices rose, but wages did not follow, and on May 1 the shingle-weavers went out on strike. The usual complications resulted: a group of employers refusing to meet the officers of the union; a picket line; imported strike-breakers, better known for their fighting ability than for their working skill; minor altercations in which the power of the law was used practically invariably against the workers. Such was the background of the I. W. W. free speech fight.

During all this time the I. W. W. organization had maintained a small headquarters in Everett, but had made little headway. It had no connection with the shingle-weavers, and had made little impression upon them. But the I. W. W. started a street-speaking campaign and leaped into public notice as soon as the police and special deputies began dragging them from their soap-boxes to jail. It is stated that the first arrest made was of a man who was reading from the United States Industrial Relations Commission report. "That sort of stuff don't go here," said the outraged policeman, overhearing the terrific indictment of working-class conditions in America. Arrested men were beaten and severely

handled; they were made to run the gauntlet between rows of deputized citizens, and the old, old, always unsuccessful policy of suppression of speech by violence was attempted.

That happened which always happens in war. Each side stirred itself to bitterness and enthusiasm, and grew stronger in numbers and in determination. Several hundred men were appointed as deputy sheriffs, all of them first approved by the Commercial Club, which had appointed itself arbiter of the city's affairs. The I. W. W. sent out a call for cheerful martyrs and the supply never failed. An ordinance was passed against street-speaking in the business district, violated without comment by political campaigners, but used against every I. W. W. orator. Before long no man in overalls entering Everett was secure against questioning and search. The spirit of lawless "law-enforcement" grew.

On the night of October 30, forty-one members of the I. W. W. organization were taken from a boat as they were entering the city from Seattle. Before they had violated any ordinance whatever they were carried in automobiles to the outskirts of town, and there, near an interurban station known as Beverly Park, were made to run a gauntlet between men armed with clubs, saps, and pick-handles. The records of the Seattle city hospital show the condition in which these I. W. W.'s were left. Prominent Seattle citizens who saw them board the interurban car that night received the impression that there had been a train-wreck on some logging road. The men, they said, seemed "serious, self-contained, and in very bad shape."

Promptly the I. W. W. organization in Seattle took up the challenge. Circulars were distributed in Everett announcing a big street-meeting the following Sunday afternoon, and inviting citizens to "come and help defend your rights and ours." A call went out to foot-loose rebels to join in and show Everett by their numbers that they could not be interfered with. The feeling seemed to have been universal in the I. W. W. that in the broad daylight of Sunday afternoon and of the publicity created by their circulars, the tactics of preceding evenings would be impossible.

The answer of the Everett authorities was to rope off the entrance to the dock, so that ordinary citizens could not go out on to the boat which bore another load of the industrial workers from Seattle. The dock-warehouses were filled with ambushed deputies.

As the boat neared the wharf, it was seen to be lined with men waving their hats and singing: "Hold the fort for we are coming, Union men, be strong." From this point on there are many versions of what happened. It is definitely established that Sheriff McRae notified them that they could not land. Scarcely had he finished speaking when shots rang out, and the shooting quickly became general. Before the boat drew away two were dead on the wharf and five on the boat, and it is asserted that several fell into the water from the boat and were shot down while swimming. The *Verona* returned to Seattle, warning on its way another boat, the *Calista*, not to go to Everett, as there was shooting at the wharf.

Congress Might Get the Facts

THE men on board were arrested as they landed at Seattle. Seventy-four of them are now on trial for murder in the first degree before the same county authorities with whom they were engaged in battle. It is for this reason that to impartial persons both in Everett and Seattle a congressional investigation seems the only hope of discovering and publishing the facts.

Whether the first shots came from the boat or from the dock is a matter hotly disputed. Persons who visit the dock at Everett have, however, no difficulty in observing certain facts. The two warehouses on the dock are punctured in the sides and ceiling with numerous bullet-holes made by bullets passing out, not in, as shown by the position of the splinters. Evidences of wild shooting on the part of deputies are many; at least a dozen bullet-marks leading directly from one group of deputies to their own men instead of to the boat are plainly discernible on the planking. This fact, taken in connection with the three-cornered fire directed at the boat, makes it exceedingly difficult to assert that any of the wounds received by deputies were the result of shots from the boat. Yet the I. W. W., who lost five men while attempting to assert their right to free speech in defiance of a town ordinance, are in jail for murder, and the Everett deputies, who lost two men in attempting to deny passengers the right to land from a boat, are their accusers.

The boys in jail are a cheerful lot. The "tanks" which contain them are the tanks of the usual county jail, much overcrowded now by the unusual number. Bunks crowded above each other, in full sight through the bars; a few feet of space in which they may walk back and forth for a dozen steps or more; all the processes of life open to the casual beholder. But they sit in groups playing cards or dominoes; they listen to tunes played on a mouth-organ; most of all they sing. They sing whenever visitors come, and smile through the bars in cheerful welcome. Theirs is the spirit of the crusader of all ages, and all causes, won or lost, sane or insane. Theirs is the irresponsibility and audacious valor of youth. When they disliked their food, says a conservative newspaper, they went on strike and "sang all night." Sang all night! What sane adults in our drab, business-as-usual world would think of doing that? Who, in fact, could think of doing it but college boys or Industrial Workers of the World, cheerfully defying authority?

Yet, in spite of their cheerfulness, they are in a serious situation. They are being tried for first-degree murder in a county where all the machinery of law is in the hands of their opponents, and where, although a numerical majority is probably with them, all power and influence is against them. The men who control the press, the men who arrange jury-lists, the men who own mortgages on the homes of possible jurors, the men, in short, who, through one channel or another, can reach and affect for good or evil almost any citizen in Everett—these will spend their thousands to "clean out the nest of I. W. W.'s"; in other words, to hang as many as possible of the accused.

But it is not even acquittal that the prisoners and their counsel seem most to desire. It is publicity—publicity for the methods that have been used against them, publicity for the conditions in Everett, publicity for the right of free speech. This publicity the daily press denies them; and this publicity the labor press is giving them in full measure. Here we have again a characteristic of war. Each of the two groups of persons, engaged in conflict, receives news censored, arranged and interpreted by its own side of the struggle, and so the two are driven farther and farther away from mutual understanding.

The community spirit that formerly prevailed in Everett, famous for its civic pride and industrial activity, is gone. Suspicion and fear and bitterness take its place. Mill-owners guard their homes; workingmen attempt by subterfuges to secure halls for "forbidden speakers."

Even the lawyers for the defense have been unable to secure offices in Everett. After learning who they were the owner of one building told them he had been warned by threats against renting.

And yet Everett is no sinner above other cities. It would seem that the right to free speech must be fought out anew in city after city and by cause after cause. We in Seattle had our own testing-time a few years ago with the Industrial Workers of the World and bloodshed seemed imminent. But we had a mayor to whom occurred the brilliant expedient of "letting them speak." It was simple; and it worked. We hear that it has worked in other places also.

Does Might Make Right—Legally?

BUT suppression of speech was only one factor in the Everett situation; the lawlessness of law-enforcers was another. As Mayor Gill of Seattle pointed out, "McRae and his deputies had no legal right to tell the I. W. W. they could not land. When the sheriff put his hand on the butt of his gun and told them they could not land, he fired the first shot in the eyes of the law, and the I. W. W. can claim they shot in self-defense. Everett has been reduced to anarchy by their method of dealing with the situation." In this also Everett is no sinner above all other cities. Shall we be forced at last to admit the contention of the industrial workers that "might makes right—legally"?

The labor conflict will be intense enough even if the right to free speech and fair play before the law is assured. But there are still some of us who hope that in that case it may be an evolution, not a war. Our industrial unionist friends say that this is mere softness, mere sentimental evasion of facts. They say there is no fairness of press, or speech, or law; that there is only Power, which the worker has not, and must take. And they say that the workers are tired of waiting—very tired.

Involuntary Servitude and the Right to Strike

By *John A. Fitch*

OF THE SURVEY STAFF

THE Committees on Interstate Commerce of both Houses of Congress have been sitting for a month considering a bill to restrain railroad men from going on strike whenever they please. Representatives of chambers of commerce, employers' associations and the conservative public have appeared before the committee to urge that such a bill ought to pass. Labor men have offered strenuous opposition, insisting that such a law would be in violation of the thirteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States, which reads in part, "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime . . . shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

The scene takes you back to the exciting days at the end of last August, when the President of the United States sent a message to Congress in which after discussing the railway strike order, then pending, he proposed that "in case the methods of accommodation now provided for should fail, a full public investigation of the merits of every such dispute shall be instituted and completed before a strike or lockout may lawfully be attempted." At that time no attention was paid to this suggestion. Congress passed the Adamson law to avert the strike, and went home. The beginning of the present session, on December 4, 1916, was the occasion for renewing the recommendation, and this time the leaders of Congress have given heed.

Senator Newlands, chairman of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, has drafted a bill, the terms of which are, in brief, as follows: Whenever a controversy between a railroad and its train employes arises, both sides must immediately notify the Federal Board of Mediation and Conciliation, which shall attempt to mediate between the parties, and if unsuccessful, shall propose arbitration. If the controversy can be settled by neither method the board must so advise the President, and he is thereupon required to appoint a commission of three members to investigate the nature and causes of the controversy. The commission is to report its findings and make recommendations concerning a just settlement as soon as possible and within three months at the outside. The report is to be made public. It is to be unlawful for either a strike or a lockout to be declared from the time notice of the controversy has been filed until thirty days after the commission of inquiry has made its report. Heavy penalties are provided for either employer or employe violating the act, or for "any person inciting, encouraging, or in any manner aiding" in a violation. A similar bill has been introduced in the House by Representative Adamson.

Under the terms of this bill, should it become a law, four months would be the longest period during which a strike would be unlawful, provided a board of inquiry were appointed as soon as the controversy arose. But the bill provides for an attempt at mediation by the Board of Mediation and Conciliation before the matter is referred to the President. That will take some time. Then it is quite possible

that there may be some delay in the appointment of a board of inquiry. Consequently the proscribed period would be, in all probability, not less than five months.

In the hearings before Senator Newlands' committee and elsewhere—in the papers, in union convention halls, in public assemblages—there has been in the last few months a great outpouring of opinion on the merits of the proposal. Employers, employes and "that great third party, the public," have expressed themselves with vigor.

There is reason for the discussion. The question is one that admits of more than one opinion. Nothing could indicate that more clearly than the fact that both capital and labor have at different times occupied a position diametrically opposed to the position each occupies today. Both in the United States and in New Zealand, labor has favored compulsory arbitration at a time when employers opposed it. In his recent book, *Organized Labor in America*, George Gorham Groat tells how the Knights of Labor in New York, in 1888, having found that employers would not use the machinery for voluntary arbitration provided by law, adopted a resolution demanding amendments that would "compel the submittal of all existing trouble to the said Board of Arbitration when deemed necessary." In 1893 they renewed their demand for compulsory arbitration. The first compulsory arbitration act in New Zealand was passed in 1894, with the support of labor representatives and over the opposition of the employers. It came after several disastrous strikes in which the employers had refused to arbitrate.

The present discussion reveals a line-up of the different parties at interest that is fairly clear cut. It is quite evident that capital, in general, is going to lend its support to the President's plan. Indeed, to the casual observer, it might appear that opinion among employers is unanimously favorable. James A. Emery, counsel for the National Association of Manufacturers, has appeared before Senator Newlands' committee and endorsed the plan. Representatives of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, of a national association of leather manufacturers and of other employers' associations have done likewise. From spoken utterances and from editorials in trade and other papers, it is apparent that the manufacturers and employers of labor generally, all over the country, are in favor of the proposed legislation.

Recorded capitalistic opinion has so far come, however, from consumers of raw material and shippers of finished products rather than from employers of labor as such. They want the trains to run, as Mr. Emery told the Senate committee, so that their plants may not be forced into idleness. Their attitude may be affected, to be sure, by the notion that it would be pleasant to have the railway unions put in check, but it is clear that they are influenced, in the main, by motives that are practically indistinguishable from those of the "public."

The railroads themselves are the only interests directly affected as employers of labor. For some reason they have been very reticent about expressing themselves, but it is safe to say that they are not opposed. In an address before the

Economic Club of New York, on December 11, 1916, Elisha Lee, chairman of the Conference Committee of Railway Managers, said of the proposed law: "It is plain that the finding of such a public tribunal could not well be rejected by either party without alienating public sympathy; and without the support of the public no body of men, whether employers or employes, can hope to wage industrial warfare regardless of the public interest. . . . Has not the nation the right to say to the railroad workers, as suggested by the President, 'You must not interrupt the national life without consulting us'?"

Organized labor, on the other hand, is unanimously with the opposition. Chiefs of the railway brotherhoods and leaders of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have alike denounced the measure as a denial of the fundamental rights of the workers and as contrary to the spirit of American institutions. This attitude will be discussed, somewhat in detail further on.

The Public Wants the Trains to Run

THE general public appears to be in a mood favorable almost to any plan to prevent any interruption in the running of trains. Accustomed to the settlement of railway disputes by voluntary arbitration, a sense of security had grown up that was rudely shattered by the narrow escape, last fall, from a nation-wide tie-up of the railroads. As a result there arose a sudden clamor that such a thing must be made impossible. Not only was the plan for the postponement of a strike pending the results of a compulsory investigation extremely acceptable, but there was a willingness in many quarters to go much further. It is altogether probable that if President Wilson had come forward with a plan for compulsory arbitration and making strikes of transportation employes altogether illegal, it would have been received with a good deal of favor.

What are we to think of these divergent views? The issues before us are of such tremendous importance that a sudden or careless decision is hardly safe, though it is to be feared that not a few have made their decisions both suddenly and carelessly. On the one hand is the danger, neither theoretical nor remote, as we now understand, that railway traffic may be suspended whenever the management and the brotherhoods have a difference of opinion. With this suspension would go calamities of unknown extent, against which the great body of the people are powerless to make adequate preparation. On the other hand is offered a radical break with American thought and practice, carrying with it possibilities beyond our power to estimate or accurately to gauge in advance.

To make clear the exact nature of labor's opposition it is necessary to take note of the fact that the plan involves two important propositions: First, that there shall be compulsory government investigation of railway controversies that cannot be settled by the ordinary peaceable means; second, that it shall be illegal to call a strike while such an investigation is going on.

To the first proposition, so far as any recent action would indicate, labor is not opposed. Both the American Federation of Labor and the brotherhoods opposed a bill providing for compulsory investigation on railroads in 1904, but there are laws in nineteen states, unopposed by the unions, giving the commissioner of labor or other administrative officer power to make compulsory investigations. In New York labor has often petitioned for the exercise of this power. Neither, in any recent discussion of the Wilson program, has organized

labor shown any hostility to the idea of compulsory investigation *per se*.

The thing to which the men of organized labor are strenuously opposed is the limitation of their right to strike at any time they see fit. Success often depends upon immediate action, without previous warning. The labor men say that if they are compelled after deciding to strike to wait either a definite or an indefinite length of time while an investigation is being made, the interval will be used by the employer to get ready to fight the strike. He can employ strikebreakers and bring them to the scene of action, ready to go to work. The investigation, whatever it may reveal, carries with it no power to secure improved conditions for the workers. The employer may, therefore, at the end of the period of investigation, put into effect or continue the very policies against which protest was made. The workers have no power of effective protest other than the one that they were estopped from using when the investigation began—the strike. This power is restored to them at the end of the period of investigation, but this time the employer is alert and prepared. The strategic time for striking has gone by.

It is apparent that this is a handicap that might be almost insuperable for unskilled workers engaged in a local strike, but one of less importance where the strike area is large and the strikers men of highest skill and hard to replace. But this latter is exactly the case with the railroad train crews, and it is to them alone that the proposed restriction is to apply. They are highly skilled, and they have now entered upon the policy of bargaining, not for a single locality or for a single railway system, but for the whole country. If a hundred men should go on strike on a branch line somewhere, it is quite likely that the railroad could get men to take their places. The case would be different if 400,000 men decided to strike. Even if there should be a waiting time of six months it is difficult to see what preparations could be made by the railroad executives in the way of hiring new men that would seriously affect the relative positions of employers and employes.

There is another fact of even greater significance that should be considered at this point. The brotherhoods are in the habit, voluntarily, of giving all the notice of their intent to strike—of providing voluntarily all the waiting time that is contemplated in the proposed law. No one who looks back over the history of the controversy that led to the crisis of last fall can fail to be impressed with the long period devoted to negotiation and the still longer period during which the public and the railroads were fully informed of the impending controversy. More than eight months elapsed between the beginning of the movement and the date set for the strike. The formal decision to press the demands was known six months in advance, and it was also known at that time that the railroads would reject them. Conferences began three months before the final break, and the result of the strike vote was known more than thirty days before the day finally decided upon for the walkout.

In the other railway disputes during the last decade a similar policy of negotiation and waiting has been followed. The point may reasonably be made that if the brotherhoods' interests are not affected injuriously by this voluntary policy, they will not be if the same policy is provided for by law.

Permanent Prohibition of Strikes Feared

WHY, then, have the brotherhoods been so concerned in raising the issue that such a law would be contrary to the thirteenth amendment? The answer may lie in some premoni-

tion that arguments supporting the constitutionality of laws to inhibit temporarily the right of railroad men to strike can with equal logic apply to a permanent prohibition.

Such a foreboding, whether or not it is an explanation of the attitude of the union leaders, appears to be not without its justification, in view of some recent comment by careful students of constitutional law. In an address before the New York Academy of Political Science last November, Thomas I. Parkinson, of the Legislative Drafting Research Fund of Columbia University, reviewed a number of Supreme Court cases in which the thirteenth amendment has been involved. He showed that the peonage cases, in which the United States Supreme Court has held that a man cannot be compelled under threat of fine or imprisonment to continue at labor for another, involved simply the right of an individual to quit work. The question of striking was in no way affected by the decisions. Mr. Parkinson cited other cases where the courts have recognized certain limitations to the operation of the thirteenth amendment, as where work on public roads has been required. He pointed out, very significantly, that while in express terms there are no limits to the application of the amendment, yet compulsory labor is enforced in the army, and deserters are arrested and punished. From this he drew the inference that for reasons of public policy the right freely to quit work may sometimes be restricted.

Mr. Parkinson showed clearly that striking is different from the individual quitting of work. It is not an abandonment of the job. He drew a distinction between a strike in strictly private employment and one in public or quasi-public enterprises. The essence of his contention was that in such undertakings, where a cessation of work will cause serious injury to the public, a prohibition of the right to strike, or at least a temporary prohibition, would be a valid and constitutional law. A plain case involving such a point has never come before the Supreme Court, but Mr. Parkinson was able to quote a cautious passage from a Supreme Court decision that seems to add weight to his argument. In the *Adair* case (208 U. S. 161) involving the discharge of a man for membership in a union, Justice Harlan, who delivered the opinion of the court, said: "And it may be—but upon that point we express no opinion—that, in the case of a labor contract between an employer engaged in interstate commerce and his employe, Congress could make it a crime for either party, without sufficient excuse or notice, to disregard the terms of such contract or to refuse to perform it."

This idea has come prominently to the fore in the hearings before the Senate committee. Senator Cummins, in questioning one of the witnesses, remarked, "I never have heard, in our country, of a temporary injunction that could not ripen into a permanent injunction." Everett P. Wheeler, of New York, testifying before the committee, stated that in his opinion, there is no difference from the standpoint of the constitution between a temporary prohibition of strikes and a permanent prohibition. He held either to be valid.

Application to Other Trades

It is apparent, therefore, that the railroad men may reasonably look upon the Newlands bill as an entering wedge for legislation of a more drastic sort, designed to take away altogether their right to strike. As such they may reasonably fear it, since no adequate machinery for the determining of just standards is offered to take the place of the appeal to force.

In the same way and for similar reasons, other classes of labor have reason to fear the proposal. If such a law is constitutional as to public service employment, no one knows to

what other industries it may be made to apply. There are no fixed and determined limits to the field of public service. Enterprises "charged with a public interest," they have been called. What industry is not conceivably charged with a public interest? At the present time the term must be held to include coal mines. Manufactories of food and clothing can easily be brought within such a classification, steel mills surely belong, and since we cannot live without shelter, planing mills and lumber camps come readily into the same category. It is impossible to say where the line between public service and strictly private industry can be drawn. Every argument, therefore, that strengthens the conviction that a temporary prohibition of any sort of strike is permitted by the constitution is a stronger reason for the opposition of labor.

The Right to Strike Curtailed by the Courts

THE reasons lie, furthermore, deep-rooted in the history of industrial struggles. Workmen have not been free so very long to make demands for improved conditions or to enforce such demands. One hundred years ago a concerted movement for higher wages constituted an illegal conspiracy and was punishable as such. In America the application of the common law of conspiracy to the activities of labor unions was slowly weakened by the decisions of courts. In England the modification was accomplished by statute. In this respect the English workers are better off, for, dependent as the American workers are upon the decisions of courts, they are controlled by liberal and reactionary decisions alike. Strange as it may seem there is developing a tendency here and there on the part of the courts toward a more illiberal attitude with respect to the activity of unions. A man was freer to strike in Massachusetts fifty years ago than he is today, and the only difference is in the attitude of the courts. In West Virginia a few years ago a court held the miners' union to be an illegal conspiracy. In Arkansas within a year a court has held that a union in striking was illegally interfering with interstate commerce.

The West Virginia case was reversed by a higher court, and both that and the Arkansas case have been appealed to the United States Supreme Court. No one knows what the decision of that court will be. But in the light of these decisions it is evident that labor must be more interested in a statute guaranteeing to them the liberties that the courts gave them fifty years ago than in a proposal to restrict union activities. That is what labor tried to get in securing an amendment to the Clayton act. It is not yet known, because the courts have not passed upon it, just how much the Clayton act means in the way of insuring freedom of action. In the meantime is it a cause for wonder that labor is opposing a law designed to limit their rights still further?

The right to strike is the only final defense of the worker against oppression. It is the only weapon readily available, the use of which he thoroughly understands. The right is often more powerful than its exercise would be. Knowledge of the power of the workers to act, effectively, if a substantial measure of justice is not done them, is often the only influence felt by a mean employer. In competitive industry the mean employer drags down the standards for the whole trade. If such an employer knew that there was no effective power back of a demand, or if he knew that that power must be held in abeyance for a definite period, he would take every advantage afforded by that knowledge.

To be sure, proponents of compulsory arbitration insist that the worker is fully protected by the machinery it provides for the determination of standards and the settlement of dis-

putes. The answer of the workers is that they have no assurance that their contentions will receive the consideration due them from a board of arbitration sitting as a court under a compulsory law. They do not know who will sit on such a board, what preconceived notions of justice may be brought to bear on the situation, or what influences, political or financial, may be invoked to sway its judgment. It may be pointed out that neither is an appeal to the strike a sure method, as distinguished from compulsory arbitration, for securing their ends. But at least a strike is their own affair. If it fails they can make plans for preventing its failure another time. If compulsory arbitration fails to secure improved conditions they have no remedy at hand.

Suppose we grant the validity of these objections. Shall we then leave the situation where it was last fall, when the calamity of a nation-wide strike was just a few days off? We may well be concerned about the rights of labor, but what about the rights of labor plus those of everyone else—the one hundred millions of people of all sorts who would suffer in a railway strike? That is a question that the brotherhoods must face, and it is neither to their credit nor particularly to their advantage that the leaders seem quite disinclined, just now, to consider it at all.

Who Is "the Third Great Party"—the Public?

BEYOND all cavil, it must be admitted that the interest of the public in this matter is greater than that of the railway corporations or the brotherhoods. There is danger, of course, in talking of the public as the "great third party" to industrial controversy. Sometimes it is hard to tell who the public is. There are in the neighborhood of 30,000,000 wage-earners in this country. They have certain common interests. There is a bond of sympathy that, more or less loosely, unites them. But they are a part, and one of the very largest parts, of what we are talking about when we speak of "the public." And it is they who would suffer most keenly if a railway strike took place.

It is conceivable, of course, that at some momentous time a strike might be called on the railroads over a point of vital concern not to railway men alone, but to the whole working class. In such a case the railway workers would be fighting the battle of all labor. But, normally, railway controversies are limited to a conflict between managers and men. The public that would be seriously injured by a transportation strike is composed of capitalists and laborers, employers and employes, consumers, shippers, union and non-union labor, the families of the 400,000 men engaged in railway service and the 400,000 men themselves. Not a single one of our 100,000,000 people could escape. The 400,000 brotherhood members and their families, despite their suffering, would stand to win something; but they would be the only ones. Temporarily, at least, everyone else would lose.

The popular concern over the strike prospect—complete stoppage of traffic—differs more in degree than in kind from the long expressed concern over inadequate service, high tariffs and fares, and other lesser hindrances to travel, to shipment, to communication. To many it seems illogical that there should be public control over railway managers and not over the workers. Consequently, we find men like President Van Hise and Oscar S. Straus, men long identified with the movement for regulation of public utilities, who have had experience in the arbitration of labor disputes on such utilities, advocating the extension of regulation from public service corporations to public service unions.

But the significant thing in the extension of governmental control over the carriers has been that this constructive pro-

gram has been based on a careful study of facts. This was true of the early movement in Wisconsin under La Follette. It is true of each step in the work of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Evidence of it appears in the huge investigation under way of the physical valuation of railway properties as the basis of further federal legislation. When we turn from the question of public information and public policy as to interstate shipper and carrier to that of public information and public policy as to interstate operator and trainman, the situation is different.

The country suddenly awakened to the need of information on the subject of the relations of employer and employe a few years ago when the dynamite conspiracy in the structural iron trade came to light. Out of that revelation grew a demand for the creation of a commission on industrial relations to examine the whole subject of industrial unrest and to discover some better method of dealing with it.

In the first appeal of a body of citizens to the President and Congress for the creation of such a commission there was a plea for a study of the Canadian industrial disputes act. In his message to Congress, on February 2, 1912, recommending the passage of a law that would permit the appointment of the commission, President Taft said "at the moment when the discomforts and dangers incident to industrial strife are actually felt by the public there is usually an outcry for the establishment of some tribunal for the immediate settlement of the particular dispute. But what is needed is some system, devised by patient and deliberate study in advance, that will meet these constantly occurring and clearly foreseeable emergencies—not a makeshift to tide over an existing crisis. Not during the rainstorm but in fair weather should the leaking roof be examined and repaired."

The commission, when appointed, included a representative of the railroads and a brotherhood president; each, as a matter of fact, named by the interest he represented.

Strangely enough, despite the make-up of the commission and the emphasis that had been laid on the subject, little attention was paid to the settlement of disputes. A general hearing was given on the subject of mediation and arbitration, which did not include any consideration of railroad controversies. A study of the subject, conducted for the commission by Prof. George E. Barnett, of Johns Hopkins University, never was published. This study has recently been brought out by a well-known publisher as a book.

It is interesting to note that in the final report of the commission there was no suggestion anywhere of compulsory arbitration. Compulsory investigation without any limitation on the right to strike was favored by the employers on the commission but rejected by the other six commissioners. The proposals of the Manly and Commons reports were quite similar so far as compulsion was concerned. Both favored machinery for mediation. Both favored investigation, but only if the consent of both parties could be secured. Prof. John R. Commons, after reviewing the Canadian and Australasian laws, said: "It is believed that any of these compulsory methods are unsuited to American conditions, and that the foregoing recommendation for a voluntary board of investigation, adapted from the Canadian act, but without its compulsory features, will prove a valuable addition to the Newlands act."

Where the Industrial Relations Commission Split

IT WAS on the very question of mediation and arbitration that Chairman Frank P. Walsh and the labor commissioners dissented from the Manly report. The grounds of their dissent were not sufficiently explicit, however, to indicate their

position on the subject of investigation. They were opposed to setting up new machinery, as proposed by Mr. Manly, but they had no other definite proposals to make in the way of improving existing machinery.

The report signed by Commissioners Aishton, Ballard and Weinstock, representing employers, expressed dissent from the Commons report on the subject of voluntary investigation.

"We further dissent," their report reads, "from said report in its limitation of public inquiry in labor disputes only to cases where both sides invite such inquiry. We believe that in the public interest there are times when compulsion in labor disputes is thoroughly justified. We feel, with organized labor, that there should be no restriction put upon the right to strike, realizing as we do, that the strike is the only weapon which, in the interest of labor, can be effectively and legally used to aid in bettering its conditions. We feel, also, that there should be no restriction placed upon the employer in his right to declare a lockout in order better to protect what he regards as his interest, and we therefore would not favor any plan that would inflict penalties upon the worker or upon the employer for declaring a strike or lockout. . . ."

"Where strikes and lockouts take place on a large scale, and more especially in connection with public utilities, the public inevitably becomes a third party to the issue, in that it has more at stake than both parties to the dispute combined. . . . The public, therefore, as the third party to the issue, is justified in demanding that an investigation take place, and that the facts be ascertained and presented in an impartial spirit to the general public, so that ways and means may be found of adjudicating the dispute or of throwing the influence of a properly informed public opinion on the side which has the right in its favor."

These quotations are interesting, in view of the proposals now before Congress, but they throw no new light on the subject.

The Industrial Relations Commission failed to give the public any adequate basis of facts on the question of handling industrial disputes. Neither has any other agency of the government made any recent and adequate study of either the compulsory arbitration laws of Australasia or of the Canadian industrial disputes act, which is the model on which the legislation now proposed is based. The most recent government report dealing with the subject is a compilation and partial analysis of the laws of the leading countries of the world, relating to mediation, arbitration or other action in respect to labor controversies on railroads, put out by the United States Board of Conciliation and Mediation. Although given to the public at a time when interest is centered on the Canadian disputes act the information is inadequate for the forming of an intelligent opinion as to its operation.

Conflicting Testimony on the Canadian Act

INDEED, just the contrary is the fact, as can be shown by a reference to a bit of testimony before Senator Newlands' committee. A representative of the Boston Chamber of Commerce stated that in the two years prior to the passage of the Canadian act there were 200 strikes, and in the two years following its enactment but two. Such an inference as to the effect of the passage of the law is surely to be drawn from a table published in the report of the United States Bureau of Mediation and Conciliation. It shows the number of applications for boards of investigation, by years, the number of boards appointed and the number of cases in which strikes were "not averted or ended." According to the table, there was only one such case in 1907 and one in 1908. *Ergo*, only two strikes in 1907 and 1908! But elsewhere in a more extended table giving a certain amount of detailed information

careful search reveals the fact that there were in 1907 alone at least eight strikes and one lockout in the industries covered by the act; and the lockout and at least five of the strikes were in violation of its provisions.

The report is limited to data published by the Canadian government, and it gives no information on strikes illegally called without any application for boards of investigation. Where a strike began illegally, and later a board was asked for, the summary table gives no light. Such cases come under the category of strikes "averted or ended." The report is equally silent on the question of enforcement.

There is no reference in this report and no governmental study has been made of the working of laws already on the statute books of various states providing for compulsory investigation, but not interfering with the right to strike. These laws have often been effective in bringing about the speedy settlement of industrial disputes. It would seem to be the part of wisdom to consider them carefully before enacting new legislation. It is hard to see how anyone, even a violent partisan of one side or the other in the railway dispute, can desire to have sweeping legislation enacted until such a study has been made. Yet the curious fact seems to be that those who were the fiercest in their denunciation of the Adamson law, because no one knew how it would work, are exactly the ones who are most enthusiastically in favor of passing a law absolutely without investigation, which will change the theory and practice of a hundred years in the handling of industrial disputes.

Points Congress Ought to Settle This Session

THE absence of complete information does not, however, render all constructive action utterly impossible. Something can and ought to be done at this session of Congress, which will turn the public emotion of last summer into action. We should not leave things at loose ends till another such emergency overtakes us and again pass hasty legislation, only to have it thrown into the courts and thus neutralized, perhaps at the very moment when it is most needed.

The questions now pressing for solution are, first, the specific one of how to cut down the hours of labor in railway employment, and, second, the general one, growing for the most part out of wage disputes, of how to make the public a more effective factor in safeguarding itself against strikes and lockouts in interstate commerce. Something can and ought to be done about them both, at once.

The first matter cannot be settled by any arbitrary enactment of an eight-hour law. The present "basic" work day is ten hours long. There is an enormous amount of work in excess of that limit. The legal maximum is now sixteen hours. According to the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission, there have been, within the last four years, over 500,000 cases of work that went beyond the sixteen-hour limit. How many cases there were that just fell short of sixteen hours, or that ran for fifteen, fourteen, or thirteen hours no one knows. There is no record. But one can conjecture, when in four years there were a half million cases that passed the legal maximum.

With schedules arranged on such a basis as that a sudden change to an eight-hour day would play havoc. Such changes must be made slowly in order to allow time for orderly readjustment. The brotherhoods conceded that when they demanded an eight-hour basic day, instead of a maximum of eight hours. Congress has recognized it by the extreme conservatism with which it has dealt with the question. Prior to 1907 the maximum legal working day on the railroads was a full twenty-four hours, and there were allowances for over-

time in cases of emergency! That year Congress cut off eight hours, and made the limit sixteen hours.

It does not seem unreasonable to say that it is time that another change should be made. Railroad managers and employes alike agree that a rigid eight-hour day is out of the question. The railroads conceded long ago that a ten-hour day is fair by making agreements with its employes on that basis. With the whole trend of public opinion in favor of a shorter work day the railroads could not reasonably complain if Congress were to place a new limit at the end of twelve hours. Nor is there any reason why this should be considered the final step in regulation. After the readjustments that that would entail had been completed it might be justifiable to make the limit still lower. At present, however, and in view of the exceptional conditions that prevail in the operation of railroads, it seems to me that such a regulation would be reasonable.

The prevention of strikes is not an easy matter. In the long run they cannot be absolutely prevented, as Australian experience shows. But why attempt to prohibit what has so rarely occurred? Only three times in its history has the country been threatened with anything approaching a general railway tie-up. Only twice has such a strike actually taken place. The first was in 1877, before the railway brotherhoods had become very strong. The second was the Debs

strike of 1894, for which the brotherhoods were not responsible. There have been no sectional strikes other than these, and strikes on individual railway systems have been few. Is it reasonable to suppose that compulsory restraint could have made a better record than this?

It will not avail for Congress to decree that there shall be no strikes. What Congress can do, however, and, in my opinion, should do, is to provide for immediate investigation of every controversy and a publication of the facts in the case. Such a bill has been introduced and is before the committee. This is as long a step as the facts now in hand will justify. I believe that the knowledge of the reasons for the controversy that would thus be made available would create such a public opinion as would result in fair dealing on both sides, and with a sane regard for the rights of the public.

If such investigations were needed in any single strike, then surely, with the issue of all strikes potentially at stake, there is need for a thoroughgoing investigation of the laws of Canada, New Zealand and Australia, Europe and the American states. The facts should be laid before Congress. If they indicate clearly that the laws in any of those countries or states are working well, and that they are adapted to Federal regulation of interstate commerce, Congress would then be justified in considering whether it should enact similar laws. But until it has these facts it has no such justification.

Turning Off The Spigot¹

III. What Grandfather and Father Thought About Drink

By Elizabeth Tilton

"What the temperance men demand is not the regulation of the traffic, but its destruction. . . . We believe in cutting the liquor dog's tail off right behind the ears."—*Horace Greeley*.

"Of our political revolution of '76 we are justly proud. . . . Turn now to the temperance revolution. In it we shall find a stronger bondage broken, a viler slavery manumitted . . . more of want supplied, more disease healed, more sorrow assuaged."—*Abraham Lincoln*.

IN my previous article [the SURVEY for January 13] I tried to show how first I was the typical social worker, meekly carrying the wreckage of drink and never lifting one finger to prevent it. Then I came out of that auto-hypnosis, to use Robert A. Woods' phrase, into preventive work. My first idea was to abolish distilled liquors, but to keep beer, to be managed by a disinterested company of men, like the Gothenburg system. Lastly, I gave up this beer-Gothenburg scheme and struck straight out for total abstinence, supplemented by prohibition, as the only means of really effecting any marked headway against the drink custom and its handmaid, the drink traffic.

I came to this last idea simply by studying history. I found that beer experiments had been tried and had not helped very much. I found that while schemes of disinterested management had sometimes helped, measures that made liquor much harder to get, such as the abolition of home distilling, or withdrawal of the rights to sell, no-license, county and state prohibition, and so on, had helped more. (No-license is prohibition in miniature.) I will now go over with you the Drink History of the United States, showing you how it

brings out the point that total abstinence, supplemented by prohibition, is the method that makes marked headway.

In colonial days men drank as they ate, daily, as a matter of course. Says Governor Winthrop, March 3, 1630: "We observed it a common fault with our grown people that they gave themselves up to drink *hot waters* very immoderately." And we read a little later of a minister who would appear drunk at the communion table. His parishioners, finally deciding that this was too much, tried to remove him. But the ministers of his community rallied to him and nothing could be done.

Just before the Revolution; however, there were signs of a temperance agitation. In the main it was directed against distilled liquors only. It was led by such men as John Adams and Israel Putnam and found expression in a resolution passed by the Continental Congress in 1774 "recommending to the various legislatures immediately to pass laws the most effectual for putting a stop to the pernicious practice of distilling grain."

But contrary to the present war, both the Revolutionary and the Civil War quashed real temperance movements in our country, by diverting all energy to themselves,² for the old movements were not built on scientific data proving that even moderate drinking lessens efficiency; rather they were common-sense movements against the waste of drunkenness—if you gave up moderate drinking it was not for your own sake, but to protect your brother from heavy drinking. The attitude comes out plainly after the Revolution is over and

¹ Parts I and II of Mrs. Tilton's series, *What Makes Men Stop Drinking?* and *What the Nations Drink*, were published in the SURVEY for January 13.

² For this time read Daniel Dorchester's *Liquor Problem in All Ages*.

when, after a period of riotous drinking, the country took up the broken threads of the pre-Revolutionary agitation.³

"We are now reduced to one point," said Justin Edwards. "Shall temperate men continue the temperate use of strong drink and thus keep open the door to intemperance, idleness, dissipation, drunkenness, poverty, wretchedness and death?"

Here began a remarkable anti-alcohol movement that before the end was to pass to Europe and start the world campaign against drink, a movement, by the way, only a little over a hundred years old. At first the campaign called for moderation in drink; but, not making headway, it began to call for total abstinence from distilled liquors. Then came the call for the "teetotal whole."

The annual report of the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance in 1835 was devoted chiefly to the nature of alcohol, which was shown to be produced by vinous fermentation and consequently to exist in fermented as well as distilled liquor. It was reasoned that if 53 per cent of alcohol was injurious, the use of 17 per cent in Madeira wine, 13 per cent in champagne and from 5 to 9 in ale, cider, etc., must be at least questionable (Dorchester, p. 263). Questionnaires, we are told, were sent to "many highly respectable gentlemen" who were practicing total abstinence, asking them to state the effect of abstinence on their health, cheerfulness, continued effort and so on. The answers came back "full and favorable to abstinence." The "teetotal whole" came to be the ideal.

It would be amazing to us now if we could get the number of influential men who became abstainers, the number of households that banished liquor from the sideboard. A picture of the spread of temperance can be imagined by reading a letter written by Justin Edwards to the king of Prussia, who had sent across for information. "The number of temperance societies formed in this country (1836)," he writes, "is more than 7,000, and the number of persons uniting with them is 1,250,000. . . . More than 10,000 persons who a few years ago were drunkards now use no intoxicating liquors." Our country generated at that time a great total abstinence movement.

But it was not enough to educate mankind. The virile would respond; the weak and pleasure-loving needed the removal of the ever-ready opportunity. There began to run through the country a prohibition movement that took the form of wide withdrawals of licenses to sell liquor. I have read that Camden, S. C., started the movement, but cannot vouch for the statement. Legislatures were besieged with petitions asking for the repeal of the license laws. For example, in the state of New York great efforts were made to give the question of license or no-license to the people; the bill was stayed in the Senate unless the city of New York could be exempted. Over 25,000 citizens remonstrated, and the state of New York voted by a large majority for a no-license law.

³The conditions in the early part of the nineteenth century may be gathered from the following: At the General Methodist Episcopal Conference, 1812, the Rev. James Axley was unable to obtain the passage of the following resolution, namely, that "no stationed or licensed preacher shall retail spirituous or malt liquors without forfeiting his ministerial character among us." In 1916, this same conference appropriated \$100,000 for prohibition.

And so it went through the country. In 1851, 13 out of the 14 counties of Massachusetts were granting no licenses (Alcohol and the State, pp. 287-8), thus giving us an ever-widening dry area, and if the old figures given by Daniel Dorchester (page 315) are correct, our per capita consumption in alcoholic beverages (ales, wines, liquors) fell thus: 1810, 8.50 gallons; 1850, 4.10 gallons. Taken in terms of pure alcohol, per capita consumption continued to fall up to the decade beginning 1870 (see article II), but the internal revenue tax placed on alcohol July 1, 1862, influences this decline.

The Rev. John Marsh describes for us this marvelous reform, this rush from John Barleycorn honored in 1810 to John Barleycorn a pariah in 1850. "From the day," he says, "when no man would be considered respectable who did not offer wine to his guests, when no man had the liberty of refusing it, when no laborer could be found who for any price would work without strong drink, when ministers were abundantly supplied by their people! Such times I knew. I have seen all the changes." And these changes were due to live education for total abstinence led by the influential men and supplemented by prohibition, that is, an ever-widening dry area.

Grandfather did this for us, and, by so doing, presented this country with a great health asset, never lost, a large class of people that tends totally to abstain. The money and the well-being saved by this gift from Grandfather cannot be over-estimated. I will now pass on to the story of father and how he undid (not entirely, but materially) his father's splendid contribution to the health and economy of our nation.

IV. The Early Prohibition Wave

There are many people in the northeastern states whose teeth are set together against prohibition. Ask them why and you are told, "Self-control is the way," or "Father said that prohibition did not prohibit." Was father right? Did that old-time prohibition (1851-1875) prohibit as well as any other law? Did it work for betterment?

We note at once that though the campaign against drink had been very strong in the South, from 1850 on it collapsed because the question of the extension of slavery became all-absorbing. No southern state went dry. But there was yet a little time in the North before the slavery question claimed all energy. Between 1851-1860, several states tried to establish prohibition; some succeeded, some did not. For example: Illinois' law was passed but vetoed by the people; Indiana's law was soon declared unconstitutional; New York's law went into effect July 5, 1855, and was pronounced unconstitutional March 29, 1856; Ohio's law was weak. (*Scientific Temperance Journal*, June, 1916.) But in some states, like Massachusetts, Maine and Connecticut, real prohibitory laws were enacted and carried out.

My own state of Massachusetts was under prohibition off and on from 1852 to 1875—a bad time to try a great, new



UNCLE SAM'S GROWING THIRST
In 1870, following Grandfather's ideal of prohibition, the per capita consumption of drink was 7.70 gallons per capita. In 1907, after Father's ideal of moderation—use but not abuse—had had its trial, the per capita consumption was 22.79 gallons.

experiment. The law was weak, as any lawyer will note, in penalties.⁴

Reporting on the law in 1853, Thomas Wentworth Higginson says, "We blush for Boston, but for the state as a whole we do not need to blush." Town after town, he declares, shows diminution of arrests for drunkenness. The Lowell city marshal writes: "The amount of drunkenness for the month ending October 22 is 67 per cent less than during the same time last year." Springfield reports a diminution of 30 per cent in commitments to the House of Correction and of more than 70 per cent in arrests for drunkenness, and so on through the state. But Boston, with a thoroughly corrupt city government, defied the law.

The largest city of Maine made a better showing. Cumberland county, where Portland is, gave the following figures:

To	COMMITMENTS (Excluding Violations of Liquor Law)	
	Nine months before prohibition	Nine months following prohibition
County jails.....	279	63
Watch-house	431	180
Almshouse	252	146

The mayor of Bangor reported that the cost of drunkenness to the city was reduced 72 per cent; the cost of paupers in the poorhouse 97 per cent (Prohibition, E. J. Wheeler, p. 115).

I wish to interpolate here that the fathers of Massachusetts had so thoroughly inoculated me with their horror of prohibition that I had supposed the moment this pernicious law went through, drunkenness increased enormously. I was surprised, then, to find no increase, but, on the whole, decrease. A law that decreased cases of tuberculosis as much as that prohibition law decreased cases of drunkenness, we should welcome.

But from 1856 on one hears little except the call to the temperance people to let the agitation lapse until the slavery question might be out of the way. It was for years quiescent in the chaos that war brings. In 1867, however, state officers were appointed to enforce the prohibitory law in Massachusetts.

Immigrants from Drinking Countries

Now note what has happened during the war. As a war measure a tax had been levied on alcohol; revenue was coming from it. Horace Greeley fought this measure on the ground that it would hurt the temperance movement by giving liquor standing in the community. Again, this measure made the liquor interests organize as never before. Small dealers had to retire. Still again, through the years of this agitation, there had come pouring into the country scores of drinkers, among them masses of Irish, and Germans wanting their beer. The foreign-born population of the North actually trebled between 1850-1880 (Dorchester: The Liquor Problem, pp. 400-401). The beer invasion began. Noted physicians called for its introduction on the ground that it would decrease the use of distilled liquors. Added to all this was the general moral and mental relaxation that follows war; crime statistics rose and the strenuous belief in total abstinence (the father of declining consumption) proved too much for our tired-out post-bellum fathers. They sat down to rest—on temperance: the use of alcohol, but not the abuse.

Amazing is the changed attitude that followed the Civil War. The very sons of the men who had fought that great race-hygiene battle of the forties for total abstinence declared

⁴ Massachusetts passed a "Maine law," 1852, that is, one prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor except by specially appointed or permitted agents who may sell for excepted purposes only, with provision for search, seizure and forfeiture of liquors kept for illegal sale. The penalties were \$10 fine and the giving a bond in \$1,000 not to unlawfully sell within a year; \$20 and the same bond for the second offense; \$20 and 3 to 6 months' imprisonment for the third. Cyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition, p. 306-311.

that our forebears had been fanatics, that alcohol in moderation was a blessing. These ideas, which went into encyclopedias and thus colored for years our attitude towards alcohol, may be found at length and at large in the Liquor Law Report of Massachusetts, 1867, and also in the conservative mind of the northeastern states left over from that day. The report tells of the trial of John Barleycorn held at the Boston State House that year, with former Governor Andrew, the beloved war governor, as counsel for the anti-prohibitionists.

One expects to hear at this trial careful statistics showing that license did better than prohibition. But statistics for and against are strangely few. Governor Andrew summed up the case somewhat thus: that alcohol in itself is not essentially poisonous; only excess is harmful as is excess of anything—a duck once died of too much butter, yet butter is not harmful in itself; of course, prohibit a poison, but why prohibit a good thing? And we must always remember that Jesus drank. Did He not come "eating and drinking"?

To support his theory Governor Andrew summoned to his side Boston's best doctors and noted Harvard professors. They regarded it apparently as a close second to beef tea.

The Professor at the Tavern Bar

PROF. HENRY BIGELOW declared that wine was not what our fathers thought it, injurious. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes was sure that it acted as food and as medicine. Dr. Charles Jackson, a chemist, declared that moderate doses, far from doing harm, served to sustain endurance, while Dr. J. C. White, professor of chemistry at the Harvard Medical School, declared that under some circumstances alcohol acted in precisely the same way and its results were entirely the same as beef tea. Prof. Francis Bowen of Harvard College stabbed his forebears of the forties by declaring that drinking was a thing between a man and his God. Professor Horsford and others agreed that God made alcohol.

As a result of all this pro-alcoholism, Massachusetts went for license in 1868. A comparison of the two years, 1867 (dry), 1868 (wet), may be found in the report of the Canadian Commissioners to Inquire Into the Workings of the Prohibitory Liquor Law, Ottawa, 1875. Extracts are given below, but for hurried people I give the gist in the following poster used by members of the Boston Associated Charities in its recent (1916) espousal of no-license. The conservative press had affirmed that old-time prohibition did not prohibit, but made Boston wetter than ever.

<p>BOSTON DRY! Total Arrests 1867, 1,530 BOSTON WET! Total Arrests 1868, 5,596 RECORD OF THE LAST QUARTER OF EACH YEAR</p>
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Fuller extracts are given below:

From report of Chaplain of Massachusetts State Prison, 1868: "The chaplain regrets that he is compelled to say that the prison has never been so full as it is at the present time, or rather, so full through the year, and he feels that there is no hope of any diminution of members while rum shops are found at every corner."

From report of inspectors of Massachusetts State Prison for 1868: "We . . . call attention to the fact of the increased number of commitments made during eight months of the present year when the sale of spirituous liquors has been almost wholly unrestrained,—over those of the same time in the previous year when the public sale was prohibited and to a great extent stopped."



Grandfather believed in—and practiced—total abstinence plus prohibition. He cut the national drink consumption in half and gave the United States a unique health asset in a middle class of total abstainers.

Commitments in 1867	Commitments in 1868
Feb.-Sept. 65	136

Report of chief constable of the commonwealth, January, 1869: "Drunkenness is on the increase to a melancholy extent. The official report of the chief of the Boston police shows the following results for a period of only three months, ending October 1, viz.:

	1867	1868
"For the quarter ending Oct. 1. Prohibition		License
"Cases of drunkenness arrested by police	1,728	1,918
Common drunkards	148	134
Disorderly conduct	300	658
Disturbing the peace	257	397
Assaults	433	547
Intoxicated helped home	497	485
Total	3,345	4,139

"Increase in 1868 for one quarter, 794."

The Boston Chief of Police also reported: For the last quarter of 1867 (dry), total arrests and lodgers, 4,147; for the last quarter of 1868 (wet), total arrests and lodgers, 13,213.

Report of the State Board of Charities, 1868, part 1, page 350: "During the past year, it appears that while crime has increased about 10 per cent, drunkenness has increased more than twice as much, or 24 per cent. . . . As compared with 1867 it will be seen that crimes against the person have increased about 13.7 per cent; crimes against property about 8.7 per cent; crimes against public order and decency have increased about 10.2 per cent, and crimes of all kinds about 10 per cent."

From the reports of the city marshal of New Bedford for the years 1867 and 1868:

	Prohibition	License
	1867	1868
Whole number of arrests	397	493
Drunkenness	140	278

Police inspector of Beverly, Mass., 1868: "Under three years of prohibition, '64-'66, committed or helped home for drunkenness, average per year was 38 1-3, or 1 in 155, of the population. Under one year of license, 175, or 1 in 34."

In 1869 Massachusetts again established a prohibition law, but in 1870 the law was amended to allow ales, porter and beer. This beer experiment I shall give later (Is Beer the Cure for the Drink Evil?). Again in 1874, Massachusetts

was under prohibition. Of course, this wavering policy was not conducive to popular enforcement. Yet, even in 1874, Mr. Schade, the special agent of the Brewers' Congress, said: "Had our friends in Massachusetts been free to carry on their business and had not the state authorities constantly interfered, there is no doubt that instead of showing a decrease of 116,585 barrels in one year they would have increased at the same rate as they did the preceding year."⁵

In 1875, the prohibition law was repealed for good.

Why did Massachusetts abandon the prohibition policy? The records show that it worked better than license. Immigration, desire for revenue, almost total lack of education during the war period, the incoming foreign viewpoint, the loss of the old-timers who had seen the havoc wrought by license in the former days and the general relaxation that followed war—all these produced a reversion to the old ideal, moderation.

Prohibitive legislation reflects the state of mind that gives liquor no quarter. Temperance gives liquor quarter, and its legislative expression is a liquor traffic and open saloons. Our fathers fell between two stools: they had lost the commonsensible virility of grandfather in the forties, that cried, as does the West today, "Anything that injures man or child must go." And they had not yet acquired the modern scientific data that show alcohol to be no twin to beef tea, but a life-destroyer, something from which the wise of the race will in the end totally abstain.

So they sat down to rest on temperance, the use of a good thing, but not the abuse. All through the East this became the ideal, and wherever it went it took the life out of prohibition. Maine is a case in point. She kept her prohibition law, a good deal from pride and a good deal because it had become a Republican issue. That party "voted for it," as one of my Maine cousins told me, "but seldom worked for it." But temperance became the ideal, and its child, the open saloon, appeared unmolested in the streets of Maine. "In 1897," said Mr. Owen, of the Civic League, "only one county was enforcing the law, but now, 1916, the bulk of the counties have enforcement, but the counties where the cities are nullify." Bangor, Portland, Lewiston all have saloons, or did have up to December, 1916. What changes may come before this article is in print I cannot know.

⁵ Under the Beer Law, Cycl., page 528.

The real recipe is: first catch your total abstinence—your strong belief that liquor is unhygienic and uneconomic; then add prohibition, and you get the thing you are after—a marked decrease in a nation's drink consumption which the "temperance" ideal did not give. Please note the action of our consumption under father's moderation theory. Not till 1907 did our per capita consumption stop rising for any length of time. Since 1907 it has hung about stationary, except for a decline in 1914.

UNITED STATES PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION, ALL ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES

(From Statistical Abstract of U. S., 1915)

1870	7.70	gallons
1871-80 (average for the period)	8.79	gallons
1881-90 (average for the period)	13.21	gallons
1891-95 (average for the period)	17.12	gallons
1900	17.76	gallons
1905	19.85	gallons
1906	21.55	gallons
1907	22.79	gallons
1908	22.22	gallons
1909	21.06	gallons
1910	22.19	gallons
1911	22.79	gallons
1912	21.98	gallons
1913	22.68	gallons
1914	22.50	gallons
1915	19.80	gallons

They say of Gladstone that he could make statistics sing. There is not much of a song to be found in the table above; it is the tale of a tired-out people taking to the "moderation" ideal and with that ideal plunging (up to 1907) ever deeper into mires, unhygienic and uneconomic.

May I make it plain here that the theory that the ideal moderation, seldom if ever makes real headway against drink has weighty scientific support. For example, a manifesto

signed by German and Swiss physicians (among them Drs. Von Bunge, Forel Speyer, Delbrück, Möbius) says, "This, the Custom of Moderate Drinking, is the real cause of alcoholism, and the hope of greatly diminishing consumption by preaching moderation is, therefore, utopian. History confirms this view. . . . Efforts for moderation have nowhere effectively dammed the alcohol flood, but the results of the Abstaining Movement are already brilliant." In short, moderation in this insidious narcotic, though even that is undesirable, is, while possible for certain individuals, impossible for the race.

I believe that the day cannot be far distant when social workers and social leaders will come to realize that you cannot stem the tide of drink by countenancing the custom in the home and voting for the traffic in the street. So powerful is the whole thing—the appetite, the tradition, the fashion, the traffic—that it must be given no quarter. If social leaders today would form total abstinence societies you would see a great falling off in drink consumption. If this measure were followed by an ever-widening dry area, you would see a still greater decrease.

You social workers who so often are social leaders, the cumulative costs of alcohol in poverty, crime, immorality, death and disease are beyond computing. Virile nations, once they recognize the uneconomic, ostracize it until it fades at last into the limbo of the past. As we are virile so shall we ostracize the drink custom and outlaw the drink traffic. The slogan of every patriot should be, "No quarter to John Barleycorn!"

The Belgian Deportations

By Bruno Lasker

OF THE SURVEY STAFF

IN spite of the protests of neutral governments [see the SURVEY, December 23, 1916] the deportation of Belgian men by the German military authorities still continues. The total number deported so far probably approximates 150,000. From Ghent and the surrounding district alone more than 15,000 men seem to have been taken in the two months of October and November. The German authorities are said to have admitted that they aim at a gradual deportation of about 300,000 in all.

The German government, last Sunday, issued another memorial concerning the employment of Belgian workmen in Germany in which the purpose of these deportations is explained in detail. Further explanations are contained also in an article of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of December 3, 1916, which has just come to hand. But neither document gives a satisfactory answer to the protests made by the neutral governments and by the neutral peoples. Placed alongside the appeal of the Belgian workers of November 19, 1916, to American labor, and of the moving sermon of Cardinal Mercier at St. Gudule (November 26), they fail to convince. The reason for this is threefold: First, assuming the description given of economic and social conditions to be accurate, there is strong proof that idleness, voluntary or involuntary, however prevalent, has not been made the sole test in selecting men for deportation, but that many have been taken out of employments in which they were engaged, and a not negligible number are students, professional men, and persons of means. Second, these measures remain in flagrant contradiction of international law and of the explicit undertaking given

in October, 1914, by the governor of Antwerp. Third, even if every other argument advanced by the German government were sound, there is no reason why the problem of idleness could not have been met without recourse to a necessarily cruel form of punishment.

These accusations must not be taken as granting that all the accounts of the deportations received in this country by way of Holland and of the allied countries may be accepted as reliable. Some of them show internal evidence of exaggeration. The charge of cruelty made above does not relate itself primarily to the treatment meted out to individuals. If men have been transported in cattle trucks, they have probably fared no worse than the troops of any of the belligerent countries. Their food rations, though unpalatable and unsuitable for all but healthy constitutions, appear on the whole to have been sufficient to support men engaged in little or no muscular exertion; they are not, apparently, worse than those given to prisoners of war and to civilians in concentration camps. (The "decoction from acorns," by the way, of which Belgians complain, is a wholesome surrogate for cocoa which for many years has been popular in Germany.) Inconvenience, exposure, lack of cleanliness and of means to keep clean are inseparable from large movements of population at a time of stress.

The point is not that these hardships are exceptional considering the circumstances, but that they could have been entirely avoided. If the compulsory employment of the workshy was the only object of the measures taken, the governor was empowered, even obliged, under section 43 of the fourth

report of the second Hague Conference, to apply the laws existing in the occupied territory for maintaining public order. The Belgian statute book gives ample power for the commitment of incorrigible shirkers to labor colonies. These men could and should have been set to work in their own country upon tasks of benefit to their own country.

But the chief indictment is not on account of these things; it is on account of the utter disregard for the mental state of the country, the general nervousness and tense emotional strain among all classes of the population. It was inevitable with this mental predisposition that a deportation order must create unspeakable anxiety and suffering. After two years of separation from the rest of the world, not knowing from day to day the fate of their country, under the complete surveillance of a severe, not to say oppressive, conqueror, these people receive an order to assemble on the following morning for the selection of men to be sent out of the country. The torments of the men who are taken, they know not whither or when to return, the anguish of leavetaking, the bereavement of those left behind, the indignity, the sense of injustice in a democratic, freedom-loving country, these are things which the German military authorities—or the militarists of any country—are unable to foresee or to appreciate.

Says the German government: "Their temporary transplantation to another country does not frighten them; Belgian laborers are accustomed to travel from place to place, and in time of peace they were wont to hire themselves out, frequently for many months, to employers in the southern industrial districts of their own country or in those of northern France for a smaller increase in wage than is offered them today." Men who are capable of such reasoning, who are incapable of appreciating the difference between seasonal migration at times of peace to follow the most lucrative opportunities of employment and forcible deportation to a hostile country at times of general profound anxiety—such men, psychologically speaking, are capable of any tyranny and cruelty.

If there were evidence, other than their own declaration, that the military authorities were guided in this action by considerations for the welfare of the Belgian people, the arguments advanced for some form of compulsion would, on the face, be plausible. Though obviously neither the Belgian government nor any of the agencies in allied and neutral countries which are devoting themselves to the relief of Belgian war-sufferers would care to admit it, it is a matter of common knowledge that many have already become pauperized by the ease with which they are enabled to live without exertion. "Owing to the relief granted them, the workers are tempted into continued idleness, with the result that today Belgian employers are with difficulty able to obtain workmen necessary to keep their concerns going." Though this statement may be an exaggeration in such general terms, the danger undoubtedly exists.

But it must be remembered that as an argument for wholesale deportation this plea—which, indeed, has never failed to appear in justification of oppression and slavery—is altogether unsound so long as it can be shown that there are other possible means of meeting the evil. It is insincere in this instance because practically nothing has been done by the German authorities to foster or maintain an active industrial life in the occupied country which would enable the population to follow its accustomed pursuits with the loyalty and tenacity which is the reputation of Belgians the world over.

"If it is now decided to employ Belgian laborers in German plants because they have been unemployed for two years and live by public charity, this has nothing to do with the question

of imprisonment and deportation of the whole of the male population which was under discussion in the fall of 1914. The measure is not connected, as was that discussed at that time, with the conduct of the war, but rests on social grounds." But is it likely that the men of Antwerp who had fled to Holland in the early days of the war could have been induced to return if this distinction had been made clear to them, if the verbal promises of Governor von Huene and General-Governor von der Goltz had been so circumscribed?

Moreover, nearly every week brings new facts to show that men are deported who by no stretch of the imagination can be described as "unemployed for two years." A case which has come to our personal knowledge on good authority concerns the adopted son of a lawyer in comfortable circumstances, eighteen years of age. In the neighborhood of Charleroi, students of the technical college have been seized. In Namur students and self-employed master artisans, as well as a number of skilled workmen employed at good wages, were imprisoned and deported. From a number of communes complaints have arrived—mentioning names and generally bearing the stamp of veracity—that employes of relief organizations have been deported, including in some instances men of experience whom it is difficult to replace.

There is no general evidence that in the methods of assembling traveling units and of transporting them to various destinations in Germany more brutality has been inflicted than is part and parcel of the military "system."

The fact which emerges, after a careful study of the data and of the arguments put forward by the German government in the defense of its action, is that "military necessity," after all, can alone provide an adequate explanation for it. Since the German government levies a heavy tax upon the country and contributes nothing to its public charities, it is not likely that relief problems have been foremost in shaping its policy concerning the labor situation. Nor is it probable that it was concern for the industrial efficiency of the Belgian workingmen when the war is over. But, however transparent are the reasons which have been given, it would be unfair to charge the German government with hypocrisy. What other government, under like circumstances, would state the true motive of its action: preparation for a possible offensive by the enemy. From the detailed descriptions received, it appears that men are selected for deportation with an eye to their military fitness—though this is done very roughly—at least as much as to their social status or industrial competency. They have been taken almost exclusively from industrial regions where clandestine organization and uprisings would be more likely to occur than in the rural districts. In the case of a successful allied offensive, the great majority of the civilians now sent to Germany, if remaining at home, would have been conscripted into the Belgian army.

As in the case of the invasion of the country in the early days of the war, so in this new precautionary measure, "military necessity" has been allowed to outweigh every other consideration, including the good will of neutral nations and established international law. (We wish it were possible to confirm the rumor that the civilian departments of the German government in Belgium strongly advised against this step.) There is no justification for accusing Germany of exceptional brutality in interpreting this "necessity"—one need only to point to the Russian deportations of civilians from eastern Prussia in 1915. But to all who care for the maintenance of real standards of civilization it becomes a duty to join in the protest against a militarist philosophy which, when adopted by a great and powerful nation, brings about such an outrage to ordinary human sensibility.

"Peace Among the Nations"

The President's Address to the Senate on January 22

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE: On the eighteenth of December last I addressed an identic note to the governments of the nations now at war requesting them to state, more definitely than they had yet been stated by either group of belligerents, the terms upon which they would deem it possible to make peace. I spoke on behalf of humanity and of the rights of all neutral nations like our own, many of whose most vital interests the war puts in constant jeopardy.

The Central Powers united in a reply which stated merely that they were ready to meet their antagonists in conference to discuss terms of peace.

The Entente Powers have replied much more definitely, and have stated, in general terms, indeed, but with sufficient definiteness to imply details, the arrangements, guarantees, and acts of reparation which they deem to be the indispensable conditions of a satisfactory settlement.

We are that much nearer a definite discussion of the peace which shall end the present war. We are that much nearer the discussion of the international concert which must thereafter hold the world at peace. In every discussion of the peace that must end this war it is taken for granted that that peace must be followed by some definite concert of power, which will make it virtually impossible that any such catastrophe should ever overwhelm us again. Every lover of mankind, every sane and thoughtful man, must take that for granted.

I have sought this opportunity to address you because I thought that I owed it to you, as the council associated with me in the final determination of our international obligations, to disclose to you without reserve the thought and purpose that have been taking form in my mind in regard to the duty of our government in those days to come when it will be necessary to lay afresh and upon a new plan the foundations of peace among the nations.

It is inconceivable that the people of the United States should play no part in that great enterprise. To take part in such a service will be the opportunity for which they have sought to prepare themselves by the very principles and purposes of their polity and the approved practices of their government, ever since the days when they set up a new nation in the high and honorable hope that it might in all that it was and did show mankind the way to liberty. They cannot, in honor, withhold the service to which they are now about to be challenged. They do not wish to withhold it. But they owe it to themselves and to the other nations of the world to state the conditions under which they will feel free to render it.

That service is nothing less than this—to add their authority and their power to the authority and force of other nations to guarantee peace and justice throughout the world. Such a settlement cannot now be long postponed. It is right that before it comes this government should frankly formulate the conditions upon which it would feel justified in asking our people to approve its formal and solemn adherence to a league for peace. I am here to attempt to state those conditions.

The present war must first be ended, but we owe it to candor and to a just regard

for the opinion of mankind to say that, so far as our participation in guarantees of future peace is concerned, it makes a great deal of difference in what way and upon what terms it is ended. The treaties and agreements which bring it to an end must embody terms which will create a peace that is worth guaranteeing and preserving, a peace that will win the approval of mankind, not merely a peace that will serve the several interests and immediate aims of the nations engaged.

We shall have no voice in determining what those terms shall be, but we shall, I feel sure, have a voice in determining whether they shall be made lasting or not by the guarantees of a universal covenant, and our judgment upon what is fundamental and essential as a condition precedent to permanency should be spoken now, not afterward, when it may be too late.

No covenant of cooperative peace that does not include the peoples of the new world can suffice to keep the future safe against war, and yet there is only one sort of peace that the peoples of America could join in guaranteeing.

THE elements of that peace must be elements that engage the confidence and satisfy the principles of the American governments, elements consistent with their political faith and the practical conviction when the peoples of America have once for all embraced and undertaken to defend.

I do not mean to say that any American government would throw any obstacle in the way of any terms of peace the governments now at war might agree upon, or seek to upset them when made, whatever they might be. I only take it for granted that mere terms of peace between the belligerents will not satisfy even the belligerents themselves. Mere agreements may not make peace secure. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected, that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it. If the peace presently to be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind.

The terms of the immediate peace agreed upon will determine whether it is a peace for which such a guarantee can be secured. The question upon which the whole future peace and policy of the world depends is this:

Is the present war a struggle for a just and secure peace or only for a new balance of power? If it be only a struggle for a new balance of power, who will guarantee, who can guarantee, the stable equilibrium of the new arrangement? Only a tranquil Europe can be a stable Europe. There must be not only a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace.

Fortunately, we have received very explicit assurances on this point. The statesmen of both of the groups of nations, now arrayed against one another, have said, in terms that could not be misinterpreted, that it was no part of the purpose they had in mind to crush their antagonists. But the implications

of these assurances may not be equally clear to all, may not be the same on both sides of the water. I think it will be serviceable if I attempt to set forth what we understand them to be.

They imply first of all that it must be a peace without victory. It is not pleasant to say this. I beg that I may be permitted to put my own interpretation upon it and that it may be understood that no other interpretation was in my thought. I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory, upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand.

Only a peace between equals can last; only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The right state of mind, the right feeling between nations, is as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of vexed questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance.

The equality of nations upon which peace must be founded, if it is to last, must be an equality of rights; the guarantees exchanged must neither recognize nor imply a difference between big nations and small, between those that are powerful and those that are weak. Right must be based upon the common strength, not upon the individual strength, depend.

Equality of territory, of resources, there, of course, cannot be; nor any other sort of equality not gained in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the peoples themselves. But no one asks or expects anything more than an equality of rights. Mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for equipoises of power.

And there is a deeper thing involved than even equality of rights among organized nations. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property.

I TAKE it for granted, for instance, if I may venture upon a single example, that statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, and autonomous Poland, and that henceforth inviolable security of life, of worship, and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples who have lived hitherto under the power of governments devoted to a faith and purpose hostile to their own.

I speak of this not because of any desire to exalt an abstract political principle which has always been held very dear by those who have sought to build up liberty in America, but for the same reason that I have spoken of the other conditions of peace, which seem to me clearly indispensable—because I wish frankly to uncover realities. Any peace which does not recognize and accept this principle will inevitably be upset. It will not rest upon the affections or the

convictions of mankind. The ferment of spirit of whole populations will fight subtly and constantly against it, and all the world will sympathize. The world can be at peace only if its life is stable, and there can be no stability where the will is in rebellion, where there is not tranquility of spirit and a sense of justice, of freedom, and of right.

So far as practicable, moreover, every great people now struggling toward a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea. Where this cannot be done by the cession of territory it can no doubt be done by the neutralization of direct rights of way under the general guarantee which will assure the peace itself. With a right comity of arrangement no nation need be shut away from free access to the open paths of the world's commerce.

And the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free. The freedom of the seas is the *sine qua non* of peace, equality, and cooperation. No doubt a somewhat radical reconsideration of many of the rules of international practice hitherto sought to be established may be necessary in order to make the seas indeed free and common in practically all circumstances for the use of mankind, but the motive for such changes is convincing and compelling. There can be no trust or intimacy between the peoples of the world without them.

The free, constant, unthreatened intercourse of nations is an essential part of the process of peace and of development. It need not be difficult to define or to secure the freedom of the seas if the governments of the world sincerely desire to come to an agreement concerning it.

It is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armaments and the cooperation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe.

And the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more

difficult question of the limitation of armies and of all programs of military preparation. Difficult and delicate as these questions are, they must be faced with the utmost candor and decided in a spirit of real accommodation if peace is to come with healing in its wings and come to stay.

PEACE cannot be had without concession and sacrifice. There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armies are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained. The statesmen of the world must plan for peace and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless contest and rivalry. The question of armaments, whether on land or sea, is the most immediately and intensely practical question connected with the future fortune of nations and of mankind.

I have spoken upon these great matters without reserve, and with the utmost explicitness because it has seemed to me to be necessary if the world's yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free voice and utterance. Perhaps I am the only person in high authority among all the peoples of the world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking as an individual, and yet I am speaking also, of course, as the responsible head of a great government, and I feel confident that I have said what the people of the United States would wish me to say.

May I not add that I hope and believe that I am, in effect, speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every program of liberty? I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear.

And in holding out the expectation that the

people and the government of the United States will join the other civilized nations of the world in guaranteeing the permanence of peace upon such terms as I have named, I speak with the greater boldness and confidence because it is clear to every man who can think that there is in this promise no breach in either our traditions or our policy as a nation, but a fulfillment rather of all that we have professed or striven for.

I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world: That no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little among the great and powerful.

I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competition of power, catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose, all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

These are American principles, American policies. We can stand for no others. And they are also the principles and policies of forward-looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail.

The Singer

Mary Carolyn Davies

SHE sang a song of beauty, while I spoke
 Of wrongs to be righted;
 She lit a lamp of hoping while I told
 Of lamps to be lighted.
 She took the hardened hands of those who read
 Her little book of loveliness and led
 The hopeless to where hope and beauty live.
 She made men quite forget to hate or to forgive.
 I only talked of beauty to be sought,
 Of rights to be wrested;
 I sang of wars that must be found and fought,
 And shrill I protested.
 She led men past all struggling and all strife,
 Beyond the darkness, into freer life.
 Freedom is bought by blows, I said. But she
 Knew unarmed beauty was enough to make men free.



COMMON WELFARE

FAMINE IN BELGIUM BRINGS HOOVER HOME

HERBERT C. HOOVER, chairman of the American Commission for Relief in Belgium, whose magnificent achievement in organizing the supply and distribution of the American gifts to Belgium and of the contributions made to that country by the allied governments has been described in the SURVEY by Ernest P. Bicknell [September 2, 1916], returned last Sunday to New York to start a new campaign for raising funds.

"This has been made necessary by the fact," he says, "that the economic situation in Belgium and in the North of France is now much worse than it has been since the beginning of the war. Large classes of the population which were self-supporting when we started operations have since fallen into dire distress through the gradual exhaustion of their resources. The industries of the country have practically come to a standstill. Savings are used up. Returns from every form of investment have diminished or ceased altogether."

The immediate need is for an adequate fund to provide additional food for children of school age. One and a quarter million children now require extra nourishment. This the commission has started to give in the form of school luncheons consisting of hash and bread or cocoa and biscuits. Mr. Hoover, seen the day after his arrival, kindly offered to present the SURVEY at an early date with a fuller statement of the need which must be met immediately by American contributions if thousands of children are not to fall into permanent ill-health and disability.

In the meantime he protested against the assertion which has been made that extensive physical deterioration of Belgian children has resulted from the past acceptance by the commission of an inadequate standard of nutrition. The children on whose behalf it now appeals have not, as these critics assume, been under the care of relief agencies for two years. The great majority of them have not hitherto been in need of help additional to the general food allowance which was sufficient for mainte-

nance in health. But a restricted choice of diet and, finally, outright poverty have to an alarming degree increased to afflict families which, but two years ago, were considered relatively well off.

General conditions have grown so much worse—the number of persons for whom Mr. Hoover is now appealing approximates three and a half million in Belgium and two million in the occupied portions of France—that the commission has been obliged to direct its special attention to one section of the population after another as starvation became imminent. Physiologists have long told us that the under-nourishment in an industrial community resulting from low or irregular earnings does not necessarily make itself felt in the form of painful hunger. Serious malnutrition may go together even with satiety. But it inevitably tells on health and physical efficiency and, if unchecked, also on moral fiber.

There is some misunderstanding also in this country concerning the contribution of Americans to the relief work in Belgium. First, with regard to distribution, this is organized almost entirely by the Belgians themselves—with an efficiency and devotion which could not be surpassed. It is a great mistake to assume that the Belgian "intellectuals" and those able to help in any capacity are sitting by idly while Mr. Hoover and his staff do all the work. Such a task, obviously, would be impossible for any outside body.

Then with regard to the sources of relief. The total amount so far subscribed in this country is about eight million dollars. This is no more than a comparatively small supplement to the monthly contributions of four and five millions respectively by the French and British governments and half a million raised monthly by voluntary subscriptions in Great Britain and other European countries. Mr. Hoover estimates that it will cost between 150 and 200 million dollars to take care of the destitute this year. Assuming the main European contributions to continue unchanged, this would seem to involve the necessity of raising somewhere an additional 35 to 85 million.

TESTING OUT THE SCHOOL OF THE FUTURE

THE General Education Board, one of the philanthropic bodies established by John D. Rockefeller, announced last week that it would provide Teachers College of Columbia University, New York city, with the funds necessary "to establish and conduct a school for the purpose of constructive work in the reorganization of elementary and secondary education." This school will, according to the announcement, be "better adapted to the needs of modern life," will "frankly discard that theory of education known as 'formal discipline,'" and will drop the teaching of Latin and Greek in favor of greater prominence for science, industry and the domestic arts.

The director of the experimental school will be Prof. Otis W. Caldwell, now head of the Department of Natural Sciences in the School of Education of the University of Chicago. It is expected that some of the classes will open next fall.

The board declares that it was convinced of the importance of such a school by the "keen and extended discussion of President Eliot's paper on Changes Needed in Secondary Education and Abraham Flexner's paper on The Modern School." Both of these are publications of the board, and both writers are members of the board, Mr. Flexner being also an assistant secretary.

The amount of money behind the school was declared by a board member to be "whatever it costs." On June 30, 1916, the board's "principal funds, including reserve," were announced to be over \$34,000,000.

The board's statement says:

"In the curriculum modern languages will be stressed and experiments will be made with a view to determining what methods of teaching English, French, and German give the most substantial practical results. New methods of teaching literature, history, and civics will be tried, and in this connection efforts will be made to ascertain whether the important ancient classics cannot be effectively used in translations. Latin and Greek as languages will not be

taught in the school. Science, industry, and the domestic arts will be prominent throughout the school, and increased attention will be given to music, drawing, and art. The subject of mathematics will receive special consideration in the hope of working out a rational course of study which connects the study of mathematics with its use, and which also makes adequate provision for those who have special ability or desire for this subject.

"Organized recreation, play, and games will be provided for. Constant efforts will be made by means of individuals, class, and school excursions, by means of pictures, lantern slides, charts, maps, shop and laboratory, special reading matter, and discussions to give the pupils sufficient contact with their natural, industrial, social, economic, vocational and domestic environment so as to derive the basis for their school work from real situations, and thus make school work constantly real to them. The school will frankly discard that theory of education known as 'formal discipline' and will undertake to secure training through the careful and thorough study of subjects which are in themselves valuable. It is believed that a much more effective discipline can be thus secured."

In his paper, *The Modern School*, Mr. Flexner said:

"The modern school will not go through the form of teaching children useless historical facts, just because previous generations of children have learned and forgotten them; neither will it go through the form of reading obsolete and uncongenial classics simply because tradition has made this sort of acquaintance a kind of good form. . . .

"A school trying to produce a resourceful modern type of educated man and woman would provide practical training in one or more modern languages. A realistic treatment of literature would take hold of the child's normal and actual interests in romance, adventure, fact, or what not, and endeavor to develop them into as effective habits of reading as may be. Translations, adaptations, and originals in the vernacular—old and new—are equally available. They ought to be used unconventionally and resourcefully, in order that his real interest in books may be carried as far and as high as is for him possible, and in this effort the methods pursued should be calculated to develop his interest and his taste, not to 'train his mind,' or to make of him a make-believe literary scholar.

"Let us imagine a modern school located in New York city; consider for a moment its assets for educational purposes; the harbor, the Metropolitan Museum, the Public Library, the Natural History Museum, the Zoological Gardens, the city government, the Weather Bureau, the transportation systems, lec-

tures, concerts, plays and so on. Other communities may have less, but all have much."

Both boys and girls from 6 years of age up will be admitted to the school, though they will not necessarily be in the same classes in all subjects. It is expected that the tuition fees will be moderate and that there will be a number of free and partial scholarships. Subject to the authority of Columbia University and Teachers College, the general management of the school will be vested in an administrative committee composed of James E. Russell, dean of Teachers College, chairman, and the following additional members: Otis W. Caldwell, V. Everit Macy, Mrs. Willard Straight,

THE GOVERNMENT INVESTIGATOR: AN EXPERIENCE WITH PITY

HOW many children? You mean them as died and all?

My God, lady, I don't know as I rightly remember, and it's dreary to be counting them. Seven, living. Three died on me last winter, of anonia. Maybe you heard of the funerals? It's a hard, bitter thing to lose children—after the trouble to have 'em and keep 'em alive and all. But thank the good Lord, I had burial insurance for Mary and Jaek; and the other funeral was real nice, too, but we're still debted for it.

And the year before that I lost one. He fell out a window, while I was out washing. And he was the smartest of the lot, and the prettiest.

Then I had twins—lived just long enough to be baptized. And—you tired hearing my troubles? You look sympathetic-like. Well, there's Aloysius there. I'm praying to keep him, but he's terrible puny. I'm afraid of this hot spell, and the New York—paralysis, and all. I'm burning a candle, there under that picture.

How many rooms? Oh, just two, here. Our other house was fine. We had four rooms, all fixed up. But he broke the pledge again, and got to drinking hard, and we were evieted. You see, the debt from the funerals—

Now what was I saying? Oh, yes—you'll excuse the mess here. You know how it is when you take in washing—three this week—it's too hot to fuss much over your own work. Ninety-eight in the shade; and it's only six weeks since that baby was born. You know how it is. You can't keep cleaned up.

Excuse me, you married? No? And here I go talking. Not married. Now that's too bad. And you're a nice-lookin' woman, too, though you are skinny. My God, you ARE skinny. I s'pose that's the reason—

And you have to go round asking folks questions? In all this heat, every day? You poor thing! No wonder you're skinny. I certainly do pity you! Now just you sit down, as long as you want. I'm not going to tell anyone. You just rest yourself.

Say, ain't it funny? Some folks'll do anything for a living!

VIOLA I. PARADISE.

Felix M. Warburg, Arthur Turnbull, appointed by Teachers College, and George E. Vincent, Wickliffe Rose, Charles P. Howland, and Abraham Flexner, appointed by the chairman of the General Education Board.

Professor Caldwell has been for years, says the board's announcement, "one of the most active and effective workers in adapting science subjects to elementary and secondary school uses."

PEACE MESSAGES TO CHURCHES OF EUROPE

WIRELESS correspondence between the United States and Europe is kept at a lively pace by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

A few weeks ago the Rev. Charles S. MacFarland, general secretary of the council, addressed wireless inquiries regarding the attitude of the German people toward a proposed league of nations after the war to Dr. Adolph Deissman, of the University of Berlin. Scarcely was Dr. Deissman's reply received, stating that the idea of arbitration is constantly gaining ground in Germany, than a new set of Marconi and cablegrams was sent out by the council.

This time the messages are addressed to members of the principal Protestant ecclesiastical bodies of Europe. Besides embodying resolutions of sympathy for the peoples of Europe, they call upon Christians throughout the world to cooperate in an effort to establish "a peace that shall be lasting, because based upon justice and good will."

Another evidence of the increasingly active part which the federal council is taking in questions relating to peace and war is a plan being perfected by the council for a unified, national campaign for war relief, in cooperation with more than a dozen of the leading war relief organizations.

This new scheme does not mean that present organizations would go out of existence. Neither does it cast any reflection upon existing work. But it is believed that a strong central agency, remaining in existence so long as war relief may be needed or making a great financial "drive" through a comparatively brief period, will be able to secure more money. A national campaign, effectually prosecuted, ought to produce, according to the reckoning of the council, one hundred million dollars.

THE CONSTITUTION AND A PEACE LEAGUE

IS the United States able to "deliver the goods" in carrying out the program of the League to Enforce Peace? Can Congress and the President surrender to an international tribunal the powers of making war and concluding peace?

Senator Shafroth, of Colorado, and Col. Oscar T. Crosby, U.S.A., retired, argued before a sub-committee of the

Senate Judiciary Committee, last week, that a constitutional amendment would be necessary to enable this nation to take part in the world alliance for peace.

Colonel Crosby spoke in advocacy of the Shafroth proposal (S. J. Res. 131), of a constitutional amendment providing as follows:

"The President is authorized to negotiate and, after ratification by two-thirds of both Houses of Congress, to sign a treaty or treaties with all or a part of the other sovereign nations of the world, engaging the United States to submit for final determination all its international disputes threatening war to an international tribunal or tribunals, and also engaging the United States to assist in supplying funds for the support of said tribunal or tribunals and of any international civil and military establishment, to be controlled by an international authority, that may be required by the treaty or treaties as a sanction for the execution of the decrees and the fulfillment of the demands of the said international organisms when such decrees or demands are made in conformity with the agreements instituting said organisms, and engaging the United States to recognize the authority of said international organisms (or one or more of them) to make final interpretation of the powers conferred upon them."

Colonel Crosby and Senator Shafroth argued that the constitutional power to declare war and make peace is so definitely fixed that it cannot be surrendered to an extra-national body without amendment of the constitution itself. In this he disagreed with former President Taft and other lawyers who have contended that Congress and the President can, under their treaty-making power, commit the country to the support of an international tribunal and an international police force, to be controlled by the international body.

Until the constitution shall be amended, they declared, the European diplomats will look askance upon pledges from America of aid in establishing and maintaining the world court. Colonel Crosby stated that a Washington correspondent of two of the powerful London papers had notified his chief that except by constitutional provision the President and Congress could give Europe nothing better than a "gold brick" in the exchange of pledges.

THE CONSTITUTION ON CONSTITUTIONALITY

DECLARING that the constitution of the United States gives no authority to the courts to declare laws of Congress unconstitutional, Senator Owen of Oklahoma has introduced a joint resolution, the intent of which is to forbid such action on the part of any federal judge on penalty of forfeiture of office.

The preamble to the resolution denies the right of the courts to declare unconstitutional any act which, by the very fact of passage and approval, "has been declared constitutional by a majority of the members of the United States Senate and the House of Representatives and by the President of the United States," and it characterizes any declaration to the contrary by a federal court as an "usurpation of power." It also states in the preamble that a motion was made three times in the Constitutional Convention to give to the Supreme Court the right to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional, and that each time the motion was "overwhelmingly rejected." It is pointed out, further, that the Supreme Court is "subject to no review and to no control by the people of the United States."

It will be remembered that the Manly report of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, signed by Chairman Walsh and the labor representatives, contained a recommendation that a law be passed "specifically prohibiting the courts from declaring legislative acts unconstitutional."

It was pointed out at the time that a proposal so sweeping in character would practically destroy the federal government. The Owen resolution is much more restricted. It would withdraw from the Supreme Court the right to declare unconstitutional laws enacted by Congress, but it would leave it in full possession of its present power, whether "usurped" or not, to pass on the constitutionality of laws enacted by state legislatures.

SWISS AND RUSSIAN VIEWS OF COMPULSORY SERVICE

THE first public testimony given in America as to the Swiss military system in its relation to the condition of the Swiss workers was that of Philip Schaefer, a former soldier of the Zurich battalion, before the Chamberlain subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, on January 16. Schaefer, who is president of a lodge of the Machinists' Union in Chicago, was one of the witnesses brought by the American Union Against Militarism to discuss the value of universal compulsory military training.

As related by this ex-soldier, with great particularity of detail as to dates, places and persons, the army of the Helvetic republic has found a heavy financial burden upon the government, a still more serious burden upon the families of the working-class recruits, and a force powerful to suppress strikes while valueless against the great military machines of the surrounding European powers.

As a child of twelve years he was forced to begin military training in the schools, he said. His father, earning but sixty-three cents a day and having six

children to feed, could furnish him with only a second-hand and tattered military coat which stamped his poverty upon him as he took his place in the line with the finely-uniformed boys from well-to-do families. Later on, these boys were enabled to take the training necessary for holding officers' rank; the boy of a wage-earner's family could not afford the training. When he served in the adult training force, he found that the officers of his command were all representatives of the ruling class of the country.

"My lieutenant's family were the largest hardware dealers in the district," he said in substance; "my captain represented the ownership of a mill employing 3,000 persons; my regimental commander was the son of the owner of a silk mill employing 5,000 people, and his superior officer in turn was the son of the richest family in the whole of Switzerland."

"Men from the ranks may become officers, if they take the training, but they are expected to follow the customs of officers, which include dining at public restaurants at a cost which is beyond the purse of a working man. As the payment to a recruit is about ten cents a day in the one period and sixteen cents a day in the other, it is clear that no working man can afford to be an officer. He finds it bad enough to pay for underclothing, shoes, socks and laundry out of his wages, and his family may have nothing from his earnings for their own support. Switzerland makes no provision for the maintenance of the destitute family of the soldier, except the ordinary recourse of charity.

"So the working class fills the ranks, and the ruling class has the control of the army in 'democratic' Switzerland. Cavalry regiments, which are used in case of strikes to put down the workers, are made up of those men who can afford to keep a horse for this purpose throughout the year. Last September a peaceful parade of the Young People's Socialist League was ridden down by such a force—men, women and children trampled upon as though they were dogs.

"When a mill strike was called, the troops from the farming district nearby were called out by their officer, who managed the mill, and the town wage-workers' attempt to better their condition was brutally suppressed. The army of Switzerland has never been of any other use than that—the use by the rich to crush the labor movement. Swiss soldiers have no more democratic treatment at the hands of these middle-class and upper-class officers than have Prussian soldiers. If you protest at ill-treatment you go to the dungeon for three days. In 1902 a soldier committed suicide as the result of this punishment."

Divorces in regions where field maneuvers have been held are regularly

found to increase 50 to 75 per cent following maneuvers, Schaefer declared, due to drunkenness and vice accompanying this disturbance of home life. When he was a recruit at twenty he did not drink, but was forced to begin because the army service bottle contained wine. Milk and coffee were refused him by his officers.

As to the defensive value of the Swiss army, the witness said that since the northern part of the country is an open valley, without fortifications, a German force from near-by fortresses could "walk through" before the Swiss could even mobilize. He added the opinion that even if they resisted from their natural fortresses in the Alps, the Swiss could be surrounded and starved out by an invading force "in a week." Switzerland, he said, owed her safety to the fact that no power cared to disturb her independence as guaranteed by the Congress of Vienna.

At the same hearing A. L. Trachtenberg, of New York city, who enlisted as a volunteer in the Russian army and served throughout the Russo-Japanese war, told of the effects of conscription and compulsory service upon the Russian peasant and upon the middle-class Russian who becomes an officer. The peasant soldier's tendency, he said, is to yield to the demoralizing conditions which surround his service, so that upon his discharge from the army he is generally lazy and hopeless. The middle-class youth placed in the responsible position of an officer as a rule quickly loses his humane traits, yields to the temptations of his environment, and becomes brutalized to its standard.

As a result of his observations he urged upon the Senate sub-committee that no further military preparation be voted, but that all efforts be concentrated upon world-wide disarmament.

ST. LOUIS SELF-SURVEY OF SOCIAL SERVICE

THE most comprehensive survey of public and private social agencies yet made in any metropolitan city was recently completed by the St. Louis Central Council of Social Agencies. Francis H. McLean, general-secretary of the American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity, conducted the survey with local assistants, remaining in St. Louis three months. An exhaustive study of family treatment was made in a number of the leading agencies.

The St. Louis Central Council and the Business Men's League raised \$1,200 to finance the work. The survey, condensed from over 100,000 words to a small pamphlet, will be published in March.

Mr. McLean states that St. Louis now has a better working knowledge of its public and private social agencies than any other large city, and that the means

for cooperative effort are fully developed. Not only does the report include a full statement with recommendations on the work of each agency, but a three-year plan of development is outlined for the entire field of social work.

Wholesome criticism and suggestion are frequent in the report. The central council has already set to work to remedy conditions and to discuss the criticisms and suggestions. Reports of progress are being made at regular intervals, and a plan developed for making the survey continuous. It is significant that the survey was made by the agencies themselves, rather than by an endorsement body or foundation. The new standards established will be used as a basis for a yearly accounting.

TRAINED SERVICE BEFORE RELIEF

"WE have been astonished to discover that many of our most flagrant cases of need require very little money relief, but demand personal and sympathetic service over a long period. For these reasons we urge the employment of more trained nurses and welfare workers, because one hundred dollars in alms alone are far less effective than one dollar accompanied by wise and friendly guidance."

Thus writes George M. Jones, director-member of the Committee on Charity Endorsement and Advice of the Reading, Pa., Chamber of Commerce. His report forms the leading feature of the January 12 issue of the *Working*

"I want somebody to talk to

and there isn't anyone I know well enough."

It's the old story of the impersonality of New York. Lonely men and women are coming daily to pour their troubles into the sympathetic ear of a member of our staff who can give them the simple, kindly, common-sense, human advice they need. Not all the work of the Charity Organization Society is with poor people. Last year ten thousand persons called to talk over "their affairs" and to ask advice. They needed not alms but a friend.

An Adventure in Philanthropy, a short-story so interesting and significant that a pastor of one of the largest New York churches preached a sermon upon it, illustrates the Society's methods. You can obtain a free copy of this story by writing or telephoning the Charity Organization Society, Room 306, 105 East 22 Street. Telephone, Gramercy 4066.

ADVERTISING FOR FRIENDS

The advertisement shown above brought 100 replies from a single insertion in the New York "Times." The purpose of both the ad and the booklet it offers is educational—to reach new groups of people that the real work of the Charity Organization Society is to help people to help themselves rather than to raise money.

Optimist, published by the chamber; and it is brought home to business men by a caption in their own familiar language—Explanation of Large Overhead in Charitable Work.

The committee has spent a year in studying Reading charities as a basis for making up its report on charity endorsement. The outcome is a cordial endorsement of personal service before relief giving. Mr. Jones says:

"Good charity work is good community work, and the only way to have a better city is to have better citizens; and the only way to have better citizens is to improve their opportunities. We find that trained nursing, legal assistance, healthful employment, medical aid, education, religious instruction and friendly visiting are the only remedies for chronic begging, vice, cruelty, crime, contagion and mental deficiency. Such services can be rendered only by the generous and thoughtful cooperation of pastor, nurse, teacher, public official, lawyer, physician, landlord, employer and friendly visitor.

"We believe that our gifts to charity should be applied first to the employment of those who are competent to bring about this needed cooperation. Only trained experience and sympathy can accomplish this end. Your committee, therefore, is pleased to recommend as most worthy of your support only such social agencies as render the personal service necessary to supply complete relief and supplement such service by the material relief of food and clothing whenever necessary."

KANSAS OFF ON ANOTHER CRUSADE

KANSAS, from her state university to her clubs of young boys, is apparently gathering herself together to fight the cigarette. Kansas calls the cigarette the "little white slaver," the "blight on health and character," the "chief enemy of the boy," the "burning issue," and "the infamous cigarette." She is going to bully, cozen, intimidate, placard and educate the cigarette out of existence. The most remarkable thing about her campaign is the character and variety of those who have agreed to help in it.

The leadership seems to be in the hands of the Department of Child Welfare of the state university, which was formed three years ago to bring about, among other things, the closer cooperation of home, school, church and community in their service of the young. William A. McKeever, head of this department, and formerly professor of philosophy, is lining up the forces opposed to the cigarette.

Governor Capper has refused to advertise the cigarette in any of his publications. Attorney-General S. W. Brewster has asked all county attorneys to enforce

the anti-cigarette law. Dr. S. C. Crumbine, secretary of the State Board of Health, is giving helpful advice. The State Teachers' Association, 6,000 strong, have pledged their support "to help drive the cigarette out of Kansas," and Professor McKeever parenthetically informs us that "practically none of the men teachers in the public schools use tobacco in any form."

The State Federation of Women's Clubs has organized a department to fight the cigarette, and has asked for a law prohibiting its advertisement. The state W. C. T. U. is distributing literature, while parent-teacher associations are "dealing with the problem locally." The state Sunday School Association has authorized its field workers to aid in the attack.

The chancellor of the state university, Frank Strong, recently appeared before the Anti-Cigarette League and commended their efforts. The president of the State Agricultural College has urged all male students of that institution "to assert their will power by cutting out all tobacco." The presidents of the three normal colleges are heartily committed to the cause.

Meanwhile, the State Association of School Board Members, representing 150 bodies of their kind, has passed a resolution declaring its intention to have all cigarette advertising clipped from newspapers and magazines coming into their school libraries. These clippings are to be sent back to the publisher with a protest.

Finally, the boy clubs of Kansas are declared to be "out gunning for their chief enemy," and there is "an open season the year round." Two thousand boy members of anti-cigarette clubs in Kansas City made a bonfire recently of papers and magazines carrying cigarette advertisements, and in this bonfire they heaped a vast quantity of "the makin's."

"So the strange new campaign goes on in sunny Kansas," says Professor McKeever, "and out of it will grow another form of prohibition which the country at large will reluctantly but surely accept as its own."

TUBERCULOSIS IN MICHIGAN JAILS

THE tuberculosis survey being made by the Michigan State Board of Health has already brought to light some serious conditions in county jails. Of 152 persons examined in 10 jails, 18 were found to have tuberculosis so decidedly as to be listed as "positive cases," 24 were "suspicious," 9 "arrested." The prisoners were examined just as they came, regardless of whether they obviously needed such an examination or not.

This is, according to report from the state health surveyors, 27.6 per cent of the jail population. The percentage of tuberculosis found in clinics for the gen-

eral public was 44, but since those visiting the clinics were, of course, but a small part of the total population the percentage in jails is relatively much larger.

It was found that in not a single instance had the cases of tuberculosis found in jails been reported to the State Board of Health; not one of the individuals knew he had the disease.

The marked contrast to conditions in the county jails were those of the three state penitentiaries. Here, thanks to improved methods of management and medical inspection, a very small amount of tuberculosis was found—only 67 active cases among 1,971 men examined, or .034 per cent.

Among the conclusions obvious from such findings are the necessity of prompt action to prevent the spread of tuberculosis infection throughout the county jails and the necessity for stricter enforcement of the law requiring reports of all cases of communicable disease.

Further, says the Michigan report, "A more general but no less important conclusion to be drawn is that it is high time for the people of the state, in mere self-protection, to take active measures against tuberculosis among all classes of people, the loose and drifting as well as the hard-working and stable. For only by reaching out to all classes can we hope to curb the disease effectively. It should not be forgotten that these vagrants and transients that populate the county jails this month will be out among us next month. And they are just the kind who are not likely to take pains to protect others against themselves. Whoever heard of a 'vag' going to much trouble to use a sputum cup so that others might not contract the disease he is afflicted with? It is a case of self-protection for the rest of us to leave no stone unturned to reach this class of persons, as well as the workingman and everybody else."

HEALTH WHEN THE HOME IS AN IGLOO

A SURVEY of an Alaskan Eskimo village made recently by H. Clay Michie, captain of the Medical Corps, United States Army, and published in a New York medical journal, tells of one of the cleanest Eskimo villages in Alaska. The picture presented of windowless huts, shut tight against the air, crowded with people dressed in skins poorly tanned and partly decayed, refuse of all kinds piled high about the hut and turning the place into a mass of liquid filth when a thaw comes, leads to wonder as to what the dirtiest village could be like.

The causes of this filth are obvious. Fuel is scanty and hard to get; so ventilation, with its waste of heat, would be fatally extravagant. Food is gathered in summer and stored for winter; so some of it is decayed when it comes out

from weeks of storage. Crowding is unavoidable, and crowding means filth and infection. Water is scanty, so cleanliness is impossible.

All these conditions lead to the prevalence of tuberculosis, and it was this disease which formed the chief part of Dr. Michie's survey. He chose school children as the most available subjects for examination, and as a result of his study he found that no less than 61.5 per cent of these children were tuberculous. Unless their entire system of living is changed tuberculosis will inevitably increase among these people, for everything in their present mode of life leads to it. He believes that this is one of the greatest fields for medical missionary work, but it must be supplemented by governmental measures.

It is always mystery to the ordinary citizen the way in which the respected federal government apportions its tasks. That the Public Health Service should be a branch of the Treasury Department is curious enough; but who can explain why, given a Public Health Service, the health of Alaskan Eskimos should be entrusted to the Bureau of Education? That seems to be the case, and apparently the appropriation given this department is far too small to enable it to do thorough work even if it were equipped to. For instance, this village of Dr. Michie's is not visited by its agents at all and the nearest physician is about a seven days' journey away.

Dr. Michie wants a more liberal provision of medical care and legal measures to protect the natives from exploitation at the hands of unscrupulous fur traders.

SACRAMENTO'S LONG-RANGE CITY PLANNING

THE adoption of a city plan does not end the need for public vigilance over the physical development of the city. This is shown by a recent report of the California State Capital Planning Commission, which, after the adoption by Sacramento of John Nolen's city plan [see the SURVEY for March 25, 1916], has taken the place of the Chamber of Commerce Committee of One Hundred and Fifty.

This commission of four works without an appropriation and has no paid secretary. The members themselves pay its current expenses. They primarily represent a moral force in the community for the purpose of safeguarding the wider interests of the state in the gradual application of the principles already accepted by the city authority to the planning of the capital. They also look ahead and suggest for public discussion new problems as they arise and new projects before they take definite shape in the program of the city authority.

"City planning," say the commissioners, "should be considered as a very elas-

tic movement. It can anticipate only to a certain extent the needs of the future. . . . Many conditions must arise which are totally unforeseen."

For instance, while the city commission is busy commencing work on the Greater Capitol Park and campaigning for the acquisition of a large park area recommended by Mr. Nolen in the populous Oak Park section, the state commission is studying the possibilities of a much greater and vastly more important project, the construction of a deep-sea canal which would totally change the city's industrial development, possibly converting it into a harbor of as much importance as Manchester, Seville or even Amsterdam, all of which are connected with the traffic of the ocean by artificial waterways.

The state commission, further, is working for the coordination of the planning activities of the municipal authority with the afforestation and roadside planting work of the adjoining county and of the State Forestry Department. It is cooperating with the city government in solving the playground problem incidental to the city planning scheme, bringing to bear upon it the knowledge and enthusiasm of one of its members, C. M. Goethe, well known to SURVEY readers. Among other things, the commission has under consideration the possibility of using the plans for a civic center of learning—comprising the buildings of the municipal university—for the creation of a combined botanical garden, zoo and museum. It is drawing attention to the exceptional climatic advantages of the state capital to house one of the world's most varied collections of flora.

While not oblivious to the financial questions involved, and realizing that the accomplishment of so much to which the city is already committed must take time, the state commission is in a position to look beyond the immediate task of safeguarding the growth of the city and to study the relation of the city plan to more distant yet no less imperative social, industrial and esthetic needs of the capital.

CAPITAL AND LABOR ON EACH OTHER'S NECKS

THE lion and the lamb have lain down together. It happened this week in New York city—of all places—and, to be exact, in the Rose Room of the Hotel Astor.

At least, that is what appeared to be taking place when Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor; A. Parker Nevin, counsel for the National Association of Manufacturers; Warren S. Stone, chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; Magnus W. Alexander, secretary of the National Industrial Conference Board—the new eight billion dollar organization

to fight labor—Hugh Frayne, general organizer of the American Federation of Labor, and numerous other representatives of labor and capital appeared at the meeting of the National Civic Federation last Monday afternoon to register their united protest against compulsory health insurance.

Before the meeting was over it seemed as if the first judgment were in error. There were no lions in the meeting after all—only lambs. And the suggestion was made that they should join forces against the ravening wolves without who would destroy the liberties of the people by fastening upon them a scheme of compulsory health insurance.

L. E. Sheppard, acting president of the Order of Railway Conductors, presided over the meeting and presented the various speakers. A paper written by Samuel Gompers, who was unable to be present, was read by Warren S. Stone. Mr. Gompers declared that the health insurance movement comes from those who want to do something for labor, whereas labor wants to get things done for itself. He denounced the compulsory features of the bill. Mr. Stone then made an address "on his own" in which he asked a series of questions regarding the efficacy of health insurance and answered them to his own satisfaction. All the answers were unfavorable to the plan.

Then came A. Parker Nevin, of the National Association of Manufacturers, whom Mr. Sheppard, of the Conductors Union, said he was "very glad to introduce." Mr. Nevin was shocked at the idea that anyone should propose insurance for those receiving wages of less than \$1,200 a year. "It's creating classes in America," he asserted. "Don't you see that this will create classes?" Apparently it didn't occur to anyone that it is the payment of the wage—not calling attention to it that creates the class. Anyway, nobody mentioned it.

Peter Brady, secretary of the Allied Printing Trades Council, saw the matter eye to eye with Mr. Nevin. "This proposition is nothing but class legislation," he declared, and the thought was abhorrent to him. Mr. Brady saw such danger in compulsory health insurance that he proposed then and there the formation of an alliance between the unions and the employers to fight their common foe—the "social workers."

Then came John Franklin Crowell, of the New York Chamber of Commerce, which has brought out a plan to prevent strikes by requiring employes to sign individual agreements, thus destroying the unions. After him came Magnus W. Alexander, against whose organization Samuel Gompers hurled a defiance and a warning at the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor, and then came Hugh Frayne, Mr. Gompers' representative in New

York. All feared the creation of classes and were opposed to "compulsion."

Mr. Frayne said he had positive information that the very people who are active in health insurance propaganda have applications now on file for the positions that such legislation will create. He did not say who these persons are or where their applications are filed. He charged also that there will be a conspiracy to prevent labor men from getting the jobs by requiring civil service examinations and fixing high standards.

An interesting witness was Frederick L. Hoffman, who is statistician for the Prudential Insurance Company but who was listed in the program as "Former President American Statistical Association." Mr. Hoffman was a member of the Social Insurance Committee of the American Association for Labor Legislation from its organization three years ago until last December, when he resigned. He told the National Civic Federation audience that he had been compelled to take that action by the "lies" that have been "persistently disseminated" by the Association for Labor Legislation. Then he made a bitter attack upon the bill which the association put out more than a year before Mr. Hoffman found it necessary to withdraw from the committee. Like the others, Mr. Hoffman was opposed to "compulsion," a thing which, in common with Attorney Nevin and the labor men, he regarded as incompatible with democracy.

Toward the end of the meeting, which was quite lengthy, someone in the audience arose and said: "Mr. Chairman, is this meeting going to adjourn after hearing from only one side?" The chairman replied that it would be necessary to adhere strictly to the printed program. The meeting closed therefore without an opportunity to speak being given to anyone who favored the principle of compulsory health insurance.

An effort was made to learn when the convention will be called to perfect the new protective organization of masters and men proposed by Mr. Brady. Nothing could be learned of a definite nature, but it is suspected that Mr. Brady is to be president, Mr. Nevin vice-president, Mr. Alexander secretary and James A. Emery walking delegate.

OSCAR STRAUS' PLAN TO PREVENT STRIKES

WHILE a bill to prevent strikes on railways is pending in Washington, public officials in New York city are concerning themselves with a plan to prevent strikes on local street car systems. The Public Service Commission of the First District,—New York city—was necessarily involved in the street car strike last fall, and like the Washington authorities, it set out to

find a way to prevent interruption of traffic.

Oscar S. Straus, chairman of the commission, has accordingly made public a tentative draft of a bill to provide machinery for the adjustment of disputes and to prevent strikes on street railways, and has invited the public to make constructive suggestions. Public hearings are soon to be held.

The bill provides for the creation of a wage board or boards, to assist in fixing the terms of employment. It provides that where direct negotiation between employer and employes has failed to effect a settlement the matter shall be referred to the wage board, to consist of an equal number of representatives of employer and employes. Its members are to be nominated by the respective interests they represent and require confirmation by the Public Service Commission.

The wage board must report its findings to the commission, which will then "make a determination that shall be binding on all parties concerned." If the wage board fails to agree, the commission "shall make its determination upon its own findings." The bill provides that "pending negotiation, investigation and determination" there shall be neither strike nor lockout, and "no action shall be taken in group or concert or by agreement tending to interrupt the service."

While this is the bare outline of the machinery for determining the conditions of employment the bill has other provisions which are a vital part of the whole scheme. The first section requires street railroads to pay such wages and salaries and to maintain such working conditions as are "fair and reasonable." The determination of what is fair and reasonable devolves upon the machinery described above. The second requires the employment of an adequate number of employes and the establishment of pensions and benefit funds.

Any ten or more employes are permitted to join a union and to be affiliated with an international organization. They are then to have the right to representation in negotiation with employers and in hearings before the commission if they will file with the commission certain information and sign an agreement to abide by its rules and orders.

Grievances are to be adjusted by appeal first to the wage board and then to the commission. No employe is to be hired for an indefinite period or "at will," but contracts must fix a definite period of service. If no other period is named one year will be assumed.

At a meeting at the Free Synagogue last Sunday the plan was criticized and opposed by John Mitchell, former president of the United Mine Workers of America.

DAILY BREAD AS A POET'S THEME

"ONE day I sat down to write a lament for Helen," said Wilfred Wilson Gibson, the English poet, to a representative of the SURVEY, "and the next day I found myself writing tragedies about the struggle for daily bread."

This whim of chance which changed Mr. Gibson from a writer for academicians to a poet beloved by SURVEY readers, because of his understanding of simple, homely, coarse, lovable people, is not to be explained by Mr. Gibson himself. The change came subconsciously, in a wave that seemed to strike John Masefield, Robert Frost, and Edgar Lee Masters at the same time. Possibly it was a desire to broaden the subject matter of poetry, to get away from the old classical school; possibly it was a feeling that the miner and the light-house keeper were too far from the general understanding of men.

Mr. Gibson lived in the slums of London, and his friends were among the people there. He does not believe, as Mr. Masefield believes, that in order to write about the sailor or the laborer, you must have done the work yourself. Friendship and sympathy are to him enough.

He confesses with a smile that he was young when he wrote "Daily Bread." That is the reason he was so moved by tragedy in the lives of the poor. "But in my last book, 'Livelihood,' I meant to show the lighter side of their daily living," Mr. Gibson said. "Then the war came with such suddenness that few of the poems which I had planned were written."

Both Mr. Masefield, who previously visited America {see the SURVEY for April 1, 1916}, and Mr. Gibson seem dazed by the war. Both men are patriots. Mr. Masefield, it is reported, though rejected three times as physically unfit, has now enlisted in the artillery, and Mr. Gibson would enlist if he were found fit for service.

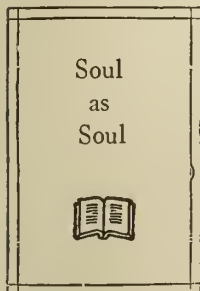
In Mr. Gibson's war poems something of the old seriousness is gone, the treatment seems a little more heartless, pathetic rather than tragic, and in a lighter vein than his former poems of the work-a-day world. To him, it is the only way to approach the war. Talks with wounded soldiers from whom came his ideas for the battle poems, gave him the feeling that the excitement in trench life makes many men assume this attitude of mind.

Though love of the so-called common people is the inspiration of his poetry, Mr. Gibson denies that he views them as a class or that he is a propagandist. He was a member at one time of the Independent Labor Party, but his interests are obviously not in politics, but in the writing of poetry. That is the way he earns his daily bread.

Book Reviews

PSYCHOLOGY OF THE UNCONSCIOUS

By C. G. Jung, M.D. Moffat, Yard & Co.
566 pp. Price \$4; by mail of the SURVEY
\$4.25.



The mental reasons for the amazing popular vogue of psychoanalysis are not the least interesting phase of this boundlessly interesting subject. The appeal of Sigmund Freud's doctrine to sexual curiosity is itself a respectable reason enough, from the psychoanalytic point of view. No doubt Freud's extension of sexual nomenclature to cover nearly every mental fact does have the effect of bringing the Freudian doctrine closer home to average people. The identical circumstance has called forth an emotional resistance to psychoanalysis which for intensity of expression and the intellectual respectability of the opponents has only two modern parallels. The first of these parallels is the announcement by Copernicus and Galileo as to the position of the earth as a round body in space; the second is the Darwinian announcement as to the origin of man from animals. The merits of his theory aside, Freud is in good company.

But a review of Carl Jung's two books, recently published in English, gives occasion for pointing out another reason for the popular vogue of psychoanalysis and for the opposition to it among those in lofty places. For psychology is in Freud's hands implicitly, in Jung's hands explicitly, an actual study and manipulation of soul as soul. The appeal is from mental cause to mental effect, which in turn is cause, and not merely an appeal from bodily cause to mental epiphenomenon.

But the facts are more radical still. Psychoanalysis treats men as self-shaping and ethical beings. Behold, personality is again enthroned! But this personality is not just the metaphysical self of the scholastics or the narrow and rather priggish conscious self of introspective psychology described in the textbooks before William James. It is a personal self which the common man encounters and knows as his own; a self of passions and hopes and shames, an empirical self study.

Even this is not the end. There is no life so lowly that it does not dream; and Freud has shown that dreams are the master-key of the soul. Jung goes far-

ther. Dreams are the race-soul, brooding in the personal brain. Dreams are the master-key of religious and literary history, not only the master-key of the present-day personal soul. Dreams are prophetic—they are the seed-bed of future values, the guide-posts toward evolution, personal and racial, which is making toward morrows not undreamed by the deeper soul, but unguessed by the conventional conscious mind.

After all, psychology ought to be everybody's subject. Here is a psychology at once rich with the sap of common sense and of spontaneous experience, and romantic to a degree. It is a sizable, personal psychology in which, to use William James's words, thoughts are things. Yet it has Dante-esque gulfs in it and has acquired, in Carl Jung's hands, the altitudes of vast cloud-ranges, if not of starry heights. From slips of the tongue, from day-dreams and night-dreams, from obsessive fears and poetic moods, experiences of children and men and women the world over, this psychology leads immediately into depths unplumbed as yet. But they are rich with creations and understandings already achieved. And they are not "the abysmal depths of personality" alone, but racial depths, the beginnings of peoples, the beginnings of the psychic life of man.

This psychology is animistic, spiritualistic, ethical; it deals with personal causes and with solemn or bizarre psychic factors which, without any clearly explicable basis in body or brain, have swayed conscious intellect and deflected the course of material events over a thousand generations of time. What wonder such a psychology should in Prof. Jacques Loeb excite the kind of scientific rage that Huxley felt over spirit-messages and table-rapping, and should, by the leading French psycho-neurologist, be called a *mauvaise plaisanterie*, an ugly jest? And what wonder that plain men, now as ever animistic and naively empirical in their ways of thinking about themselves, and craving mystery and vastness as they do, should find in this new psychology a new spice of life and a new vista into existence?

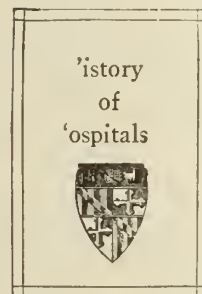
This brief review is no discussion of psychoanalysis. It aims merely to call attention to the acute and world-wide interest which the subject is evoking among scientific and unscientific men alike, and to characterize in a few words the books of Jung. Jung is in nearly every technical essential a disciple of Freud; but this technical apparatus has been used by

him with creative results in new directions, pointing toward ultimate theories of mind which in their practical bearing may prove to be utterly divergent from the theories of Freud.

The Psychology of the Unconscious has for its sub-title A Study of the Transformations and Symbolisms of the Libido: a Contribution to the History of the Evolution of Thought. The translation by Beatrice M. Hinkle is admirable in every respect, and Dr. Hinkle has contributed an introduction which by itself is a good introduction to this whole romantic and practical subject.

JOHN COLLIER.

THE INSTITUTIONAL CARE OF THE INSANE IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, VOLUME III
By Henry M. Hurd. Johns Hopkins Press.
880 pp. Price \$2.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.80.



This third volume of the history of institutions for the insane in the United States and Canada maintains the high standard of the preceding volumes. It gives the history of over a hundred and fifty institutions in twenty-six states, in alphabetical order from Montana to Wyoming. There is also a section on the care of the insane of Alaska, Hawaii, the Philippines and Porto Rico.

These chapters contain accounts of some of the oldest and historically most important asylums in the United States. Among those which are discussed with most detail are the Bloomingdale Hospital in New York; the Butler Hospital in Providence, R. I.; the Manhattan State Hospital of New York; the New Jersey State Hospital of Trenton; the Pennsylvania State Hospital of Philadelphia, and those hospitals in Wisconsin where new systems of arrangement were so well tried out. The magnetic figure of Dorothea Dix appears in the account of several of the chapters on these earlier hospitals. Especially encouraging is the exposure of evil conditions that formerly existed at the Manhattan State Hospital, and the present development of this same institution. The chapter on the Central State Hospital in Virginia, for the colored insane, is of special interest, and scattered all through these volumes is a vast quantity of matter dealing with the insanity of the Negro, which ought to be collected in a more available form for the students of the Negro.

As this is the final volume of the series, a word of general criticism seems called for. I might take as my text the private who, when a charge was ordered, said to his sergeant, "We will soon be miking 'istory," and was answered, "We

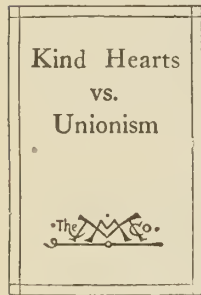
ayn't to mike 'istory; we're 'ere to mike geography."

I believe that the sergeant and the private would have been a little more efficient if they had widened their horizon. Certainly this series of volumes should have paid the tribute to geography of at least one map showing the location of the various institutions. It is also unfortunate that the chapters on the early care of the insane are so scanty. In the chapter on the care of the insane in New Hampshire, for example, a little more research might have disclosed this fact concerning the discoverer of the White Mountains that on October 1, 1651, the General Court required Strawberry Bank to contribute toward the "imprisonment of Darbey Field & keeping him who was distracts of his wits," as well as other cases of insanity in the same district prior to 1675. Of course, it would be difficult to find room for a more detailed treatment, but the account of many private sanitariums with no really distinctive features of treatment might well have been omitted.

JOSEPH F. GOULD.

NEW IDEALS IN BUSINESS

By Ida M. Tarbell. The Macmillan Company. 232 pp. Price \$1.75; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.89.



Those who had the privilege of hearing the late Frederick Taylor expound his system of scientific management were invariably impressed with the revolutionary and prophetic spirit in which he talked.

The zeal and fervor of the inventor not uncommonly leads him to see a changed world resulting from his invention, and Mr. Taylor saw, as a consequence of the application of science to management, employers and employes changed in their attitude toward each other, working in harmony and friendship, producing enough wealth for both and ceasing their age-long struggle over division of product.

Miss Tarbell's new book shows something of the same spirit, and goes a long way toward proving some of Mr. Taylor's contentions. She describes "our new workshops," in the building of which light, ventilation, cleanliness and comfort of the workers were the prime considerations. She shows us how the social life of operatives is stimulated and organized by the employer.

As if no subject were too sacred—or too dangerous—for the employer's new, prying spirit, we find him asking the question which in the ordinary fitness of things properly belong to the I. W. W. "Are our employes, individually or collectively, receiving all the results of their labor to which they may be prop-

erly entitled?" "A man's hire," no less than his hours, his work, his home and his health, are made the subject of scientific inquiry, and the day is coming when "tables will be worked out fixing the relative value of the service each renders to the world" and "unrequited toil" will be wiped out.

What shall we say of these new ideals in business, these new industrial leaders and the things they are doing? No careful observer of recent industrial progress can doubt the existence of a new spirit in industry. Miss Tarbell's picture may be a little roseate, but the essential truthfulness of her subject cannot be questioned.

Writing in the midst of a bitter telephone strike that was precipitated by arbitrary dismissal of operators actively engaged in forming a union, the reviewer is perhaps not in a position to judge the work of the new industrial management. But after all, isn't it in just such a human situation as this that the structure being erected must be tested? The plan may look well on paper, but if it cannot stand the strain of forces that twist and bend industrial systems to human ends, can we accept it? Miss Tarbell admits that "the questions that gather about unionism, its aims and pretensions [are] questions that now are pretty generally ignored"; but she "cannot but believe that . . . Unionism as one of the laborer's rights will be freely considered" in the future.

Perhaps so. But she gives us no proof of it; and although her references to this crucial question show little of the naïveté which characterized Frederick Taylor's consideration of the conflicts between labor and capital, she seems to fall into his error of assuming that these things will work themselves out once the employer treats his workers with kindness and his management increases the comforts and wages of the employes.

We may well question whether the new industrial leaders sense the democratic movement that leavens the working masses and erupts into the most bitter labor conflicts particularly in times of prosperity and among the more prosperous workers. Certainly nothing in Miss Tarbell's book shows that the managers have even the faintest inkling of the striving for control of industry that is back of labor's revolts.

Can a sound industrial policy be built on kindness and comfort and the consequent gratitude that is expected of the employe toward the employer? No better answer is needed than the violent revolts of the employes of the N. O. Nelson Co. and the National Cash Register Co., whose "experiments in justice" Miss Tarbell describes so eloquently. Never have we heard such bitter attacks on labor organizations as those made by the arch-radical among employ-

ers, N. O. Nelson, at the time of the strike in his establishment.

Do kindness, safe and comfortable work-places, shorter hours, and even higher wages not pay? Are loyalty and gratitude not human feelings to be counted upon? They certainly are. And here may be the danger in the new industrial management. Several instances may be found, in the book under review, of profit-sharing and other benefits granted to the skilled workers and salaried employes, but leaving the mass of unskilled laborers outside the favored circle. A bond unites the non-commissioned officers of industry to the employer and separates them from their less fortunate comrades, creating a class spirit which may be even more dangerous to industrial democracy than the domination of the captains of industry.

Are we justified in assuming, as the author does, that the movement must culminate in industrial peace, cooperation and justice? One notes an air of self-satisfaction in the employer telling of his accomplishments, as recounted by Miss Tarbell. Yet unionism may be ignored and with it all the other democratic movements of the day. May not this attitude of the employer be more ominous to industrial peace and well-being than the opposition of organized labor to scientific management, or even the employer's former attitude of neglect?

The "new ideals in business" are based on the employers' ability to make them pay. But suppose the worker doesn't stop at an eight-hour day, which seems to have increased output in the industries studied by Miss Tarbell? Suppose the reduced hours bring no such result in some occupations? Is the worker to rest content because business can not make it pay? The mine workers are already discussing seven hours, and will they or any other workers be convinced that they must not ask for seven hours or even less simply because it isn't profitable to the employer?

Already there is a demand for minimum wage laws based on the worker's needs and regardless of the balance on the employer's books. The best paid of the railroad employes force an increase that may be at the expense both of the capital invested and the unskilled labor employed in the industry, and as a result precipitate a crisis that threatens the entire economic life of the country. How is the new industrial leader and the new management prepared to meet the insistent encroachment of a disciplined and awakened labor on the profits of capital? This is the question that the new ideals in business must reckon with. And it is just this question that is ignored.

Far from allaying industrial unrest, or solving our labor problems, therefore, the new ideals in business may be ex-

pected to intensify labor conflicts because they create better fed, better clothed, better housed, stronger, healthier and more intelligent workers—better matched, consequently, to carry on the struggle for more of the employer's profits and for a controlling voice in determining the rules and policies of the work-places in which they spend so much of their lives.

WILLIAM M. LEISERSON.

A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE (Vol. I, 1500-1815)

By Carlton J. H. Hayes. The Macmillan Company. 597 pp. Price \$2; by mail of the SURVEY \$2.22.

A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE (Vol. II, 1815-1915)

By Carlton J. H. Hayes. The Macmillan Company. 767 pp. Price \$2.25; by mail of the SURVEY \$2.49.

Though intended primarily as a college manual, Professor Hayes' history fills a place hitherto left vacant in many a small library. Within the shortest compass in which such information can be given, the book enables the

general reader to obtain rapidly, yet in an easily readable form, the historical origins of vastly important present-day conditions and movements. We were a little disappointed in turning to the index for references to historical facts which would indicate how the present nationalistic movements among some of the dependent European peoples had originated and to what extent their dependency brought oppression.

Concerning the Czechs in Bohemia we found material which, though somewhat incomplete, makes it possible to form an opinion. A mention of the Slovaks we failed to find altogether. Of the Lithuanians we learned little more than that even at the time of the annexation of their country by the Empress Catherine in the eighteenth century, they were only a minority of the population of the grand-duchy of Lithuania. The recent history of Finland and the tribulations of the Jews in Russia, Poland and the Balkans are given in more detail.

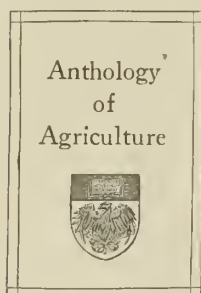
The difficult task, however, of bringing this history to the outbreak of the war of the nations and of interpreting the social and imperial movements of recent years within each of the great European countries in a spirit of detached scientific inquiry has been fulfilled by this author in a wholly admirable manner and makes his work of the greatest possible value to the student of current events.

The two volumes are illustrated by thirty-eight telling maps. Bibliographies and a chronological table of rulers of the chief European states from the begin-

ning of the sixteenth century are appended. B. LASKER.

AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

By Edwin G. Nourse. University of Chicago Press. 896 pp. Price \$2.75; by mail of the SURVEY, \$3.00.



One is at once impressed by the great variety of selections brought together in this book, and the wide distribution of the sources from which they are gleaned. The entire field of "literature" from Genesis to the Yearbook of the United States Brewers' Association, from the works of Marcus Terentius Varro to a modern advertising poster, has been ransacked for material. Some of the selections are academic disquisitions; some are short, snappy paragraphs or pungent sentences. The result is an interesting and instructive, though somewhat kaleidoscopic, volume.

Recent publications of collected materials, or selected readings, handbooks, etc., show two distinct methods of selection. One method collects a relatively small number of rather formidable essays dealing systematically with various aspects of the subject. The other method, of which the volume before us is an example, collects a large number of brief selections not only from widely separated sources, but also of variegated, piebald and ringstreaked quality. The reader must take his choice. There is probably room for books of both kinds.

The needs of the systematic student are not necessarily the same as those of the casual reader.

The editor has shown an amazing acquaintance with what has been written, especially in out-of-the-way places, on the general subject of agricultural economics. Moreover, he has arranged his material under a well-thought-out scheme of classification, and he has supplied connective tissue to bind the various selections together. His own writing constitutes an appreciable and not the least valuable part of the volume.

T. N. CARVER.

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE ANIMALS' CHRISTMAS TREE. By Rev. John P. Peters. E. P. Dutton & Co., 32 pp. Price, \$25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$28.

A CRYSTAL AGE. By W. H. Hudson. E. P. Dutton & Co. 316 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.

ECONOMY IN SECONDARY EDUCATION. (Riverside Educational Monographs). By William F. Russell. Houghton, Mifflin Co., 74 pp. Price, \$40; by mail of the SURVEY, \$44.

HENRY FORD'S OWN STORY. By Rose Wilder Lane. Ellis O. Jones, publisher. 184 pp. Price, \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.08.

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE AMERICAN DELEGATES TO THE HAGUE PEACE CONFERENCE AND THEIR OFFICIAL REPORTS. By James Brown Scott. Oxford University Press. 138 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.12.

ISAAC MAYER WISE. By Max B. May. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 414 pp. Price, \$2; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.14.

THE OLD ORDER CHANGETH. By William Allen White. The Young Churchman Co. 266 pp. Price, \$50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$60.

PATRIOTISM AND THE FELLOWSHIP OF NATIONS. By F. Melian Stawell. E. P. Dutton & Co. 91 pp. Price, \$75; by mail of the SURVEY, \$79.

PROFIT AND WAGES. By G. A. Kleene. Macmillan Co. 171 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.33.

THE RATIONAL CARE OF THE BOWELS. By Dr. Ernest C. Bond. Published by the author. 53 pp. Price, \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.03.

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY IN THE HIGH SCHOOL. (Riverside Educational Monographs). By Ernest C. Hartwell. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 71 pp. Price, \$40 by mail of the SURVEY, \$44.

THE UNITY OF THE AMERICAS. By Robert E. Speer. Missionary Education Movement. 115 pp. Price \$25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$30.

Communications

ILLINOIS VICE LAW

Duncan C. Milner, of Chicago, sends a communication referring to the note in the SURVEY for November 18, 1916, on Illinois Abatement Law Held Constitutional, which he concludes as follows:

"The Committee of Fifteen are entitled to great credit for the work that they have done, but when you in your article gave them entire credit for the passage of the bill, and did not give credit to the Chicago Law and Order League for the injunction in 1912, you were not writing a true history. As the years go by experience will show what a valuable law the injunction and abatement law is. The SURVEY, we believe, will be very glad to make corrections in these two matters regarding the great victory under the common law in 1912, which resulted in the smashing of the

segregated district of Chicago, and the great victory of 1915 in obtaining the passage by the state of Illinois of the injunction and abatement law."

While the SURVEY cannot find space for the many details with which Dr. Milner substantiates these two statements of fact, it is glad to quote the credit amply given by the Committee of Fifteen through its superintendent, S. P. Thrasher, who in a letter to Arthur Burrage Farwell, president of the Chicago Law and Order League, wrote: "The directors authorize me to express their sincere appreciation of your effective work at the two preceding sessions of the legislature and of your educational campaign, which have made it possible to secure its passage. Our committee is pleased to have had a hand in the final round-up, but recognizes and appreciates

the efforts of all who have had a hand in this important piece of legislation, and to none is more credit due than to you self."

The SURVEY's reference dealt with testing the constitutionality of the law and its enforcement, with which the Committee of Fifteen has had most to do. We did not get into the history of the legislation and are glad to give credit for the enactment to the Chicago Law and Order League, the Hyde Park Protective Association and the Illinois Vigilance Association as well as the Committee of Fifteen.

DRY SILHOUETTES

TO THE EDITOR: It will interest readers of the SURVEY to know that the remarkable silhouettes which accompany Mrs. Tilton's article on the liquor problem in the SURVEY for January 13 were cut by Judge Wheeler with a pair of scissors without any preliminary drawing, and without use of a pen or pencil. It seems incredible, but it is true! I have seen him do some of them. The artist is Charles B. Wheeler, of Buffalo, a justice of the Supreme Court of New York state.

FREDERIC ALMY.

Buffalo.

LEGISLATIVE BUREAUS

TO THE EDITOR: In comparing the list printed in the SURVEY for January 6, in my article on Legislative Drafting and Reference Bureaus, with our office list of legislative reference bureaus, I find that I omitted the following:

Arizona, Colorado, Georgia, Illinois, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, North Carolina, Oregon, Washington, and West Virginia.

J. P. CHAMBERLAIN.

[Legislative Drafting Research Fund, Columbia University]
New York.

A BASIS FOR PEACE

TO THE EDITOR: As a basis for a peace proposal, let us assume that nations are but pawns in the hands of fate, forced to act as higher forces compel them to act. Let us assume that this war has been caused by commercial practices which are known and described as the economic cause of war. These commercial practices originate with the human will and are in control of the human will. They can be continued or discontinued, as man wills it. If he wills to continue them, he must accept the inevitable consequence, which is militarism and war. If he wills to discontinue them, there will be peace on earth, good will to men.

It is inconsistent to cling to commercial practices which make militarism a necessity and result in war, and decry militarism and plead for peace. It is

consistent to desire war to continue until man is willing to remove the causes. War is an extreme method to attract attention to existing abuses which man can but does not remedy.

A common basis for peace negotiations which all nations can accept without loss of national honor and sovereignty is needed. Such a basis is at hand in an agreement by all nations, belligerent and neutral, to discontinue and prevent the commercial practices which provoke war.

The acceptance of this basis would lead to an early happy conclusion to the negotiations, for it will open the seas to all nations, destroy militarism, and leave no good reason why sovereignty should not be restored to conquered nations—the main objects desired by the belligerents.

MOSES FRANKLIN.

Detroit.

PRISON OR SURGERY

TO THE EDITOR: Alice Henry has sent me your article in the SURVEY of October 28, entitled Sentenced to Prison or Sterilization. This article will, I am afraid, mislead some people. Many do not know what this operation is, and how performed. They think that it would deter a man from further attacks upon little girls. Now, as a matter of fact, vasectomy, the operation done in this case, does not destroy sexual power or the ability or the desire for sex congress; it only takes away the power of paternity. Even castration at that late date does not especially reduce carnal desire.

Is it fair to turn such a criminal loose, and merely assure his little victims that they are not going to become mothers, no matter how grossly abused. I wonder if the SURVEY really understands the attitude that it seems to have taken.

ANNA E. BLOUNT.
[Chairman Eugenic Education Society]
Chicago.

PETTY FINES

TO THE EDITOR: In reading through your most interesting Goals in Social Work for 1917 [the SURVEY for December 30, 1916] I was particularly struck with the forceful statements of needs in the field of corrections by Joseph P. Byers. Yet Mr. Byers has omitted two of the most important needs of all, the first of which has been too much neglected by all associations that have urged reform in the correctional field. The big fact that has been overlooked is that 70 per cent of all offenders coming before our lower courts are disposed of by petty fines.

The present aim of correctional work is to protect society by putting offenders on their feet as lawabiding citizens. Surely the time to begin this process is not when an offender has committed such

a serious offense as to require a sentence, but when first he gets into the clutches of the law. Today almost universally over the country we turn two-thirds or three-fourths of our police-court offenders loose with petty fines, usually not exceeding \$10.

A few of the offenses so disposed of are purely technical violations of the law where a fine will suffice to secure future compliance, but the great majority are of such a nature as to indicate an undermining of moral stamina that is likely, unless effective counter-forces are put into action, to get the offender into court again and again on more serious charges.

Right here at the entrance to a criminal career is the time to set in motion reformatory influences. How great, then, is the folly of our petty fining system that sets no such forces into action, but sends the offender back to the environment where he got into trouble with no new influence in his life!

We should develop effective probation work. The man just entering upon a life of crime should be placed under the supervision of a probation officer, who will study his habits and environment, find him work if necessary, get him away from bad associates and encourage him in every possible way to law obedience. How much more effective this than the petty fining system! Surely the appointment of an adequate number of probation officers for all minor courts should be set up as a milestone to be passed in 1917.

Finally, when offenders have had to be sent to a correctional institution, and after an indeterminate sentence are released for a trial at liberty, surely there should be a capable parole officer to receive them, supervise them and help them get re-established.

I am certain that as old and able a correctional worker as Mr. Byers must have omitted these important needs from his Goals for 1917 through oversight, not through intention.

Let all social workers include these among their goals for 1917.

Z. L. POTTER.

[National Cash Register Co.]
Dayton, O.

[Mr. Byers wrote a goal on Crime and Prisons. Probation and suspended sentence were separately treated by Charles L. Chute of the National Probation Association. But neither covered specifically the system of petty fines in minor courts.—EDITOR.]

SAVE-A-LIFE LEAGUE

TO THE EDITOR: The readers of the SURVEY will be interested in a brief account of the recent organization of The Save-a-Life League, whose aim and object is to save those who, if otherwise unaided, would be unable to save themselves from self-destruction. The work of the league has been carried on for some

years, in a quiet way, and many useful lives have been saved to the community. Suicide is much more common in this country than is generally known. It is conservatively estimated that from sixteen to twenty thousand lives are annually sacrificed, largely because of the absence of well-considered methods of timely aid to those in serious mental and moral distress. In the city of Greater New York during 1915 there were nearly a thousand suicides and possibly an equal number of, fortunately, unsuccessful attempts at self-destruction.

The effort to reach those contemplating suicide, or of ministering to the spiritual and other needs of unsuccessful suicides, originated with the Rev. H. M. Warren, who is the president of the league, of which R. W. Poor, president of the Garfield National Bank, New York city, is the treasurer. Dr. Warren, at his home, 108 West 77 street, receives all callers and gives his personal attention to numerous letters of inquiry from those most urgently in need of qualified advice.

Applicants in need of medical assistance are referred to Dr. Gregory. To anyone familiar with the lamentable facts of self-destruction, there can be no question of doubt but that many a valuable life may be saved by timely assistance and advice. Many of those who commit suicide are persons of unsound mind, or the feebly inhibited, who by proper direction may be reclaimed for useful social and economic purposes.

Dr. Warren personally visits many of those who after an attempt at suicide are brought to the public hospitals and by first ministering to their spiritual and other immediate needs, leads them gradually to a point of successful rehabilitation. Families of suicides are visited and occasionally dependent survivors in such families are taken care of, particularly when they are small children, who would otherwise become a public charge. Occasionally lodging, food and clothing are furnished to despondent applicants on the verge of suicide, but to whom a knowledge of the league proves indeed a means of saving life.

There are no salaried workers, but the expenses of the league are not inconsiderable. All contributions are expended under the supervision of a carefully selected board of directors. More adequate financial support would very materially increase the public usefulness of the league. All inquiries with reference thereto should be addressed to the Rev. H. M. Warren, 108 West 77 street, New York city.

FREDERICK L. HOFFMAN.

[Statistician of the Prudential Life Insurance Company] Newark, N. J.

"SELF-CONTROL"

To the Editor: Mrs. W. H. Hopkins' letter on "Self-Control" as opposed

to "birth control" has my attention.

In comment on the same, may I have a few lines of your valued space to ask Mrs. Hopkins if she knows or can recommend any honest-to-goodness, sure-fire recipe for "self-control," the same to be accompanied by suitable testimonials of efficiency from genuine, red-blooded human beings of the present stage of social development who have tried the recipe and found it all it was advertised?

JAMES WALDO FAWCETT
New York city.

AT LEAST DAMP

TO THE EDITOR: In your issue of January 6 you publish a short article entitled *Drying Up the Dominion of Canada*, in which you make the assertion that "the Dominion of Canada is today practically 'dry territory' from coast to coast." You enforce this statement with statements of the action taken by the several provinces which have adopted prohibition.

While there are few statements in this article that are open to direct question, the effect of it is so misleading that I feel certain you will permit me to offer a few suggestions. In the first place, the province of Quebec, the second largest in the Dominion and containing about a third of the population of the whole country, has not adopted prohibition. Though four-fifths of her area may, as you say, be under local option, the large cities have the license system, and the fact that the province, as you indicate, is discussing the establishment of a café on the German or continental plan in lieu of the present form of drinking-place, would seem to show that radical prohibition had not made much headway therein.

Again, the Canadian brand of prohibition is distinctly different from that which obtains in the United States. Here in this country the government internal revenue standard which prescribes a tax on all beverages containing more than one-half of 1 per cent of alcohol by volume, and which, by the way, was settled upon for purely fiscal reasons, has been adopted as the basis of prohibition legislation, which defines as intoxicating liquor anything having a greater percentage of alcohol. Indeed, some states have gone so far as to prohibit even malt beverages which contain no alcohol whatsoever. In Canada most of the so-called prohibition provinces have adopted a standard of 2½ per cent proof spirits, which is equivalent to about 1.43 per cent alcohol by volume. Beverages containing not more than this proportion of alcohol can be manufactured and sold anywhere without even the payment of special or local license fees.

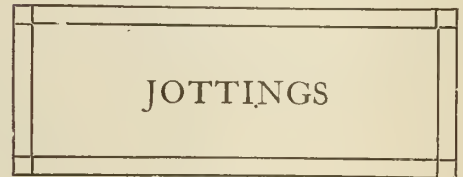
The manufacture of all kinds of liquor from the lightest to the strongest is not interfered with, but it cannot be sold in the province. There is no ban

laid upon importation, however, and thus many concerns in the province of Ontario, for instance, are manufacturing their products and shipping them to some place in Quebec, from whence they are re-shipped to the individual consumer.

Further, special exemptions are granted by most of the provinces. Ontario, for instance, permits the wine growers to do business as usual, and to sell in quantities of not less than five gallons at a time, though their product has a very high alcoholic content, ranging from 20 to perhaps 25 per cent. It will be observed that the Canadian prohibitory system would permit the manufacture and sale of a light beer without restriction, and in fact this is being done in many sections. A movement to raise the standard so that a beer containing something like 3 per cent of alcohol, a proportion which would enable it to be shipped and kept with safety, is said to have met with considerable favor in some provinces.

HUGH F. FOX.

[Secretary U. S. Brewers' Association.]
New York.



ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY at Shanghai has joined the playground movement in the Orient and become a center of radiation for supervised playground work. The university has opened a playground under the supervision of its students trained in the social betterment courses.

AT its December meeting, the Connecticut Public Health Association went on record as being in favor of compulsory health insurance. The measure was supported by Prof. Irving Fisher of Yale, Dr. E. B. Hooker of Harvard, and Dr. Creighton Barker of New York. A committee was appointed to suggest legislation.

CINCINNATI'S progressive Council of Social Agencies has launched a monthly "magazine of human helpfulness," *Social Service Review*. The first issue, January, is given up to brief descriptions of the twenty-four organizations which are federated in the council and published on the eve of the third annual budget campaign, which will attempt this year to raise \$233,500.

TWENTY-FIVE forums of New York city and vicinity have joined in the Congress of Forums, Incorporated, with the Rev. Percy Stickney Grant as president, the Rev. Harold Arthur Lynch as secretary, and A. Lyle De Jarnette as director of organization. "The forum brings the university and the town meeting together—the expert and the public discussion," an announcement reads. "Through this democracy of discussion, which is its keynote, the open forum is destined to become an important factor in the solution of the industrial problems of this nation."

THE Pennsylvania Railroad Company has adopted a new plan for handling applications for work, which involves turning every

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Advertising rates are: Hotels and Resorts, Apartments, Tours and Travel, Real Estate, twenty cents per line.

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one of its 1,500 station agents on the lines east of Pittsburgh and Erie into an employment agent, with an employment clearing-house to be established in Philadelphia. Notices direct persons seeking employment to apply to the station agent, who will direct applicants to the nearest foreman who may have vacancies. If there are no vacancies, the application will be forwarded to the clearing-house.

ACCORDING to the *Social Servant*, the organ of the Associated Charities of Columbus, Ohio, intemperance was one of the operating factors in bringing about need for charitable aid in 202 of the 947 white families and in 40 of the 202 colored families, or approximately 20 per cent of the families dealt with by the Associated Charities in the year 1915-16. While about half of Columbus territory has been made dry by petition, there are still almost 400 saloons in the city. There are about 6,200 in Ohio. In other words, almost one in every fifteen saloons in the state are in Columbus, a city with a population of 211,021, according to recent United States census estimates.

THE abandonment of county jails as places of detention for sentenced prisoners is strongly urged in a forthcoming bulletin of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, whose sub-committee on prison reform has made a study of Pennsylvania jails. The county is declared to be too small a unit for prison administration, and idleness among prisoners is inevitable when each county has a separate institution containing too few prisoners to make an effective industrial system practicable. Pennsylvania is urged to acquire a state industrial farm for misdemeanants, like those in Indiana, New York and elsewhere.

VOLUME I, No. 1 of the *Catholic Charities Review* was published last week by the National Conference of Catholic Charities (\$1 a year). The offices are at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., and the Rev. John A. Ryan, of the university faculty, is editor. The *St. Vincent de Paul Quarterly* has been given up to clear the field for the new monthly, which "will always keep in mind that the church is the oldest charity organization in the world. . . . At the same time full recognition will be given to the fact that new conditions bring new problems." Among the articles is

a review of the New York charities controversy.

SIOUX CITY, Iowa, has a new Organized Charities, formed by the Visiting Nurses' Association, Day Nursery Association, Anti-Tuberculosis Association, Safety League and Associated Charities with a budget of \$10,000 raised in advance. The new society was promoted by the Commercial Club, which secured expert advice and a survey of local needs from the Extension Division of the State University of Iowa. A similar study in Charles City has resulted in the employment of a "community social secretary," who has secured the cooperation of all the social agencies. And in Mason City, the city itself employs a "social welfare worker," who is under the direction of the chief of police.

A LIVELY contest for the control of St. Louis' leading business organization, the new Chamber of Commerce (until recently the Business Men's League) has just been finished with the election of J. Lionberger Davis as president. Mr. Davis' election was bitterly opposed by a large group of business men because of his long record of activity in civic and social movements. Although he is a lawyer, vice-president of a large trust company and president of a real estate corporation, his business record was overshadowed in the minds of many business men by his vigorous leadership in the campaign against commercialized vice, and his independent stand on matters relating to public utilities, political reform and labor issues. Mr. Davis' election insures a complete reorganization of the Chamber of Commerce along democratic lines.

WHILE people are beginning to recognize the duty and the pleasure of early Christmas shopping, they have not yet acquired the habit of early Christmas mailing. Although a vigorous crusade for the latter was waged, Postmaster-General Burleson reports that the bulk of approximately 125,000,000 Christmas parcels, weighing about two pounds apiece, was not mailed until the last five or six days before the holiday. As these figures take no account of the many millions of letters and post cards and of the record-breaking volume of second-class mail, they serve merely to indicate the gigantic nature of Uncle Sam's task this Christmas. Facts are in hand that warrant a prediction that this December's stamp sales, which reflect the volume of Christmas mail, will exceed last year's by nearly 15 per cent. However, in spite of the enormous traffic, weather conditions which seriously delayed rail transportation, and the tardiness of Christmas givers, the United States postal service delivered 99 per cent of the avalanche of all classes of mail on or before Christmas day.

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CHART ON COMMUNICABLE DISEASES AMONG SCHOOL CHILDREN. Prepared by the Health Instruction Bureau, Wisconsin University Extension Division, in cooperation with the Wisconsin Anti-Tuberculosis Association. Wisconsin Anti-Tuberculosis Association, 471 Van Buren street, Milwaukee, Wis.

THE EYE IN INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS. By Dr. Nelson M. Black. University Extension Division, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

A "HOME-MADE" CITY PLANNING EXHIBIT AND ITS RESULTS. By George A. Damon, Dean of Engineering, Throop College of Technology, Pasadena, Cal. Reprinted from the *American City*.

A SOCIAL STUDY OF THE RUSSIAN GERMAN. By Hattie Plum Williams, 407 North 26 street, Lincoln, Neb. Department of Political Science and

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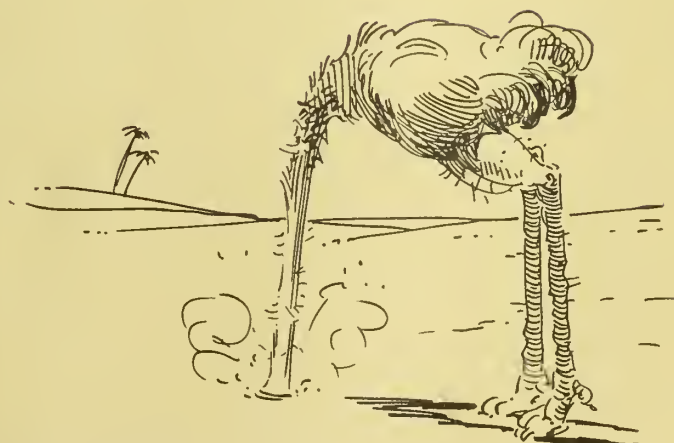
A JOURNAL OF SOCIAL EXPLORATION



In Lincoln's
Home Town

SPRINGFIELD AND THE
SPRINGFIELD SURVEY

By Shelby M. Harrison



Price 25 Cents
February 3, 1917

THE AVERAGE AMERICAN TOWN: AS SPRINGFIELD SEES IT NOW
Cartoon by A. S. Harkness, Springfield

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THE SURVEY

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THE SURVEY is a weekly journal of constructive philanthropy, founded in the 90's by the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York. The first weekly issue of each month appears as an enlarged magazine number.

From the start, the magazine and its related activities have been broadly conceived as an educational enterprise, to be employed and developed beyond the limits of advertising and commercial receipts.

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Single copies of this issue, 25 cents. Cooperating subscriptions \$10 a year. Regular subscriptions weekly edition \$3 a year. Foreign postage \$1.50 extra. Canadian 75 cents. Regular subscription once-a-month edition \$2 a year. Foreign postage 60 cents extra. Canadian 35 cents. Changes of address should be mailed to us ten days in advance. In accordance with a growing practice, when payment is by check a receipt will be sent only upon request. Copyright, 1917, by SURVEY ASSOCIATES, INC. Entered as second-class matter March 25, 1909, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

PROOF of the pudding is in the eating. The value of the Children's Bureau is proved by the record and rewarded by an increase in appropriation. Page 528.

ARMIES of Russians enter Lithuania from the west, the Prussians from the east. The men of that little country have been deported or conscripted and the old men, women and children, in panic since the outbreak of the war, are suffering from the ruthlessness of military conquerors, from disease, starvation and separation from their families. Page 531.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN was born in Springfield, Ill., and yet, when he became great he said: "All that I am or hope to be, I owe to my angel mother." He owed nothing to Springfield, it seems. Probably the town was worse then than it is now. But even today the Russell Sage Foundation, after two years' investigation, finds the environment ordinary, neither very good nor yet very bad, certainly not so stimulating as to produce a Lincoln. Shelby M. Harrison, director of the Springfield survey, was a member of the staff of the Pittsburgh Survey, and has been a member of the editorial staff of the SURVEY. Page 503.

OLD and austere men, ministers and members of Parliament from England have been heard in this country speaking against the war. But not until now has a word of protest come from the young boys who are doing the fighting for the older men. Page 514.

DO GERMS lurk in a lean pay envelope? An ex-senator from Oregon told the Supreme Court, the other day, that wages may make people wealthy, but not healthy or wise. A lawyer from Massachusetts refuted with a grist of arguments, showing how low wages prey upon health, efficiency, morality, public welfare. The learned judges listened patiently. And out in Oregon, Elmira Simpson is waiting to hear whether she will get \$8.64 a week for her job in the paper-box factory. Page 517.

A LONG, hard road lies before the mother whose child has been stricken with infantile paralysis. The wife of a Princeton professor, Alice B. Munro, has sacrificed much that her own boy might become normal and sturdy. Page 515.

ACTUAL study of brothel inmates shows an unexpectedly small amount of tuberculosis. Page 516.

BECAUSE a member of Parliament didn't know that glycerine was made out of lard, Herbert Brantson Gray, an English educator of repute, has come to America to study our educational system. Page 527.

MAKING powder out of the education budget has been systematically carried on in England during two years of war. Winthrop D. Lane, of the SURVEY staff, who made a study of England's educational economy, reports that staffs have been reduced, buildings transformed into camps and hospitals, special classes dispensed with and compulsory-attendance laws relaxed. Page 520.

RECREATION

IDLE SCHOOLS
Springfield schools are over 50% empty every nine weeks on the average.

Evening employment program department of the United States Dept. of Labor

Headmaster George G. Embury of Central

Secretary in Industrial Public Schools

Springfield Social Centers

SOCIAL CENTERS IN SPRINGFIELD

During two months last spring 400 performances took place in the four theatres.

Four of these were stage dramas.


The character of the others is indicated by the clippings.

THE STAGE IS EITHER A ROYAL OR AN IMPROVISED FORCE WHICH IS IT IN SPRINGFIELD?

The situation requires the serious consideration of capable citizens.

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Why not light up the schools and Churches for evening recreations



Scene from "The Old Army Coat" Scene from "The Heart of Innocence"

The Motion Picture is a vivid gripping force in moulding character.

Everyday 5000 children, women and men take a lesson in living in Springfield's movies.

The Lessons May Help or Harm.

To know which should be the business of AN ALERT CITIZENS COMMITTEE.

YOUTH 'TRAPS'

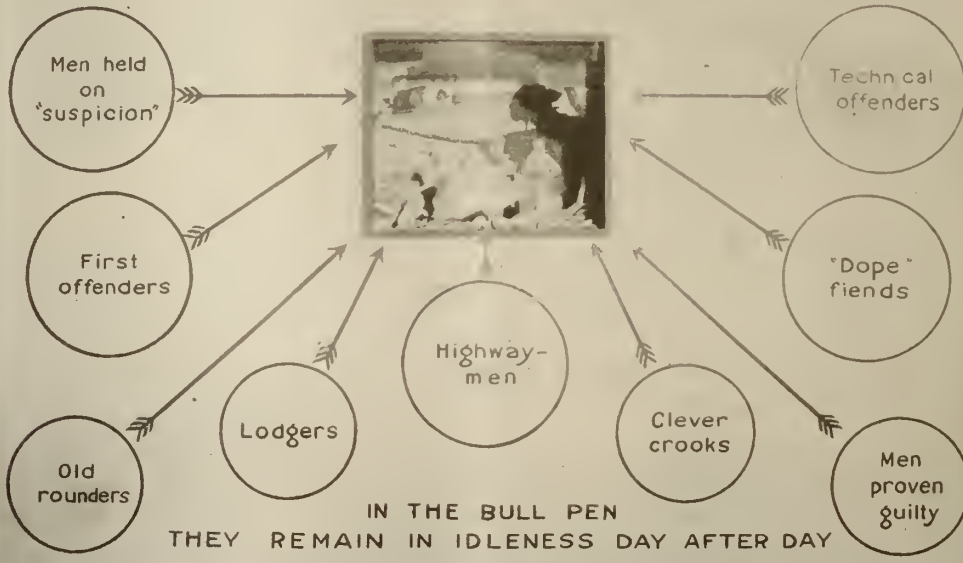
IF THE HEART OF SPRINGFIELD

EVERY YOUTH WILL BE BETTER REARED & PROBABLY ATTACHED TO A SALUBRIOUS & ATTRACTIVE HOME LIFE.

BULL PEN VERSUS PRISON FARM

Which will better protect the community?

In the Bull Pen are herded together



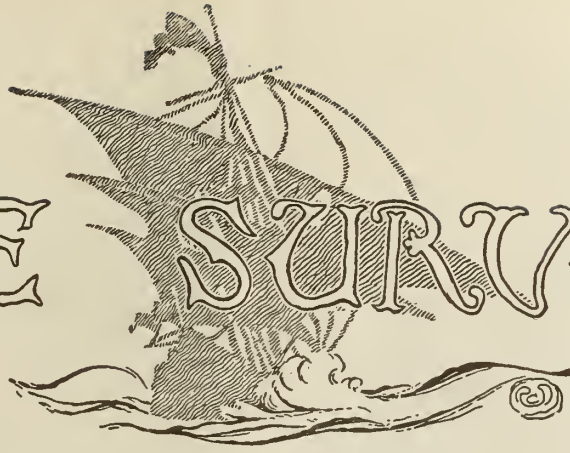
See the right way-the way that protects by reforming



HOW THE SPRINGFIELD FINDINGS WERE TOLD

Above is a section from the recreation exhibit, showing photographs, legends, maps and a three-dimension model of dark and empty schools which the visitor turned into lighted neighborhood centers by himself throwing a switch. In the middle of the large panel from the correction section, is a panoramic view of a modern penal farm, alternating automatically with a photograph of the bull pen in the Springfield City prison. Below: a scene from one of the half dozen amateur plays—this one interpreting the organization of charity.

THE SURVEY



503

In Lincoln's Home Town

How the Springfield Survey Went About Getting Results

By Shelby M. Harrison

DIRECTOR OF DEPARTMENT OF SURVEYS AND EXHIBITS, RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

DOES the social survey really lead to constructive action? This is a fair question.

It was put something over two years ago by a knot of Springfield people who took to heart the human prosperity of that capital city, set in the Illinois prairies, where Abraham Lincoln lived and voted; practiced law and legislated; above all, made common cause with his neighbors, and discussed with them the how and wherefore of town affairs, state affairs, national affairs, until the most deep-seated social problem of his time became the subject of his scrutiny and his resolve.

These Illinois men and women, his fellow townsmen, are perhaps better placed today to give answer to their own question than anyone else in the country. They have helped answer it, for in the intervening two years Springfield has had its survey—in some respects the most comprehensive yet attempted—building on the experience of Pittsburgh, Birmingham, Syracuse, Newburgh and Topeka. A series of nine reports has been issued; an exhibit has been held; public and private agencies have set changes afoot.

Moreover, the Springfield survey can be discussed with some freedom, even by an outsider who has been identified with it from its inception, because it was no one organization's job. It has been a cooperative undertaking by many organizations and individuals. It began with the group of Springfield citizens referred to, who had been giving some thought to social conditions in their city, had become dissatisfied with them, and had decided that the time had arrived to get out of their maze of conflicting opinions and beliefs and, if possible, onto a basis of certitude in working for community advance.

There were some citizens, for example, who believed Springfield's public schools the equal of any in the state; others believed they needed to be readjusted to the changed conditions under which the oncoming generation must live and work. Some boasted of the city as the "healthiest place in Illinois"; others believed the number of deaths from preventable causes was too high, and public health appropriations too meager.

Some believed that local strikes were due to union agitators who wanted to kick up a fuss; others, that they indicated something wrong with wages, employment opportunities, and general working conditions. There were those who believed law-breakers got what they deserved, but others were of opinion that ill-treatment of offenders provoked crime. And so on: the opinions and beliefs were as conflicting and various as they are in every live, growing American city.

Fortunately, the few interested citizens thought it important to give them the test of fact. They had been convinced of the value of applying scientific method to social problems by the usefulness of a survey of certain phases of housing and sanitary conditions made several years before by Dr. George Thomas Palmer in connection with his duties as health officer of the city. The activities of a survey committee of the Illinois State Conference of Charities and Correction also furthered this feeling and gave this Springfield group a sense that more than the improvement of local conditions might hang on their enterprise.

Springfield a Representative City

FOR SPRINGFIELD has other characteristics besides its social problems which make it typical of scores, if not hundreds, of American communities. Its economic life is of quadrivial structure, to go far afield for a word. It is built where four main currents quick with energy and possibilities for community building come together—manufacturing, mining, agriculture and commerce. Indeed, Springfield might count on a fifth main current—the business of public service. The offices of state, county and city governments bring in a thousand and more workers.

Springfield's manufacturers are about the average for places of



LINCOLN'S OLD OFFICE
IN SPRINGFIELD

THE SPRINGFIELD SURVEY

Shelby M. Harrison

DIRECTOR

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National

United States Public Health Service
 American Association for Organizing Charity
 National Association for the Study and Prevention of
 Tuberculosis
 National Committee for Mental Hygiene
 National Housing Association
 Russell Sage Foundation Departments
 Charity Organization Department
 Division of Education
 Department of Child Helping
 Division of Industrial Studies
 Department of Recreation
 Division of Statistics
 Department of Surveys and Exhibits

State

Illinois State Board of Health
 Illinois State Water Survey
 Illinois Conference of Charities and Correction
 Illinois State Food Commission
 Illinois State Department of Factory Inspection

SPRINGFIELD SURVEY COMMITTEE

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SURVEY EXHIBIT

E. G. ROUTZAHN MARY SWAIN ROUTZAHN
 DIRECTORS

WALTER STOREY

DESIGN AND CONSTRUCTION

COPIES of the nine reports, the first edition bound in paper, may be obtained from the Russell Sage Foundation, 130 East 22 street, New York city, and the Springfield Survey Committee, Springfield, Ill. Price, 25 cents per copy, except for the Housing and Mental Hygiene sections, which are 15 cents per copy. Had time and funds allowed, other subjects would have been added, such as city planning; home conditions, as such; taxation, in greater detail; commercialized vice; and the religious forces of the city. All of these, however, were dealt with in some degree as parts of the nine main divisions. The nine reports and a general summary by the director are to be published in three illustrated volumes, cloth, by the Russell Sage Foundation.

her size. They are diverse, ranging from agricultural implements to watches, building brick to shoes, gristmill products to asphalt paving, and so through a long list. A bed of soft coal, averaging over five feet in thickness, underlies the city and surrounding territory and furnishes power for its factories. Several mine tipples stand near, and 2,500 Springfield working-men are employed in the coal pits. The surface of Sangamon and adjacent counties is covered by a stratum of the same fertile soil found in other parts of the corn belt. This soil extends over low hills and is well adapted to farming. And with no large centers nearer than thirty miles, Springfield is the collecting and shipping market for the farm products from a large area, as well as for its own manufactures and fuel. It is also an important distributing point to the surrounding district. This four-ply structure, not to include the fifth, makes for representativeness.

Springfield, moreover, is a city not of many extremes but of many averages. Located about midway between the northern and southern states and near the center of population of the country, it has shared in the cross currents of political, social and economic forces of the east and the west, the north and the south. It is not congested. Its increase in population has been at a comparatively regular yearly rate. Like most other American cities, it has grown without the guidance of a city plan, and the usual rectangular block prevails. Commission government was adopted at about the time it was adopted in many other places.

In addition, Springfield is a city of, roughly, 60,000 people; out of the 228 incorporated places in the United States which in 1910 had 25,000 or more inhabitants, 196, or 86 per cent, ranged from 25,000 to 150,000; cities within these population limits are likely to have many common civic and social problems. More, Springfield is one of forty-eight state capitals in the United States.

These are some of the reasons why various outside organizations joined with the forward-looking Springfield men and women in carrying out the survey. A survey committee of twenty-four was organized. The chairman was a state senator, and among the other members were a former lieutenant-governor of Illinois, a state commissioner, the city superintendent of schools, other public officials, business men, labor leaders, clergymen, doctors, women's clubs leaders, editors, teachers and social workers.

Planning and direction were put into the hands of the Department of Surveys and Exhibits of the Russell Sage Foundation, which enlisted six other departments of the Foundation, and five other national organizations, to cooperate with the five Illinois state organizations, the local social agencies and the six hundred volunteer workers who took part in the nine main divisions of the field investigations or the exhibit which followed.

The findings themselves give us a new and ampler definition of Springfield, in terms of concrete conditions; give us a cross section, if you will, of present-day community life in the Middle West.

Schools

FROM the time the charter of the Northwest Territory set aside one square mile in every township for schools, the Great Lake region has been progressive in the development of its public school system—in carrying it up through the high-school grades, through the state normal school, and to the state university at the top, and down to the kindergartens at the bottom, and in compelling school attendance.

Organized education is our biggest public interest. Nearly one-fifth of all the human beings in Springfield in 1914 were

in school. And roughly another two-fifths were parents and guardians, making the schooling possible.

Nevertheless, in the course of time, recognition of this great social need and effort has in many places gone lame, and in one city and state after another movements to rekindle the old enthusiasm and give it new content are under way. Compulsory schooling—the great slogan—had long since lost its edge in Springfield, and attendance in 1914 had become only mildly compulsory. This in spite of the fact that the city had a greater proportion of illiteracy in its native white population than any other city of over 30,000 population in Illinois, and that the proportion was increasing. The chief reason for failure to enforce the law seemed to be a general indifference on the part of the entire community—a slipping back from the early ideal of universal education as the cornerstone of democracy.

But another factor in the slack attendance was the character of much of the school work done. The survey asked a number of leading citizens to pass an examination on material used in spelling, arithmetic, geography and history classes. They failed miserably. The material was of a kind seldom or never used in the offices, stores or shops, homes or churches of present-day Springfield. No wonder much of the work, as in many another city, lacked vitality and failed to grip the interest of the young people or their parents. The result was that both boys and girls dropped out in large numbers, and the boys were the first to go. While some handiwork had been introduced into the curriculum, such as sewing, cooking, carpentry and machine-shop processes, the strictly vocational courses were very limited; and a large part of the handwork was formal, inelastic and far removed from the problems of real life.

This was largely true of the quality of the classroom instruction also. There was too much lesson getting and lesson reciting, and too little real study and development of thinking; and back of that too little contact by the teachers with the every-day life about them.

The school board was found to be transacting a great amount of detailed educational and administrative work that could better have been delegated to its executives. Meanwhile, even the newest buildings were a quarter of a century behind the times in design—which meant waste of space, inadequate lighting, blackboards not well located, stairways dangerous in case of fire and other defects.

Thus, though taxing themselves freely for the education of the growing generation, adult Springfield had been getting many school buildings, but not the right school buildings, nor the full use of them out of school hours. It had a broad course of study, but one ill-adapted to an era of electricity and machinery. It had a large corps of teachers, but too many trained at home and not in step with more improved methods. It got self-sacrificing service from its school board, but service concerned with the details of an old system, rather than with re-applying in modern ways the vision of those hardy first settlers who set up their district schools at the crossways.

Recreation

IN Lincoln's day recreation was a thing which largely took care of itself. But the survey was quick to find that the old-time games, such as prisoner's base, run sheep run, duck on the rock, leap frog, bull in the ring had nearly died out. The only diversions reported by over a fifth of the boys were motion-picture shows, baseball, reading and kite-flying.

Springfield is fortunate in that its people, for the most part, live in detached houses with yards, giving opportunity



CAPITOL
OR
CAPITAL:
WHICH?

*Does your state
capital lead the cities
of your state? If not,
why not?*

FOR a hundred years state pride has expressed itself in big round domes and fluted pillars. Springfield and the Springfield survey raise a new question—Why not put the imagination and resources of the commonwealth into making the capital city of each state its standard municipality, in health, housing, education, charity, corrections, governmental efficiency? The meetings of the legislature, the annual state fairs, encampments of the militia, civil, trade and professional conventions, are so many opportunities for extending such leadership.



for home recreations ranging all the way from children's indoor and outdoor games to home social functions. Yet in three-fifths of the boys' homes and in nearly half of the girls' homes parties for young people were not held. Nor did social agencies outside the home fill the need. During a three months' period only eleven out of the twenty public schools had evening entertainments, lectures or social gatherings. On an average, only once out of every nine or ten weeks did the schoolhouse play a part in the recreational life of its neighborhood. The Young Women's Christian Association was doing excellent community work; not so the Young Men's; the churches as a whole (and as compared with those of many other cities) had not in any large way taken the lead in providing social life. The parks were beautiful, but their social use meager, their play leadership lacking.

Meanwhile, commercial amusements were found at every young elbow. There was a large amount of unsupervised and uncontrolled dancing, much of it carried on in hotels and elsewhere under conditions which might be abused. Billiard and pool halls were left to go their own course; and private clubs found a way around the state law against prize fights.

While only two out of five of the young people in the high school went to dances, four out of five of them attended the theaters. Practically all the high-school students went to the

movies. The boys averaged once a week; the girls nearly as often; the majority going without older members of the family. Most of the motion-picture theaters were found to maintain fairly satisfactory conditions as to ventilation and cleanliness, but the city ordinances were defective in not providing for regular inspection to see that the moral and sanitary standards required before licensing were maintained afterwards. The programs were neither specially good nor shockingly bad. Of the four regular theaters in Springfield only one made a pretense at offering anything more serious than vaudeville, and one was putting on a program and conducting a business which surrounded its patrons with the most

the police and sheriff's office, through the jails and other detention places, courts and magistrates' offices, and so on to the prisons and penitentiaries.

Delinquency and Corrections

IN 1913, the year studied, about 5,000 adults were arrested in Springfield charged with some specific offense. But little over one-fourth were convicted of crime, and the prevailing methods of dealing with them were not of a sort to check the stream.

Fines, the most used method, were often employed where in the very nature of the case they would not act as a deter-

FIRST comes investigation. Fact-gathering is the A-B-C of surveys. The survey is an attempt in the field of civic and social reform to do what the civil engineer does before he starts to lay out a railroad; what the sanitarian does before he starts a campaign against malaria; what the scientific physician does before he treats a case; what the modern financier does before he develops a mine. It is, in short, an attempt to substitute tested information for supposition, belief or conjecture.

Unconfirmed belief has sometimes been a very unreliable and socially expensive guide to action. It was once believed, for example (and not so long ago), that fumigation was a main reliance in preventing the spread of contagious disease; now a fuller understanding of the manner in which disease spreads puts the emphasis on far more important preventive measures. Again, it was once believed that work accidents were either unavoidable or due to carelessness on the part of employes; but now we have the data to show that a progressive management may prevent a large proportion of them.

On the other hand, many such beliefs have been justified by study of the facts, and others have been found to contain half truths, such as the notion that malaria is due to swamps and stagnant water. It was J. A. Froude who once said: "Depend upon it, in all long-established practices or spiritual formulas there has been some living truth." But even these beliefs and half truths, although they at times have served good purposes, really support our point, since they leap into great practical usefulness upon being proved. At best, untested belief, *a priori* theory, or conjecture are uncertain foundations upon which to build, whether in social work, industry, commerce or government.

Six Characteristics of How Designed to Get Action Why Results Should Follow

SECOND comes analysis and interpretation. Once facts are in hand, what do they mean? Do they show satisfactory conditions or conditions calling for change? If it is found, for example, that 25 per cent of the elementary school pupils of a city are over age; that is, two or more years behind the grade in which children of their ages would ordinarily be found; does it mean that they are badly taught, or that the city has a defective educational system? Or should other facts be related to this one before any conclusion can be drawn with safety? Unfavorable home and family conditions, ill health, ill-adapted courses of study, foreign birth and recent immigration, or badly enforced school attendance enter into the backwardness of this over-age group.

And before condemning a city, should an examination be made of the per cent of over-age pupils in the schools of other comparable cities?

Obviously, the facts gathered in a survey, if they are to be of real use, must be organized and basic principles and general truths drawn from them. More than that, they should be interpreted in the light of as wide an acquaintance as possible with the factors entering into social problems.

THIRD come recommendations for improvement. The survey aims at results. It is diagnosis to the end that prescription may be written. Where conditions are notoriously bad results may follow by merely turning the light on them. But in general the process is not so simple. Conclusions as to what the facts mean should be accompanied by recommendations as to first and later steps to be taken.

The soundness of the recommendations depends in some measure upon the familiarity of the surveyor with methods demonstrated by other communities and, in new situations, upon his ability to invent practical methods and procedures.

The survey having gone deeply into the city's problems, the community will expect and want its best judgment as to their solution, but the community will also, and should, reserve the right to accept or reject the measures suggested, according as the majority of its people are impressed and convinced of their necessity and effectiveness. If the majority cannot ultimately be convinced, there is grave doubt whether the findings should be accepted, for democracy is built upon respect for the principle that what the majority decides is right—particularly if the essential facts have been given full publicity.

But that word *ultimately* predicates a fourth feature of the survey, to follow findings, conclusions and recommendations.

unblushing temptations to excessive drinking and immorality.

In fine, recreational opportunities has changed in a generation. The limitations of city life had tended to substitute more passive diversions for the old-time vigorous play. The development of commercial amusements, moreover, were taking children away from home, and otherwise keeping the family from playing together. Leadership that saw physical, intellectual and moral values in play was an outstanding need. For we have come to see that play is a great educator—as well as a great re-creator. What one does by choice—and that goes far to make it play—presses deep in its moulding influence. But even play as a safety valve for the venturesome spirit of youth, play stripped of the moral snares so often set around it—even these negative sides of play had been neglected in Springfield.

This neglect, common in American towns, had not a little to do with the constant stream of offenders coming up through

rent. (In offenses like drunkenness, what is needed is something to strengthen will power.) Another method, giving transients a limited number of hours to leave town, got nowhere so long as other cities did the same thing. Suspension of sentence "pending good behavior" was used in Springfield without the probationary supervision needed to make it mean anything other than to be "let off" from going to jail.

Sentenced to the city prison and county jail, young offenders passed their time in idleness under conditions that were insanitary, over-crowded, poorly lighted and ventilated and generally unwholesome. The short term for which most prisoners were committed made impossible any reformatory treatment, and no help was given released prisoners to re-establish themselves in the community.

On the other hand, because free bed and board were provided without work, these jails were not unpopular with old offenders. One "repeater," for example, was arrested thirteen

times in 1913, was returned to jail on a new charge on the heels of each release, and in all spent 209 of the 365 days of the year behind the bars. So much repeating went on among those arrested, those fined, those given suspended sentences, and those who had served terms in jail, that, unlike the old mill wheel, the correctional system seemed grinding with the human flow that had passed.

City and state relied on old-time institutions. (The first state institution in Illinois was, in fact, the penitentiary built in 1827.) Many of them had been established when moral lapses were regarded wholly as individual matters, and fear of retribution was held to be the great stabilizer. More, condi-

It was fifty years after the first penitentiary before the Illinois state board of health was established. That was in 1877, and public health work was largely a matter of quarantining the sick. Preventive medicine has made its greatest strides since then, but how far performance has lagged behind discovery in a typical American community is shown by the waste of life and health going on in Springfield.

Public Health

IN THE six years before the survey, over 1,200 residents died from the more common communicable diseases and several thousand more were made ill. At least a fourth of the deaths from all causes could be laid to preventable causes,

the Community Survey

FOURTH comes the convincing of the public. Above all, the survey is an educational measure, spreading its information in the untechnical phrases of the street. It is a means to better democracy by informing the community upon community matters by providing a basis for intelligent public opinion.

If the information it has obtained is to become part of the common experience of the community, moreover, it must recognize that whoever would speak to the millions nowadays has great competition. With the motion picture showing African jungles, Indian durbars and scenes that formerly only the very rich could see; with the newspaper brought down to one cent a copy, and at the same time made more pictorial and attractive and going into practically every urban home with the telegraphic news of all the world; with the spread of popular magazines, and with other inroads and drafts upon the individual's leisure and attention, the social surveyor must put his message in a way that is interesting and quick and easy to understand. These publicity mediums—daily press, graphic exhibit, illustrated periodical, public address and entertainment, motion-picture screen, as well as printed pamphlet and book report—should be utilized, and utilized, moreover, with as great a command as possible of this technique. This is merely to say that it is just as important to be efficient in the teaching use made of survey findings as it is to conform to high standards of accuracy in gathering and interpreting the facts.

FIFTH, the survey is distinctly a community enterprise. It describes conditions in a definite geographical area, and it requires the cooperation of all interested in that area. The complexity and the wide ramifications of the social problems before it have made the survey different from single social investigations, such as the study of the vital statistics of a city, the finances of its health department, or its milk-inspection work. The social survey is a group of such investigations, a scrutiny of such individual and related subjects as knot themselves into the community problems.

To attack municipal problems in their larger aspects and their various bearings the community must *work together*. And cooperation is growing easier. The telephone, cheap and better transportation, the daily press, the typewriter and the multi-graphing machine are releasing even the larger and more densely populated city areas from their earlier difficulties of distance and slow communication. It is possible for men and women to get together in larger units—and to work more effectively.

The survey and its exhibit, by dealing with many subjects, affords a rallying center, as well as the so-called psychological moment, for arousing the whole community to organize cooperative and, therefore, more forceful action—often along the very lines where intermittent or unrelated efforts have been without result. Thus the survey, through the inter-relation and authenticity of its facts, promotes community action. For we have as yet touched only the remote fringes of the latent power of the people, when aroused, to think and act in terms of the whole.

FINALLY, the survey, to get the fullest results, should be "followed up." After the first general awakening of interest the public needs to be systematically reacquainted with the conditions found and the next steps to be taken. Findings should not be allowed to grow dim or out-of-date, nor effort to grow stale. Follow-up work, therefore, must further drive home what information is already in hand and, by more or less continuous investigation, reveal new developments and changing needs.

SIX CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COMMUNITY SURVEY

1. INVESTIGATION.
2. ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION.
3. RECOMMENDATION.
4. CONVINCING THE PUBLIC.
5. COMMUNITY ACTION.
6. FOLLOW-UP WORK.



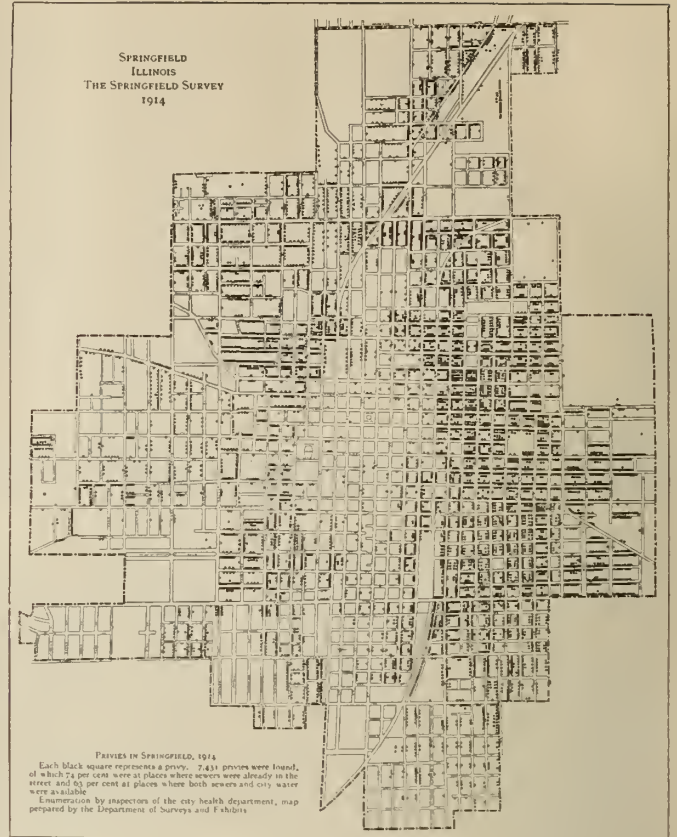
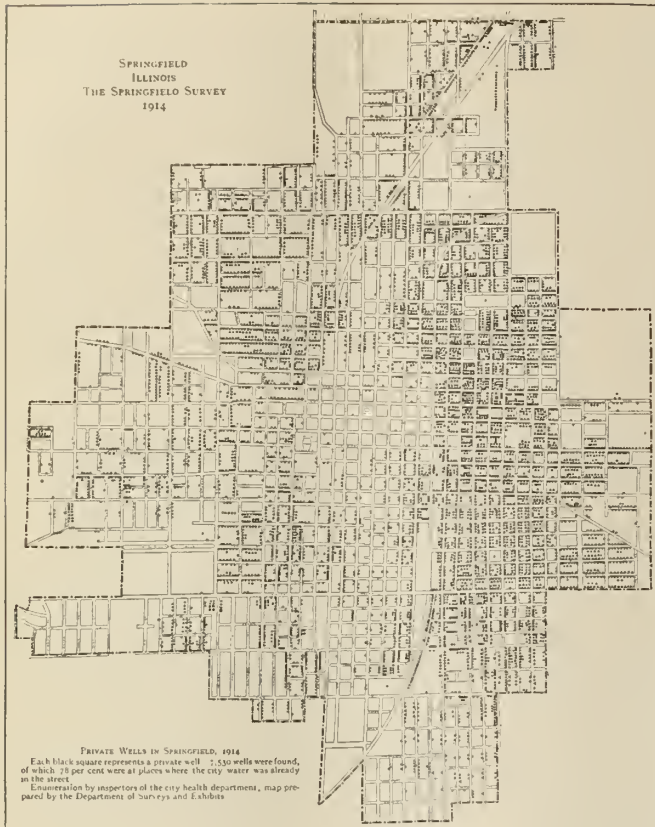
tions were permitted in the jails which, if anything, weakened and corrupted prisoners and sent them out the worse for the experience. The blindness and folly of this unending process would be inexcusable in any community were it not the tradition of centuries, and still the prevailing method throughout the country.

The police department is a comparatively new development, but the old ideas have carried over into it, and a study of the organization, administration and policy of the Springfield force showed the need for more care in fitting policemen for their work: for an honor system, a more adequate system of records and a new compilation of city ordinances; for the vigorous enforcement of laws governing the sale of liquor, and the adoption of a policy restricting the number of saloon licenses issued; the discontinuance of the policy of segregating vice; and the substitution of a policy of suppressing it through vigorous enforcement of the state law.

such as the contagions of children, typhoid fever and venereal diseases.

The greatest single agent was tuberculosis, responsible for 490 deaths in the six years and for 11 per cent of all the deaths in 1913, the year studied in detail. Over 700 infants under one year of age had died in the six years. Nearly half of these infant deaths resulted from the ordinary preventable causes, such as diarrhea and enteritis, pneumonia and acute infections.

The toll was found to be much heavier in the east wards, where negroes, foreign-born whites and illiterates live. They also had the highest birth rates and the highest proportions of children and people of working age; and they were the districts which had called for the largest amounts of poor relief. The city's public health problem centered here, and here was where the health department needed to concentrate its work. The plain fact was that there people were dying



SURVIVALS OF PIONEER DAYS

Each dot in the map of Springfield on the left represents a private well; each on the right, a privy. There were approximately 7,500 of each and at least three-fourths of them were unnecessary, being along the city water or sewer lines.

because they were ignorant; because they were poor; because they were surrounded by bad sanitary conditions; and because the city did not give them a proper health service.

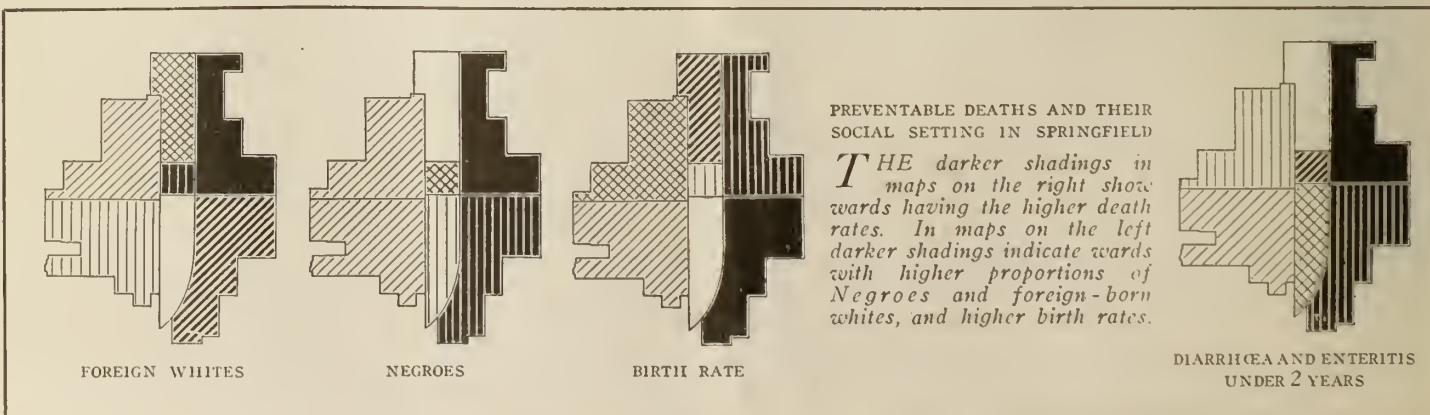
Except for these east wards, the city was fairly well covered by public water mains and sewers. Yet, within Springfield's eight and a half square miles were to be found 7,500 privies and 7,500 wells. Most of them were unnecessary, three-fourths being along the city water or sewer lines. The two east wards, which in 1910 contained 36 per cent of the population, contained over half of the wells and privies in the city and approximately a half of those that were absolutely unnecessary. The southeast ward and its 11,500-odd inhabitants were depending almost entirely on wells and privies, a situation which put that section of the capital city of Illinois in a class with those small villages of the state which still depend upon the insanitary makeshifts of pioneer days.

In brief, it was found that the city health department

had done creditable work with the resources at its command. It was very meagerly financed and, probably as a consequence, ignored its two greatest opportunities for life-saving—doing nothing to stop the heavy inroads upon infant life or to restrict the ravages of tuberculosis. Measured in appropriations, Springfield rated the service it had created particularly for the protection of life and health at less than one-sixth as important as its police force, and less than one-tenth as important as its fire department.

Mental Hygiene

WITH the flesh and blood public so slow to comprehend the thief of health, lack of sanitation, as compared with the property owners' ripe concern against burglary and fire, it is perhaps natural that our American communities have not yet awakened to the fact that in reaching for fulness of life they cannot afford to fall behind in mental health also. If the mind is sick, but little counts. But happily, as in other sick-



ness, mental health once lost can often be restored. A new field, indeed a new world, has been opened up by the analysis and diagnosis of mental processes and disturbances.

Although the number of atypical children in the local public schools was so large as to require special classes for them, practically nothing had been done in the way of special training for such children in the schools, nor diagnosis among the seventy children brought before the juvenile court annually, a group in which mental deficiency usually runs high.

Illinois has its state hospital system, but many insane persons were being held in the county jail annex from time to time—a procedure which was not “treatment” in any proper sense of the word. Such persons often have delusions of unworthiness and self-condemnation, and this sort of custody only confirms their false ideas. As long ago as 1845, in Pennsylvania, Dorothea Dix declared that almshouses were “unfit places for the insane” and that “they never could be made suitable places.” Nevertheless, in 1914, Pennsylvania and Illinois were among the states still to care for many of them that way, and insane persons were still being held for longer or shorter periods in the Sangamon county almshouse.

The large number of “drunks” arrested each year in Springfield included many who developed delirium tremens. These, too, were held in the county jail annex, although needing treatment that was not, and could not be, provided there.

Charities

WE HAVE noted the forward current of youth welling up through the schools in Springfield, the back-set currents towards crime and ill-health, and the slowly gathering public conviction that these last could be controlled and prevented. The same holds true of another back-set stream—that which tends toward poverty and destitution. Here we find another group of institutions in our middle-western cities: the oldest centering around the almshouse; private philanthropies dating back a generation ago, such as hospitals and orphanages; and the newer city-wide organizations. The usual center for coordinating work for families is the associated charities, but the Springfield society knew only a few more than 200 of the total of over 1,750 families which in 1913 had not been able to function normally and had received some kind of service from one or more of the social agencies of the city.

In over 80 per cent of these cases the family was known to but one social agency, a fact which seemed to show lack of cooperation.

Among the factors which entered into these family problems were widowhood, tuberculosis, sickness other than tuberculosis, desertion, mental deficiency, intemperance, unemployment, irregular school attendance, crippled conditions, blindness and non-support. In much the largest proportion of

families only one of these disabilities appeared on the records, a fact which, in turn, seemed to show that back of the lack of such cooperation as would bring the resources of several agencies to bear in helping a family, lay lack of diagnosis. For experience elsewhere reveals that modern family disabilities, like the misfortunes of Shakespeare’s time, do not come singly, and that comprehensive and intelligent treatment depends on a broad basis of information.

In general, the facts recorded by the local organizations responsible for family care were very incomplete; their investigation of conditions in needy homes was not thoroughly and systematically made; in consequence what was accomplished in actual rehabilitation, that is, toward the restoration of families to independence and normal living, was largely fragmentary. Moreover, the charitable societies had not been active in broad community movements aimed at the removal, or improvement at least, of conditions which disorganize family life.

The same was true of institutions providing care for children. While much sympathetic service was rendered, their work was chiefly custodial and in the nature of material relief. The practice of holding poor children in the county detention home (for delinquents) was condemned, and the need of two new institutions was pointed out—a city dispensary under the health department and a city and county tuberculosis hospital.

Housing

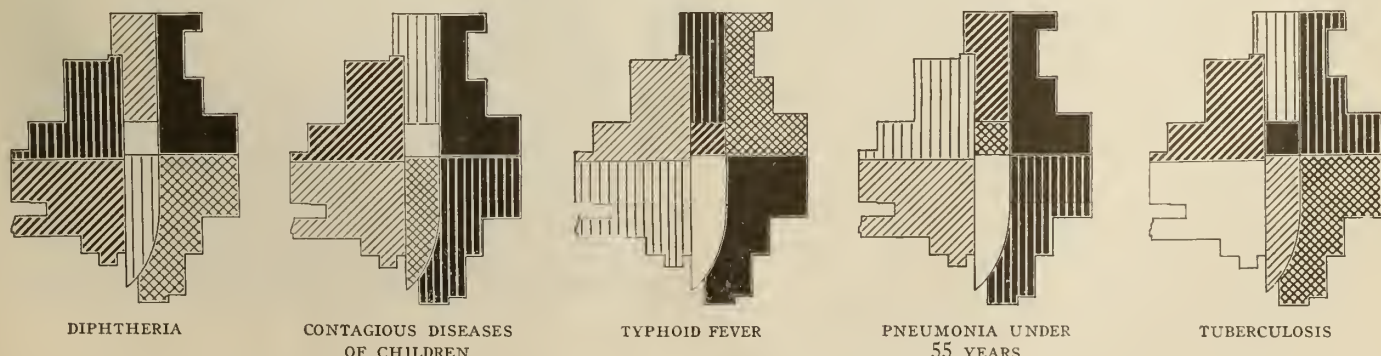
SPRINGFIELD’S growth, unlike that of Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Chicago or New York, has not been halted or slowed down by hills, rivers, lakes or ocean barriers. The flat Illinois countryside spreads far in every direction. Nor have European traditions, as in some of the older eastern cities, tended to cramp housing. The scant sprinkling of cabins that hark back to the time when they gave shelter against Indians and wild beasts, the thousands of story-and-a-half cottages and the hundreds of modern residences, all are the single-family type.

But of late the multiple dwelling had begun to appear, and more frequently in the last year or so. One danger that usually accompanies it is the overcrowding of the lot and the consequent under-provision for light and ventilation.

Housing conditions in the Negro district, moreover, were very serious, the houses being more dilapidated, the water supply and toilets more inadequate, and everything in a more rundown, shabby condition than in other parts of the city. Local legislation in the interest of good housing was not abreast of the times, and the need of a thorough-going housing code was clear.

City and County Administration

MANY of the gaps and weaknesses in public service in the fields already touched upon go back to insufficient financial





ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S HOMESTEAD IN SPRINGFIELD

In the smaller cities of the middle west the single-family house is still the rule for wage-earner as well as lawyer. This is threatened by the incoming of the new multiple dwellings.

support by city and county, and to outworn administrative methods in the public offices.

Moreover, as in the case of taxation, these may be a source of injustice. The Springfield assessors are required to value each piece of land only once in four years. Taxes are variable quantities; valuations are also variable quantities. But if assessments remain constant quantities for considerable periods disproportions are sure to arise, for the property rising in value fastest will escape some of its just burdens.

An additional weakness of the local system is the assessment of realty very far below its market value. In Springfield and Sangamon county assessments ranged only 20 to 33 per cent of actual value. It is proverbial that the small property-owner carries the heavy end of assessed valuations, and the lack of publicity in Springfield had no other result than to aggravate this condition. Very little was done beyond keeping the assessor's books open to public inspection. It should be said, however, that Springfield in adopting a fixed and mathematical basis for computing land and building values several years ago took a forward step, but one which did not overcome this fault.

The assessment of personal property in Springfield, as in many other places, has not been just or successful. It favors the perjurer at the expense of the conscientious, tends to make false swearing an accepted custom, and comes down heaviest on small investors with a narrow range of opportunities for placing their funds.

Better results at less expense would be had if township assessment should give place to one assessing office and township collection give place to collection by the county treasurer.

Twenty-five per cent of the city's income comes from the license return on the retail liquor business, thus injecting (to the harm of clear thinking) a revenue issue into the wet and dry question.

The accounting system of the city and the work of the city comptroller were good, as well as the practice by the city of an annual audit. The city budget, barring a few minor features, was satisfactory, but numerous budget fixing and taxing boards—among them the city, the county, the school board and library board—made the community's work-program extremely complicated.

The city's monthly reports on finance told the layman but little; its auditor's reports were not published, and but few city department reports were published. This was a serious

failure, for popular government cannot work well unless the people keep informed. Moreover, the citizen has a right to know; the public work is his enterprise; it uses his money, and it is designed to serve his purposes and needs.

Industrial and Work Conditions

JUST as the quality of much of the public service depends upon adequate municipal financing, so the standard of life of the individual has its roots in how he earns his living. "What are you doing, and how are you getting on?" are two of the most interesting and important questions in a community. They affect everybody, and the general well-being depends in large measure upon them. To get some indication of the answer in Springfield, a study of 100 wage-earners' families, chosen for their representative character, was made.

There were 378 persons fourteen years of age or over in these families, and seven out of every ten of them were contributing to the family income. Only nineteen families were living on the earnings of one person each. Practically all who were able were obliged to help in order to secure moderately good conditions of life.

The proportion of wage-earning children was very large. Of the fifty-seven between fourteen and sixteen years old, forty-one—or 72 per cent—were gainfully employed; and a number under fourteen brought in a little money now and then. When employed, ten out of the seventy fathers whose wage rates were reported received less than \$12 per week; thirty-two received from \$12 to \$20; twenty-eight received \$20 or more. Of all the other males employed for whom information was available, one-third earned less than \$7.00 a week, one-half less than \$10. Among the women of sixteen years and over, more than one-fourth earned less than \$6.00, and almost 70 per cent less than \$8.00 per week.

Wage rates, however, mean little unless linked with regularity of employment. Of the bread-winners in these families two out of every five reported irregular employment for the previous year—and irregular employment meant the loss of from several weeks to six months.

Of fifty-seven families supplying information on rent, over half lived in houses which rented for less than \$12 a month. They were mostly four- or five-room houses without city water, gas, electricity or inside toilets. The insanitary surface well was the water supply. Some of these houses were crowded because of the necessity of taking in lodgers. Thirteen of the 100 families had boarders, lodgers or both. One family of seven living in three rooms took in lodgers.



BITUMINOUS MINING AS THE OUTSIDER SEES IT
Roughly, 2,500 wage-earners are employed in the pits in and around Springfield.

Of fifty-six persons discovered in the investigation who had left school before sixteen years of age, twenty-five, or nearly half, had left because their parents had not felt able to continue them in school. There was reason to believe that a considerable number of Springfield children—running close to 100 per year—were dropping out of school because the family needed what they could earn. Most of the occupations they went into were “blind alley” jobs, which did not offer training or possibilities of advancement.

Thirty-nine of the families were saving in the form of payments on a home. A few more had bank savings; and five out of every six carried insurance, the amounts usually being only enough to cover burial costs. Nine of the 100 families had been forced to ask for either public or private charitable assistance. Over one-fourth of the mothers in the 100 families were earning money to augment the family income; and in some cases this meant neglect of children. One woman had done washing for twenty-six years until all her children were of legal age to work.

Springfield has the general ear-marks of a fairly prosperous western city. Eighty-seven per cent of its people are American-born. Yet this quick scrutiny, a little below the surface of things, showed working conditions far from satisfactory. Among other things they showed clearly, as they have in investigations elsewhere, how low wages and irregular employment play into bad housing, child labor, destitution, neglected childhood, and the predisposition of families to physical and often moral breakdowns. No solution of these problems will be effective that does not eliminate the great economic waste of unemployment and correct the evil of low wages.

In General

JUST as in this corn belt, the yellow ear is the thing, and the stalk, the husk and the tassel but incidental, so the institutions and social activities of this city set in the midst of prosperous farming, mining, manufacturing and commerce—if we pull off the husk of things—are only incidental. The man is the thing. Society moves forward or backward with him. What is happening in his case? Is he wringing less or more out of life than the generation that preceded him? Therein is the test of the community.

The Springfield survey found a two-edged answer in terms of this typical American city. It found that new dangers to the citizen's health had not been fully guarded against; his new educational needs had not been met. The old venture-some spirit of childhood seemed more likely to whirl him into the criminal machinery than when he lived more apart from others. The absence of the old personal relationship between him and his employer had lost him much in his workaday life

that had not yet been regained. The cost of providing the new public services had not been distributed equitably.

On the other hand, the survey disclosed also a reassuring side. The shortcomings were largely faults in adjustment. The same fine democratic spirit of service that has threaded through human lives on these prairies for nearly a century weaves on in this generation, and science is giving it new warp and woof in the methods of hygiene, education, penology, and the rest—in holding out prospect of more leisure and culture for the average man, more of the social surplus and the fruits of mechanical invention.

Telling the Public

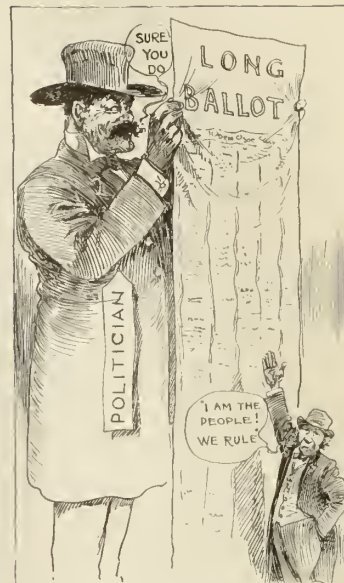
SUCH a summary of findings is perforce inadequate.

Enough has been said to guard against any assumption that the writer has wilfully ignored noteworthy evidences of local progress and civic service. What has been attempted has been to bring out rather the common tendencies in the Springfield situation which may be self-revealing to other cities. For obviously, in a few hundred words, findings cannot be put in perspective which it took months to interpret to Springfield people themselves. All of the reports were fully summarized in the local Springfield press, the newspapers handling from twelve to thirty-two full column stories on each.

At the conclusion of the field work an exhibition of survey findings was held in the state armory—which was open for ten days and which attracted thousands of visitors, including many from distant parts of the state.

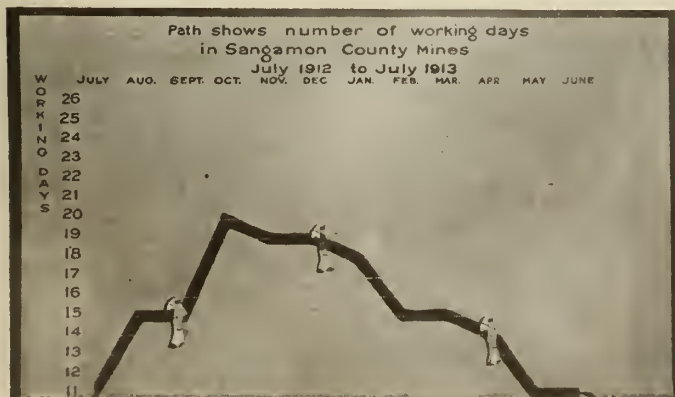
For two months preceding, a special campaign of publicity and promotion was carried on which kept the survey before people. Old hands at publicity work will recognize the value of such things as the invitations sent out by a hospitality committee to mayors throughout the state; exhibit models and devices displayed from time to time in public places; unexplained cartoons posted in the windows at exhibition headquarters; the street railway company's offer to transport school children free to the exhibition; prizes offered for the five best grammar school essays on “What I Saw at the Springfield Survey Exhibition”; special days assigned to societies and organizations; a daily department in one of the newspapers under “The Survey Question Box”; a proclamation by the mayor making the last day of the exhibition Springfield Exhibition Day and urging “all loyal citizens of Springfield to take this last opportunity to inspect and study the many interesting and instructing things there to be found.”

A large part of the work of preparing exhibits and conducting the publicity campaign was done through local volunteer committees—including an advising committee, a general executive committee under the chairmanship of R. C. Lanphier, committees on automobiles, decoration, drayage, lettering, lighting, photographs, printed matter, speakers, special days, ushers, and many others. As the campaign grew, more and



DEMOCRACY SPREAD OUT TOO THIN

The long ballot and decentralization persist in Sangamon county; the short ballot and a city commission give self-government a better chance in Springfield.



BITUMINOUS MINING AS THE INSIDER KNOWS IT
The year before the survey, Sangamon county miners had work only three-fifths of the year.

Developments in Springfield Following The Survey

In the Public Schools

1. Committees of the Board of Education reduced to three: (a) Education, (b) Finance and Supplies, and (c) School Property.
2. Junior high school system adopted; four junior high schools organized.
3. New high school principal elected; organization and course of study changed. Better system of supervised study and discipline introduced without friction.
4. Modern high school building erected to accommodate about 1,500 pupils.
5. Lighting, ventilation and general sanitation of all schools improved. Fire-exit locks on all outside doors and fire-escapes on the high school.
6. Higher standards set for lighting, heating, ventilation and sanitation in new building construction.
7. Special supervisor of buildings employed.
8. Patrons' clubs organized in every district of the city; nearly every schoolhouse used as a social center for neighborhood meetings; public meetings and political discussions held in the auditoriums of several schools; about one-third of the voting places of the city now located in school buildings.
9. Teachers doubled in number in manual training and household arts; pre-vocational training and guidance promoted.
10. School census revised to secure more valuable information.
11. New salary schedule for teachers and janitors, with rates based on efficiency; required qualifications of principals and teachers raised.
12. Seven branch libraries established in schools and five in other centers.
13. Courses of study for the elementary, junior high and senior high schools revised and modernized.

Recreation

1. Director of hygiene employed by Board of Education for playgrounds, athletics and social centers.
2. Athletic organization extended among elementary school-children; athletic contests and a play festival held.
3. Park board's plans for equipment of park play sections extended.
4. Free public golf courses established in two parks.
5. Bathing beaches constructed in two.
6. Burlesque theater cleaned up.

Delinquency and Corrections

1. Sheriff pledged to turn into the county treasury approximately \$7,500 per year profits from feeding prisoners in the county jail. (First returns have already been made. This money previously had gone into the sheriff's pockets as a matter of course. For his four-

year term the total will approximate \$30,000, an amount alone that exceeds the cost of the survey.)

2. Large and flourishing redlight district closed. (It had existed as a recognized community institution for fifty years.)
3. Woman of energy and ability appointed as deputy sheriff.
4. Two additional probation officers appointed.
5. Juvenile detention home improved.
6. City jail prisoners put at work in farming and gardening on farm land owned by the city.

Health

1. Child-welfare station to promote infant hygiene work established by city Board of Health and Women's Improvement League.
2. Movement on foot for new contagious-disease-hospital facilities.
3. Educational work emphasized by Tuberculosis Association; its nursing service increased and dispensary for children established.
4. One-hundred-and-twenty-acre farm purchased by St. John's Hospital for a sanatorium for the tuberculous.
5. Free dispensary established by St. John's Hospital.

Mental Hygiene

1. Methods improved in handling cases of insane and feeble-minded before the County Court.
2. Some improvement in handling cases requiring mental examination before Juvenile Court.

Charities

1. New Associated Charities secretary secured, and work completely reorganized.
2. Better cooperation between public and private agencies.
3. Placing out work initiated by Home for the Friendless; trained nurse added to its staff, and physical condition of the children improved.
4. Trained nurse employed to care for tuberculous patients at the County Poor Farm; food and rooms improved.
5. Attendance department of the public schools reorganized with a view to closer cooperation with Associated Charities and other social agencies.
6. Central Council of Social Agencies organized; city conference on social work held.

City and County Administration

1. More equitable rule for assessing corner lots adopted.
2. Cost-accounting system installed by City Water Department; detailed monthly reports now published.
3. Movement to secure two 24-inch water mains between the pumping station and the city, both as a sanitary and fire measure.
4. Garbage-collection started in small way.

more people lent their help until more than 600 were at work, not only because their committee leaders were energetic and enthusiastic and the spirit of the campaign contagious, but because the things they had to do were interesting. They made models and mechanical devices, tried their hands at art work, wrote special stories for the newspapers, handled office matter, snapped photographs, and made public addresses before churches, lodges, labor unions, school clubs and other organizations and societies. They helped stage and take part in the short plays written to bring out some of the important lessons of the survey.

Survey Results

TO FOLLOW up investigation and the publication of findings, the Springfield Committee organized itself into sub-committees which were charged with carrying out the recommendations in each of the main fields covered. These have already some accomplishments to their credit. In addition, a Council of Social Agencies, formed as a result of the charities survey, has afforded an opportunity for discussion and conference; and existing social agencies have modified their activities in many

cases to conform to them. In this connection, much credit is due to Margaret Bergen, the new secretary of the associated charities; to H. S. Magill, superintendent of the public schools; to Sheriff J. A. Wheeler, and to ministers in some of the churches who cooperated in making the survey mean as much as possible to Springfield. A still later development was the decision of the Survey Committee in December to appoint a committee to consider the form of organization which could best carry forward the general purposes of the survey. Under the chairmanship of Francis P. Ide this committee has made a report recommending the organization of a city club to carry forward the survey and promote other civic enterprises.

A survey shows conditions and needs and furnishes a program of improvements; but after all, the program must be carried out very largely by other agencies than that making the investigation, and they should come in for a good deal, if not for most, of the credit for results. Recently we tried to list developments which pretty clearly had their beginning in survey recommendations—or at any rate, the advances made in the community since the survey, which had been specifically recommended by the survey, no matter what other agencies

had also helped. The list is shown on page 512. In compiling it, no special effort was made to gather inclusive data.

But, aside from these specific developments, there is something more to be said on results. A. L. Bowen, secretary of the State Charities Commission, said in a recent address:

"A new community conscience, or, perhaps more truthfully, an *aroused and stimulated* community conscience, is the most noteworthy effect of the survey. Our attitude of a community toward all questions affecting its well-being has radically changed. We see new meanings in them and react to them in a different manner. Our sense of duty in many cases where it formerly would have been dormant now asserts itself and prompts us to action. There is a new spirit in our work."

On a recent visit to Springfield I was told by one citizen that there is a great deal of feeling abroad that "the only way to get anything in Springfield now is to go to the people for it. In the old days there were other ways." If this be an accurate judgment, it means a most significant and democratic stride ahead, and the survey, by "going to the people," helped carry the new conviction.

So much for local developments. But it seems to me this is not quite the place to stop. May I, indeed, reverse the usual order and announce my text at the end. It is what I think we ought to call the golden text of our political Holy Writ, and was spoken by a citizen of this same Springfield, Sangamon county, Illinois, some fifty-odd years ago in a memorable appeal. It ran: "that we here highly resolve that the nation shall, under God, have a *new birth of freedom*; and that the government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth." These words were pronounced when the states were at grips over a national social question. The appeal was for a rehallowing of government to the task of serving the men and women who are the government.

Democracy is subject—sometimes profitably, sometimes not—to the dominating forces of any period whether political, ecclesiastical, economic, or other. Its forces ebb and flow with them, and must be refreshed whenever substantial rights have been invaded, or, indeed, whenever there are new gains to the common weal to be won. That is why, is it not, that each oncoming thirty years or so has had its job to do and a farther peg to scale to?

Something, it seems to me at least, that is fundamental in the fabric of our public affairs has been inweaving in the last dozen years or more—something that also bears the marks of high resolve and carries the infection of life and youth and renaissance. It is a process of *peaceful civic renewal*, through

the scrutinizing of conditions surrounding our daily living, with a view not only to correcting those that are unwholesome, but to quickening any that show promise.

Back of this scrutinizing and this resolve is the recognition that times have changed; that new circumstances to the harm of some folks have arisen; that simultaneously new forces have been gathering to cope with just such difficulties, and that these forces, in the form of new knowledge and experience and more effective methods, must be made to count at once.

So has come the insistence that changed conditions shall not leave people with less independence, less opportunity, and less comfort than before; rather that more shall be wrung out of life for them.

The successful working of this leaven of civic renewal depends upon the correcting power of facts, which must be gathered carefully and faithfully as the truth-loving scientist in any field gathers them—plus such a telling of the facts as will make them common knowledge. American experience is piling up the conviction that communities will act upon facts when they have them.

One of the forms of this new type of social exploration and reporting has been the community survey. Since 1907 in Pittsburgh the survey idea has spread enormously. Distinctive and vital as its formula is in itself, it is essentially synthetic and has drawn method and momentum from the collateral movements and agencies, national, state, city, public and private, which make ascertained fact the rock bottom on which to base social policies and proposals.

In conclusion be it said that the chief function of Springfield's workshops, mine pits, farm and trade resources is to serve the interests of Springfield herself. They should furnish the groundwork for a structure of social well-being, the output of which should mount far above factory output, coal tonnage, farm products and trade values. Even without special economic advantages, a city's responsibility must be acknowledged, but with these advantages the responsibility is much increased. The Springfield Survey means just this, that a group of Springfield men and women, most of them already builders of this superstructure, were ready for fresh efforts. What they have done may seem but a modest contribution to the welfare of cities other than their own; but, large or small, they pray that their endeavor may be of some worth in spreading orderly, disinterested, thorough scrutiny as a basis for constructive state and municipal resolve—in the name of the well-being of the plain folks whose numbers are legion, and for whom the fellow-townsmen and precursor of this Springfield committee spoke so forcefully two generations ago.



THE SURVEY EXHIBITION WAS A "ONE-WAY" SHOW. EVERY VISITOR PASSED THE INFORMATION BOOTH ON THE WAY IN.

From the Four Winds to Fourteenth Street

An Interview With Some Fighters Against War

By *Mary Chamberlain*

FOURTEENTH STREET, New York city, with its garish department stores and cheap lodging houses is a queer place to run into moral scruple and convictions held dearer than life. The basement front chamber of a stodgy furnished-room house is a strange spot to find conscientious objections to war.

Twenty young men sprawled about the bare room of the city boarding house. Some were slender chaps with uncalled hands; others were big, hulking fellows toughened by hard labor. One boy slept heavily on the bed; a red-haired, milk-skinned youth stirred himself some coffee on a gas stove and presently sat down to his evening meal; several stood in groups smoking vile-smelling tobacco, swapping jokes, and talking together in the lopped-off, ludicrous dialect of the Cockney.

A short time ago most of these men were total strangers to each other. In Glasgow, in Leeds, in London, they were running machines, doing clerical work, tending customers in shops, all going their separate sober ways in various parts of the British Isles. Now in a strange land they are lending each other money, finding each other jobs, providing one another with meals and beds—fugitives from England and stowaways of the sea. By refusing to join the British army and escaping overseas seventy-five lads are banded together here in New York in the Four Winds Fellowship, to welcome any man, German, French, or English, who defies a government's command to fight.

The members of the Four Winds Fellowship, as they put it simply, don't believe in national wars. They cannot conscientiously arm themselves against their fellow-workers in Germany and Austria. Nor are they eleventh-hour pacifists after the defense of the realm act was passed in England. They are nearly all Socialists of many years standing who, in the Independent Labour Party and in their trade unions, have for a long time stood for the international solidarity of labor. They have endured hardship and scorn, they have risked their citizenship, and their employment, for a belief that nations must stop wasting manhood and spend their energy and resources on homes, schools and factories. Generally speaking, however, these boys are not the martyr type. They are too young and eager to pay the penalties of prison which many thousand conscientious objectors of the non-resistant group are enduring. They represent the fighting pacifists, refusing to sacrifice one drop of liberty. To run away with life and strength, and to agitate the overthrow of war have more value to their minds than the example of suffering in prison for a military system they despise.

As for the clauses in the defense of the realm act exempting conscientious objectors from military service, these look pretty good from a distance, say the four winds rebels, but at home it's chiefly "pull" or luck that saves one from a khaki suit or hard labor if one sticks to one's principles. If you live in a district swarming with conscientious objectors (and they avow there's more than one such place) you can't get a "Bobby" to notice you because there would be a near riot if the police marched off half the residents to jail. Or, it is

their feeling that if you possess a well-known name, a friend in Parliament or, possibly, a slick tongue, you stand some chance of preaching and practicing non-resistance unmolested.

It's the thousands who have no pull or luck who are cramming the British prisons "fuller than the Suffragettes ever done." The tribunals who judge conscientious objectors "'ave a fy'vrit question," according to George Scott, "wot you goin' to do if the Germans knock down yer wife? If a poor beggar 'esitates to think of the hanswer, put 'im at 'ard labor, they says, says they, till 'e knows 'is mind."

Many of the fellows in the Four Winds Fellowship did not take the trouble to go before the tribunals because they believe such an act an acknowledgment of the government's right of military surveillance. They refused to register as required by the act, and as a householder is liable to fine or imprisonment for sheltering such outlaws, they knocked about from place to place. They became criminals for "sleepin' on a country they won't defend."

Some took refuge in the Socialist clubhouses scattered throughout England, stopping a few days at each and incidentally picking up news of the Fourteenth street boarding house. James Snap, for instance, climbed out of the back windows of a clubhouse while a policeman was entering the front door. After a cross country run of two miles, he dodged the Bobby, and fell in with a man who told him about "these 'ere inexpensive sea trips to America." "Hactually," insists James, "it was the London Bobby wot gi' me the chawnce to get 'ere."

Other lads went up into the hills for a bit of a vacation, but this was not a very safe resting place, since "campin'-out parties ain't allowed these days without the King's permission."

Still others did not try to escape and were dragged before the authorities to explain their presence on the streets without military exemption papers. William Jones was a "clark," an energetic nimble-minded office worker who had filled his post most satisfactorily for years. But one night when William went out for a stroll, he never returned to his lodgings. Instead he was assisted by three strapping soldiers (William is a thin scrap of a lad) to Wormwood Scrubs and held as a military prisoner. After the doctor had examined William, he was offered home defense work—building roads, working on munitions, harvesting, anything to keep him quiet and contented and useful to his country. But William was difficult to please and, much to the doctor's surprise, he did not jump at the chance to exchange the trenches for a peaceful hayfield. It was all "'elpin' the war" to William.

"They was gentle enough to me," says William, "but one fellow who was taken in by force and wouldn't take a bath—I don't know what conscientious objection 'e 'ad to water—was pummelled and rubbed with a sharp brush till the blood run down 'is back." William apparently believed more in vocal than in physical resistance, for every night for three weeks as the sergeant made his rounds and called "Any complaints." William yelled back amidst a chorus of no's, "Yes, sir. Why am I kept here against my will?"

The upshot of it all was that William, with advance pay in

his pocket to placate him and his soldier escort to keep an eye on him, was sent to a concentration camp at Peebles, Scotland, a safe distance from friends. There he was dressed up in a khaki suit and a "Scotch bonnet wi' ribbons" and left to roam at will, for a man in a khaki suit beyond the three-mile limit at Peebles without a pass is spotted as quickly as a man in stripes three miles outside of Sing Sing.

While learning to shoulder a rifle at Peebles, William took the time to deliver lectures on peace to the recruits. And, in his opinion, he did not have an unsympathetic audience. "It's not them who does the fightin'," he comments, "but the gray-beards, the Boer war veterans, and officials that want to keep the war goin'. The people don't want war, but it's like this—if the government says to them, 'Eat beefsteak pie,' they eats it."

In a couple of weeks, William got the opportunity he was seeking. Some soldiers applied for passes to go to Edinburgh and, says William, "When they was givin' 'em out, I reached up me hand with the rest." While Tommy Atkins was making merry at Edinburgh, William slipped away from his pals, pawned or buried his natty uniform and bonnet, and took a train for a seaport town, the goal of the young conscientious objector.

For by sailors' homes, to the wharves and the swaying ships at harbor lies a way of escape for those who will not yield to the decree to kill or aid in killing comrades in foreign lands.

At Liverpool, at Glasgow, at Plymouth, each member of the Four Winds' Fellowship was metamorphosed. Arrayed in a cap and middy, armed with a paid-up membership card of the Seaman's Union (never mind where he got it), and with honorable discharge papers from a bona fide boat (never mind where he got *that*), each man took his turn in line waiting to ship as an able-bodied seaman on some vessel bound for America. The scarcity of British labor helped to give them the chance they sought.

It is not easy to locate the starboard side and the crow's nest when one has been running a lift at Peter Robinson's

department store. Stuffing endless coal into the mouth of a greedy furnace is fatiguing after adding figures in a ledger. The boys in the Four Winds' Fellowship found life before the mast full of hard knocks, sorry blunders, cruel pain, and now that they're on dry land—some laughter.

Even C. Percival Smith can laugh. C. Percival, the secretary of the fellowship, declares he was next thing to a "sylor," he was a "sylesman." But even such a close kinship did not save him from disgrace. Instead of donning oilskins over his sailor suit, Percival took his first watch on the lookout attired in a "nice gray Piccadilly top coat!"

Somehow or other all lived through their apprenticeship. "The best game," they explain, "was to say if you was put at the fires as 'ow you was ony familiar wi' work outside, and if you was put on deck to say you was a stranger to the work above." In some cases, perhaps, the game really worked and they were detected as merely greenhorns; in some cases perhaps a kindly eye winked at their disguise. Anyway they reached port at last, worn out and sick, with days of worry, excitement, hardship. Eagerly they found their way to New York, to the unknown friends who had preceded them.

But even in Fourteenth street a conscientious objector has his troubles. None of the men will take employment in munitions plants and as a goodly number of them are mechanics they are hampered in seeking work. Twenty-five and thirty-dollar-a-week men are doing odd jobs for ten and twelve dollars. Others have discovered a strong pro-ally sentiment in America that has no sympathy or help for their efforts. C. Percival Smith lost employment in two large wholesale woolen houses because in each case the head of the firm was aligned with British interests. Smith has at last "landed on his feet," but many of the others are suffering his experience.

The Four Winds' Fellowship is not discouraged. It likes America; it believes in the ways of democracy. But its members need work and friends. "We've done our bit in England," they say, "now perhaps there are anti-militarists in this country who will do a bit for us."

To Mothers Who Must be Educated

By Alice B. Munro

ANOTED physician, speaking of the after-care of infantile paralysis cases, said: "The main thing to be undertaken now is the education of the mothers." Only a few words, but as I read them I wondered whether you mothers, starting out upon what in many cases means years of work, would like to have me tell you a few of the things lying before you.

The children of the very poor will have every advantage; free clinics, massage and electricity, surgical appliances of all kinds, hospitals and nurses will be at their disposal. But my message is to you of the well-to-do class who expect to pay for all these things; who must necessarily do in the home what the very poor will have done for them at every turn.

Let us suppose that your child has passed through the necessary period of massage and electricity and is under the care of a skilful orthopedic specialist. Following out directions will seem almost futile, as you look at the inert limbs of your child, as you meet his remonstrances at every turn, as you find him willing, perhaps, to settle down in a wheel chair. It is so much easier to take the line of least resistance, to spare both yourself and your child scenes of bitter suffering, and

to resign yourself to having a "little invalid" in your home.

But don't do it. First of all, take stock of your resources and decide upon a definite plan of action. You may not realize it, but your education is just beginning. You must regulate your life to include an entirely new activity. If you are wise, you will eliminate every engrossing activity outside of your family life. No person can carry on two absorbing occupations equally well, and your child must be your first interest.

Let us hope that you are physically strong. If you are not, you must become so. It is so imperative a call that it is like a tonic to the languid, like a draft of life-blood to the anemic. Guard your health and strength in every possible way.

Try to have a hobby. You will often need to retire to a "Hinterland" of art, music or literature. How many hours have I spent with my friends of the seventeenth century, gardening with Mme. de Sévigné at Les Rochers; at Versailles and at St. Cyr with Mme. de Maintenon; in the "Faubourg" with Mme. de Lafayette! They are all old and tried friends.

Give up all formal and engrossing social life. A few intimate friends will always be ready to spend a quiet afternoon

reading, talking or sewing. They will learn soon that it is the truest kindness to ignore your ever-present care, and you will leave them better able to take up your work. From luncheons and receptions you must turn aside. Those well-meaning people who insist upon discussing infantile paralysis with you, who tell you of the child of a friend, "who had such a terrible case, who was helped by such a wonderful doctor, etc."—these people you will learn to avoid.

Let us suppose that you have under your care a boy of eight or nine, with a useless arm or leg. Your physician will probably arrange for him a long list of exercises, including work with Whiteley exercisers, dumb-bells, hand ball or pedal work, to be done every day, perhaps twice a day, for a period of several months. Not one of these things will your child do unless you make it your business to see that he does it. Have regular hours of work with him, let nothing interfere with them, and, above all, try as hard as you can to make it as pleasant as possible. You cannot but have some stormy scenes. There will be days when the very old Nick himself will get into your child or into you; when you finish your task feeling as if life were too hard to endure, when you wonder if it can be worth while to force this helpless being to do such a distasteful task day after day, and year after year, when he might be made a happy, comfortable invalid.

But don't give up. Remember that your child is not diseased. He is not nearly as badly off as if he had a weak lung or a diseased kidney. Don't let him feel for an instant that he is ill. Make him realize that you are helping him to get his inert muscles into shape so that he can do things for himself. Read aloud to him while he is doing some exercises, play for him while he is doing others, play hand-ball, ping-pong, anything that he is able to do, and keep before his mind constantly that all this leads to more strength and activity.

My own boy wore a heavy iron brace for four years. I was the only person who believed that he could ever bear his weight on his leg without the brace. The doctor said it could be done, and I kept on day after day and year after year, until

now it is off permanently. For two years he was unable to lift his arms above his head. I had to begin by lifting and drawing them down so many times every day. In a very short time he was able to lift them himself, and soon he was joyfully raising and dropping them while I read aloud Rob Roy. Today he has full use of his arms, although it took years to accomplish it.

But this is only half your work. You must steadfastly set your face against spoiling your child because of his limitations. Cover up your sensibilities fathoms deep. Don't allow anyone to pity him or you, and don't pity him yourself. Your effort must be to keep him a normal child. The best thing that ever happened to me was a severe scolding administered by a physician, when I took my boy to him after two years' illness. I was simply a slave to the child's slightest wish, with the tears very near the surface. The doctor took me aside and said:

"You mothers are the ruination of these children. You spoil them from the very beginning. If I had my way, I would take every one away from their mothers and have them properly brought up. There is no excuse for treating them as if they were not normal. Keep before your mind that you want him to become normal, and treat him accordingly."

This was a turning point with me. Naturally I backslid many times, and again and again had to be brought to my senses when sympathy led me too far. But six years after I was rewarded by my physician's saying that he considered my son a perfectly healthy boy, and that his affliction had only strengthened the most necessary manly elements.

So many women mourn the lack of some engrossing occupation, some creative work which will relieve their mind of household routine. Here is a great creative work which has come without your seeking it. If you take it in the right spirit it will lift you above the ordinary cares and annoyances of daily life. At the end of every one of these tiresome days you will consecrate yourself anew. Every day will see you more confident and serene, better able to attend to your great work and your education.

Prostitutes and Tuberculosis

By Alice Hamilton, M. D.

I NTERESTING, though possibly disconcerting, facts are disclosed in a study of tuberculosis among prostitutes recently published by two physicians of the federal Public Health Service. The study forms part of an investigation of tuberculosis in Cincinnati undertaken by these physicians at the joint request of the Board of Health of Cincinnati and the Anti-Tuberculosis League.

When it comes to the question of popular propaganda, two opinions on the part of reformers always prevail. There are those who would keep back as long as possible any evidence which tends to weaken the appeal to the public for certain measures of reform, holding that though we may suspect that the arguments we have been using are no longer in accord with our knowledge, yet we should do more harm than good by telling the public that doubt has been cast upon them. Some years ago we saw that attitude taken by the advocates of prohibition when Atwater's experiments were published showing that alcohol is, strictly speaking, a food. We have even had intimations of it in regard to the announcement made recently by experts as to the improbability of tuberculous infection being contracted at any period of life

except in infancy and childhood. Those who had been working for prevention of tuberculosis felt that their efforts would be blocked if any such idea should gain the popular ear.

Perhaps the greatest opposition of all is encountered when anything is said that throws doubt on the usual terrible picture of the physical consequences which follow sexual immorality. Yet the other class of reformers, represented most conspicuously by Dr. Richard C. Cabot, would argue that no permanent gain can follow an appeal which is not founded on the truth; that, for instance, to say to the young that health and morals go hand in hand, when actually health and morals do not go hand in hand, is to cheat them perhaps for a while but in the end to lose their confidence in everything else we tell them.

This article on tuberculosis among Cincinnati prostitutes does not furnish material for the ardent advocate of social purity whom we have all heard assuring his awestruck audience that the life of the prostitute was measured by five or at the most seven years, that inevitably venereal infection or consumption would carry her to an early grave. Often we wondered where he got his figures, but never could we dis-

cover their real source, and now we shall accept them with even greater scepticism; for these women in Cincinnati did not die at the end of even seven years, and when examined the majority of them were in good, even robust health. If there is no way of deterring a girl from a life of shame save by terrifying her with the prospect of an early death, then we must give up trying to deter her.

The public health physicians examined two hundred and seventy-five white inmates of houses of prostitution, which are under police supervision, for Cincinnati has the Continental system of vice "regulation." They found nineteen with evidence of tuberculosis, though only one was an open case (in a communicable stage of the disease); the rest were incipient cases. This, though not a startling proportion of tuberculosis, is large—no less than 6.9 per cent of the whole. Compared with the findings of examinations made by these same observers on women employed in factory work the number is decidedly in excess, as this list shows:

Boot and shoe workers.	1.46 per cent	(1.48 per cent more showed health below the average.)
Clothing Workers.	1.61 per cent	(2.28 per cent more showed health below the average.)
Tin and sheet iron.	1.7 per cent	
Piano mfg.	2.0 per cent	(3.0 per cent more showed health below the average.)
Soap mfg.	2.16 per cent	
Laundry	2.7 per cent	
Feather workers	3.7 per cent	
Cotton belts and ropes.	5.7 per cent	
Prostitutes	6.9 per cent	

Certain considerations, however, make the difference less great than appears from these figures. The women in these industries in Cincinnati average younger than the prostitutes. More than half of the former, 58 per cent, are under twenty-five years of age; only 39 per cent of the latter are so young. Moreover, the industries here listed are none of them notoriously bad, none has a decidedly high tuberculosis rate. Had the comparison been made in the textile towns of Massachusetts, where Dr. Perry found the death-rate from tuberculosis among women mill-hands to be from two and a quarter to five times as great as among women not in the mills, the result would have been quite different.

Another fact revealed in this inquiry has a bearing on the question of life in the brothel as favoring tuberculosis. Five of these 275 white prostitutes showed evidence of having had

tuberculosis and recovered, and their histories showed that the disease had entered on its favorable stage during their life of prostitution. To quote:

"Most of these cases were girls from very humble stations in life where their previous hygienic surroundings had probably been worse than those prevailing in their present dwelling places. Good and plentiful food was the universal rule in all the houses in which these prostitutes lived and the stringent police regulations kept alcoholic dissipation within reasonable bounds."

Regarding the number of years each girl had passed in prostitution, the largest group is that between five and ten years—126. Next comes a group of 115 who had been prostitutes less than five years. Forty-five had led this life for ten to fifteen years, seventeen for fifteen to twenty years, and twelve for twenty years or more, the highest on the list having forty years to her credit. This list includes forty colored women, making 315 in all.

Classed according to their general appearance, 147, or almost half, were described as "robust," eighty more as "good," and thirty-eight as "fair." Perhaps the most surprising statement of all is that concerning the health of those who entered the life at the earliest ages. There were fourteen who began this life under the age of sixteen and had lived in the "tenderloin" from five to twenty-nine years, with an average of fourteen and a half. Only one was found to be tuberculous, and only three were in anything approaching a poor physical condition, the others being of robust appearance.

Science every now and then surprises us by confirming some idea deeply rooted in the minds of the ignorant and vainly combatted for years by the learned. Girls of the factories and workshops have listened with a polite and silent scepticism to the descriptions given them by their religious instructors and by lecturers on social purity, of the dangers of a prostitute's life. They knew girls who had left the factory with its poor pay and hard work for the ease and abundant food of the brothel and they had seen them flourish instead of fading away. The motive that kept them from following the same path was not fear of a loathsome death, but something much higher and finer. Fortunately we do not need the appeal to fear when we speak to the young; we have far stronger and more moving chords to play upon. We need not be afraid that any harm will follow the publication of facts concerning the life of the prostitute.

Do Wages Buy Health?

The Oregon Minimum Wage Case Re-Argued

By Mary D. Hopkins

NATIONAL CONSUMERS' LEAGUE

IT is the nineteenth day of January, and a casual visitor might wonder if any case of unusual interest were before the Supreme Court of the United States. Something more than amiable curiosity stirs the audience. Faces are intent, even anxious. And well they may be if they are those of friends of social legislation, for today the Oregon minimum-wage cases, undecided for more than two years, are again before the court for reargument. (See the SURVEY, December 26, 1914.)

Those who have business with the Honorable Court are Edwin V. O'Hara for the Industrial Commission of the State of Oregon, Frank C. Stettler, a paper-box manufacturer of

Portland, and Elmira Simpson, his employe, who allege against the Industrial Commission that they are deprived of constitutional liberty without due process of law in being forced by the minimum-wage law of Oregon to pay and receive a living wage—namely, \$8.64 weekly—for services rendered by one to the other.

For the plaintiffs, ex-Senator Fulton, of Oregon, and Rome G. Brown, of Minnesota, accredited guardians of the established order, sit solidly in their places. For the defense, Felix Frankfurter, of the Harvard Law School,¹ is quite

¹ Prof. Frankfurter argued the Oregon ten-hour law before the Supreme Court April 18, 1916. (See the SURVEY, May 27, 1916.)

alone. Attorney-General Brown, of Oregon, taken by surprise at the court's sudden advancement of these cases, has not been able to reach Washington. From the judge's bench Mr. Justice Brandeis is missing, since his former participation in the case as attorney for the defense bars him from sitting in judgment. (See the SURVEY, February 6, 1915.)

It is the second day of the hearing and the defense has not yet had its innings. For upwards of an hour Senator Fulton yesterday had thundered against the law uninterrupted, painting a lurid picture of the perils and dangers of the minimum wage; a picture that might well give one pause if it were not subject to the check of facts.

"If your honors shall hold this statute constitutional, you will be tearing down the last barrier between government and the freedom of the individual. . . . The state may, indeed, regulate hours," the senator granted, "for hours bear a definite relation to the public health, and so come within the police power. But *wages* have no connection with health."

In some equally obscure way wages are detached also from occupation and the cost of living. The very bulwark of the opposition lay in the query: "Why should Stettler pay Simpson's bill? Why, any more than John D. Rockefeller? Stettler does not create the needs of the body, and what concern has he with Simpson's cost of living?"

No one can complain that the Supreme Court is not interested in the minimum-wage cases. As counsel for the defense rose to reply to Senator Fulton, all the objections to the minimum-wage system seemed thrown into the arena at once: Mr. Justice Pitney's question of the lazy and inefficient, Chief Justice White's concern over possible displacement and unemployment of women, Mr. Justice McReynolds' fear of a decrease in men's wages through women's competition, the pin-money theory, introduced again by Mr. Justice Pitney, which assumes that since the earnings of women in industry are for the most part supplementary, women have no need of a living wage.

Steady and cool under fire, with the ready debater's swiftness in his retort of fact and experience to each hypothetical objection, Mr. Frankfurter yet had need of all his skill to meet the court's attack; no chance was given him of consecutive argument.

The dialogue reached a sudden climax when at counsel's, "But, your Honor, those are not the facts," Mr. Justice McReynolds interrupted sharply, "I want to hear the law, not the facts."

Mr. Frankfurter paused a moment and spoke very distinctly: "We cannot discuss the law apart from the facts that illuminate it. This court has said again and again that it cannot consider such questions *in vacuo*. We have a right, your Honors"—and his voice rose to a challenge—"to oppose the judgment of speculation by the judgment of experience!"

Well, today, if it please the court, we shall have both the facts and the law. And today the court is listening, alert and silent. In the 800-page brief filed with the court by Mr. Frankfurter and Josephine Goldmark, of the National Consumers' League, there is, besides legal argument, the whole documented history of minimum-wage legislation throughout the world, answering doubts by the myriad voices of recorded fact. Such facts as these gave impact to Mr. Frankfurter's brilliant argument.

"This Oregon statute of February 17, 1913, was not drawn in the closet," argued Felix Frankfurter. "It was built on the solid basis of the experience of the state of Oregon. And the deferred decision of the court gives us a peculiar advantage in dealing with the case, the advantage that we can speak

from experience after the event instead of speculation before the event.

"It was drawn to meet certain definite ascertained public evils against which it was the state's responsibility to furnish safeguards. A large proportion of women in industry were found to be getting a wage below the living level. This was not merely the concern of some underpaid Susie or Lizzie, but the concern of the state, which must in the end pay the deficit between wages and cost of living. The grave consequences to the public health, the general lowering of standards, the resultant drain on the taxing resources of the government gave indubitable grounds for state action. Senator Fulton has said that there is no relation between wages and health. Let General Gorgas, one of the foremost health authorities of this nation, answer that. General Gorgas says 'that he never could have achieved his sweeping reforms in health and sanitation without the raised wages that made better standards of living possible.' Official reports from state after state, from leading health experts throughout the country, make the inevitable connection between conditions of bad health and the wages of women.

"This situation is an indictment of our whole economic system. A woman, my opponent argues, gets what she is worth and is worth what she gets. Ah, your honors, life is not so simple as that. On examination, the theory that wages are governed by an inexorable law of supply and demand yields to a recognition of the chaotic lack of wage standards in industry. Establishments paying high wages flourish side by side in the same industry with establishments that sweat and underpay their workers. Lower wages may indicate lack of standardization quite as often as lower value.

"Faced with the grave public evils arising from the underpayment of women in industry, Oregon might have done any one of several things: She might have taken the attitude of lazy fatalism; she might have said, as is constantly said by the opponents of minimum-wage legislation, these ills are the inevitable accompaniments of industry; she might have frankly adopted a state subsidy for industry; she might have relied on the slow but sure forces of education; or she might have followed the lead of Massachusetts, which looks for the enforcement of the minimum wage to public opinion and not to statute.

"But Oregon looked about the world and chose a different way. She saw the system of wage boards introduced in Victoria in 1896 renewed year after year and extending its success throughout the Australian commonwealth. She looked to England and saw her first somewhat tentative introduction of the system spreading throughout some of the greatest industries of the nation. Here was Oregon's approach to her trial of the minimum wage, not theory or speculation. She took advantage of the slow march of experiment in industrial communities. Oregon was entitled to build, as she did build, on the experience of the world.

"And in Oregon the results of the earlier experiments were verified. Did the minimum wage operate to bring about the displacement of women in industry? Did it operate to pay the minimum to the lazy and inefficient? The answer is that it has not. From all over the world testimony is given of the heightening of efficiency brought about by the minimum wage. It is given in the Australian answers to the queries of the New York State Factory Investigating Commission; in the careful English studies of economists and manufacturers such as Tawney and Rowntree. 'Mankind is as lazy as it dares to be.' The minimum wage operates as a stimulus to efficiency on the part of both employers and employes which is nothing short of inspiring. On the side of the employers it stimulates invention, management, a diminution of waste, a take-up of slack that makes directly for wealth. On the employes' side the raised wage, toning up physical and social conditions as no other means can do, results in greater personal efficiency and hence in increased output.

"If the means then taken by the state of Oregon are 'appro-

private' to insure her legitimate end, we now come to the final question: Are these means prohibited, and do they consist with the letter and spirit of the constitution? The due process clause of the fourteenth amendment is the only obstruction alleged by opposing counsel to the police power exercised by the state of Oregon. Has Oregon deprived Stettler or Simpson of life, liberty, or property without due process of law?

"It must not be forgotten, your honors, that the due process clause consists of two questions: the question, first, of deprivation, and second, of justification. You have only gone half way if you have proved that a deprivation existed. The question is: was there justification? What is due process? In declining to define it, I do not believe that this court enunciated a rule of timidity, but of necessity. You cannot put due process into a formula any more than you can put the future into the formula. Two ideas, however, seemed to dominate the court's conception; the deprivation must not be arbitrary or wanton, and it must not be spoliative. The question of its limits has been wrongly raised; it should be not *where* are you going to draw the line, but *how* are you going to draw the line? What are the standards, what the approaches we must make before saying to the state, yes, you may go thus far?

"What is the liberty of which Stettler and Simpson claim they are deprived? Did Oregon say that no one could work for less than \$8.64? No. She enacts this only for the experienced worker of ordinary ability. Oregon says in effect: 'You must pay the cost of your employe's labor or you must get license from the commission to pay her less.' The *liberty* they complain they are deprived of is the liberty to refuse to go before the commission, in case Simpson is outside the \$8.64 class, to get permission to employ her at \$8. What *property* deprivation does Stettler complain of? He says he will lose his business if required to pay \$8.64 to his working force. For all we know, and in the absence of any proof to the contrary, Stettler during these three years may be making more money instead of less under the minimum wage. There may have been actual increase of wealth through its stimulation of efficiency and management. Stettler, in short, is asking the court to guess at a result which may be wholly falsified by the present fact.

"But let us make a generous assumption. Let us assume, in the absence of evidence, that Stettler cannot employ this very girl at \$8. What is the state in effect saying to him? You shall not use all her working energy unless you pay her the cost of producing that energy. You shall not employ Simpson unless you pay the price of food and lodging to keep her going. It ultimately comes down to that. That is why Stettler and not John D. Rockefeller should pay, because Stettler has the use of all her working power and John D. Rockefeller has not. Someone must pay the cost of her labor, and self-evidently it must be the man who profits by it.

"Why is the state poking its nose in? Because if there is a deficit the state must in the end pay the bill. Recent reports of local government boards in Great Britain show with almost startling clearness the connection between low wages and public expenditures in the remarkable fall in poor rates during the war through increase of wages and decrease of unemployment. And the interest of the state is involved not only in

direct public expenditures, but in the deterioration of its human stock. The cost of the deficit between \$8.64 and \$8 is taken out of the health and stamina of the workers, who, in the aggregate, make up the state.

"Again it is the state's interest to secure fair and prevent unfair competition? Where bargaining power is weak the market price of labor may represent, as Balfour said in the House of Commons, 'a forced sale of value,' and not any true competitive value. 'Interference,' said the Bishop of Southwark, speaking of the same class of sweated workers—'interference is their only hope of freedom.' And by fixing Simpson's wage the state moreover acts in the interest of the fair employer. The great testimony to the success of the system is the gradual but sure support of manufacturers in states and countries where it has been tried. Oregon employers say that it throws the weight of the state's authority behind their own best standards in industry.

"There is a shallow current opinion, your Honors, to the effect that the constitution prohibits any touching by law of the wage relation. This is absolutely without foundation. Four times at least this court has in its decision touched the wage relation because of the public interest the cases involved. In the truck acts as to medium of payment; in the McLean case regarding method; in *Mutual Loan v. Martell*, regarding assignments of wages; and in the New York Erie case as to time of payments, this court allowed the state's interference in the wage relation. In all these cases there was real diminution of liberty, but the court held the public interest paramount. The wage relation is not in itself included in, nor is it immune from government action. It is protected only by the broad, permanent principles of the due process clause. This field of governmental action must, like others, be justified by public ends, and the question must be considered in each specific case.

"The minimum wage is not a panacea. Oregon may be wrong. Massachusetts and Minnesota and Arkansas and Nebraska and California and Colorado and Washington and Wisconsin and Utah may all be wrong. Yet they built on experience; they used their best wisdom to meet grave public evils. The right to trial in error is one of the deep rights on which our dual system of government is based. Oregon is entitled to see how far the means she has taken may remedy the evils before her. All we ask this court to say is that Oregon may be right."

Mr. Frankfurter's persuasive reasonableness makes it a bit difficult to do justice to the oratory of Rome G. Brown, who follows him and closes the plaintiffs' case. His attack on the minimum wage as a thinly disguised socialism, his view of Oregon as the snake in our industrial paradise whose defiance of constitutional rights has precipitated "this new and revolutionary labor legislation, this theory that strikes at the basis of our government" seems a little fanciful.

Father Ryan, whose well-known book on *The Living Wage* Mr. Brown paused to attack, made after all the final instinctive comment: "Very interesting, Brown, very interesting," he said cordially, meeting his opponent after the hearing, "but all wrong, of course!"

The Children's Bit in the War¹

By Winthrop D. Lane

OF THE SURVEY STAFF

IT is the pride of nearly every man and woman in England today that he is doing his "bit" in the Great War. The sense and reality of patriotic service are not left alone to those who face danger at the front. The worker in a munitions factory, the member of a volunteer training corps, the woman who gives her days that one man more may be released, the head of a small business on which the comfort of households depends, the last support of a family already shaken by the loss of men—these are a few who regard their work as no less vital to the national defense than the more spectacular grappling with the enemy away from home.

Lesser services, too, bring their praise and satisfaction. Confiding savings to the government is one of these, economy another. To forego accustomed holidays is regarded as a gift to the nation, and evening dress is an extravagance not always deemed in good taste. Families and gentlefolk are becoming less dependent upon hire for getting things done. Even the maid in the house I occupied during the owner's absence accepted the burden of preparing my breakfasts throughout her promised vacation with a half-expressed sense of contributing something to the national effort, as if she were strengthening the friendship between her own country and the great neutral nation to the west.

To this empire of sacrifice the children of England are contributing their part. It is a forced and melancholy part. Unlike many of their elders, the children have not been allowed to choose the form their "bit" shall take, nor have they the satisfaction of knowing the relation between their loss and the nation's need. That many of them, like children everywhere, do not regard their sacrifice with regret renders it none the less costly to them.

Education in England is at a standstill. Like every peaceful activity of government, it has been thrown into the crucible of war economy, and more than others it has come forth a scorched and shrunken thing. Thousands of children are marking time, other thousands have been turned prematurely from the school door. In some localities three-fourths of the total war savings in public funds have been effected in education alone. "A large portion of our elementary school system," said Sir James Yoxall in Parliament, "is in ruins—I will not say as desolate as the ruins of Louvain, but there is to some extent a likeness."

British Distrust of Education

PROMISES have been plenty that everything taken away shall be restored when war is over. Not all Englishmen, however, are hopeful that this will or can be done. When teaching staffs crumble away, when buildings are no longer repaired and new building is stopped, when schools are turned into military camps and hospitals, when classes are enlarged, school feeding stopped and medical attention suspended, when children of twelve and thirteen are sent into the fields to work, friends of education see a menace to the future of youth that may not be removed as simply as it came. England, in a way of which her economists speak little, is already "making the

next generation pay." The irony is that she is doing this at a time when the early training of youth is seen to have a special value, and when she herself is caught in a vague and violent passion for something better educationally than she has ever known before. She seems not to realize that once this man-killing war is over, she, like others of the nations of Europe, will have to go forward on the feet of little children, and that it ill behooves her now to make the way rough and the travelers ill-equipped.

Her attitude is made easy, of course, by her own chronic distrust of formal intellectual training. "The disposition to consider intelligence a peril," says John Erskine, "is an old Anglo-Saxon inheritance," and he quotes Kingsley's line:

"Be good, sweet maid, and let who will be clever"

as presenting the "startling alternative which to the English, alone among great nations, has been not startling but a matter of course."

Schools Still a Dull Subject

PRESENT-DAY evidence of this same philosophy is not lacking. Only a few months ago a leading English newspaper, contrasting German and English educational methods, declared in favor of the English on the ground that "the true aim of education is the beauty and perfection of the soul, and not merely the production of the mechanism of efficiency."

When our forefathers were busily constructing a system of state-supported and compulsory schools for the children of all people, England was still embroiled with the religious issue in education, from which she is not by any means free today. It was not until 1870 that elementary training, except in private schools, ceased to be supplied mainly by religious organizations. Prior to that the only local government agency having to do with education was the poor-law authority. Not till ten years later did the country have, as a result of one of those prodigious parliamentary acts that have caused the English educational system to be a thing that only courts and lawyers can understand, a truly national system of schools based on adequate facilities and universal attendance. And only twenty-six years ago, in 1891, did public elementary schools cease charging fees and provide free education to all.

Meanwhile there has continued a persistent belief that education is a dull subject and that too much mental training, especially for children of the working classes, is not wholly desirable. The educational debates in Parliament early in the present war were a sure means of emptying the house. The presidency of the Board of Education, the highest government school office, has been notoriously filled by men with no special qualifications for the place and has had six incumbents in the past ten years.² When the coalition cabinet was formed in June, 1915, a man already acting as labor adviser to the Ministry of Munitions was assigned to the education post, though he continued to spend most of his time adjusting difficulties among working folk. His resignation last August was followed by the appointment of another overworked member of the cabinet, Lord Crewe, who was acknowledged to be a mere stop-gap selection.

¹ This article is based on observations made in England in August and September, 1916. It remains an accurate statement of England's war policy toward education.

² The latest appointment by Lloyd George makes seven. The present incumbent is, however, an educator. See page 527.

This is the attitude that has made possible the great war economies of the past two years. It is difficult to believe some of the things that have been said in justification of these economies. A resident of Birmingham wrote to the *Daily Mail* shortly after the war started: "Only a few weeks ago I saw several men engaged in repainting the outside of a council school in this city. Surely such work as this could be left until the war is over! There is no reason, too, why teachers could not devote half of their time in making munitions of war, and the schools be closed at midday until the war is over."

One cannot feel sure that this is an extreme view. We find the editor of an influential school weekly roundly declaring that "the bedrock truth is that the people of London have no real belief in the efficiency or usefulness of education," and charging that "up to the present the London County Council have paid for the war out of education." Not only people identified with teaching, but those interested in social and industrial problems as well, seem to accept this statement as literal truth.

In England, as in this country, education is regarded mainly as a matter of local development and control. The "local education authority" is at once the hope and the curse of the English school system. This body, usually the county or borough council, is required by statute to appoint an education committee, which does most of the work. The country has not yet awakened to the enormous powers that recent acts have conferred upon the 319 local education authorities in England and Wales. In effect these authorities have daily under the eyes of their officers the whole child population of the nation. They are required to provide and maintain enough elementary schools for all children of school age within their districts. They must enforce the attendance of these children. They must provide periodic medical inspection of all children, and in particular they must deal suitably with those who are mentally defective and with all blind and deaf children up to the age of sixteen.

They have large optional powers in addition. Indeed, they are at liberty to provide anything that can be included within the term education, without restriction of age, sex, kind, grade, topic or amount. They may establish and maintain day-feeding schools, vacation schools, open-air schools, schools for delinquent and truant children and for children suffering from serious parental neglect. They may give meals for necessitous children in all their day schools, even on Sundays and holidays. They may conduct school clinics, and may appoint not only teachers, but doctors and nurses and any other officers necessary to the work. They are, in short, the local community agents for nearly everything that concerns the child of school age. For all these tasks they impose their own school taxes, called rates, and may even borrow money. There is no limit to their expenditure in the aggregate (though there is on some items), and it rests only with the members of the council to put the law in force.

First Effect of the War

OVER the obligatory parts of this multifarious activity the Board of Education exercises supervision and inspection. This board is the highest educational authority in the country. Its president sits in the cabinet. The board's powers of compulsion over local authorities are, however, few. Its main duty is the disbursement of subsidies, or grants-in-aid, from the national treasury to the local authorities. Before paying these grants, however, the board must insist that schools conform to its stipulated requirements, and its own inspectors see that

this is done. These grants from the board meet little less than 50 per cent of the total cost of elementary education in England and Wales.

One of the first effects of the war upon education was to withdraw able-bodied male teachers from the schools. Whether a schoolmaster would be likely to perform more effective public service by staying at his school than by joining the forces of the crown was a question that seemed to trouble few people. If it was raised at all, it was quickly answered. Teaching staffs were hastily rearranged and the whole service adapted to the end of setting free an ever increasing number of men for military service. The president of the Board of Education wrote to all engaged in the public service under him, emphasizing the need for further sacrifices to increase the army. The teachers themselves accepted this view of the nation's necessity and asked for one special consideration only, namely, that such of their number as should be found unfit for service might be allowed to return to teaching instead of being put at other duties more directly concerned with war.

Inroads on Staff

THE desired result was promptly achieved. Twelve thousand teachers enlisted before the war was six months old. When conscription was adopted the number had risen to 20,000. It is now about 22,000. This is half the total number of men teachers in England and Wales, and is generally admitted to constitute all that are eligible for service.

For the sake, therefore, of putting a force of this size into the field, England has stripped her elementary schools of nearly all her male teachers in the prime of vigor. This is more serious in England than it would be here, for there the ratio of men to women teachers is larger than here, being about two to three.

Against this loss many persons are claiming there will be a special gain. It is argued that the heightened repute and status enjoyed by the profession as a result of its ready reply to the nation's call will be an asset to the whole education service in the future. Unquestionably the country has been agreeably surprised by the response of its schoolmasters. Whether that gain will be sufficient to justify the loss of so vital a part of the teaching staff at a time when the most effective child-training possible needs to be done, is a question that cannot be answered today.

But the departure of teachers for the front is not the only inroad made upon the school force. There has been deliberate cutting of staff. Since economy is easiest when done by formula, some authorities have drawn a sharp rule and in all schools where there are eight or more teachers the number has arbitrarily been reduced, the burden of extra classroom work being thrown upon the head-master. The Board of Education itself has definitely advised local authorities "to reduce the staffs as much as possible while still keeping up to its [the board's] code requirements."

A number of local authorities have so far followed the letter of this suggestion as to refrain from employing permanent teachers, who are paid according to a rising scale of salaries, and to hire instead "supply" teachers, who are paid by the day. The advantage of these is that not only is their wage less, but they do not have to be paid for holidays—a saving that looms large to those who can see little difference between one teacher and another.

The places of the soldier-teachers and others who have left are taken for the most part by two classes of substitutes: married women who had taught before marrying, and men and women who had reached the age of sixty-five and retired on

pensions. Neither of these classes is, of course, as a whole, abreast of current educational thought and methods. Still less so are the great numbers of supply teachers already mentioned, who are for the most part well-educated themselves, but with no experience in teaching. The result of all these changes is not merely a shift in the personnel of teachers—it is a direct impoverishment of education.

These inroads have been made chiefly for the sake of a larger army. Even more provocative of complaint have been those made for the sake of economy. England had scarcely entered the war before the watchword of governmental activity became "retrenchment." Everyone saw an immediate necessity for saving money. Government departments that ordinarily urge upon local officials the virtues of open-handedness and progress now overwhelmed them with arguments for stinting. In the educational field the reduction of the school rates became of transcendent importance; from the offices of the board there issued circular after circular calling attention to the opportunities for service in this direction. To make the matter still more impressive a treasury committee on retrenchment was appointed in July, 1915, the purpose of which was still further to press down the lid of public frugality.

Government for Economy

IN THIS general cry for economy it would have been easy to say: "It is true that we are at war. It is true that the first consideration of both public and private effort should be to win the battle. For this purpose money is necessary, and some of it must be saved from other work. But since we do not intend to give up all domestic service carried on in time of peace, we shall do well to select the fields for retrenchment carefully. Some service is more dispensable than others. Some bears a relation to the comfort of the moment, some is indissolubly bound up with the future of the nation. Then, too, history shows that activities once foregone are slow to be resumed. Let us save first, therefore, on the least important things. Let us touch last those services that will become most vital when the tasks of reconstruction press upon us for solution. Education is one of these. If we can win the war only by closing every school door in England, let us close them. But let us economize heavily in other directions first. Let us say: 'The schools shall be privileged. They shall be among the last to know that England is in need.'"

Individuals, indeed, did take this view. In one of the last speeches before he died, Keir Hardie said in the House of Commons: "Gentlemen are able to look at this question from an abstract point of view. They may have sympathy for the children, but they do not consider education from quite the same standpoint as those of us who have had only the most limited education, while some of us have never spent a day in school in our lives." Arnold Bennett also came to the rescue of the schools when he warmly attacked the London County Council for "specializing in educational economy" and "even making a parade" of it. Education, he said, "is the very last thing that we ought to economize in."

Government, however, took a different view. England is said to have been won to conscription largely by the argument of "fairness," the notion that it is only just that burdens willingly borne by some should be imposed upon others. Similar reasoning seems to have prevailed with regard to the conscription of finance. No reasoning that education should not bear the burdens of economy equally with other public services seemed to carry weight.

One of the first economies was the complete stopping of all new building and improvement. Normally local government

authorities borrow about £3,000,000 (\$15,000,000) a year for the erection of new school buildings and the alterations of old. Since England has developed no duplicate school plan like the Gary system, this new building has been necessary to keep pace with the growth of the school population. Yet not even this has sufficed. Overcrowding has been an increasing menace for years, and the size of classes has become alarming even to the public. In London the estimated number of children requiring school places when the war began was 768,000, the existing accommodation 721,000. Outside of London classes average fifty pupils; in some places even sixty. A demand to reduce classes and eliminate overcrowding had gained promising headway before the war; indeed, a definite program in London for the reduction of all classes in upper schools to forty and in infants' schools to forty-eight had been presented to the education authority and had been agreed upon as desirable.

All of this has been stopped with the stopping of new buildings. Instead, classes have increased and overcrowding continued, aided by the reductions in staff. When it is remembered that many classes are in the hands of inexperienced teachers, the harm to effective education can easily be seen. Even the Board of Education unwillingly admits that the situation is likely to become serious. "We have . . . found it necessary," it declares, "in certain cases to acquiesce temporarily in the continuance of unsatisfactory conditions which in normal times would call for speedy removal."

In still another way the accommodation for children has suffered. Most school buildings are excellent places for billeting troops. Light, airy, well-ventilated and equipped with adequate sanitary facilities, they are pre-eminently adapted for housing many people over long stretches of time; often only a little modification is necessary to make them into first-class military hospitals.

The military authorities were quick to realize this. In the early days of the war schools were seized with little or no warning and the children thus displaced were either abandoned temporarily to forced vacations, were accommodated in other buildings, public and private, or were sent to knock at the doors of schools already filled. Sometimes even munition workers, outrunning the housing accommodations of their neighborhood, were allowed to occupy schools until other residence could be provided. The government's own reports declare that during the first thirteen months of the war one school building out of every twenty in England and Wales was in use for a time for military purposes. In out-of-the-way areas this use was likely to be small, but not a few urban and central districts found themselves deprived for weeks and even months of accommodation for more than half of their school populations.

Use of Schools by the Military

THIS is frankly admitted by the government itself. The report of the Board of Education for 1914-15 mentions three such instances: one area in which seven large schools, with an average attendance of 9,000 out of 26,000, were taken for the use of troops; another in which 17,000 children out of 41,000 were displaced; and a third in which thirteen schools were taken in whole or in part and 11,200 children, "more than half the total average attendance of the borough," were left without accommodation. This occupation by the military was not merely temporary, though it is one of the results of the war that the board is not gathering statistics and so it is impossible to say how prevalent the occupation still is. But one frequently hears of localities where one or more schools

have been permanently converted into hospitals, or are still used for housing troops.

Among the expedients devised for meeting this emergency were part-time systems and open-air classes. A "double shift" arrangement was instituted, whereby one set of children not ousted by the military shared their building with another set who were ousted, the two groups alternating in attendance and each meeting twice in one day. Another arrangement was the "single shift," which provided for one meeting each day. Both of these mean, of course, a loss in the total number of school hours. How many children have been subjected to part time it is impossible to say, but the number has been so large that the relative merits of the "double" and "single" shift systems have become a hotly debated topic among teachers.

Open-air classes have increased also as a result of this occupation of school buildings by the military. These, of course, may be highly desirable, but the trouble is that they are too likely to be organized half-heartedly, as a choice among evils rather than as things good in themselves. In Nottingham, for example, the regulations provide that classes shall be held in the "various open spaces in the town, in fields adjoining the schools, and in the school playgrounds, especially where awnings have been provided."

"These spaces," says the report of the Nottingham Education Committee, "are utilized as far as possible by schools in their neighborhood, some schools going for full half-day sessions, and others only for 'class' periods. Teachers of schools quite near the open spaces are encouraged to take out infant chairs, whilst those further away arrange for the children to bring out disused modeling or drawing boards, their cloaks, folded newspapers, etc., to serve as seats. The Education Committee have also purchased several large waterproof ground sheets, each capable of seating six to eight children, and these sheets have been distributed to the various spaces for the use of classes meeting there, and some simple canvas deck chairs have been provided for the medical department's delicate children class. Where there are bandstands or other covered erections the Park Committee has allowed them to be used by the children, subject to the teachers concerned holding themselves responsible for their proper care."

Adversity is sometimes the mother of improvement, however. One instance of this is the "school journeys" that have been widely resorted to to fill in the time that cannot be spent in classrooms. A teacher in Manchester, who was forced by the military occupation of his building to find some other means of utilizing his pupils' time, took them on trips about the city, explaining to them the functions of different government departments, and other matters of civic interest, with the result that in six months his class was so much more alert and interested in its work than it had been before that he begged to be allowed to continue his journeys even after the school had been restored to its educational use.

Further Economies

ANOTHER item in the retrenchment program has been educational supplies. Six million children attend the elementary schools of England and Wales. For each of these the government normally buys text-books, necessary apparatus for science and other courses, and stationery. Many local authorities have not bought a single new book for the past twelve months. In some schools boys and girls segregated in separate departments are being compelled to use the same science apparatus. London, one of the chief exponents of this economy, has cut its expenditure on supplies from seventy-eight to forty-two cents per pupil.

Furniture is another item now bought sparingly, while many buildings are going unpainted and uncleaned. London is actually saving £71,590 of her original estimate of £75,950 for painting and cleaning in 1916-17; in repairs, also, she is cutting down her expenditure about one-third. A coat of paint is, of course, sometimes the best economy, and an exasperated educator has declared that what is really being saved by all these retrenchments is merely "the ha'porth of tar that preserves the ship."

Meanwhile the ship itself is being put through the scuttling process. Many important functions of the school have been abandoned or curtailed. Of most of these the exact extent of the scuttling is at present unknown; local authorities do pretty much as they wish and are not held to as prompt reporting of their acts as is expected in normal times.

Medical inspection and school clinics have almost disappeared in places. School dentistry has come under the knife and the supply of free eyeglasses has been reduced. School kitchens and cookery centers have been largely done away with and school laundries have been curtailed. Meals for necessitous children, provided to 420,000 in 1914, have been very largely eliminated, though this is declared to be due partly to the rise in wages and decrease in the number of families asking for such relief.

Economy and the Children

SPECIAL classes and instruction in particular branches have been cut down. Domestic economy and industrial arts have suffered. Evening schools nearly everywhere have been reduced. This again is explained to some extent by the decrease in pupils and teachers, many of whom have joined the army, but the argument of economy accounts for much of it. Almost every kind of special education has been skimmed on. The result, of course, is a great unevenness in what different communities provide for their children. Many of these services were initiated only after years of persuasion and effort. Now that they are lost, the effort to regain them may be as arduous as that to secure them in the first place.

But not only teachers, plant and service have felt the retrenchment axe. The children themselves have been directly touched. Their numbers have been thinned and the years of training of many of them cut short. Here we see in all its starkness the English apathy toward education.

For a notable pronouncement on the relation of education to finance, the world is indebted to England's treasury committee on retrenchment, already mentioned. This committee, appointed to recommend economies in all government branches, gave particular heed to education; no other service received half as much discussion in its final report. The committee made a careful search for points at which economy could be practiced with least disastrous effects, and its search was rewarded with a startling discovery. It learned that money spent on schools bears a direct relation to the number of pupils in those schools. "Fewer pupils," it declares, "mean in the long run fewer teachers and smaller expenditure on buildings, furniture, stationery, and all maintenance charges," and its conclusion is: "After careful consideration we have arrived at the conclusion that a really substantial permanent decrease in this expenditure [on elementary education] can only be secured, without a loss of efficiency, by altering the present school ages *so as to reduce the number of children in the schools.*" (Italics mine.)

The only remaining question was whom to exclude. The committee decided that it would be "contrary to the public interest to lower the leaving age," that is, to lop from above.

So it recommended lopping from below. School attendance is compulsory in England from five to fourteen, but children between three and five are in most places allowed to attend. There were 316,000 such children in attendance in England and Wales at the outbreak of war.

These children the committee recommended to exclude. "There can be little doubt," it said, "that money spent on younger children must in the main be wasted so far as education is concerned," and it was a more willing convert to the exclusion of these children because it "understood" that the Board of Education itself would not regard "the aggregate loss of intellectual training" involved "as a serious matter."

The recommendation was adopted and England thus gave up, at the behest of war economy, a large branch of educational service that she had thought well of in times of peace. Not all the "under-fives," as they have come to be called, were excluded. "Very poor town areas," where their exclusion and loss of a few hours' care each day away from their own miserable homes and environment would have been "prejudicial to their health and welfare," were exempted from the new ruling. Since *all* grants from the board in aid of the education of these children were stopped, however, the local authorities in even such localities have had a strong reason for closing the door to the under-fives.

The Most Insidious Attack

THE educational loss suffered by their exclusion may be problematical. They came for the most part from poor homes and received at school medical examination and treatment, in addition to food and a certain amount of kindergarten training. These things were thought important enough before the war to be encouraged and developed. It is not likely that the arguments for their abandonment during war were of much educational value, and it is true, of course, that they were abandoned at a time when mothers are away from home more than normally. Moreover, it remains a question whether they will be restored for years after peace has come.

There is still to be considered what is perhaps the most insidious attack that the war has caused upon education in England—insidious because of the quietness with which it has been and is being accomplished, and its probable enduring effect upon ideals. This is the relaxation of school attendance laws, the cutting short of the period of education for thousands of children, and the increase in child labor.

If you will take a map of England and draw a line from the mouth of the Humber to the mouth of the Severn, following the course of the rivers Trent and Avon, you will roughly set off to the south and southeast the chief agricultural counties of England. It is here that the large increase in child labor has taken place, though the increase is not limited solely to this area. Thousands of children thirteen, twelve, and even eleven years of age have been withdrawn from school to work upon the farms, either in place of adult agricultural laborers who have gone to war or into other employment, or to satisfy the ill-concealed desire of farmers for cheap labor.

Many of these children have been taken from school legally. The attendance laws of England and Wales are a curious and complicated patchwork; only a lawyer, it is said, can understand them. The governing regulation is an act of Parliament declaring that attendance shall be compulsory between the ages of five and fourteen, but local authorities can alter this rule; by passing by-laws, they can exempt children who have not reached fourteen. These authorities are required to exempt children over twelve years of age who have passed a prescribed standard of grade, though the authorities themselves

may fix the grade. Some have fixed it at the fifth, some the sixth, some the seventh (there are eight grades in an elementary school). About half of the local authorities exempt also children who reach thirteen and make a certain percentage of attendances, provided these children are "beneficially employed."

These are total exemptions. Most authorities permit, also, partial exemption from school attendance. The usual rule is that children must have reached twelve, must have made a certain percentage of attendance, and must be beneficially employed. When partially exempted a child may either attend school half-time, or remain away altogether for specified months of the year.

A special provision for partial exemption is contained in Robson's act, by virtue of which authorities may exempt children *between eleven and thirteen* if they are employed in agriculture and have passed a prescribed grade. This act was passed in 1899 and has been taken advantage of by most of the rural counties of England. Another special provision allows exemption to exceptionally bright pupils, and still another to exceptionally dull ones. The latter is known as the "dunce's certificate" and is frequently sought by parents who have lost patience with their children's efforts to gain an education.

All of these by-laws have the force of statutes. They make it possible for parents, children and the education authorities themselves to evade the whole spirit of the school-attendance law. The acts governing employment add materially to the confusion and bring the employer into the circle of those who are interested in getting around the requirements.

One formula for evading the law is known as the plea of "reasonable excuse." Any local authority who is satisfied that a child staying away from school has a reasonable excuse for so doing may refrain from prosecuting the parents. The "excuse" may be the family's need, or alleged need, of the child's wages; it may be anything the local authority regards as "reasonable." Though the legality of this practice has been called into question, its use is widespread and it has proved especially fruitful since the war gave a bad odor to many niceties of interpretation.

Not long after the war began a dearth was felt in the ranks of employes in many trades. Immediately a cry was raised for a relaxation of the school-attendance laws. Factory managers wanted boys to take the places of men who had gone to the front or into munition plants. Farmers wanted boys to help with the milking, to tend sheep, to feed stock, to scare crows from the spring wheat, to do innumerable odd jobs. Employers with deliveries to make wanted boys as messengers and drivers. Butchers joined with hairdressers in the cry for more juvenile labor. Firms engaged in government contracts represented the urgency of their work as reasons for employing boys, while the Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners, always upholders of part-time labor for children under fourteen, increased their demand that both full-time and part-time leaving ages be lowered "during the continuance of the war."

The Demand of the Farmers

THE farmers' demand was the most insistent. Now, the English farmer is doubtless a maligned individual. We may doubt, for example, whether it be fully true that he finds, as one member of Parliament phrased it, a boy's chief usefulness to be that "he is handy and can be kicked." Nevertheless, a high degree of conservatism, especially in regard to new farm methods and machinery, seems to be one of his admitted char-

acteristics. He has always entertained, too, a low opinion of those meddling acts of government that have made it harder and harder for him to employ youthful assistance.

"A boy," said a farmer at an agricultural meeting at Lewes, East Sussex, shortly after the war began, "ought to learn all he wants to by the time he is twelve years old, and during the next two years he will learn more under a farmer than he will under a schoolmaster."

At another meeting a "well-known Westerdale farmer" declared that "boys were being over-educated and showed a disinclination for farm work." "To prohibit the employment of scholars on the land," he said, "was taking away from farmers the supply of labor at its source." Remarks of this tenor could be multiplied by the score.

To all of these demands the government might have turned a deaf ear. Unfortunately, it did nothing of the sort. The local education authority, to whom one would naturally look for a championing of its own by-laws, was comprised in many rural districts of a large representation of farmers or of those who sympathized with the farmer's viewpoint. Committees so composed were ready enough to let down the bars in the matter of school attendance. Their only concern was the attitude that might be taken by the Board of Education. It would be unfortunate if that body should disapprove and manifest its disapproval by withholding funds.

Impotence of the Board

BUT the board soon set the local authorities at rest. To all inquiries it gave them the very clew they wanted. To the County Council of Cambridgeshire it wrote: "A local education authority is under no obligation to take proceedings in respect of the non-attendance of a child at school if they are satisfied that there is a reasonable excuse for non-attendance." To the Leicestershire Education Committee it wrote: "The board have no doubt that in the present emergency local education authorities will exercise a reasonable discretion in any case where it is really essential to utilize the services of children of school age in agricultural operations." And so on. The board merely told the local authorities that the whole matter was up to them. This, of course, was literally true, but the board need not have said it. It could have made a strong plea from the first against any relaxation of school-attendance laws and could have urged upon local authorities the increased importance of a well-educated citizenship for the future. Had it done so, the subsequent flocking of children into industry would never have taken place. Instead the board only emphasized its own impotence.

But the board was not the only government power that gave a clew to the farmers. Less than a month after the opening of the war, Mr. Bathurst, representative for Wilton, asked Prime Minister Asquith if the government would not suspend "such provisions of the education acts as would enable boys over eleven years of age in purely agricultural districts to furnish assistance."

"The matter," said Mr. Asquith, "is well within the discretion of the local authorities, who have already had their attention called to it by the Board of Education."

"Are we to understand," persisted Mr. Bathurst, "that if the local authorities took such action they would not meet with the disapproval of the Board of Education?"

"Yes," said the prime minister.

What, then, has been the extent of this exodus from school? We can only arrive at an estimate. The government count includes only the relatively small number of children formally exempted and does not include a much larger number who

have just as certainly stayed away but who, by virtue of the device of "reasonable excuse" already mentioned, have avoided the inconvenience of formal exemption.

On May 31, 1916, the date of the latest government report, the number formally exempted was 15,753. These, under the law, were normally bound to attend school but had been excused to enter agricultural employment. Estimates of the number not formally exempted but nonetheless remaining away vary considerably. Such different observers as Mrs. Sidney Webb and Sir James Yoxell, the latter an educator in Parliament, agree that the total is not below 50,000 or 60,000. Others have placed it as high as 200,000. These figures refer to the summer of 1916, when that year's harvesting season had scarcely begun. Making allowance, therefore, for the probable increase since that time, and including both those formally exempted and those who merely stay away, a conservative estimate of the number of children prematurely excused from school for farm work would be no fewer than 100,000.

The greater number of these are boys. Of the 15,753 formally excused, 14,441 were boys. If the same ratio holds good for the whole 100,000, only about 8,000 were girls. More than half of those formally excused were between twelve and thirteen years of age. If the same percentage again holds good, there are over 50,000 boys and girls of that age working on English farms because of the war, and between 3,000 and 4,000 eleven years old.

This policy of exemptions has not lacked, of course, strong defenders. One member of the House of Commons put the argument dramatically when he said: "The question is how we are to produce the food so absolutely necessary in this war period." The dearth of agricultural laborers is declared to be a real menace; England, it is argued, must depend upon her farms for all they are capable of producing; the only available labor supply is that of the children; the need is but temporary and exemptions will cease when the war is over; and, finally, the country faces a crisis and it is poor patriotism that will not subordinate every other issue to that.

The answer made by the opponents of the policy takes the position, first, that no crisis has yet overtaken England that makes the resort to child labor necessary on so large a scale, or as a first and sole measure of relief; there are other expedients that ought to have been tried first. One is increasing the wages of adult agricultural laborers. Farm help, it is contended, is notoriously underpaid. Yet where wages are highest, as in Scotland and the north of England, the least use of child labor has occurred. This shows, declare the opponents of exemption, that a close relation exists between adult wages and the cry for child labor and that no case for the employment of children can be made out until adequate efforts have been made to attract adult labor. Moreover, it is pointed out that in Norfolk, where under a recent agreement overtime by adult laborers has to be paid at the rate of 6d an hour, almost no overtime has been worked since the war began. Yet more children have been employed by the farmers of Norfolk than of any other county in England except one. Is it not better, it is asked, that able-bodied men should work a little overtime at 6d an hour than that children of twelve and thirteen should have their education stopped?

Other Expedients

ANOTHER expedient suggested by the friends of children is that other sources of emergency labor be tapped first. One of these is the Belgian refugees. Another is the adult women

of England, who have gone into almost every employment. Cannot able-bodied women, it is asked, be of as much service to farmers as boys of twelve and thirteen? Again, there are the labor exchanges, which farmers have always neglected in the past and which they should now be made to use. Unless these various methods of meeting the shortage of agricultural labor are fully tried, say the opponents of child labor, not only does no ground exist for resorting to the use of children, but the farmers of the country cannot escape the charge that their real reason for wanting boys is the boys' cheapness.

If a need for child labor actually exists, say the opponents of the policy, if England must be saved from a threatening shortage of food by her children of twelve and thirteen, why place the burden exclusively upon the boys of the elementary school? These are the schools of the poor; they constitute the only opportunity most of the children of this class will ever have for securing formal training. Why not take boys from the secondary schools also, boys of better stock, better able to stand hard work? These boys, older for the most part than those now being taken, will be of more service to the farmers and will stand a better chance of resuming their education when the need for their services is gone. Why not let there be equality of sacrifice, if sacrifice there must be? Why not apply the argument of "fairness" here, too?

Finally, it is pointed out that no assurance exists that the use of child labor will cease when the war is over. Farmers and other employers will once again have tasted the sweets of cheap juvenile help. Local authorities will have found the ease with which by-laws can be changed to meet desired ends. Then, too, the shortage of adult labor may not cease at once when the fighting stops; many of the returning soldiers will, in all probability, have lost their desire to live a rural life. Whatever method has been taken of meeting the need will, therefore, in all likelihood be continued. These are further reasons adduced for finding other means of keeping up the farms than the use of children.

How many children have been withdrawn for other than farm work it is again impossible to say. The numbers are smaller and no count has been kept by the government. The London education authority, we know, has turned a firm back on all demands for exemption. But complaints that other urban areas have been less resolute are frequent, and munition factories are said to have been a prolific cause of exemptions. For accurate information we shall probably have to wait until the end of the war.

What the Saving Has Meant

Such is the story of what the first two years of the war have meant to the schools and school children of England. When the full history of England's domestic policies during this time of stress comes to be written, an important chapter will deal with the military advantages achieved by such economies as these. The future historian may be in a position to tell how much money the nation actually added to her war chest by retrenchments in education. Today such a computation is impossible. Over three hundred local authorities have saved how and where they saw fit, and no one is gathering the reports.

Had England saved her entire educational budget she would have been in a position to prolong the war, at the rate it was costing her at the outset, nine days. At the rate it is costing her now, she could prolong it six. In reality she saved, of course, a very small fraction of the budget. London, after paying the salaries of teachers who joined the army, succeeded in saving one-fifteenth of her normal expenditure. If this fraction holds good for the nation, educational economy may be regarded as having added fifteen hours to the fighting life of England's armies.

But we have not exhausted the ill effects of England's war-time educational policy. It is pertinent to ask what effect these departures from normal standards are likely to produce upon the ideals and character of children, quite apart from the impoverishment they bring to formal training. Would it be strange if the children of England, seeing this economy on every hand, seeing deterioration in the very rooms they occupy and the tools they use, as well as a lower standard among teachers and a relaxed attendance law, concluded that a lower estimate was placed upon their education than they had been led to suppose? Would it be strange, too, if after they had formed that conclusion their own standards of accomplishment were to suffer?

The Effect on Conduct

STRIKING evidence is not lacking that something of the sort has actually occurred. Seventeen of the largest towns in England have made a war-time study of "juvenile depravity." By comparing the records for the three months from December to February, 1914-15, with the same three months for 1915-16, these towns found a total increase of 34 per cent in "the number of offenses by children and young persons." The increase was marked in each of the seventeen localities. Larceny was the offense most noted, though there were increases also in assaults, cases of malicious damage, gaming and "offenses against the education acts."

This matter was regarded as of sufficient importance by the home office to cause a warning to be sent to local justices throughout the country. "It is reported," says the letter of the home office, "that in some places boys are running wild owing to the work of boys' clubs being crippled by want of staff. Many of the men who usually give time to these clubs are now serving with the forces, or engaged in munition work. The loss of the influence on the boys of the club and its interests is very great, and the secretary of state thinks that if the justices could induce suitable people to engage in this work, and so keep available places to which boys can with advantage resort in the evening, the benefit to the boys and to the public would be very great."

The general unsettlement of life in war time, the weakening of parental control caused by the absence of many fathers and preoccupation of mothers, and even the growing influence of the "cinemas," have been assigned as other reasons for this "wildness." One cannot escape the suspicion, however, that if the matter were looked into more closely the occupation of schools by the military, the reduction of school hours for thousands of children, and the other respects in which the whole process of education has been cheapened might also be found to account for not a little of it.



COMMON WELFARE

HELP FOR ENGLISH SCHOOLS FROM AMERICA

WHATEVER England may have been willing to do to her schools and to those who fill them, as a measure of war economy [see *The Children's Bit in the War*, page 520], some idea of her present state of mind with regard to her educational methods may be had from the phenomenal reception accorded *Eclipse or Empire*, a recent book picturing the startling decline of British invention, industry and commerce in the past forty years, as compared with those of the United States and Germany.

From almost every field of trade and industry this book brings together facts showing that most of the inventions, new ideas and developments that have been given to the world during this period have come from other nations, and that their value has been more quickly appreciated and put to practical use in foreign lands. Formerly, it is declared, the fact was otherwise; the "inventive genius" of the British race once surpassed that of all other peoples.

The reason for this decline is declared to be faulty education, or rather "the absence of a scientific education among the young in all grades and conditions in this country." From this the book goes on to suggest drastic changes that will have to be made in England's educational system.

Eclipse or Empire reached a sale of 73,000 copies in six weeks, said to be the largest sale ever attained by an educational book in England. Its authors are a prominent educator with a radical point of view and a manufacturer from the north of England.

The educator, Herbert Branston Gray, is now in this country to spend several months in finding out what the United States can teach his countrymen in their present educational crisis. He was here in 1903 as a member of the Mosely Educational Commission. While holding no positive commission from his government, Mr. Gray comes with a tacit understanding with the British Board of Education that if that body approve his recommendations, it will

adopt them and will print them as an official blue book.

For the first time in its history this board has as president a man with a technical educational training and experience. When Lloyd George took Herbert A. L. Fisher from the vice-chancellorship of the University of Sheffield and made him president of the highest educational body in England, with a seat in the cabinet, some people began to ask if a new day was dawning in the English government's attitude toward education. Mr. Fisher is less a classicist than a modernist in education and is credited with being an imperialist in politics.

"Throughout England," said Mr. Gray to a representative of the *SURVEY*, "men's hearts are melting in regard to all the old facts of life. Even of educa-

tion is this true. The two old universities of Cambridge and Oxford, with their emphasis on Latin and Greek, have 'set the clock' for our secondary schools for generations, and these in turn have done the same for the elementary schools. When I attended Winchester forty years ago, twenty-six hours a week out of thirty-two were devoted to Latin and Greek. The remaining six hours were bestowed upon the rest of the field of human knowledge. Of course it is not as bad as that now, but we are still too much dominated by the classical ideal.

"Education ought to be a struggle, but it ought not to be a hopeless struggle. That is what the classical ideal makes it for many boys. We have utterly forgotten, if we ever knew, the biological principle that the higher the type of the organism, the slower is the process toward maturity. We have based our education upon a competitive-scholarship system that aims to select for advanced training the most precocious boys of twelve to fourteen years of age. Now biologists know that precocity at that age may be evidence of a lower rather than a higher type of organism. Any attempt to hasten the process of growth during pubescence is likely to result in permanent injury. Our system, moreover, has made necessary serious mental overstrain between eight and twelve. A money prize forming the bait of our so-called public schools, and being a direct temptation to indigent parents, is nothing less than a dangerous gamble with immature life—a plucking of the fruit before it is ripe.

"It is small wonder that we hear of a certain proportion of candidates, successful at twelve to fourteen, beginning to drop off at fifteen, eighteen, twenty-one and twenty-four, according to the comparative strength of their physical constitutions and, after the age of thirty, being no more seen in the ranks of strenuous men.

"But now we are caught in a most hopeful educational unrest. The war has greatly hastened the realization of many Englishmen that we must, in some measure, supplant a classical with a sci-

WARNING TO CITY CLUBS

PHILADELPHIA has a new City Club building with a big lounge, a bright and hospitable lunching hall and comfortable rooms for visiting guests. After their probationary period on the top floor of an office building, members and house staff are correspondingly proud of their new Broad street home, with its easy-chairs and fireplaces, its housekeeping appurtenances and all the things that are theirs.

Recently a representative of a national social agency in New York was a guest at the club. Shortly after, the Philadelphia social worker who put him up received a notice that his guest "must have inadvertently mixed up with his clothing, etc., a whisk and a Turkish towel." The *New Yorker* could only make an unsatisfactory reply: "Tell the City Club people," he wrote, "that I have looked through my handkerchief case and quite fail to find a Turkish towel folded into it inadvertently; but that the whiskbroom got snarled up in my heavy head of hair [he's fairly bald], where the Pullman porter recovered it when he was brushing me off at the Pennsylvania terminal here. He thought it was one he lost on the trip up; but as I didn't take his number, I don't know how to suggest they should go about getting it back."

Other city clubs take warning!

entific education. May I say that in this aspect of our reforms we, as well as you, may be able to learn a great deal from the experiment with a 'modern school' that the General Education Board is to finance at Teachers' College [see the SURVEY for January 27, page 490], one aim of which is to reduce the teaching of Latin and Greek?

"Months ago the prime minister appointed two committees, one to inquire into the position of science and the other into the position of modern languages, in our system of education. Each committee is to consider particularly what measures are necessary to promote the study of these subjects. Recently, too, the Committee of the Privy Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, established since the war began, approved recommendations granting aid to twenty scientific investigations of industrial importance.

"Great discussion has been provoked also by a pamphlet called *The Neglect of Science*, which is the report of a meeting called by Sir Ray Lankester. This pamphlet, among other things, pokes fun at a member of the government for making the unchallenged statement that his colleagues should be excused for not having prevented the exportation of lard to Germany, since it had only recently been discovered that glycerine (used in the manufacture of explosives) could be obtained from lard. The fact is that the chemistry of soap-making and the accompanying production of glycerine is ancient history.

"England is cursed, too, with a chronic apathy toward education that must be uprooted. We, or at least large masses of us, really do not believe in the value of an education for the boy and girl of the lower classes. It has been calculated that at present 1,500,000 children from fourteen to seventeen are receiving no education of any kind. The compulsory continuation school is an essential item in our program for the future. I am hopeful that our representatives of labor, in Parliament and out, will increasingly demand a science education for all boys.

"One of the things that will, I hope, help to break down our low opinion of education is the fraternalizing that has gone on between all classes in the trenches. The university graduate has rubbed shoulders with the boy whose education stopped at fourteen or earlier. He has discovered that that boy is an intelligent and interesting member of society. Perhaps he will listen in a friendly spirit hereafter to a program that aims to give that boy a longer and better training.

"I expect to visit every part of this country in search for experience that will help us. I want to find out how it is that you carry the education of so many young people to so late an age. Whence

comes the propelling force in this country in educational matters—from the authorities of city and state, or from the people themselves?

"I want to study your continuation school methods, such as those in Fitchburg and Cincinnati. I want also to study your experience with the minimum wage, with strikes and with unemployment.

"England needs all of this experience if her boasted empire is not to suffer eclipse."

SAVING THE CHILDREN FROM THE SENATE

"OF the babies with fathers earning less than \$450 a year, about one in four died before it was twelve months old. The great majority of the babies had fathers in the wage group from \$450 to \$849, and of these about one in six died. Of the babies whose fathers earned \$850 but less than \$1,050, one in eight failed to survive. Where the fathers earned \$1,050 or more, one baby in sixteen died in the first year."

The relation between poverty and the infant mortality in this testimony from Manchester, N. H., a textile town, reported by the Children's Bureau after a study made there last summer, was used with such effect by Senator LaFollette and others during the three days' struggle over the appropriation for the work of the bureau in the Senate, ending on January 22, as to assure the future of the bureau before the national legislature. It epitomized the character of the work which the Children's Bureau is doing, and the conditions which call for its attention. Not even the careful analysis made by Senator Lane, a physician of standing, as to the difference in the fields covered by the Children's Bureau and the Public Health Service, brought so sharply to the attention of the Senate the meaning of the campaign waged by influential senators against any extension of Miss Lathrop's field of activities.

Miss Lathrop had asked of the House an increase of \$187,520 in the appropriation for the work of the bureau for the coming fiscal year. As reported to both the House and Senate from committee, all of this increase was cut off the appropriation; permission to extend the work was denied. The House by an overwhelming vote, and now the Senate by a rollcall vote of seventeen to thirty-one, has increased the old appropriation by \$109,120. The bureau is still \$78,400 short of the funds required to carry out its original plan for the year, but it has fought its way to a victory which will be completed, beyond question, next year.

In her estimates for the coming year Miss Lathrop proposed the continuance of the infant-mortality study; the development of the rural studies in ma-

ternal and child welfare; the development of child-labor studies, especially with reference to occupational strain and its measure by accident records, and the studies rendered desirable by the federal law; the continuation and development of the studies of dependent, defective and delinquent children, not including the suggested special study of needy children; the establishment of the library service upon a proper footing; the equipment of the statistical service to meet the requirements of the bureau; the development of the exhibit material to meet the legitimate demand; the organization of an office clerical force adequate to meet the needs of the work in progress and of such other work as may develop during the year.

Senators who voted against any increase whatever from the old appropriation were Bankhead of Alabama, Bryan and Fletcher of Florida, Gallinger of New Hampshire, Hitchcock of Nebraska, Overman of North Carolina, Ransdell of Louisiana, Robinson of Arkansas, Smith of Georgia, Smith and Tillman of South Carolina, Smoot of Utah, Stone of Missouri, Thomas of Colorado, Warren of Wyoming, Williams of Mississippi and Works of California.

The fight against the increased appropriation in the House was led by Fitzgerald of New York, Byrns of Tennessee, Sisson of Mississippi and Stafford of Wisconsin. The vote in the House was 316 against twenty-eight to grant the \$109,120 increase.

OPENING CITY COLLEGE TO ALL THE PEOPLE

THE College of the City of New York—the top rung of New York's school system—has announced two extensions of service that are not only of particular interest to social workers, but will in all probability stand out as landmarks in the history of college education in this country. One is the addition of a third general course of study, to be called the social science course, which will be coordinate with the existing arts course and the science course. The other throws open the evening courses to city employes and the whole adult population of Greater New York.

Like the older courses, the social science course will confer a baccalaureate degree, the title of which has not yet been chosen, and like them it is designed to give students "an opportunity to follow a well-defined group of subjects leading toward a definitely chosen life work." The course is open for the first time to students entering the college this month.

The prescribed work in the social science course includes a modern language (French, German or Spanish), English, chemistry, history, mathematics, natural history, philosophy, hygiene, physics, po-

litical science and public speaking. This work is to be taken for the most part in the first two years. After that the student is asked to decide whether he desires to pursue his major work in history, philosophy or political science.

Statistics gathered from the students indicate that about 27 per cent expect after graduation to pursue work for which the courses in the division of social science especially prepare them. In recommending the establishment of this degree, a faculty committee declared that it would not constitute "a novel experiment" because work emphasizing public and civic service has for some years been a growing feature of higher education in this country.

The other change, the enlargement of the division of vocational subjects and civic administration, comes through an addition to the charter made last year by the legislature, by which the college is now enabled not only to offer evening courses of instruction to city employes with a view to increasing their efficiency in the public service, which it has been doing for several years past, but also to open its doors to every mature resident of the city who wishes to take advantage of the theoretical and practical instruction offered. Such residents are not obliged to meet entrance requirements. They register as non-matriculated students and pay nominal fees.

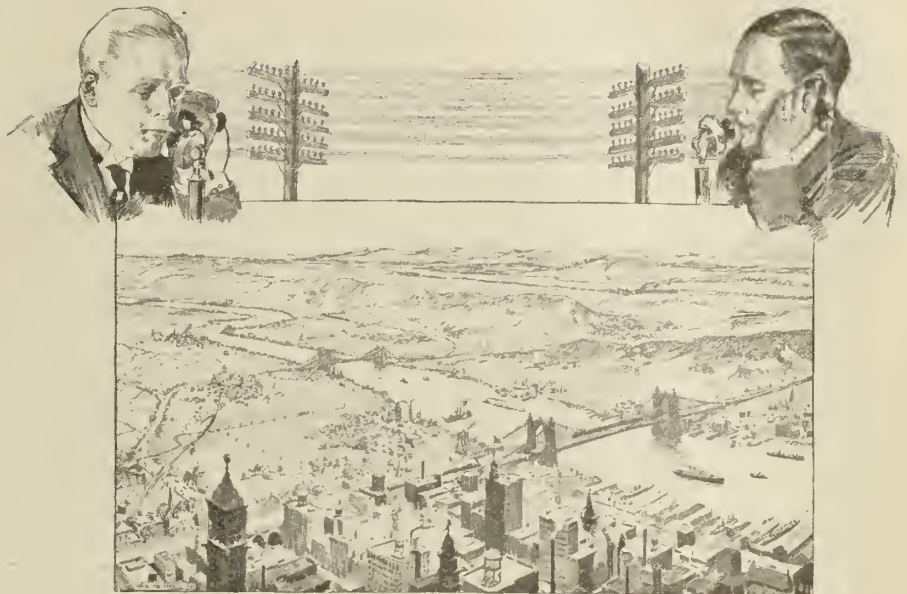
Already the college has been swamped with persons wishing to take advantage of the new opportunity. Last year attendance in the division of vocational subjects and civic administration was 400. This year it leaped to 1,800. Classes overflowed the college buildings and some have had to be held in the Municipal building. Abandoned buildings belonging to the city are being put into condition to house future increases.

Mayor Mitchel has appointed a committee of nine men prominent in engineering and business and in city administration to assist the college in formulating courses that may be most helpful to city employes, and that will, it is expected, receive definite recognition, if not credit, by the Municipal Civil Service Commission. This committee has given great attention to the details of these courses.

PRISON AFFAIRS IN THREE EASTERN STATES

THE following item under a Boston date line appeared obscurely in many newspapers on January 24:

"Jesse Pomeroy, who has been for forty-one years in solitary confinement in the state prison at Charlestown, hereafter will have equal privileges with other prisoners by order of the executive council. Convicted of murder at 13, Pomeroy two years later was locked in a cell lighted from a window in the ceiling so that he might not gaze on his



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fellow men. He took exercise apart from other prisoners and was barred as far as possible from human companionship. Such a record of punishment is rare in the prison annals of this country.

"Now, at the age of fifty-seven years, Pomeroy will move into a cell where he can see passersby, will be permitted to exercise with other prisoners, sit with them at the church services and at the prison entertainments, and will have such light work in the prison shops as his somewhat enfeebled health will permit.

Governor McCall announced tonight that he approved the communication.

"Pomeroy was convicted of the murder of two children, following a series of degenerate acts which had terrorized the South Boston and Dorchester districts of this city. He was sentenced to be hanged, but because of his youth the sentence was commuted to solitary imprisonment for life. On September 7, 1876, he was placed in his solitary cell."

Doubtless Jesse Pomeroy's release caused many people to remember shud-

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deringly the terrible confinement in the Bastille of Dickens' maker of shoes. In what way, they may have asked, was the fate of Alexander Manette in the Tale of Two Cities worse than that of this boy? Manette, of course, was a man of intelligence and distinction when confined; Pomeroy presumably a moral imbecile. But it may be doubted whether Jesse Pomeroy, at the age of thirteen, had yet proved that he was more immune than others to the horrors of solitary confinement. And Manette was imprisoned eighteen years, Pomeroy forty-one.

At any rate, his release now serves as a reminder of the advance penology has made since 1876. It is altogether questionable whether any court or jury in this country today would do to a thirteen-year-old boy what was done to Jesse Pomeroy, no matter what his crime. Questions of his mental responsibility, of the needless inhumanity of solitary cells and of the brutalizing effect of unusual punishment upon those who are in any way concerned in its infliction—which includes all who know about it—would nowadays be a part of the public discussion of such a case.

CHARLES F. RATTIGAN, who was warden of Auburn Prison, New York, when Thomas Mott Osborne served his voluntary incarceration three years ago and who helped to establish the Mutual Welfare League there, has been removed by Superintendent of State Prisons James M. Carter. His place has been given to Edgar S. Jennings, colonel of the third infantry of the National Guard of New York. It has been rumored for some time that Rattigan, a Democratic appointee, would be removed. The appointment of Colonel Jennings, a Republican, whose experience has been military rather than penological, seems to be another step in the Whitman-Carter policy of picking strict disciplinarians for wardens. Jennings was formerly police commissioner of Auburn and, according to state authorities, "Manufacturers and merchants, together with representatives of the various professions, endorsed him for the wardenship, not forgetting the most conspicuous figures in the National Guard, who urged his selection as the successor of Warden Rattigan."

Last week Burdette G. Lewis, commissioner of corrections of New York city, dismissed John J. Murtha, warden of the city penitentiary on Blackwell's Island, charging him with having interfered with the discipline of the prison while on a leave of absence for illness, with having transferred inmates without authority, threatened the acting warden with physical violence, and having failed to make an adequate investigation of a stabbing affray in the prison. Several days earlier Commissioner Lewis dismissed the head keeper, keeper and a

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clerk at the city reformatory on Hart's Island.

Following exposures by the New York *Evening Post* of alleged conditions in the neighboring state prison at Trenton, N. J., as reported in the SURVEY for January 20, the legislature of that state has created a commission of five members to investigate the prison. The commission has power to summon witnesses and examine them under oath. Governor Edge has appointed the following men: William B. Dickson, of Montclair, a vice-president of the Midvale Steel & Ordnance Co.; Dwight W. Morrow, of J. P. Morgan & Co.; Seymour L. Cromwell, president of the New Jersey State Charities Aid and Prison Reform Association; John P. Murray, member of the state Board of Education; and Henry F. Hilfers, secretary of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

Without waiting for the commission to begin work, the governor has removed Warden Richard P. Hughes and appointed in his place James P. Mulheron, Republican county chairman for Mercer county, in which Trenton prison is located.

AN URGENT APPEAL FROM LITHUANIA

THE Lithuanian Section of the American Red Cross on January 27 received a cable from Switzerland announcing that delegates had just returned from Lithuania and reported a desperate situation. Typhus and starvation are devastating the once flourishing country and immediate relief is needed.

In December the German government announced that it was preparing a proclamation granting self-government to these provinces. It is rumored that this will take the form of a new kingdom of Lithuania, which would be part of the German empire, with Prince Eitel Friedrich, second son of the German emperor, for its ruler. This kingdom would be made up exclusively, as in the case of Poland, of conquered territory and conditional upon the creation of a Lithuanian army to fight against Russia.

It is obvious that the allies will not and, therefore, neutral countries cannot, recognize an autonomy so partial in territory and sovereignty. But there is likelihood that the end of the war will see the realization of the dream of ancient Lithuania, the formation of a really independent state, made up of both the Russian and the Prussian provinces which are inhabited by Lithuanians. For, ethnographically, the peoples on both sides of the frontier are the same. They speak the same language and frequently intermarry, though the Lithuanians on the Prussian side are nearly all Lutherans while the majority of those in the former Russian territory adhere to the Roman Catholic faith.

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about by war conditions which are similar to those in the western zone. The Russian invasion of East Prussia was followed by the occupation of all the northwestern part of ancient Lithuania by Germany. Some 400,000 Lithuanians from the provinces of Suvalkai, Kaunas and Vilnius were forced to leave their homes and property to seek shelter in the inner parts of Russia, where they formed big colonies at Moscow, Petrograd, Voronez, Saratov, Kazan, Kostroma and other towns and cities. Many have not settled at all, but are driven from one town and village to another.

On both sides there is much indignation about the cruelties inflicted upon a defenceless farming population by invading troops. It is practically impossible now to get at the truth of these allegations. But from such evidence as is available—including two volumes of descriptions of their own experiences by some thirty rural pastors in East Prussia (*Kriegserlebnisse ostpreussischer Pfarrer*, Edwin Runge, Berlin, 1915), it would appear that the East Prussians themselves often admitted that the portrait of the Cossack had been painted blacker than it deserved. The stories of deliberate and officially sanctioned atrocities usually rest on hearsay.

Of course, an army in occupation of hostile territory, under the best of circumstances, is brutal, given to excess and regardless of fair dealing.

Later on, during the brief Russian occupation of East Prussia, thousands have been deported, some as far as Siberia—where, by the way, owing to larger opportunities of making a livelihood, conditions are better than in many parts of European Russia.

Previous mobilization had depleted both the Prussian and the Russian provinces of their manhood, and the handling of a population of old men, women and children is apt to be pretty ruthless at best. The provision made for their transportation and maintenance was inadequate, and, in many cases, communication between different members of the same family has not yet been reestablished.

Even more thoroughgoing have been the deportations from Russian Lithuania since the German occupancy of that region. Perhaps just because their system was more perfect than that of the Russians, it appears that the German commanders enforced their measures with complete disregard to suffering and even to life. Deported, sometimes as far as the Rhine provinces, these poor peasant folk are forcibly employed at allotted tasks, whereas in Russia deported civilians are permitted vocational freedom—though too frequently they are exploited by farmers and their wages withheld.

The Russian government, since the beginning of the war, has subsidized the

Lithuanian Refuge and Relief Committee to the extent of four million rubles, but has recently reduced its contribution in view of the fact that many of the refugees are able to earn. According to the relief committee, however, these earnings on the part of women, children and old people are far too small to keep them in health. Money sent them often disappeared on the way or was delayed for months. Mortality from practically every contagious disease is high among these refugees, partly owing to bad climate—as in the Astrachan district—and partly owing to insanitary housing conditions, but mostly owing to malnutrition. A letter from Moscow states:

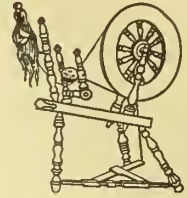
"I visited all the quarters of the Lithuanian refugees at Moscow, and I saw with my own eyes the conditions in which the refugees are living. The old men are very miserable. They long for their homes and loved ones left behind, and are looking forward anxiously to the day when they shall be able to return to their native homes. The children die in great numbers because of the lack of milk, food and clothing. The women who arrived with five and six children now have one, two or three. In general, the refugees are getting insufficient food and therefore are suffering heavily from the cold Russian climate. These conditions have left their traces in the looks of the school children, for they are very pale and thin looking, and the only thing which they all enjoy is the hope that there will soon be peace."

SENTENCED TO PRISON FOR A LOCKED DOOR

THE first conviction in New York for manslaughter because of non-compliance with the labor laws relating to fire protection was obtained in the Brooklyn Supreme Court in the case against Samuel Barkin, a proprietor of the Essex Waist Company. Barkin was sentenced to from two and a half to five and a half years in Sing Sing, after evidence had been produced that a trap door locked in the ceiling of the waist company's loft was a chief cause in the deaths of eight girls and four men in the fire occurring in his factory, November 6, 1915 [see the SURVEY, November 13, 1915].

Barkin's partner, who locked the door, and Mrs. Edward S. Diamond, owner of the factory, will probably face trial next month. Meanwhile the state Department of Labor which, after the fire, was charged by the coroner's jury with inefficiency and delay in administering the law, has suffered but little. Although Jeremiah J. Flood, chief inspector, was removed from office, it is reported that Supervising Inspector Ash and the field inspector of the district, who were suspended after the jury findings, have been replaced (the former promoted) and their back pay refunded.

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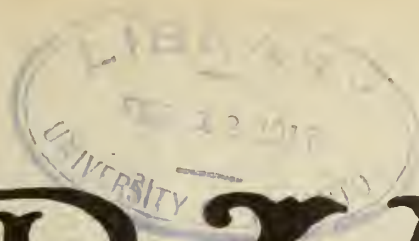
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SURVEY

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"WITH MALICE TOWARD NONE"

Before the Break
By Louis P. Lochner

The Red Cross in War Time
New Handicaps to War Relief

War without a Purpose or Armed Neutrality with a Purpose?
By Carlton J. H. Hayes

THE SURVEY

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"New Jersey, New Jersey, the land where the fritters,
Fall into the syrup right off of the trees!"

WITH this song on their tongues thousands of Negroes have migrated from Dixieland to Newark and surrounding cities. A charity organization secretary, familiar with both North and South, describes how fritters and syrup have turned out to be squalid tenements and disease.

THE SURVEY for February 17.

WAR is at the very threshold of the United States. Shall we forfeit our right to travel freely on the seas? Shall we ally ourselves unequivocally with the aims and claims of the Entente Powers? Carlton J. H. Hayes, associate professor of history at Columbia University and student of international law, pleads for a third course, the organization of an Armed Neutrality to champion real neutral rights against belligerent pretensions. Page 535.

WHEN Louis P. Lochner, secretary of the Ford Peace Commission, left Liverpool in January, the world seemed to him weary of war and ready to talk of terms of settlement. A week later he landed in New York and found America at the point of joining the European conflict. His analysis of the German policy which caused the change. Page 538.

THE American Red Cross, under its new organization, is ready for military as well as civilian relief. Page 549.

"AWAY, away with rum and gum,—Here we come, here we come!"—prohibition sweeps triumphantly across country. The water wagon used to be a lonely prairie schooner on the plains of Kansas with Carrie Nation the sole passenger; now with many aboard and modern improvements it kicks up the dust on its way toward the East. Elizabeth Tilton publishes her third article against alcohol. Page 541.

SUNSHINE and cool air and a high mountain top must be free to tubercular patients. Robert J. Newton, executive secretary of the Texas Public Health Association, believes contrary to Gertrude Vaile, that the Kent bill will grant the consumptive more help from society than he gets now. Page 546.

IF the highroad of American aid is cut off, neutral friends still remain to administer relief in Belgium, Poland and Serbia. But there would be a great calamity, according to war relief agencies, if American pennies were hoarded for strictly American exigencies. Page 549.

WHILE the country at large lies quietly awaiting news from the high seas, two office buildings hum with preparation,—one, the army and navy building in Washington, the other, 70 Fifth avenue, New York city, where pacifists intend to withstand the god of war until the last hope fades. Page 550.

TOM BROWN is doing time with lawless Jack Tars in a prison naval ship at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Page 552.

TRIAL and tribulations are the lot of birth control advocates. Although the district attorney told the Court of Special Sessions that the use of the articles found in Margaret Sanger's birth control clinic "was a matter of common knowledge," the judges sent Mrs. Sanger and Ethel Byrne to jail for letting such knowledge get around. Page 555.

THE nude may no longer be seen in reel life at the movies. Such is the censorship of the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures. Page 555.



Which? War without a Purpose? Or Armed Neutrality with a Purpose?

By Carlton J. H. Hayes

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

WITH the immediate causes of the present European war and with many, if not all, of its immediate results as between European powers, the United States, I take it, is not concerned. Individually Americans may dislike and denounce the subjection of Belgium to Germany or of Serbia to Austria-Hungary; individually they may likewise dislike and condemn the annexation of Constantinople by Russia or the failure of Great Britain to grant autonomy to Ireland. They may even feel that there is little to choose between entrusting Poland to the "tender mercies" of a Hohenzollern or a Hapsburg and putting it under the sceptre of a "benevolent" Tsar. The European war was not of American making; it is not now being waged directly and purposely either for or against American interests; and the best interests of the United States will not be served by a complete crushing of either group of belligerents.

How, then, is the United States involved in the present war? Only in the general way in which we have been involved in every great struggle that has depended for its issue upon maritime supremacy. Ever since our country declared its independence, Great Britain has asserted and maintained a naval preponderance among all the powers, and on every occasion on which her naval preponderance has been assailed we have willingly or unwillingly been involved. During our own War of Independence, France and Spain went to war with England, and so vexatious became the belligerents' (especially the English) restrictions on neutral trade and commerce by means of the seizure of merchant vessels and the proclamation of paper blockades—so intolerable became the lot of neutrals—that Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, Austria and Portugal formed an Armed Neutrality, demanding

(1) free passages of neutral ships from port to port and along the coasts of combatant nations,

(2) inviolability of an enemy's goods in neutral ships with the exception of such goods as were contraband of war, and

(3) exact definition of a blockaded port, a merely nominal

(paper) blockade, that is, one not enforced by a sufficient number of ships of war in the vicinity of the specified harbor, being declared inadmissible.

The Armed Neutrality League did what it could to enforce its demands by convoying merchantmen and by protesting vehemently and unitedly against violations of its principles. Although it did not have sufficient naval strength to give full force to its decrees in each and every case, it succeeded, nevertheless, in winning recognition of its principles from one group of belligerents (France, Spain, Holland and the United States) and in securing considerable abatement of English pretensions.

Again, during the wars of the French Revolution and of the Napoleonic era, neutrals were confronted with much the same situation. In the earlier stages of this prolonged conflict, the United States, in defense of its neutral commerce, almost came to blows with France. In the later stages of the same general struggle, the United States actually did come to blows with Great Britain. And in the midst of the Franco-British conflict (1800), the Baltic powers revived their Armed Neutrality. This second Armed Neutrality was not large enough or strong enough to resist British attacks upon it, and within a few months it was broken up. Its achievements, like those of America in the War of 1812, were not at the time considered great or decisive.

Yet the Armed Neutrality Leagues of 1780 and 1800 were not without important subsequent results. They served to crystallize neutral sentiment and to force upon the attention of the greatest maritime power demands for a revision of the rules of naval warfare which would have been permanently ignored had they come from any single member of either armed neutrality group. As the event proved, even Great Britain gave adherence in the Paris declaration of 1856 and in the London declaration of 1909 to the principles of the Armed Neutralities.

Now there is another tremendous European war, and neutral interests are again jeopardized, this time mainly by the

nature of the naval warfare between Great Britain and Germany. With this phase of the contemporaneous war the United States, as the largest and most influential neutral power, is directly concerned. What exactly have we at stake? And how may we most effectively safeguard our legitimate interests?

What we most clearly have at stake is the freedom of the seas—the recognized and respected right to use the high seas, the arteries of international intercourse, for passenger and non-contraband-goods traffic, and to trade freely and fully without let or hindrance with fellow neutrals and, in so far as non-contraband goods are concerned, with belligerents. In the way of the freedom of the seas stand at the present time both Germany and Great Britain. Both of these powers, together with their respective allies, deny us our “rights.”

Rights Denied

FROM the very beginning of the present war Great Britain has sought to check neutral trade with Germany. As early as December 26, 1914, the American government addressed a note to Great Britain, protesting against the detentions and seizures of cargoes and pointing out that British policy was directly responsible for the depression in many American industries. On March 1, 1915, Mr. Asquith stated in the House of Commons that Great Britain and France, in retaliation upon Germany for her declaration of the war zone around the British Isles, would confiscate all goods of “presumed enemy destination, ownership, or origin.”

In an extended communication addressed to the British government by Secretary Bryan on March 30, 1915, attention was called to the unusual character of the proposed British blockade and the interference with legitimate neutral commerce which might readily result. The United States government was willing to concede that the changed conditions of naval warfare, especially the operations of submarines, might justify some modification of the old form of “close” blockade, but it was unwilling to concede the right of belligerents to blockade neutral ports. It was further pointed out that alleged illegal acts of Germany could not be offered as an excuse for unlawful acts on the part of Great Britain.

To this protest the British foreign secretary replied politely but evasively. Meanwhile, the closure of Germany to legitimate American trade and even to ordinary American postal correspondence became more and more effective. On October 21, 1915, another note from the United States, couched in much more vigorous language, was addressed to London. It stated that the so-called blockade instituted by the Allies was “ineffective, illegal, and indefensible”; that the “American government cannot submit to the curtailment of its neutral rights”; and that the United States “must insist that the relations between it and His Majesty’s government be governed, not by a policy of expediency, but by those established rules of international conduct to which Great Britain in the past has held the United States to account.” No real redress of American grievances was forthcoming. On the contrary, the British minister of blockade announced to the Commons on June 28, 1916, that Great Britain had decided to discontinue even “partial enforcement” of the Declaration of London.

But however irksome to neutrals have been the British violations of international law, German violations have been more outrageous because they have been attended by destruction of neutral lives as well as by injury to neutral commerce. Early in the war, Germany’s planting of floating mines was a menace to neutral as well as to belligerent traffic. On February 4, 1915, Germany declared the waters around the British Isles a war zone after February 18 and proclaimed

her intention of sinking every enemy merchant vessel found in the zone, even if it were impossible to save the crew and passengers. She also stated that neutral ships entering the war zone were in danger. Then, in reply to the American protest, the German government on February 18, 1915, explained that, in view of the illegal methods used by Great Britain in preventing commerce between Germany and neutral countries, even in articles which are not contraband of war, the Imperial government felt justified in using all means within its power to retaliate upon England. The chief means at the disposal of the Germans was the submarine, and it was used with the frightful results we all know. After the sinking of the *Lusitania*, there could be no question of the hideous character of unrestricted German submarine warfare.

In all these infractions of the rights of neutrals, it cannot be allowed for a moment that either Germany or Great Britain has been actuated by hatred of any neutral. It is absurd to suppose that Great Britain is deliberately violating the commercial rights of neutrals for the mere sake of doing so. It is equally absurd to imagine that Germany is wilfully destroying the lives of non-combatants for the sheer pleasure of it. The fact of the matter is that Germany and Great Britain are in a death-grapple *with each other* and that each is using the most available weapon for starving out the other.

Common Cause of the Neutrals

IN THE great crisis now confronting the United States, another fact must not be lost sight of. The United States is not the only neutral power. Spain, Holland and the Scandinavian countries have suffered relatively more than we from the infraction of neutral rights; and the Latin-American republics are by no means negligible. Whatever is done by the United States in defense of neutral rights should be done in cooperation with other neutrals.

Neutral rights—those of other countries as well as of the United States—have been flagrantly violated (1) by Great Britain, in that neutral trade with Scandinavian ports and with Holland has been interfered with by the British policy of intercepting all goods of German origin or ultimately destined for Germany, even when the goods have been carried by neutral ships between neutral ports; and (2) by Germany, in that numerous neutral merchantmen have been sunk by German submarines either without warning or without opportunity for safeguarding the lives of passengers, some of whom have been citizens of neutral powers.

It is obvious to any friend of humanity that violations of neutral right which involve loss of life are far more serious at the moment than violations which involve only loss of trade. It is natural, therefore, that Americans should now be moved more against Germany than against Great Britain. It is but natural that the receipt of news of the intention of the German government to resume unrestricted submarine warfare on and after February 1, 1917, should be followed immediately by the exertion of tremendous pressure upon the President of the United States to plunge us into war with Germany. Having in mind the position taken by President Wilson in his earlier notes to Berlin, it can occasion no surprise that he broke off diplomatic relations with Germany.

Breaking off diplomatic relations means little of itself. Unless it is accompanied by positive constructive action, it is merely negative and futile. To me it seems that there are now two main highways, along either of which we may proceed.

On the one hand, we may strive to avenge ourselves upon Germany by allying ourselves with the Entente Powers, a step

which will almost inevitably mean accepting their views of the freedom of the seas; joining our naval units to those of Great Britain, France, and Italy; sending an expeditionary force—and later a conscripted army—to the trenches of Flanders and the Somme; and agreeing to make peace only in concert with our allies.

But what purpose will be served thereby? We shall be supplying additional targets for German torpedoes; we shall be sacrificing thousands of American lives to “avenge” hundreds; we shall be committed to the support of the extreme peace terms of Russia and Japan as well as those of France and Great Britain; we shall be assisting in the upbuilding of states whose future claims to world domination may well be as dangerous to world peace as the present claims of the most extreme German spokesman. And, above all, we shall be losing our opportunity to champion real *neutral* rights against *belligerent* pretensions.

Positive Constructive Action

ON THE other hand, we may follow up the rupture of German diplomatic relations with an immediate and earnest attempt to organize an Armed Neutrality. This, if successful, would mean an agreement among the United States, the Latin-American republics, Spain, Holland, and the Scandinavian kingdoms, on a common platform of principles governing commercial intercourse in time of war, and common action in convoying merchantmen and in defending, by force if necessary, neutral rights.

At the outset, such an Armed Neutrality would devote most of its energies to safeguarding human life against unlawful submarine attacks; subsequently it might ameliorate, if not completely remove, the abuses of blockade, of visit and search, and of arbitrary extension of lists of contraband. If the Armed Neutralities of 1780 and 1800 are any guide to an Armed Neutrality of 1917, the latter might prove successful in bringing Germany to terms and in convincing the Entente Powers of the advantages of a modification of their maritime policy. Best of all, a consensus of neutral opinion and a community of neutral interest would be established in the face of all belligerents.

The purpose which the United States has in view right now is to make Germany abandon her unrestricted submarine warfare. If we make war on Germany and throw in our lot with the Entente Powers, we shall not achieve our purpose; we shall merely help Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy and Japan to achieve their purposes. If, however, we succeed in organizing an Armed Neutrality, we *may* achieve our immediate purpose, and we shall certainly be in an infinitely better position both during and after the war to champion neutral rights on land and on sea against any power or any combination of powers which unjustly undertakes to abridge those rights.

Suppose, now, that we elect to organize an Armed Neutrality rather than to declare war against Germany. Some difficulty may be experienced in prevailing upon all neutral powers to participate. Holland, for example, on account of her geographical position, might be very chary about antagonizing her belligerent neighbors. But granting that a majority of neutrals join the United States in forming an Armed Neutrality, what will be the procedure of such a league?

First of all, a declaration of principles must be agreed upon. For a manifesto of this sort there is already abundant precedent in international law and usage. Without attempting to forecast the details of neutral agreement, it may be observed that the declaration should cover at least four points:

(1) contraband; (2) blockade; (3) convoy; and (4) submarine warfare. The first three, it might be found, have already been defined quite acceptably to neutrals in the London declaration of 1909. The provisions of the London Declaration were the result of long study on the part of experts in international law; they represent the result of a careful weighing of the interest of belligerents on the one side and of neutrals on the other side during an earlier prevalence of maritime war; and, though never formally ratified by the powers, they were signed at the time by the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, Russia, Japan, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Spain and Holland.

The fourth point to be covered by the declaration of the proposed Armed Neutrality—that concerning submarine warfare—would probably involve new applications of old principles, such as the immunity of unarmed merchantmen from attack unless they resisted search or attempted to run away; the inviolability of non-contraband goods on neutral merchantmen; and the safeguarding of the lives of non-combatants. It is obvious that the rigorous enforcement of these doctrines would operate to restrict submarine warfare to attacks on enemy warships and military transports, and to visit and search of merchantmen with a view only to casting overboard recognized contraband of war.

Joint Enforcement

HAVING agreed upon a declaration of principles, the next thing for the Armed Neutrality to do would be to enforce it as far as possible. Here the chief means would be the naval convoy. For example, an American merchant vessel, or a fleet of American merchant vessels, would depart from the port of New York accompanied by an American warship. The United States government, if it were to take advantage of the principle of convoy as laid down by the Declaration of London, would have to be able to vouch that the ships so convoyed carried nothing contraband—contraband, however, in the sense held by the league of neutrals, not according to the decrees of Germany or Great Britain. If on the way to Liverpool or Southampton, whether within or without the so-called war zone, a German submarine should appear and order the crews and passengers of the merchantmen to take to the life-boats, then the commander of the naval convoy should protest against the patent infringement of international law; and if the submarine attempted to torpedo any ship of the fleet, the American vessels should forthwith retaliate by attempting to destroy the submarine.

If a German submarine should attack any neutral merchantman without warning or without complying with other regulations adopted by the league, thenceforth the very presence of a German submarine in the vicinity of neutral shipping, whether it had attempted to attack or not, could be considered as *prima facie* evidence of an *intent* to attack and all German submarines might be sunk as soon as they were detected. The United States, on account of its relatively large navy, would be expected to perform a larger service than its fellow-neutrals in “potting” submarines; and the Armed Neutrality as a whole might eventually accomplish much towards removing or minimizing the menace of submarine warfare.

Less effective, no doubt, would be the campaign of the Armed Neutrality for the enforcement of its principles in respect of contraband and blockade against the pretensions of the Entente Powers. But some headway might be made. If Great Britain were relieved of the worst menace of submarine warfare and if the neutral powers presented a united front, she, despite her overwhelming naval preponderance, might permit cargoes of non-contraband character to proceed freely under convoy from New York to Rotterdam or Copenhagen

or even to such German ports as were not undergoing an effective close-range blockade. The very fact that the cargoes were under convoy would be an official guarantee that they contained no contraband; and the British government would hesitate to order its warships to open fire on an American man-of-war.

But what if the Armed Neutrality, in taking necessary steps to enforce its principles, is met by a German declaration of war? Will not this mean *war* just as much as though the United States should now declare war on Germany? It is my belief that there is a fundamental difference between the two kinds of war. If we declare war against Germany now, we are far more likely to be drawn into an alliance with the Entente Powers than we would be were we later to receive a declaration of war from Germany as an incident to our policy of enforcing our rights and the rights of all neutrals. In the latter case we would certainly be no worse off, and we would have performed a noble service to humanity—quite as noble as dying in continental trenches.

It is conceivable that we might be in an actual state of war with Germany without any declaration of war on our part. There is plenty of precedent for such a situation. The

Armed Neutralities of 1780 and 1800 are cases in point. Not even British declarations of war swerved the league of 1780 from its purpose. And even more pertinent to America is the instance in 1798 when the United States, to protect its rights at sea, broke off diplomatic relations with France and Congress authorized American frigates to capture French vessels guilty of depredations on American commerce. Actual naval engagements were fought, but no formal declaration of war was made; and within a year France backed down.

It is idle in this hour of national crisis to say merely that the United States should keep out of war. The hour demands well-considered constructive action. By declaring war immediately we shall be taking action, but action that is at once ill-considered and destructive of future world organization and world peace. The United States, in this case, will be last and least on the long list of belligerents. On the other hand, by giving hearty and vigorous support to an Armed Neutrality we shall be taking action which has ample precedent and which promises much that is hopeful for the future. In this case, the United States will be first and foremost among all neutral powers. And a league of neutrals is a better harbinger of future world solidarity than a league of belligerents.

Before the Break

By Louis P. Lochner

SECRETARY OF THE FORD PEACE COMMISSION

WHEN I left Liverpool early in January, it seemed that America's great opportunity had at last come. All calculations are upset by the events of the last few days. Nevertheless, it may help to an understanding of the present crisis if I review briefly the European situation as it presented itself to me when I decided to return to America.

I brought with me to present to President Wilson the conclusions of my colleagues and co-workers in the Ford Peace Commission (formerly the Neutral Conference) after a year of intensive work in five European neutral countries, and after repeated visits to the foreign offices of the belligerents.

The outstanding impression was the general tiredness over the whole business. This was true of the peoples of the Entente as well as of the Central Empires; it was true, more than ever before, of the small neutral nations of Europe.

Just a few illustrations to drive home this point. On passing through Cologne en route to Switzerland, I was struck by the fact that a military band was playing gay airs at the railway station. I asked the hotel porter (perhaps I should say, the portress, for the male porter is a thing of the past in many hostelries) whether a new victory was being celebrated.

"Oh, no," she replied, "they simply must play gay music to dispel the gloom. Cologne is an assembly point from which the troops are sent off to the western front. There is no more enthusiasm for war—so the band must manufacture it. For my part," she added, "*ich finde es abscheulich*" (I find it disgusting).

Another incident: I was discussing the international situation with one of the most prominent Belgian Socialists when the news came to us of Trepov's speech in the Russian Duma, to the effect that Russia had been promised Constantinople. "This gives us Socialists a good reason for pressing on our

government to enter into peace negotiations," was his instantaneous comment. "There certainly is no Belgian who wants to shed his blood to get Constantinople for Russia."

And so on. I need but refer to Lloyd George's frequent trips to France and Italy, prompted by the necessity of holding the Allies together; to the numerous informal discussions that took place in Copenhagen and Stockholm between Russians and Germans in the hope of patching up a separate peace; to the stormy sessions over anti-war speeches in the French Chamber of Deputies; to the vigorous campaigns of the conscientious objectors, the Labor Party, and the Union of Democratic Control in England; to the constant turmoil in the Austrian cabinet; to the exciting scenes in the Russian Duma—and need but refer to all these incidents to emphasize further that the high-sounding phrases in the notes of both Teutons and Allies, proclaiming victory and the unfailing determination of the peoples for war to the finish, are not to be taken too seriously.

I may go farther than that. It would be a violation of confidence to give the sources for the information which follows. But I am certain that even in the foreign offices the thought uppermost has been, "How shall we get out of this muddle?" Coupled with this question was that other, "How shall we preserve our prestige, both before our own peoples and before the world?"

Of equal importance with this world weariness of war is the great change that has come over Germany. The chancellor, who in all his earlier utterances had shown concern merely for the future security of the central empires, in November brought hope to all friends of internationalism by indicating Germany's readiness to join a league of nations. As a British diplomat put it to me, "This is indeed highly significant, and does much to clarify the situation." I may add that I learned

later from a high German source in Washington that President Wilson had been given definite assurances of Germany's readiness to fall in with his plan.

Further symptoms of this change—the Germans themselves speak constantly of the *Neu-Orientierung*—are not hard to find. Many publicists who formerly scoffed at The Hague Conferences have reversed their positions. I have in my office at The Hague a striking collection of utterances before and since this war from German writers who have completely swung around in their outlook. From memory I will cite the case of Helmuth von Gerlach, writer of the leading editorial in *Die Welt am Montag*. This publicist saw the light long before the chancellor and recently said that one of Germany's chief failings has been her opposition to obligatory arbitration of international disputes. Yet this is the same man who wrote most sneering accounts of the Second Hague Conference!

Furthermore we have been struck by the tremendous amount of sane peace discussion going on in the German, Austrian and Hungarian press. At The Hague the Ford commission receives every day scores of newspapers, in addition to every worth-while clipping service in Europe. It has been taking practically all my evenings to glance through only the most important editorials concerning peace and world organization—a decided change from experiences of a year ago, when a peace editorial in any European paper was such a *rara avis* that the publicity bureau excitedly had it multigraphed and sent to our entire mailing list. It is only fair to say that at least one-half of this peace discussion came to me from the papers of the Central Powers. And it was not mere peace-at-any-price or peace-based-upon-German-victory discussion. For the most part it was reasonable, sane and intelligent.

Granted, then, the longing for peace cropping out on all sides, and the evident *Neu-Orientierung* in Germany, what are the obstacles to peace? This is the question to which my colleagues and I have addressed ourselves.

First we attempted to learn the actual terms from both sides. It should be remembered that the terms put out in notes and diplomatic documents are intended mainly for home consumption and for a bluff to the enemy. For example, one of our representatives on his first meeting with a certain diplomat was given all the familiar yarn about fighting for the right, being victorious, etc. "But, Your Excellency," he broke in, "would it not be better if we remembered that we are speaking strictly under four eyes?" This broke the ice and the real facts in the situation began to come out.

Terms No Hindrance

THE conclusion we came to, at the end of protracted informal negotiations, was that the actual terms of settlement are not the real hindrance to peace negotiations. I am not permitted to publish the terms which we found both sides ready to give. Suffice it to say that both belligerents were far nearer to an understanding than the world knows, and than they themselves probably realized. I assert with every ounce of conviction within me that I have no doubt but that, once the plenipotentiaries of both sides were assembled around the green table, such matters as actual territorial readjustments could have been disposed of without insurmountable difficulties.

The real obstacle, as we apprehended it, is the question of guaranties for the future. Both sides desire that this shall be the last war. They want to see a league of nations formed at the conclusion of this war. There is, however, distrust of each other since Germany violated the neutrality of Belgium. The allied peoples and governments are unwilling to accept Germany's pledge without some outside guaranty. Similarly the German people, believing that the Allies, too,

break treaties when military exigencies demand it, for example, in regard to Greece, want assurance from the outside that the proposed league shall guarantee their security from attack.

Obviously, the only power on earth that could guarantee peace and be acceptable to both sides is the United States. The European neutrals, one and all, appear to be willing to act as co-guarantors with the United States. But in themselves they are not strong enough.

Now, ever since his address of May 28, 1916, before the League to Enforce Peace, it has been well known in Europe that President Wilson favors the idea of a league of nations. Indeed, in his first peace note he declared his position in an official document. In Berlin apparently the President's word was taken as a sufficient evidence that the American people were ready to join the proposed league. But, said London, with all due respect to President Wilson, he is after all a man, and one who four years from now will leave the White House. Unless he can prove that the American nation is behind him and will actually back him up, we are not yet ready to consider the future secure, or to meet the Central Powers around the council table.

When, therefore, I arrived in America on January 14 and with a friend was given the privilege of discussing the situation with the President, our main point was to emphasize the necessity of a definite pledge from the American people to shoulder their share of responsibility for the future security of the world. That the President's mind had been moving in the same direction appears from the fact that three and a half days later he made his historic speech in the Senate and challenged the people of the United States to support him.

Then something terrible happened—the German submarine blockade order which, as one of the highest officials in our government expressed it, may "change the whole history of the world."

The German Psychology

How shall we explain this astounding move of the Central Powers? If in the following I try to reflect what to me seem the psychological processes by which the Imperial government arrived at this drastic development of her submarine policy, please let the reader remember that I am not speaking as a German propagandist, or as one who countenances this German move. Indeed, many Americans of German descent with whom I have spoken share my shock at the new trend of German policy. Like myself, they view it as a tragic mistake and are heartbroken that the ancient friendship between Germany and the United States should be disrupted.

I am not one of those who believe that the German Liberals have been overthrown and the war party enthroned in their stead. Quite the contrary: the Chancellor, the Foreign Secretary, the Reichstag—all appear to be united with the military on the wisdom of the new policy. Late in December a member of the Ford Peace Commission had a long talk with Dr. Zimmermann about the probable effect of the victories in Rumania upon the political position of the war party. Dr. Zimmermann assured our representative earnestly that even these victories would not have the slightest effect upon the determination of the present government to offer the most reasonable terms imaginable, and to make peace at the earliest moment possible. He added that the power of the military party was broken once for all.

No, the German Liberals have not *succumbed* to the war party—they have of their own accord *joined hands with it*.

The following, I believe, were the determining factors: First, Germany is face to face with a growing scarcity of food. She is fighting for her very existence. An empty stomach does

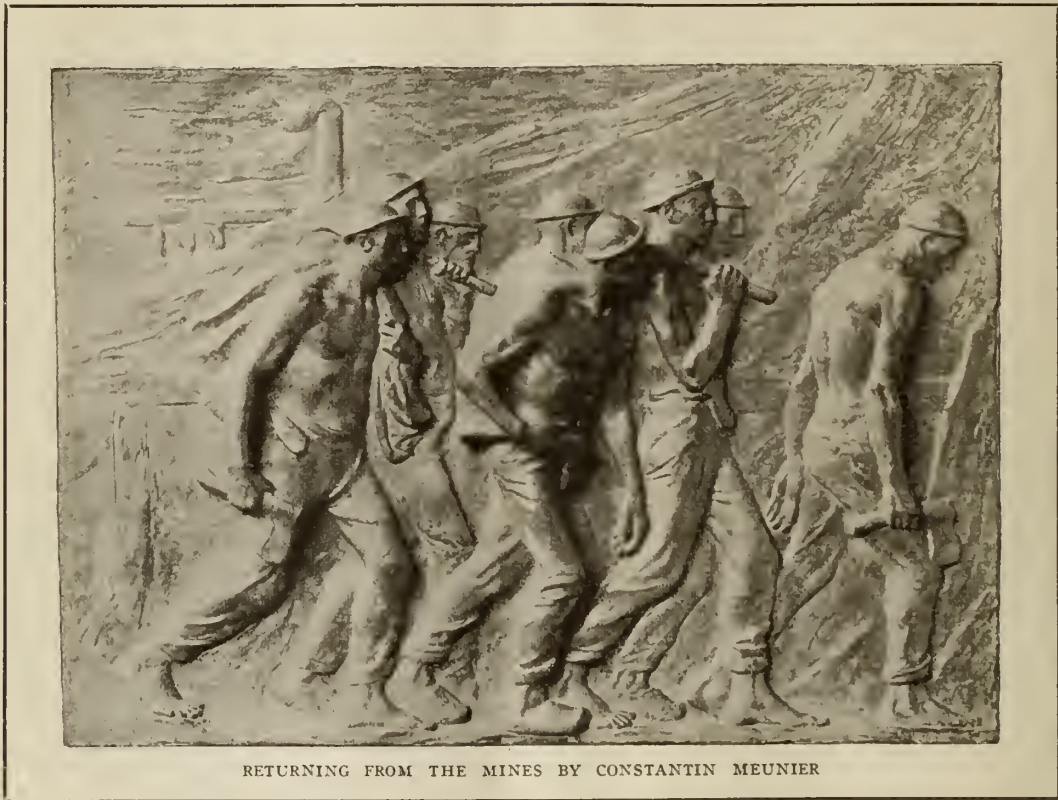
not make for the strictest observance of international law.

Second, Germany had counted on the acceptance, by the Entente, if not of her own peace overtures, then at least of that of President Wilson. Personally I have reason to believe that the Entente reply was intended for home consumption, and that, had Germany been willing to state her terms, such as unofficially we had been given to believe she would subscribe to, President Wilson could have found a basis for bringing the belligerents together. Indeed, in his speech to the Senate the President gave the German government a new opportunity to disclose its terms. But the Germans saw only the refusal of the Allies. They failed to see from the very extremeness of the Allied terms that their chance for winning sympathy in the neutral world lay in the publication of moderate terms. They were in despair at the Entente refusal—and when people are despondent they are not able to think and act normally.

Third, a great weakness of those in Germany who are charged with the conduct of foreign relations is their inability to gauge neutral opinion. Said the foreign correspondent of one of our large dailies to me, "When the Entente infringes upon the rights of neutrals, she somehow gets away with it; when Germany does it, she is bound to get her foot in it." Instead of realizing that President Wilson, in his Senate speech, showed himself a true friend of all Europe, they did the one thing that made the President say to the Imperial government that he desired not longer to be on speaking terms with it.

I believe the move will prove suicidal to Germany—but I also insist that those who, outside of the military clique, are responsible for the submarine policy, agreed to it not because they favor ruthlessness *per se*, nor because the militarists clamored for it, but because they thought it would hasten the coming of peace.

Engraving by courtesy of the Century Magazine



RETURNING FROM THE MINES BY CONSTANTIN MEUNIER

The Miners

By Charles Nicholls Webb

THEY come from caverns, intricate and black,
 Save where the candles throw their scanty light;
 With pick at side or hammer bowing back,
 And weariness half-clouding each man's sight,
 Up from the regions of eternal night
 Into the glare and clamor of the day;
 Dulled for the higher sources of delight,
 Fit but to sleep the leisure hours away,
 Or join the brawlers at their tavern-play.

Turning Off the Spigot

V. The Prohibition Wave—Better for Business and Better for Boys

By Elizabeth Tilton



"All labor expended in producing strong drink is utterly unproductive. It adds nothing to the wealth of the community."—ADAM SMITH, *Wealth of Nations*.

MULTITUDES believe in prohibition and these multitudes are daily being augmented. Note the magnitude of this world movement. Russia is largely dry. Finland is under partial prohibition. Most of the rural districts in Norway and Sweden are dry. Norway has some dry cities and the Liberals in both countries are calling for measures that will bring national prohibition. Iceland, Greenland and the Faroe Islands are dry. In Denmark there is a strong abstinence movement working for national prohibition. Town after town is going dry and a commission has been appointed to investigate the liquor question with special reference to introducing prohibition. Germany has a rising educational campaign, directed especially against beer, but, so far as I know, no concerted prohibition movement. In the Netherlands, the prohibition of the importation, manufacture and sale of absinthe was adopted in 1909. France, as we all know, has prohibited absinthe, and there are small movements calling for total prohibition, but the wealth that lies in the vineyards of France will make this latter fight a hard one. Switzerland nationally prohibited absinthe in 1908. Rumania, as a war measure, has prohibited the sale of all intoxicants. England has a strong national prohibition movement, though this is, of course, given its special force by the war. Canada is largely dry. In the United States, twenty-three states have passed a prohibition law. In 1907 there were only three such states—that means that in less than ten years twenty states have come in. In the United States this is in no way a war measure.¹

The new prohibition wave in this country began about 1907, although it was gathering force as far back as 1881 when Kansas went dry. The Kansas law forbade manufacture and sale of alcohol, except for medicinal, mechanical and sacramental purposes. But it allowed unlimited importation for private use. It was really only a first step; it aimed especially to eliminate the extra accessibility of liquor that comes through the saloon and legalized traffic. Several states, like Washington, Georgia and South Carolina, now limit importation for private use, and Arizona, Oregon and Idaho have passed "bone dry" laws—that is, they forbid importation

for private beverage use. The law tends, then, to annex a total abstinence crusade to its anti-saloon crusade.

Now how much does modern state prohibition reduce the wreckage incident to drink? The soundest statistics are those from police records which show arrests for drunkenness in the same town before and after closing saloons. I will give examples from our recent prohibition territory, thus:

PORTLAND, ORE.		1915—Saloons open		1916—Saloons closed	
		Jan.-June		Jan.-June	
Total arrests	.....	10,040		5,856	
Arrests for drunkenness	.....	3,047		716	

SEATTLE, WASH.		
Total arrests (1915) wet	.....	19,127
Total arrests (1916) dry	.....	11,847
Arrests for drunkenness (1915) wet	.....	4,741
Arrests for drunkenness (1916) dry	.....	3,315

But note that in 1915 arrests for drunkenness were made only when accompanied by disorderly conduct; in 1916 arrests were made on the slightest indication of intoxication. (Conger, secretary Anti-saloon League, Seattle.)

From Denver, Colorado, Department of Safety, Bureau of Police, I have the following, signed by the chief of police, H. Armstrong:

Total arrests, 1915 (wet)	.....	13,769
Total arrests, 1916 (dry)	.....	10,045
Total drunks, 1915 (wet)	.....	3,227
Total drunks, 1916 (dry)	.....	1,605

The chief of police adds: During the year 1915 drunks were not tried, being released the next morning. In 1916 all drunks were tried in the police court and minimum fine of \$10.00, total \$12.00, given to them. (This last in answer to my question, Had there been any change in methods?) I have to compliment Denver here and now on the good answers she sends to people asking information.

The following comes from Walter C. Evans, district attorney, Portland, Ore. (*Morning Tribune*, Los Angeles, September 25, 1916): "From tabulated report made by my deputy at the police court: September, 1914-August, 1915 (wet), total felonies, misdemeanors and juvenile court cases, 4,723; September, 1915-August, 1916 (dry), total felonies, misdemeanors and juvenile court cases, 1,809."

Mr. Evans says: "I know of no contributing factor towards this startling change with the exception of the abolition of the saloon. With the passing of the saloon it is known that large numbers of prostitutes . . . have left the city. Physicians connected with the State Board of Health reported

¹ I am using the term dry loosely to express various forms of the prohibition of liquor traffic. Legislation varies as to alcoholic strength and amounts allowed for private use. Also some laws allow manufacture to continue.

a remarkable decline in the amount of venereal disease now existing as against the amount known to exist a year ago."

H. C. Gill, mayor of Seattle, says: "As for the actual effect of the law here, from my own observation (and I voted wet), it has been splendidly beneficial. . . . Almost without exception the former saloon locations are now occupied by people in other lines of trade." (*Los Angeles Tribune*, September 25, 1916). Seattle has also a lowered tax-rate for 1917.

From District Attorney, Second Judicial District, 703 Continental building, Denver, I have the following, January 2, 1917: "All crime, especially crimes of violence, drunkenness, vagrancy, have largely decreased. The number of inmates of our jails and penitentiary is rapidly diminishing. The demands upon charity are very much less. The betterment of conditions among the laboring classes is very marked. The proposition submitted to statewide vote at the November election to allow the manufacture of beer only was overwhelmingly defeated. In my judgment this state is permanently in the prohibition column." (Signed) John A. Rush.)

DENVER

COMPARATIVE POLICE RECORDS

Charge	1915 (wet)	1916 (dry)
Assault to kill.....	18	16
Burglary.....	50	44
Forgery.....	41	27
Gambling.....	515	252
Grand larceny.....	66	51
Murder.....	10	7
Vagrancy.....	3,713	1,148

The average daily number of prisoners housed in the Denver county jail in 1915 was 150. The average in 1916 was 93. There were 19,978 new savings accounts opened in the banks and trust companies of Denver since January 1, 1916. This is the largest number of new accounts opened in any similar period in any year in Denver's history (population about 225,000). (*The Rocky Mountain News*, January 1, 1917.)

Gertrude Vaile, secretary of the Denver Bureau of Charities and Correction, gives an interesting picture of conditions under prohibition:

"And prohibition has not created an unemployment problem as some people anticipated. Now men are using their wages more for their families, and among all of us here in the office we can think of only two cases since January 1 in which women have complained that their husbands did not bring home their money. Last year this was a frequent and bitter complaint. The difference in what men spend their wages for now is interestingly shown by some figures furnished by certain dairies and grocery stores.

"One large dairy tells us of an increase of business over the corresponding months of last year amounting to about \$4,000 for January; \$5,000 for February; \$6,700 for March and \$5,400 for April—a total increase of \$21,100 for four months under prohibition.

"These dairies and grocery firms feel that the difference is due primarily to prohibition and cite the districts from which the increase comes. One milk route around the stockyards has an increased business of \$5 per day; one in the lower section of a downtown district an increased business of \$6 per day. This company had a retail milk route in the business section in which there had been forty-seven saloons. The driver concluded that they might just as well take that wagon off as most of his trade was with the saloons. But with the closing of the saloons and the opening of more lunch counters the business of that single route has increased \$15 per day since January 1."

The report further states:

"The reports from the grocery stores are almost as interesting. It is the custom of this office to give the grocery or-

ders on any store preferred by the family assisted. We have found that the people get the best service in this way. This has made us deal with the neighborhood groceries. They tell us, without exception, that they are better able to make collections, and that the people are buying more and a better quality of food than they did when we had saloons.

"One grocer commented that it was worth a great deal to see the increased self-respect with which the women do their buying since they can afford better things.

"So we are convinced that however much or little actual drunkenness may have had to do with the poverty we meet, at any rate, since the closing of the saloons the people are being better fed and that will go a long way to reduce some other causes of poverty. And they are doing better about meeting their just obligations, which goes far toward raising their self-respect and general standard of living." (See Colorado, On the Map, Arthur Finch, Anti-Saloon League, Denver, Col., June, 1916.)

But you will say, "These are western cities where we have sent our sternest and most enterprising. Perhaps in the older states it will not be like this." Let us see. West Virginia gives the following: "Arrests for drunkenness last wet year, 9,432; first dry year, 3,375. (Fifty-seven Municipalities' Report, Commissioner Blue.)

WHEELING, W. VA.

Total arrests (last wet year) 1913.....	2,901
Total arrests (first dry year) 1914.....	1,575
Arrests for drunkenness (last wet year).....	1,101
Arrests for drunkenness (first dry year).....	419

WHEELING, W. VA.

Comparative statement of prisoners and meals served in municipal prisons.	Prisoners		Meals
	1915 (wet)	1916 (dry)	
Last wet year.....	1,275	484	62,122
First dry year.....			19,960

CHARLES M. EARHART, City Bank building, Wheeling.

Below are the records of two other old states, with a large Negro population (official records, *Los Angeles Tribune*, October 4, 1916).

From W. G. Hutton, sheriff, Little Rock, Ark.:

OCCUPANTS OF COUNTY JAIL

8 months, 1915 (wet).....	colored, 795	white, 431
8 months, 1916 (dry).....	colored, 404	white, 204

Total number of prisoners at the county poor farm for the above periods was, 1915 (wet), 919; 1916 (dry), 214. (Taken from *Los Angeles Tribune*, October 4, 1916.)

ALABAMA (19 CITIES)

Arrests for drunkenness, 1907 (wet).....	6,830
Arrests for drunkenness, 1908 (dry).....	1,536

Scientific Temperance Journal, June, 1916.

MURDERS, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

1909 (dry).....	130
1910 (dry).....	138
1911 (dry).....	88
1912 (wet).....	306

I have at least a dozen more cases of reduced wreckage under prohibition but the story grows monotonous. Prohibition does have marked effects. The following significant episodes show how fully many communities recognize this.

The wets in the states of Arkansas, Colorado, Oregon and Washington made attempts to cripple or repeal the dry laws in 1916. These attempts in every case were snowed under by popular vote. In Washington, one liquor measure was defeated by a majority of 124,846; the other by 189,213. (Conger, Anti-saloon League.) But the striking thing is this. In 1914 Seattle voted against the amendment for state prohibition by 14,625 majority. In 1916, when against her own vote Seattle had been dry for nearly a year, the city voted by 18,400 majority against re-introduction of beer, and by 43,900 majority against allowing liquor to be re-introduced into hotels. Spokane and Denver also showed the same turn-about for prohibition. This is epoch making. It means that whereas in the nineties prohibition was enforced usually only in rural districts, now the anti-alcohol sentiment commands enforcement of prohibition even in cities made to go dry against their wills.

This goes far to dispose of one of the serious arguments against prohibition.

An interesting bit to me was the reduction under prohibition of cases coming to organized charity for relief, although prosperity undoubtedly entered in here also. The Committee of Fifty found drink an operating factor in about 25 per cent of the cases coming to organized charity for relief. The Boston Associated Charities found the number of such cases about 24 per cent; Newport, R. I. (1914), found it 29 per cent, while in a great manufacturing center, New Bedford (1915), it was 31 per cent. On my arrival in Des Moines (a very civic up-to-date city) I was interested to note that an investigation made in 1913 by the Associated Charities showed drink a factor in 26 per cent of the cases. In a distributing center like Des Moines it ran close to the figure of the metropolis and the manufacturing city.

Charity Cases from Drink

IN 1916, after the saloons in Des Moines had been closed a little over a year, the per cent for that year had fallen from 26 to 9.6. In Denver cases reporting to the Denver Department of Social Welfare fell off at the rate of a little over 100 a month in the first four months of prohibition, over the corresponding months of the previous year. In Spokane, charity cases before the Social Service Bureau the first four months of 1915 (wet) were 1,070; the first four months of 1916 (dry) 700. (Henry Rising.)

In Topeka, Kan., where prohibition has had some real enforcement for years, I found this remarkable showing: Total cases (1915), 481; cases in which drink was a factor, 17. Two of these 17 were bootleggers (men who sell liquor on the sly). Thus we see drink playing a part in less than 4 per cent of the cases. Most of the social workers there had come from wet states. All were convinced that the liquor problem was marvelously reduced in Topeka.

In all the places recently gone dry bank clearings are rushing madly ahead; but because times are so prosperous it does not seem honest to lay this to prohibition, though prohibition probably adds its quota, as it adds its quota also to the enormous increase of savings bank deposits in Denver.

The most careful survey of this subject was made by the *Manufacturers' Record*, of Baltimore, through a questionnaire. The *Manufacturers' Record* says:

"Taking Alabama and West Virginia combined, two states about which there has been most active discussion as to the effect of prohibition, and from which we publish detailed bank reports in this issue, we have 206 banks which have replied to the question as to the effect of prohibition. Of this number, 165, or 80 per cent, are in favor of the beneficial effect of prohibition, while 22, or 10 per cent, report that they have seen no benefit from prohibition, and 19 are non-committal.

"This, we think," says the *Record*, "is one of the most remarkable endorsements of prohibition, from the business point of view, which has ever been published. No other class of business men are in closer touch with the business interests of a community than bankers. Their views on this subject are, therefore, entitled to very great weight."

Quite as impressive as statistics are the opinions of the thoughtful people in prohibition states. I did not meet one social worker who was against prohibition. While it may not be cure they seem to believe it is in the way of prevention and betterment.

"I have no figures to give you," said Joseph C. Logan, of the Associated Charities in Atlanta, "but loose as prohibition has been with us, we are convinced that it has reduced the magnitude of our problem." Impressive are the opinions of

editors whose papers fought prohibition. Thus Henry Rising, editor of the *Spokane Chronicle*, says: "The *Chronicle* did not fight for prohibition in 1914. It is ready at ten seconds' notice today to fight its best against any serious effort to repeal or cripple the prohibition law." Major C. B. Blethen, editor of the *Seattle Times*, said: "My paper fought its damndest against prohibition. We fought it on economic grounds alone. We believed that in a great seaport city with a population of upwards 350,000, prohibition would be destructive. . . . Well, we've had it six months. None of the dire things prophesied have occurred. On the contrary, Seattle has prospered wonderfully. We already know that it is a great benefit morally and from an economic standpoint."

The *Denver Post* was the most persistent in its declaration that prohibition would ruin Colorado. After six months, the editor, H. H. Tamm, says: "The terrible things that I predicted did not come to pass. It is doing wonders out here." The *Mining Review and Oil Journal*, June 1, 1916, says, "Prohibition is proving a blessing in disguise in the mining camps of Idaho, Arizona, Colorado, Oregon and Washington."

This, social workers of the East, is the way that prohibition looks to the West and to much of the South. Hence we get twenty new dry states in less than ten years. Many of these states are sparsely populated, agricultural, with no cities of the first magnitude and with a homogeneous population. Michigan, however, is an eastern state just gone dry. It will be interesting to watch prohibition in industrial cities like Detroit, Flint and Grand Rapids.

But perhaps it will be said, that since prohibition is new in these states, the new broom will sweep clean. So now I wish to tell of Kansas, which had been dry thirty-six years when I was there. It really is not only the statistics that impress one in Kansas, but Kansas itself, clean and forward-marching. "You will find yourself tonight," said the first young man we met, "in a state where it is not unpopular to be righteous. Every political party here is for prohibition and you will have to go over this state with a fine tooth comb to find men against it."

Scarcity of Saloons

"YES," said the little mother with whom we stayed, "my boy never saw a saloon till he went up to Nebraska to see a ball game. When he came home he told me he'd seen a saloon. I said, 'Boy, I declare I most wish you hadn't of gone.'"

"Yes," said another old-timer, "my boy has been appointed a professor at Yale. He wrote home: 'Mother, they have saloons here *with signs!* The people seem refined enough, but I declare it goes against my grain to bring my boys up under such conditions.'"

Prohibition is a state of mind—and they've got it! Even the motormen have it, for the driver who took my husband from wet Kansas City, Mo., to dry Kansas City, Kan., said: "We are now entering the City of Good Horse Sense where the workingman's wages buy 'shoes not booze, drygoods not rye goods.'"

"What we have accomplished," said Prof. F. W. Blackmar, dean of the graduate department of the University of Kansas, "is that the thoughtful people, the best people are against the drink custom. To serve wine at dinner in Lawrence would be 'bad form'—bad citizenship. And the other thing is that saloons have been gone so long that the workingman's wages are going into the home and not into drink. We have not eliminated drinking by any means, but



Early settlers of Kansas sent by the New England Emigrant Aid Society, were pledged to two causes, Abolition and Prohibition

we are retiring the drink custom and our wages are being spent in productive industries."

Said Judge Emery, of the Police Court in Topeka: "If we should get saloons back here in Topeka, we should need less than the usual number for a town of our size because the workman has lost the habit of spending wages in booze."

Governor Arthur I. Capper said: "Kansas is out of debt and splendidly prosperous. We do believe that prohibition influences this showing. The fact that here in Kansas wages are going into 'shoes not booze' must help our prosperity and our low prison population. In 1915, Kansas had forty counties out of a total of 105 which did not send a prisoner to the state penitentiary. In Logan county the jail had been empty five years when in 1915 the authorities permitted its use as a corncrib—certainly a better purpose than filling it with the wrecks distilled corn juice can make. . . . A survey of bankers here showed 165 in favor of prohibition, while only six expressed doubts as to its wisdom."

Thus Governor Capper and thus Kansas. Everywhere you go it is the same—a high wind of prosperity and prohibition. Of course, they all recognize that prohibition is only a factor, but a factor they do believe it to be.

Kansas has one of the lowest death rates in the United States. When the government wrote to ask the state registrar, W. J. V. Deacon, how he accounted for this he answered, in effect (special number, Second Biennial Report, 1914-1915), "Kansas is homogeneous and almost wholly an agricultural state . . . 70.8 of the population resides outside the town. Kansas is also rich, also intelligent (illiteracy rate 2.2)—these make for strong physical resistance to disease and that psychological poise that directly affects bodily health." Mr. Deacon then adds that Kansas is a prohibition state, and in Kansas prohibition really prohibits. "I do not mean by this that there is no alcohol consumed in the state, but the absence of the saloon means much to the growing young men and boys. . . . There is an absence of opportunity to poison the body with the toxins of alcohol which will be sure to show in those organic diseases that are affected by alcohol. Another and more important effect is that the wage of the laborer is not dissipated but goes to supply those necessities of food, clothing and housing most essential to the well-being of his family."

I do not want to press figures too hard, but since some statistical comparisons are desirable I have made the following from the Statistical Abstract of the United States, though how much prohibition influences these figures it is impossible to say. I have taken Massachusetts and New York, urban states with good-sized foreign populations, to indicate the evil effects of such conditions. Three banner prohibition states, where they have the prohibition state of mind—Kansas, North Da-

kota and North Carolina—have been placed beside sister states resembling them, save that they were wet states when these figures were taken in 1910. Virginia and Nebraska have since gone dry.

COMPARISON BY STATES

	Per cent living in cities	Per cent native born	Insane admitted per 100,000 pop.	Prisoners Admitted per 100,000	Paupers Admitted almshouses per 100,000
Massachusetts	92	68	125	931	282
New York	78	69	93	502	139
Kansas	29	92	53	200	24
North Dakota	11	72	38	163	19
North Carolina	14	99	41	122	33
Nebraska	26	85	34	482	92
Missouri	42	93	84	481	34
Virginia	23	98	59	602	116

It is interesting to note how phenomenally low is the prison population in the three banner prohibition states. The single place in the table in which statistics of Kansas do not behave as expected in a prohibition state is the insanity rate. It is higher than that of its sister wet state of Nebraska.

According to H. C. Bowman, of the State Board of Control, this higher insanity rate comes because Kansas carries care of her insane to an extreme. The law not only requires every person adjudged insane to enter a hospital, but should room be lacking the county must pay so much per week for the care of all those not admitted. This, of course, causes all defectives who are dependent upon the county's money to be sent to the insane hospitals; some of those sent being properly only almshouse charges. This results in a high registration of insane for Kansas. The percentage of alcoholic insane is, however, low—being (1915) 1.7 per cent as against an average rate for the country of about 10 per cent; for Ohio, 10.7; for New York, 7.4; Nebraska, 4.2 (considered too low by those knowing conditions).²

Statistics of insanity can be touched but lightly for they are not yet perfected. Opinions, however, are of some value. Dr. Newcomb, of the State Hospital, Kansas, says: "The paucity [of alcoholic insane in Kansas hospitals] is, in the writer's opinion, directly due to the existence and

² The Census Bureau incorrectly states that in 1910 the insanity of seventy patients admitted to the Kansas state hospitals was caused by alcohol, and that the insanity of twenty of the patients admitted to the Nebraska state hospitals was caused by alcohol. We are at a loss to know how the government report got the figures seventy. The correct figures are twenty-four. The government also missed something very important in compiling the figures. The Kansas figures of twenty-four include the inebriates who are sent to the state insane hospitals as insane, while in Nebraska inebriates are committed under a different law and are not included in the census report of the population of the Nebraska state insane hospitals. The inebriates go to the same institution as the insane and are mixed and mingled in the same wards, whether admitted as insane or as inebriates. On page 115 of the biennial report of 1912 of the Lincoln, Neb., state hospital for the insane, the superintendent states that from July 8, 1905, to November 30, 1912, 1,172 men and fifty-two women were committed as inebriates. This would be an average of almost 174 a year, in addition to the twenty insane with alcoholic psychosis.

³ "The number of persons committed to state insane hospitals in the prohibition states and the near-prohibition states is very much less than the number committed in the license states. According to the tables of the Kansas State Temperance Union, based upon the federal census of 1910, the number of persons committed to state insane hospitals averaged 118 in the prohibition states, 150 in the near-prohibition states, and 275 in the license states per 100,000."—H. C. Bowman.

generally rigid enforcement of the prohibition law." (Alcoholic Insanity, 43d annual session, National Conference Charities and Corrections, p. 142.)

One prominent person in Kansas was heartily opposed to prohibition. Mr. Billard, a popular grain merchant of Topeka, ran for governor in 1914 on a platform to resubmit the prohibition question, and received about 10 per cent of the vote: "I am a Frenchman," he said. "I came over here to drink deep of personal liberty. Prohibition is tyranny and a farce. You should see the whiskey bottles in our back alleys mornings."

"You think the saloon would make less drinking?"

"Oh," exclaimed Mr. Billard, "of course, I did not want to see the open bar back. But I did want shops where men could sell bottled goods, and I wanted the people to have the right to express themselves on the subject. A whole new generation has grown up since the law became effective."

About 90 per cent did express themselves in favor of the law.

Reduction of Per Capita Drinking

Is KANSAS justified in voting for prohibition on the ground that it is reducing per capita drink consumption? A state survey of prohibition in Kansas recently made under the auspices of Dean Blackmar and now in the hands of the printer shows that in 1914 the legal per capita consumption of the United States as a whole was 22.6 gallons, while that of Kansas was only about 3 gallons per capita.

This figure is obtained from reports made to county clerks throughout the entire state under the Mahin law which requires all common carriers to register each shipment of liquor. The liquor interests say that county clerks are unwilling to show these records. Below, however, I give Professor Blackmar's own account of the whole proceeding. The records do not give boot-legging sales; what those are no man can tell. But the legal consumption of Kansas, the bulk of which was beer, is compared with the legal consumption of the United States. Professor Blackmar says:

"As assistant attorney-general, I made a survey of every county and every town in the state of Kansas to determine the amount of liquor consumed in the state in a single year. No one ever refused information or tried to hide it from me. The records in the county clerk's office of shipments showed the annual consumption of liquor in the year 1914 to be 4,498,258 gallons. According to the federal estimate of the population of Kansas for that year of 1,807,845, the per capita annual consumption would be 2.4 gallons. According to the state census of the same year of 1,678,916, the annual per capita consumption would be 2.67 gallons.

"We know that considerable liquor is carried over the border from Missouri and Nebraska, and I have made liberal allowances for this after a careful study of the border. I have stated that the per capita consumption of beer and liquor in that year was less than 3 gallons per capita. Suppose we estimate it at 3 gallons per capita, and we will have an excess of we follow the federal census of 925,277 gallons, or 538,490 according to the state census, which might have been carried over the border without record. So that when I say that the per capita consumption of liquor was less than 3 gallons in the year 1914, I have as good a reason for my statement as any statement sent out by the federal government, or by the hired statisticians of the Brewers' Association.

"You are permitted to publish this wherever you wish and you can rely upon it that the annual per capita consumption of liquor in Kansas in the year 1914 did not exceed 3 gallons, and in years since then there has been a decrease."

But let no man think that this retiring of the drink custom

and its handmaid, the saloon, has come by itself in Kansas. Education in the schools, law enforcement societies and personal risk have slowly brought it about. In the nineties (Sessional Papers, Vol. 16, session 1894, Canada) enforcement ran low. Slowly, however, the rural districts began to oust the saloon and the "joint." "Wherever there was enforcement," said the chief justice to me, "prohibition helped. People saw this and inch by inch we pushed it through the state. And I can truly say that with us the law is as easily enforced as any law." In short, Kansas first got her law by a small majority, and then educated her people up to it.

Cities for the most part have enforced prohibition only in the last sixteen years—the result, in part, so they all said, of a crusade of one lone woman, Mrs. Carrie Nation, who, on the night that Queen Victoria died, alighted from her buggy in front of the Peerless Princess Saloon at Wichita and transferred the rocks in her apron to the plate-glass mirror.

In Kansas they honor Mrs. Nation; they call her the "John Brown of prohibition."

Kansas City did not close its saloons until 1906. One day Assistant Attorney-general Trickett padlocked the saloons. The business men were not with him and a mob formed and threatened his life. He went on padlocking, however. Two years later when the state was going to send Mr. Trickett elsewhere the business men of the city sent to the governor saying: "For Heaven's sake, don't remove Trickett or we'll get those saloons back and it is worth \$1,000,000 a year to us to have those saloons gone."

"I told them," said Mr. Trickett, "that prohibition was better for business and better for boys." As proof that it was better for boys, Mr. Trickett told us that Kansas City (Wyandotte county) in the ten years before the saloons closed had sent an average of twenty boys a year to the state reformatory, in the year following the closing of the saloons it sent only two boys in all.

In 1909, Kansas passed a law forbidding drug-stores to sell alcoholic beverages. All prohibition states must come to this sooner or later. Whether or not the present drug-stores carry on a trade in patent medicines containing alcohol I do not know. The Board of Health had no information to give me on this point nor did I anywhere meet talk of the danger. Kansas is allowed unlimited importation for private use and the need of getting alcohol through patent medicines does not appear on the surface, at least. In bone-dry states, like Arizona, Idaho and Oregon, the patent-medicine end should be carefully watched and guarded.

Illicit distilling appears negligible in Kansas. There are seldom any confiscations of stills. Other ways of getting liquor are easier, apparently—to those who will have it.

Illicit Sale by Boot-Leggers

SUMMING up the situation as I saw it, I should say state prohibition is not a cure—even in Kansas. But it is betterment. Kansas has its liquor problem. Its police records show repeaters, and no farm colony to put them in! Thirty-three per cent of arrests in Topeka in 1914 were for drunkenness. But we must remember that while Kansas' police have orders to arrest "all drunks," usually in large cities they arrest only men so drunk as to be dangerous to themselves or others. Again, you will come on spots, like Davenport, Iowa, where the influential people are not alive to the great cumulative costs of alcohol, and consequently enforcement runs low and results seem obscure. And, of course, there is boot-legging. In Lawrence, Kansas, 1915, there were forty convictions for boot-legging—"usually," said Judge Amück, "Mexicans or Negroes who are sick or who do not know how to work

and so bring a bag of stuff up from Kansas City, Mo., and peddle it around. What I need is a farm colony where I can cure these poor chaps."

Concerning the difficulty of getting indictments (which have been hard to obtain in Maine) the chief justice and all the judges that I saw said: "The people want the boot-legger indicted. Public opinion is against him." Judge Amück said: "I am the son of a German. Many Germans here want their beer at home (not in saloons). But I am a Kansan, and I know that the way out of the drink problem is

total abstinence plus national prohibition. But until we get that we ought to have farm colonies for boot-leggers and repeaters," and Kansas ought! But, of course, the amount sold by a boot-legger is negligible when compared with the great, organized flow from the saloon.

Summary.—Hard to enforce as state prohibition must always be, it has today in the West and the South a public opinion behind it that usually brings enforcement. In short, prohibition is showing results today even in large cities. It is as the West says: "Better for business and better for boys."

On the Other Hand

An Affirmative Answer to the Question: "Will the Kent Bill Help?"

By Robert J. Newton

I SHOULD like to discuss Gertrude Vaile's article on Federal Aid for Consumptives, published in your issue of December 30, and to answer her question, "Will the Kent bill help?" I have not had anything like Miss Vaile's experience in charity work, but I have been a student of the problem of the indigent consumptive in the health-resort region for more than six years. I took an active part in the organization of the Southwestern Conference on Tuberculosis, the first sectional tuberculosis conference, at St. Louis in 1910, and have been the secretary of the conference ever since. Among other things, the conference was called to consider the "restriction of the immigration of the consumptive poor of other states into our states and territories." Study of the subject during the next two years convinced us that this was impracticable. In 1912 Governor O. B. Colquitt, of Texas, called the second meeting of the conference at Waco. This session adopted a resolution declaring "that the care of consumptives in the Southwest is an interstate problem and that it is the duty of the federal government to take action to provide hospital care for citizens suffering from consumption who have left their native states and are residing in the Southwest seeking health, and who are unable to pay for hospital care."

At the request of the Waco conference, Governor Colquitt organized a committee of ninety-nine, including the governors of other southwestern states, members of Congress and prominent citizens, to secure the passage by Congress of a bill for the establishment of federal hospitals. This effort failed. The California State Board of Health then took up the matter and interested Congressman William Kent. The bill introduced by him [see the SURVEY for February 12, March 18, May 27, July 29, and December 30, 1916], after numerous conferences with California health workers, government officials, and members of the House and Senate, represents what we may be able to get in the way of federal aid, and not entirely what we want. It is a legislative "half loaf." No other measure providing for federal assistance in the fight against tuberculosis has progressed as far as the Kent bill. In addition to the favorable committee reports in the House and Senate, it has been endorsed by the Democratic National Convention and has the approval of the President, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Public Health Service, many state boards of health, health and charity organizations, commercial clubs and individual social workers too numerous to mention.

Miss Vaile has made a gallant fight against the bill and to her must go the credit if it fails of passage. I respect her

ability to make an interesting and enjoyable "scrap," if I cannot endorse her judgment. She has been of real assistance to the proponents of the bill in keeping them on their mettle and hard at work. Were it not for her opposition we might have lost the battle through over-confidence in our cause.

Miss Vaile believes in the principle of federal aid. She says, "It (the tuberculosis problem) is so immense and far-reaching that the federal government itself must take cognizance of it and do something to help and control it." She does not believe that the Kent bill will secure the right kind of government activity, because she fears that the bill will increase the migration of indigents to the West. "After all," she writes, "the crux of the question is, would the proposed legislation increase such migration?" I do not think that this is the crux of the question. But I believe that she has stated it later in her article, and to this I will call attention further on.

The Colorado State Board of Health evidently does not fear an increase of migration as a result of federal aid to consumptives, for S. R. McKelvey, M. D., secretary, stated in a letter to W. A. Sawyer, M. D., of the California State Board, on April 4, 1916: "Also any feasible plan of the government to establish in this city or elsewhere an institution for the care and treatment of tuberculosis patients will be heartily approved by this board." If the board does not fear increase of migration because of the location of a special hospital for consumptives supported by the government, have we much to fear by reason of government aid to a limited number of county or city institutions?

I believe, on the contrary, that the operation of the Kent bill will tend to diminish migration. The return of patients by the government to the states from which they have been sent will direct the attention of state, county and city authorities to the need for hospitals for the care of their people, and such returned patients will deter others in their communities from starting to the West. I assume that, wherever possible, patients will be returned home instead of supported indefinitely by the government and local authorities. And we know that in most cases that is the best disposition to make of such cases, because of their advanced condition. While this may not be done by force, it can be done in many cases by persuasion. I believe also that the Public Health Service will be able to secure a larger measure of cooperation by state, county and city authorities in getting publicity designed to discourage migration.

Opposed to Miss Vaile's opinion that an increase of migration will result, we have the approval for the Kent bill of

many commercial organizations in the West, some from Colorado. Business men would be slow to advocate any measure which would increase taxes for the care of non-residents.

This brings up the question, why do people migrate? Is it because they think they can secure hospital care in the West, or is it because of their belief in the benefit of climate, without regard to hospital treatment? I believe that many consumptives come from the states which have state and county institutions for consumptives, for the records show that the bulk of the migration comes from states in the Mississippi valley. Some of the migrants have been inmates of hospitals, others have been denied admission because of lack of room, or because too far advanced.

Last Hope for Health

THEN the patient turns to the West as his last hope, for the belief in climate has been bred in the race for centuries. The Psalmist said, "I will look unto the hills from whence cometh my strength." Scientists of the pre-Christian era advocated a dry climate for tuberculosis. Texas records mention the coming of men to the state one hundred years ago on the advice of physicians. And to this day the doctors are sending them. The tuberculosis societies say, "Don't go West unless you have money for your support," but what is more natural than for the poor man to deduce that they approve a change of climate for the man of means? If it is good for the man with money, surely it is good for the poor man. Therefore, he takes the chance of securing a livelihood and goes West.

Can we change the popular belief in the virtue of climatic treatment? We might by a tremendous educational campaign costing much time and money, but I doubt it. We have been trying to discourage migration, but the Public Health Service reports show that it is increasing. Mr. Jacobs said, in the SURVEY of December 30, that we need 200,000 hospital beds for consumptives and that we have 40,000, or one-fifth of that number. When we have the full number needed, then the migration will be much smaller and will consist largely of discharged sanatorium patients seeking a climate and occupations which will safeguard them against relapse. And no one can deny to them, or to our present migrants, the right to a change of residence if it is to their advantage.

Will the hospital subsidy bring more patients? That will depend somewhat upon the newspaper publicity given the matter. The fact that the Kent bill has passed Congress will receive small mention in the newspapers. It will not be read by many and will be forgotten by most of those who read it. There will be no additional publicity at a later date, for no reason for such publicity will exist. It will cease to be news. No state, county or city, nor any private hospital, will advertise the fact that they will care for indigent consumptives free of charge. There will be no effort on the part of the Public Health Service to encourage consumptives to go West to secure hospital care, and surely the charity and tuberculosis societies will not send them. The consumptive will be just where he is now. If he determines to go West he will go, blindly, as most of them do, without any knowledge of any particular place where he may receive care, and not so much with the intent to secure hospital treatment as for the climate.

Will the Kent bill be burdensome to the West, financially?

The hospital has the option of contracting with the government to care for patients. It has the right to accept or reject applicants for admission. If it accepts patients it may then receive a subsidy for the time the patient remains. The federal appropriation will necessarily be limited and the Health Service must administer it economically. The first question

to be determined will be the advisability of treating the patient or returning him home. His physical condition, together with his resources at home and the possibility of hospital care in the home state, will determine the action to be taken. I believe that a larger number of patients will be sent home than will be taken care of in western hospitals.

If Miss Vaile is speaking for the state of Colorado, or for the city of Denver, and really believes in the theory of increase of migration, why does she not cease her opposition to the Kent bill and, if it is enacted, use her influence, which is considerable, to discourage any hospital entering into a contract with the federal government for the care of patients? Then, if they go West for hospital care, they will not go to Colorado, but to states anxious to secure the benefits of the Kent bill. Colorado should not deny relief to other western states.

Miss Vaile also points out the danger of persons receiving treatment under the Kent bill remaining in the resort region long enough to lose their residence in the home state. The hospital will not keep these patients for any period of time unless they can be benefited by hospital care. The government will send them home, if possible. If the patient's disease can be arrested by hospital care it will be better for him to lose his residence in the home state, if need be, rather than to lose his life by returning home. But to protect itself against the loss of the federal subsidy by reason of extended treatment of certain cases, the hospital may require the patient to state that it is not his intention to relinquish his residence in his home state. Citizenship is largely a question of intention. Hundreds of government clerks reside in Washington for years and even acquire property there, and yet retain their residence in their home states for political reasons. About the only thing that will actually deprive a man of citizenship in his home state is for him to exercise the right of suffrage in another state. Consumptives may return to their homes after an absence of years and, if indigent, still receive assistance. For communities will deny assistance to worthy cases, actually resident, on the ground of loss of citizenship.

Americans Without a Country

THIS brings me to what I consider the real crux of the question as stated in Miss Vaile's own words: "This idea that a good American can be a man without a country in time of distress is barbarous." It is barbarous. And yet that is now the fact. It is the situation which the Kent bill is designed to correct. And the Kent bill is the only remedy which it seems possible to obtain for this condition at this time. Miss Vaile testifies that home states and counties and cities will not aid their expatriated consumptive citizens *now*. She shows the inability of the communities to which they go to care for them. Technically and legally they have lost their citizenship in any state, county or city. But they are still American citizens. The place where the infection was acquired is morally responsible for their care; legally it is impossible to enforce the claim. The place to which they go may become legally responsible for their care simply by reason of six months or a year's residence, during which time they may have been a charge upon public or private charity. Morally tuberculars have no claim upon their adopted place of residence. Miss Vaile agrees that the assistance of the federal government is needed.

I wish that the government reports of conditions in the Southwest might be given greater publicity. We should hang our heads in shame that such conditions exist in our country and that there is so little effort to remedy them. We give millions to the relief of Belgium, and should do so, but we do nothing for our own Belgians of the Southwest. They

have been driven from their home and friends by fear of the white plague and by their desire to live a little longer. And unlike the Belgians of Europe, they have no sustaining sympathy and no help in their hour of need. No homes are open to them. And they cannot look forward with hope to the day when they may return to home and friends.

As an alternative to the Kent bill, Miss Vaile suggests investigation, education and active experimentation. But what further do we need to know? The Public Health Service has investigated conditions in the Southwest. Its reports confirm everything that has been stated by individuals and associations. American citizens are dying for lack of care and thousands have died and thousands more will die. Some might have been saved. Some may be saved. Is it not worth while to make the effort now, rather than to investigate further? If we will not act on our present knowledge there is small hope that voluminous reports by government commissions, read by an infinitesimal percentage of the people, will cause any action to be taken. What nutriment is there in such reports for the consumptive in the West, suffering from a lack of proper food? What consolation for widows and orphans and what maintenance for them? Investigate further if you will, but do not further procrastinate in relieving these poor people.

And we must continue the work of popular education for several generations, until we bring about a reformation of our habits of living and reconstruction of our cities. The tuberculosis problem will require a hundred years of educational work if it is to be solved in that way. But again I say, do not substitute education for the care and treatment of the patient.

And as to active experimentation, we all honor the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company for their princely gift and Lee K. Frankel for inspiring it. But the community experiment for the entire elimination of tuberculosis will benefit the coming generation more than this generation. Let us not halt our efforts for relief and prevention until that and similar work is done. The government will await the result of this experiment before embarking upon any such work in other parts of the country.

Miss Vaile further suggests that we "reverse" the Kent bill and give the subsidy to every state, county and city for the care of resident consumptives, thus making it necessary for them to stay at home to secure hospital care. I should be glad to see this done and believe it may be done some day if the Kent bill is passed and establishes a precedent. I doubt the possibility of securing such action now or for some time to come. The National Association would have to take up such a plan and make a national campaign for it. It would be necessary to maintain a lobby at Washington continuously during three to five sessions of Congress, and for from six to ten years. It would cost much money, but it could be done.

Difficulties of Reversing Kent Bill

MR. JACOBS says we have 40,000 beds for consumptives in this country. A government subsidy of fifty cents a day for each bed would total \$7,300,000 annually, not a large sum, but an appropriation difficult to secure now.

If Miss Vaile thinks this new plan will prevent migration, surely she is mistaken; for what is to prevent the consumptive going to the West and acquiring citizenship after one year's residence? Then he may become a charge upon the western city or county indefinitely.

Mr. Hillard, of Colorado, has introduced a bill embodying Miss Vaile's ideas. Section 3 of the bill reads as follows: "That an indigent person shall be considered, for the purpose of this act, a resident of the state where he last had legal

settlement." Settlement can be acquired by a year's residence in any western state. In the case of a man, and in suffrage states both men and women, can acquire citizenship by exercising the right of suffrage. It is true, settlement laws may be enacted denying citizenship to persons becoming indigent from three to five years after arrival; but that will not deter them from coming to the West, nor will it prevent their becoming indigent, or objects of charity, after arrival.

Miss Vaile's bill makes no provision for returning patients to the home states. Would she leave that burden entirely upon private charity? The Kent bill carries a provision for such return of patients and this section alone should enlist the support of all the charity societies of the West.

Half-Informed Critics

MISS VAILE has quoted the resolution adopted by the American Association for Organizing Charities, against the Kent bill. Few of the delegates at that meeting were from the West or know anything of this problem. They took her word for it. She also quotes Mr. Magruder, of Baltimore, and Mr. Persons, of New York. Will these gentlemen tell us how much time they have spent in the West studying this problem? An offhand opinion that the Kent bill will increase migration is valueless unless one knows about present conditions.

Miss Vaile also quotes Mr. Bruno, formerly of the Colorado Springs Associated Charities, saying "he cannot see how anyone living in a western state could doubt that it would increase migration." Wood F. Worcester, who was secretary of the Associated Charities of Colorado Springs for four years, in a letter discussing this, says: "I was greatly surprised in reading Miss Vaile's articles to find that she quoted Frank J. Bruno, my predecessor in Colorado Springs (who left in 1911), as being opposed to the Kent bill, and that she made no reference to the attitude of the organization at the present time, which both she and I know is favorable to the bill. Indeed, Mr. Bruno's opinion would never at any time have been in accordance with the sentiment of the community or of the directors of the Associated Charities. Too large a number of Colorado Springs' business men, of her teachers, her clergy, her working people, have themselves fled to the West in search of health and life to regard the migration of the tuberculous as an unmitigated evil."

And I should like to quote a telegram, dated December 13, 1916, to the Hon. Chas. B. Timberlake, member of Congress from Colorado, as follows: "Had a conference yesterday between Miss Vaile and others from Denver and the local committee which met with you. Miss Vaile presented a substitute bill (to the Kent bill), the provisions of which it was felt would defeat its passage. The local committee are in favor of the passage of the Kent bill as it stands and urge you to use your influence to that end." This message was signed by the Associated Charities of Colorado Springs. The conference referred to was attended by people representing various charitable activities of Colorado Springs.

In legislative work we strive for what we can get, not for what we want. We believe we can get the Kent bill. We do not claim that it is a "cure-all"; that it is a complete and final solution of the tuberculosis problem in the Southwest. We believe that it is first aid; that it will be of great assistance to the people of the West; that it will bring comfort and care to thousands; that it will save life; that it will prevent the spread of disease. But, most important of all, it is the beginning of federal activity in the national fight against tuberculosis, and who may predict the far-reaching effects and the beneficent results of such a beginning?



COMMON WELFARE

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS IN WAR TIME

FOLLOWING the severance of diplomatic relations with Germany, the Central Committee of the American Red Cross issued instructions from Washington to its 264 local chapters throughout the country to make immediate and adequate preparations "to carry out the work for which the Red Cross is chartered by Congress."

No sooner was this announcement made than individuals began to volunteer their services to the various local headquarters. The instructions called for the appointment, if not already in existence, of the following committees: Finance, hospital garments and surgical supplies, comfort bags, packing and shipping, publicity and information, motor service and cooperation with outside organizations. Persons volunteering to render service are to be assigned to these committees. Women wishing to serve as nurses are to be referred to the Bureau of Nursing Service at Washington, and men are urged to take first-aid courses.

The Red Cross is in its origin a supplement to the medical service of the army. Its charter declares that its purposes are "to furnish volunteer aid to the sick and wounded of armies in time of war," and to act "as a medium of communication" between the people and their army and navy. Relief following disasters, such as flood, famine, earthquake and other great calamities, which has come to be so large a part of the work of the Red Cross, is specifically declared to be among its duties only "in time of peace."

It is therefore possible that if the United States should enter the European war, the entire resources of the Red Cross would be put at the disposal of the army and navy, if events justified this step. Since the country was last engaged in war the Red Cross has grown from a very small organization, equipped only to supply meager medical aid to the army, to a highly complex service not unlike a department of the government itself. The whole range of

disaster relief activities has sprung up since the days of the Spanish war. So, also, has the ramified work of the Bureau of Nursing Service, and the separate Town and Country Nursing Service. In addition to the hundreds of local chapters, state boards have been organized in many states, and a score of "institutional members" enlisted for aid in emergencies.

These institutional members are for the most part charity organization societies in large cities. They are the executive agents of the Red Cross in their respective localities when disaster comes. Their service and responsibility, unlike that of chapters, is for civilian relief only, and they would not be subject to a call for military relief.

The recent division of the Red Cross, for administrative purposes, into a department of military relief and a department of civilian relief, does not affect the charter provision already quoted. Both of these departments are under the Central Committee, which is the governing body of the Red Cross.

At present none of the peace activities of the Red Cross has been suspended, and the relief to European belligerents is continuing.

THE LITERACY TEST ADOPTED

By an overwhelming majority both houses of Congress have passed the immigration bill over President Wilson's veto. The literacy test will thus be established on May 1, following a fight which began twenty years ago and in spite of two presidential vetoes by Mr. Wilson and one each by Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Taft. The literacy test of the act excludes all aliens over sixteen years of age who cannot read or write some language or dialect. Exceptions are made for those who are fleeing from religious persecution and for the father, grandfather, wife, mother, grandmother or daughter of a citizen of the United States. Asiatic limitation is secured by drawing geographical lines. Japan, however, is left to the operation of the agreement between the two governments as to admission of laborers.

NEW HANDICAPS TO WAR RELIEF

THE breaking off of diplomatic relations with Germany may throw out of gear the intricate machinery through which American relief—medical, material, financial—has been raised, transported and distributed to the stricken populations of Europe.

A canvass of ten of the principal war relief agencies, on February 5, showed that the main apprehension of their executives is not connected with difficulties of navigation or international friction, but with the possibility that the response of the American public to the international claims upon it may be overshadowed by duties arising nearer home.

This danger does not bear equally on all foreign war-relief funds. The contributors to the Red Cross European war relief, for instance, largely belong to the more internationally minded of American citizens, and it is believed that the greater number of them will not turn their generosity entirely into national channels. On the other hand, the American Relief Committee for Widows and Orphans of the War in Germany has already issued an announcement that "in view of the present international situation, the activities of this committee have been temporarily suspended. Should there be war, which we all hope may be avoided, the committee will, of course, be immediately dissolved."

The same tendency, to a lesser extent, may be experienced with some of the funds collected on behalf of the allied countries. Yet the need of Europe for American help, as the war drags on, becomes daily more insistent. It was, for instance, pointed out in the SURVEY for January 27 that the dependence of Belgium and northern France on foreign aid is continually growing as, one after another, different classes of the population, formerly self-supporting and even affluent, sink into abject poverty.

Members of the Belgian Relief Commission are certain that in spite of the break with Germany and whatever may follow, its operations can and must continue. "As to the bearing of the present

diplomatic position on our affairs," says W. L. Honnold, director of the commission in America, "our attitude is that regardless of the break in diplomatic relations, and even in the event of our country being forced into hostilities, the work we have established must continue. The position today is that our men have been instructed to remain in Belgium, and although our status in the existing diplomatic situation is somewhat vague, we think it probable that, barring our country's active participation in the war, a way will be found for continuing the work as at present. But, in any event, we feel quite sure that the sentiment of the world and the interests of those concerned will call for the continuance of the service, and that, if Americans have to get out of Belgium, representatives of some other nation, probably Holland, will take their place. In that case, our country would be under fully as great obligation to support the work as in the past. In other words, America's relation to it would then be the same as of England and France heretofore."

In further explanation of this comment, George Barr Baker, another member of the commission, told the SURVEY that a number of Hollanders and Spaniards were already actively associated with the work in Belgium and knew the details of the complex administrative machinery.

There is no reason to believe, it is held, that Germany would change her attitude to the organization if the directing functions now exercised by American citizens were taken up by those of some other neutral nation. The greater part of the activities—there are ten provincial, 126 regional and 2,553 communal relief committees in addition to about 100 others for special purposes—is run entirely by Belgians.

The plans of the Rockefeller Foundation for the relief of Poland, engineered entirely through the foundation's own office in Berne, Switzerland, are so far unchanged.

The War Relief Clearing House for France and her allies, recognized by the French government as an official representative in France of the distribution of American charity, sends all its supplies on French liners and is continuing that practice. A German central relief fund, on the other hand, the German Relief Commission, was abandoned about a year ago because it was felt that its appeals cut across the specialized claims upon the generosity of German-Americans.

The German Red Cross is a clearing house which receives and transmits gifts both of material and of money. The new situation created by last week's developments has not affected its ability to ship supplies; for, owing to inability of the belligerents to come to a workable

agreement concerning the shipment of these goods—in spite of influential support on the part of the American Red Cross—its material, since January, 1916, is lying on a Brooklyn pier.

The truly international character of the Red Cross may be illustrated by the fact that during the whole progress of the war the German organization has cooperated not only with the American and with the International Red Cross in Geneva, but was also directly represented in at least one of the enemy countries. A naturalized German in London has been allowed officially to work for this organization among the 50,000 German war prisoners in England. Delegations of German Red Cross nurses in Russia and of Russian Red Cross nurses in Germany, each accompanied by an equal number of Danish nurses to emphasize the neutral character of their mission, have traveled for months through hostile country.

The American Red Cross has not yet formulated new plans for the adaptation of its European work to the changed situation. The amounts actually disbursed by it in hospital supplies—from September, 1914, to January, 1, 1917—shipped to or bought in Europe, are \$1,222,000 for the allied powers, \$360,700 for the central powers, and \$288,250 for other countries affected by the war, notably Poland, Armenia, Mesopotamia and Syria.

These sums do not, of course, include the large sums spent on the equipment of the sanitary commission which was sent to wipe out typhoid fever in Serbia or the sending of doctors and nurses to various European countries. The need abroad for American medical services is expected to increase rather than decline; it would probably be impossible to maintain them should this country go to war, so that, in this respect, a very serious situation would be created.

The American Commission for Armenian and Syrian Relief, finding insufficient the ship room which the Red Cross could give it, sent a ship with food, clothes and medical goods to reach Beirut in time for the eastern Christmas, January 18. It is probable that this token of American good will has safely arrived; but it is doubtful whether under the new circumstances the organization will be in a position to send another relief ship, for which it is collecting funds, or even to obtain sufficient financial support.

The Serbian Relief Committee ships its supplies on American boats through the Mediterranean and has not yet had time to find out whether that method will be possible in future. The Lithuanian Relief Committee finds its greatest difficulty in the objection of the Russian government to have the needs of the Lithuanians widely advertised.

HOW PACIFISTS MOBILIZED AGAINST WAR

ANNOUNCEMENT of the new U-boat terrorism and the subsequent break with Germany found anything but a solid front among American peace organizations. They had been aligned on altogether different issues—on promoting a settlement of the European war by negotiation, on preventing militarism, on the foundation of a league of nations—on anything but the sharp issue of staying off war from this country. Some of the older organizations seemed a week ago in a fair way to splitting up; others apparently decided to stick to their lasts; while the experience and acquaintance built up in the last two years among the more militant peace groups enabled them to set going with surprising alacrity a counter-agitation to the war feeling and take steps to organize along emergent lines.

The general tendency was to uphold President Wilson in breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany, to applaud his patience, and back up his proposals for peace through negotiation and a league of nations. But when it was seen that the issue might become no longer one of diplomacy, but of declaring war, the newer peace groups began to urge Congress (in whose hands such decision rests) to show the same patience, to deliberate upon alternatives, and to "go to the people" before going to war.

One of the first effects of the situation was to bring William Jennings Bryan into active relations with the national peace organizations. Hitherto he had been doing free-lance agitation as a lecturer without association with them. Before the crisis, he had been billed for an address in New York by the Neutral Conference Committee, and on Friday night spoke to six thousand people in Madison Square Garden at a meeting in which his stand that war should never be declared without a referendum of the people was wildly applauded, and where resolutions were passed urging the President to call a conference of neutral nations for joint action.

Saturday night Mr. Bryan gave out an address to the people of the United States, urging them to wire their congressmen and senators to give consideration to six alternatives to entrance of this country into war: postpone until the war is over settlement of all disputes which cannot now be settled by peaceful means; keep Americans off belligerent ships; refuse clearance to ships of the United States and other neutral countries carrying contraband and passengers on the same ship; withdraw protection from American citizens who are willing to jeopardize peace by traveling as seamen with contraband on American or neutral vessels; keep American vessels out of the danger zone; hold a referendum of the people of the United States

before entering upon war. Senator La Follette introduced a bill providing for such a referendum last June (Senate 5796).

As an example, the American Union Against Militarism announced that it would conduct an informal referendum, submitting two questions: Should we enter the war in order to assert a legal right to go into the war zone? Do you think that Congress should declare war in any event short of invasion without consulting the people by a national referendum? It will mail return postcards to thousands of people just as in the Mexican crisis an informal commission instigated by the union preceded the official commission.

The same organization has urged by telegram its constituency to bring pressure to bear on the President and members of Congress to call a conference of neutral nations previous to any declaration of hostility by the United States government.

The Woman's Peace Party has telephoned its members directions with regard to wiring Congress, urging the refusal of passports for American travelers and immediate concerted action by neutrals.

The Neutral Conference Committee, of which Rebecca Shelly has been secretary, has temporarily suspended activity; and partly from this organization, partly from other and representative sources, an emergency peace federation has been formed with active groups in Washington and New York; George W. Kirckwey president and George Foster Peabody treasurer. Their program is to carry out an agitation to postpone until the war is over the settlement of any dispute which cannot now be settled by peaceful means; to keep Americans out of the danger zone; and to push the La Follette referendum bill.

A clearing house, with Margaret Lane as director, has been formed at 70 Fifth avenue, New York city, where the executive offices of the majority of the peace societies are housed. Its purpose is to prevent duplication of work among the societies themselves and to discover new opportunities for action. Twenty-five groups of pacifists outside of New York have been informed of this new committee.

The note to "go slow" has come not alone from the pacifist groups. The great sheaves of telegrams from all parts of the country piling up at the White House are summarized thus by David Lawrence, Washington correspondent of the *New York Evening Post*: "We are behind you, Mr. President, in every eventuality. We have confidence in you. Remember, we elected you to keep us out of war. Do it if you possibly can. Strive with all your energy to keep us from the terrible conflict abroad, but we are behind you if you need us."



FRIENDS OF LINCOLN

The Lincoln statue in Newark, N. J., photographed by the Missionary Education Movement

"MARTIAL MISFITS" FROM NERVES

UNDER the term "Martial Misfits," British psychiatrists discuss a class of men who evidently have proved a hard problem for examining physicians at the recruiting stations and who present a tragic picture as their stories are told in British medical journals. Tests for military fitness are generally thought of as consisting in measurements of height and weight, examination of heart, lungs, teeth and special senses; but experience with men actually enlisted is showing British physicians that these are not tests which will eliminate all of the pronouncedly unfit from the ranks.

Sir George Savage, writing in the *Journal of Mental Science*, describes the effect of service at the front or of life in the training camp or even the call to the colors on certain men of nervous instability, who perhaps have already suffered a mental breakdown but who under ordinary surroundings can lead fairly normal and happy lives. The summons to join the army may bring back all the old symptoms, the miserable sense of inadequacy for what may be demanded, the struggle to make a decision, the sleeplessness, the reawakening of old delusions and hallucinations. Sir George has seen men in whom the mental conflict over what was their duty in regard to enlistment was great enough to produce various forms of insanity.

He describes a class of men well known to every alienist, men who through wise guidance and in a carefully planned environment are able to

fill a useful place in their world, doing work which needs no initiative and is devoid of personal responsibility. Such men could perhaps work in munitions factories or elsewhere in the home field, but when they are accepted by the military physicians on the theory that camp life may be good for them, they will almost inevitably break down in the training camp itself or else later on in the trenches, and be fit only for asylum care.

Yet Sir George has himself taken the risk and accepted for service men he knew to be unfit because he felt there was an even greater risk in keeping them at home among people who did not know the reason for their exemption and who despised them as slackers. If they remained at home they would very likely develop fixed ideas of inferiority, or of persecution, yet the experiment of sending them to the front is fraught with great danger. Other men who before the war were suspicious almost to the point of madness become under the strain of army life definite paranoiacs. One remembers in this connection the officer who ordered the shooting of Sheehy Skeffington and whom a court-martial later found insane.

Sir George believes there are a few forms of mental disability that may be actually helped by army life. He has seen men who were hopeless hypochondriacs turn into useful soldiers under the stimulus of a complete change of life. Men devoid of moral sense, incorrigible liars and pilferers, may, he thinks, become quite efficient fighters. But except for these few unusual cases,

he believes that for their own safety and for that of others, all men with any form of mental instability should be carefully weeded out from the army.

This same tragic class of misfits is spoken of by E. Farquhar Buzzard in an address on Warfare on the Brain, in which he deals with what is usually called shell shock. This is, he says, a much overused term, made to cover not only the true shock of shell explosion but also the effect of sheer exhaustion in a neurotic man. A normal man who has felt the shock of explosion near at hand develops symptoms like those following a blow on the head. This is real shell shock. But many cases are included under the term which are really instances of inherited nervous and psychic abnormality excited into activity by pure exhaustion and over-strain; others are "martial misfits," men who passed as normal in civil life but broke down under the demands of military life, the shock of the explosion being simply the last straw. These so-called shell shock cases present the greatest variety of symptoms, from epilepsy to motor paralysis, from mutism to the inability to cross an open square.

Evidently from the many articles on this subject in British medical journals, proper provision for the large numbers of cases of this kind is becoming a difficult problem for the government.

PHYSICAL TRAINING WITHOUT A GUN

PRESIDENT WILSON'S recent statement to interviewers that "physical training is needed but can be had without compulsory military service," has already produced results that may be far-reaching. A committee of leading educators has been formed to press for the adoption, in the various states, of a "model" bill providing for physical training, without military features, in the public schools, and the bill was actually introduced last week into the legislatures of California, Massachusetts and Indiana. Dr. Dudley A. Sargent, director of the Hemenway Gymnasium, Harvard University, is the drafter of the measure.

The committee, which bears the name of "The Committee for Promoting Physical Education in the Public Schools of the United States," has opened headquarters in the Munsey building, Washington, D. C. It consists of John Dewey, of Columbia University; J. Y. Joyner, state superintendent of public instruction, North Carolina; Ella Flagg Young, former superintendent of schools in Chicago; President David B. Johnson of the Winthrop Normal and Educational College of Rock Hill, South Carolina; Carroll G. Pearse, president of the Milwaukee State Normal School; Mary C. C. Bradford, state superintendent

of public instruction of Colorado; Francis G. Blair, state superintendent of public instruction in Illinois; Josephine Preston, state superintendent of public instruction in Washington, and Dr. Sargent. Harriet P. Thomas is secretary.

The bill, which consists of only twenty-two lines, is reproduced in an adjoining column. Its proponents are careful to assert that they are not proposing to impose an "elaborate and expensive machinery" upon any state, but merely to indicate the way to begin in the belief that public opinion has now been educated to the point where it will support physical training in the schools, especially when that training is shorn of military features.

NAVAL PRISONS VISITED BY A VOLUNTARY PRISONER

THE voluntary incarceration of Thomas Mott Osborne aboard the naval prison ship *Southery*, at Portsmouth, N. H., under an arrangement

A BILL

To Upbuild National Vitality through the Establishment of Physical Education and Training in the Public Schools of the State

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of in Legislature assembled, That physical education and training and the proper care of the health of pupils of both sexes shall be provided in all the grades of the public elementary and secondary schools of this State.

SEC. 2. *Within three months after the passage of this act, and for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act, the (State Board of Education) or (the State Department of Education) or (the State Superintendent of Public Instruction) is hereby authorized to employ a State supervisor of physical education at a salary of \$..... for a term of years and to employ such assistants as may be necessary and to fix their salaries, and said Board of Education (Department of Education, or Superintendent of Public Instruction) is hereby authorized and empowered to make such rules and regulations as may be necessary for the effective administration of this act.*

SEC. 3. *For the payment of the salaries of the State supervisor of physical education and his assistants and other necessary expenses for the proper execution of this act there is hereby appropriated out of the treasury of the State the sum of \$..... annually.*

SEC. 4. *All laws and parts of laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.*

SEC. 5. *This act shall be in effect from and after.....*

PRESIDENT WILSON'S RECENT STATEMENT ABOUT PHYSICAL TRAINING HAS ALREADY LED TO THE INTRODUCTION OF THIS "MODEL" BILL INTO THREE STATE LEGISLATURES AND THE CREATION OF A COMMITTEE TO PUSH IT IN OTHERS.

with Secretary Daniels to study conditions, has caused a new interest among penologists in recent reforms in punishment within the navy.

The Secretary of the Navy, in his report for 1916, though declaring that we cannot yet hope for the day when prisons will no longer be needed in the navy and discipline maintained without them, points out that within three years the number of prisoners has decreased from 1,835 to 620. The enlisted strength of the navy has increased in this same period more than 6,000. With this steady diminution of prisoners there has been, declares Mr. Daniels, "a steady improvement in discipline and a marked improvement in efficiency."

The principles of probation and of suspended and indeterminate sentences largely account for this decrease. These principles were introduced two years ago, being borrowed, of course, from civil life. At the outset considerable doubt was expressed among naval officers as to their efficacy. Now, says the secretary, the results have been more gratifying, in both humane and economic features, as well as in the beneficial effect upon discipline, "than was even anticipated." The present system differs from the old in that instead of incarcerating a man guilty of a purely military offense, without pay for a long period, to be dishonorably discharged at the expiration of his sentence, a first offender whose record warrants it is placed on probation, usually for one year, at his regular station of duty, and the adjudged sentence of the court is held in abeyance. The probationer is permitted to draw one-half of his pay, the other half being withheld to be paid him at the expiration of his enlistment, if his conduct and general efficiency have been excellent.

The beneficial effect of this reform, says Secretary Daniels, is confirmed by the almost unanimous opinion of commanding officers and by the satisfaction of the enlisted personnel. It has already led to the permanent discontinuance of the disciplinary barracks at Port Royal and of the prison on the U. S. S. Philadelphia. Moreover, there has been a decrease of 1,251, or approximately 20 per cent, in the number of men discharged in other than an honorable status. This has occurred, too, "during a year in which the demand for labor and the corresponding inducements for men to leave the service and secure employment in civil life have been abnormal."

Incidentally the new penology has effected a considerable saving in money. The entire prison system of the navy cost, in 1913, \$1,190,514; in 1914, \$822,923; in 1915, \$643,461. Since the discontinuance of barracks and prison above mentioned, it has cost at the rate of \$350,000 a year.

BIG PROBLEMS For Missouri Counties POVERTY



Does Your County Have Such as These?



SAULT MARAGED POOR FARM Children Mingling With the Idle, Degenerate and Winer Labor

NEEDING WELFARE WORK Drunken Father, Lethargic Son, Sick Mother, Child Sam to County Office for Assistance Missouri Counties are not helping their poor families intelligently in the introduction of these outside "Public Welfare Work in Missouri" Post Times & News says "The Report on the Administration of County Welfare Work in Missouri" that is no answer!"

What the County Department of Public Welfare Will Do to Cure and Prevent Poverty



Justice Before Charity

Prevention Rather Than Cure



A WELL MANAGED POOR FARM

This Department will save the child from the habit of begging and the mother from illness caused by worry, by compelling the father to stop drinking, and the son to go to work. Will take children from the Poor Farm and get them proper homes. Put the Idle Inmates to work, send the insane to an asylum. Provide a modern institution with separate departments for men and women. Investigate each applicant for aid to discover his need and remove the cause, if possible, by getting the unemployed man a job, forcing the shiftless to work, compelling the wife deservor to support his family, providing true legal aid to protect the weak from exploitation, curing the sick and disabled, guiding the ignorant, giving stated allowances to widows and blind persons according to their needs, and intelligent relief to others whose necessary

STANDARDIZE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE CHARITY

BIG PROBLEMS For Missouri Counties CRIME

Idle Prisoners in Crowded Jail Playing Cards and Swapping Stories of Crime



Why Not Stop Making Criminals in Jail and Put Prisoners to Work?

"The last census gives average daily jail population of approximately 1,200 and between 13,000 and 15,000 commitments per year, which cost the counties for board about one-quarter million dollars per year (not including the improvements and buildings and not considering the loss of labor.)

"In most of the county jails there are crowded conditions, lack of employment, no facilities for classification, no effective system of probation, an unjust fee system, unsuitable buildings."

J. L. WAGNER, in "Report on County Jails."

What the County Department of Public Welfare Will Do to Cure and Prevent Crime

Give each prisoner a thorough physical and mental examination and learn his history

Adapt the treatment to the needs of the individual prisoner



Study the delinquent arrested to discover why he went wrong, and whether the cause is removable.

Make the jail conditions healthful, with plenty of work and good training for the prisoners.

Classify the prisoners, and prevent the hardened criminal from corrupting the first offender.

Help the discharged & paroled prisoners to get a new start.

POSTERS PREPARED BY THE MISSOURI CHILDREN'S CODE COMMISSION

Five posters were prepared by L. A. Halbert, superintendent of the Kansas City Board of Public Welfare, and illustrated by a prisoner at the Kansas City Municipal Farm

It is in the hope of still further improving this branch of the service that Secretary Daniels has asked Mr. Osborne to "visit naval prisons, study the methods in operation in the navy, and to make suggestions which may lead to further reforms."

CONGRESS ASKED TO LOOK INTO "BLOODY SUNDAY"

CONGRESSIONAL investigation of the facts surrounding the "bloody Sunday" killings at Everett, Wash., last November [see the SURVEY for January 27], may be urged by Senator Poindexter, of Washington. He will base his resolution, if it be submitted, upon Anna Louise Strong's article in the SURVEY and upon information which has been forwarded to President Wilson and referred by him to Senator Poindexter. President Wilson has indicated his interest in the charges made against the deputies and the representatives of the Everett Commercial Club in the petitions and publicity matter which he has received. It is understood to be his desire that either the Department of Labor or a special committee of Congress establish the truth about the causes leading up to the killing of five members of the I. W. W. and two deputies at Everett.

Senator Poindexter is waiting for the Department of Labor to indicate clearly whether it considers its own powers, as administered by the Division of Conciliation and Arbitration, sufficient to deal with the affair. It has no mandatory powers—cannot compel the mill owners or the shingle-weavers to submit their cases to it, nor can it compel testimony as to the shooting. A committee of Congress, on the other hand, would be equipped with all necessary powers.

Testimony unfavorable to the deputies and the "vigilantes" of the Commercial Club faction comes from various sources, including the Seattle Central Labor Council, the mass meeting held in Dreamland Rink, Seattle, on November 20, and from numerous trade unions and Socialist party locals in the state.

Congressman Hadley, who represents in the House the district of which Everett is a part, declined this week to take any step in the premises. He said that he had the utmost confidence in the courts of Snohomish county, where the trial of the seventy-four I. W. W. members, indicted for murder as the outcome of the shooting, is to take place in March. Congressman Dill, Democrat, of Spokane, has received appeals for a congressional inquiry, but has referred his petitioners to Mr. Hadley.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION URGED IN MISSOURI

AN active state-wide campaign for the adoption of the forty-two principal bills in the Missouri children's code is being waged by the members of the commission which drafted it. In the legislature special committees of both House and Senate have the bills in hand.

The commission is especially urging the passage of the bills creating county boards of welfare and juvenile courts in every county of the state. Both are meeting some opposition, the county board bill because of differences of opinion as to how the board should be composed, and the juvenile court bill on constitutional grounds. Opposition is also being encountered to the bills relating to the protection of illegitimate children, the abolition of common-law marriages, and the licensing of child-caring institutions.

The campaign is being conducted by weekly articles in the city and county papers and the wholesale distribution of illustrated folders.

The commission has published an exhaustive 160-page report embodying all its recommendations, with a supplement of legal references to all statutes and constitutional provisions in the state relating to children. It is the first complete

code prepared in response to the new movement for revision of the laws relating to children in all the states. The legislative campaign is in charge of Mrs. Maurice Lowenstein, of St. Louis, executive secretary.

In addition to this organized fight for the adoption of the children's code Missouri agencies interested in social legislation have combined to put through a general program of bills in the present legislature, as they have done in five legislatures past. The State Committee for Social Legislation, representing almost a dozen agencies, is backing particularly the women's eight-hour bill, creation of minimum wage boards, supervision of private charities by the state, a new constitution, and an injunction and abatement act to suppress houses of prostitution.

There is a well-organized "welfare lobby" at the legislature, and the committee's legislative representative, Louis F. Budenz, is working in close cooperation with the legislative agent of the Children's Code Commission and representatives of the State Federation of Labor.

The fate of social legislation in Missouri depends very largely, as in other recent years, upon the wet and dry issue. The legislature is under reactionary control in both Houses, but the leaders have indicated that they are willing to let at least some of the program go through. Public opinion is being brought to bear in the hope that the more important measures can be forced to a vote.

NEW LAWS PROPOSED FOR COLORADO

THE Women's General Legislative Committee of Colorado has formulated a program of eighteen bills concerning women and children. With Josephine Roche, formerly woman police officer in Denver, as secretary, the committee is working energetically to have these measures adopted at the present session of the legislature.

One of the most important bills is an amendment to the child labor law prohibiting children under fourteen from working in the sugar-beet fields. The submission of this amendment is largely due to the investigation and agitation of the National Child Labor Committee [see the SURVEY for November 25, 1916]. A bill of a different character, but also aimed to protect children, is one which would legally entitle illegitimate children to their father's name and inheritance, or if the mother prefers, to her name.

Other bills framed in the interest of childhood would create a child welfare commission under the State Department of Education; raise the age of juvenile dependency and delinquency to eighteen years; provide for wider use of the school plant; restore the status of the

juvenile court so that it shall have exclusive jurisdiction in all children's cases and coordinate jurisdiction against adults where children are involved; establish a psychopathic clinic for the examination of adults as well as children in criminal and juvenile courts; permit parents to redeem a dependent child; and change adoption laws in regard to inheritance by foster child and foster parent.

Of the acts affecting women the most important is that establishing a minimum wage commission for women and minors. Others would supply aid to expectant mothers, provide a tax levy of a fraction of a mill to raise revenue from general taxation to carry out the provisions of this maternity bill and the mother's compensation law; permit women to sit on juries; appoint an assistant woman judge in counties of over 25,000 population; and give girls the same protection in regard to property rights until twenty-one years as is now given boys.

TRACING THE RELATION OF WAGES TO POVERTY

THE Association of Neighborhood Workers of New York city has requested the Department of Public Charities "to make an investigation of wages obtaining in New York city and publish the result of the investigation with the purpose of enlightening the public as to those industries which fail to support their employes, thereby forcing public and private agencies to furnish supplementary payment in the form of relief."

Assuming that the department will not be able to conduct such an investigation with its present funds and staff, the association has offered to cooperate with Commissioner John A. Kingsbury in urging the Board of Estimate and Apportionment to make a special appropriation to the Department of Public Charities for the purpose.

This action was taken at the instance of Mary K. Simkhovitch, head worker of Greenwich House, and is in line with an idea that she advanced at the meeting of the National Municipal League in Springfield last fall. As reported in the SURVEY for December 9, 1916, Mrs. Simkhovitch would enlarge the functions of municipal charities departments, drawing an analogy from health departments which try not only to stamp out epidemics, but to prevent disease altogether. In the same way she held that a charities department should fight poverty, not merely relieve its victims; she would have the charities departments study industrial questions and make reports which would include statements of wages paid in the industries of the community.

This view has been criticized on the ground that there is no more reason for the charities department to investigate wages than for the health department to

do so, since inadequate income and consequent poor housing and insufficient food may be a cause of disease; or the police department, since poverty is a factor in vice and crime. The reply of those who take the same position as Mrs. Simkhovitch is to agree with the objectors. There are, indeed, strong reasons why all city departments should be interested in the rate of wages paid in local industries; the charities department deals with the question more directly than the others, and is therefore put forward in the neighborhood workers' resolution.

LEPERS ARE TO HAVE THEIR HOSPITAL

THE bill to provide a national leprosarium in the United States and to prevent the further spread of the disease, as passed by the House recently, was unanimously passed by the Senate on January 25. As indicated in the SURVEY of January 13, selection of a site and the erection of buildings will be in charge of the federal Public Health Service, which is now authorized to act.

The Senate Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine made a special investigation and held a hearing last March. Experts were brought to Washington and their testimony on the care of leprosy has been published in a volume of 200 pages giving definite information concerning conditions and needs of lepers in our country. One of the most telling statements at the hearing was in a letter from John Early, the Washington leper, who appealed to Senator Ransdell to "remember we are outcasts of society, but we still have human tastes and feelings."

DIPLOMAS BEFORE WORK CERTIFICATES

FEBRUARY 1, 1917, was a red letter day for thousands of school children in the state of New York. A change in the child labor law is the reason. Hereafter children under fifteen years of age who desire to enter industry must be graduates of an elementary school. All undergraduates of these ages must stay in school until their fifteenth birthday, and even until their sixteenth birthday if they have not completed the first six years' work of the elementary school course.

This change in the New York child labor law is the most important since the general rewriting of the statute in 1903. With the exception of Ohio, in no other state are children fourteen years of age forbidden without exception or exemption to work in factories or stores without first obtaining a graduation diploma as a prerequisite for an employment certificate.

The enactment of this progressive amendment, in the opinion of the New York Child Labor Committee, which

drafted the bill, is more than justified by the large increase in the number of children going to work during 1916. In the entire state approximately 61,000 recruits—an increase of 27 per cent over 1915—were added to the child labor army. The new Wellington law, it is estimated, will cut down this number by fifteen or twenty thousand children. Moreover, it will give boys and girls the benefit of more schooling, which, provided the courses of study are modified to meet adequately the children's needs, will result in better preparation mentally, physically and economically.

TRIALS OF BIRTH CONTROL ADVOCATES

The birth control movement has shoved its way into the front pages of New York newspapers the last fortnight.

A large share of publicity is due to the hunger strike in the workhouse of Ethel Byrne, convicted on January 22 for selling contraceptives and disseminating birth control information in violation of section 1142 of the New York penal code.

Last October Mrs. Byrne and her sister, Margaret Sanger, established a birth control clinic in a thickly populated district of Brooklyn. Both women are trained nurses and they proposed, at a nominal charge of ten cents for registration, to give the Jewish mothers in the neighborhood scientific knowledge of methods of contraception. They maintain that no devices were sold on the premises with the exception of that sold to the woman detective recognized by Mrs. Byrne and offered the contraceptive in open defiance of the law. After the visit of the detective, the clinic was short lived. The place was raided; Mrs. Byrne, Mrs. Sanger and the registration clerk, Fania Mindell, were all arrested.

When Mrs. Byrne, who was the first of the trio to face trial, was sentenced to thirty days imprisonment, she immediately refused to take food or water as a protest against a law she holds unjust and unconstitutional. At the end of three days she was forcibly fed and at the end of nine days, through a petition of women to the governor, she was pardoned by Governor Whitman on the understanding she would no longer disobey the law.

It was established that Miss Mindell sold a book, entitled *What Every Girl Should Know*. She was fined \$50.

It was not proved that Margaret Sanger herself either sold contraceptives or literature on birth control. Moreover, Judge Freschi raised the question whether the articles displayed at the clinic were used to prevent conception. But although Mrs. Sanger's attorney asked for a dismissal of the case on the grounds that the law was unconstitu-

MRS. SANGER DEFIES COURTS BEFORE 3,000

Carnegie Hall Mass Meeting Pledges Support in Her Birth-Control Fight.

WOMEN CHEER HER SPEECH

Dr. Mary Hunt Attacks "Fifth Ave. Doctors" for Service to Rich Which She Says Is Denied the Poor.

Three thousand persons in mass meeting at Carnegie Hall last night started a concerted movement for the repeal of the law forbidding the dissemination of birth control knowledge.

Mrs. Margaret Sanger, in whose trial for conducting a birth control clinic decision was reserved in Brooklyn yesterday, made a speech in which she threw all caution aside and removed all doubts as to her purpose when she declared, while the crowd cheered her wildly, that she had devoted her life to the cause of voluntary motherhood, and would continue to fight for birth control, courts or no courts, workhouse or no workhouse. Mrs. Sanger is a sister of Mrs. Ethel Byrne, who is on a hunger strike in the Blackwell's Island workhouse, serving a

find it out and arrest us, and we could do no more of the good we now do."

Miss Todd read a set of resolutions which said in part:

Resolved: That we unqualifiedly condemn the action of the District Attorney and Special officers of Kings County in detouring Mrs. Sanger her right to trial by jury and to Mrs. Byrne a day of sentence pending her appeal to a higher court, and also refusing to hear medical and scientific testimony so that these cases might be tried in the courts of the vital issues involved and not on legal technicalities.

Resolved: That we extend our deepest sympathy to that brave champion of the American womanhood, Ethel Byrne, in her martyrdom for birth control, and protest vigorously against the cruel and arbitrary action of the Commissioner of Correction, Burdette H. Lewis, in denying to her friends and relative access to her bedside.

Resolved: That we declare our firm determination to our utmost to secure such change in State and Federal laws as shall put birth control knowledge within the reach of all who need it.

Resolved: That we pledge to Margaret Sanger our unflinching moral and financial support in her campaign to establish the principle of voluntary motherhood in this country.

Relative to the subject matter of the resolutions it may be said that Mrs. Sanger has been indicted by a Grand Jury, and will have a trial by jury, in addition to the Special Sessions hearing, and Judge Justice Freschi did not receive any testimony, which was not in evidence from either side.

JUSTICES IN DOUBT IN SANGER CASE

Birth Control Advocate Expects Court to Overturn Decision.

BIRTH CONTROL NEWS OF A DAY

tional, that the case was outside the jurisdiction of the Court of Special Sessions and that evidence of guilt was insufficient, she was adjudged guilty and sentenced to thirty days in the workhouse.

BANNING THE NUDE IN THE MOVIES

HAVING decided some weeks ago not to pass any motion-picture film concerned wholly with the commercialized theme of "white slavery" or so advertised as to give that impression, the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures has just announced its intention not to pass any pictures in which the female nude is displayed. The wording of the announcement appears to put the ban on every possible representation of the female nude, but it is understood that the board intends to prohibit only the living nude, and that reproductions of works of art are not included.

The board bases its decision upon what it believes to be the attitude of public opinion. In the past year a number of so-called white slave films, and perhaps as many others showing the nude in artistic and unsuggestive poses, have been exhibited. The former were put forth by their makers as propaganda, the latter as pictures warranted by their artistic value. Some of the white slave films and one or two of the others have, says the board, raised acutely in a number of states the question of the desirability of legalized censorship. The board inquired of exhibitors in all parts of the United States and finding, it declares, that neither they nor their patrons wanted white slave pictures, it announced its decision not to pass any film dealing with that theme.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TU

slonger Lewis quoted the doctors as saying: "Then I would not be true to myself," Mrs. Byrne replied: "Nobody else might know about it; but I would, and I would not be following out the course I have laid down."

Then Mrs. Byrne appears to be conscientious in her hunger strike? "The Commissioner was asked: "Yes," he said, "she appears to be a very conscientious woman."

"For the enlightenment of those who continue to complain that Mrs. Byrne is fed by force," continued the Commissioner, "I say that she is being fed by force only in the sense that she is being fed by force to continue to live. She will continue to live one day until it becomes necessary to feed her three times a day."

\$10 A WEEK TO SUPPORT 13.

Court Holds Man to Blame for Family's Size and Must Pay for It.

Sheffield, Conn., Feb. 9.—A court today held that Mrs. May E. Bessman, who became ill through her efforts to support her family of eleven children on her husband's income of \$10 a week, was entitled to a separation. He ordered her husband to pay for the care of the children and to pay Mrs. Bessman \$4 a week.

Joseph Bessman, the husband, is a hotel entertainer at cafes on the West side, and has never been able to pay, according to his testimony, which his wife could not dispute, more than \$10 a week, while he usually averaged between \$30 and \$40 a month. The couple have been married thirteen years, and have had in that time eleven children, the last two being twins. Testimony was introduced to show that Mrs. Bessman had been suffering from a weak heart, brought on by her household duties, and had been

Through its 700 local review committees and correspondents throughout the country, it believes it has been able to secure an approximate idea of the attitude of public opinion.

The board's decision to pass no pictures showing the living nude has been acquiesced in, it says, by all producing companies that are members of the National Association of the Motion-Picture Industry. These companies have agreed not to permit the production of any photoplays using such a figure, and have issued instructions to that effect to motion-picture directors and scenario writers. The decision dates from January, 1917.

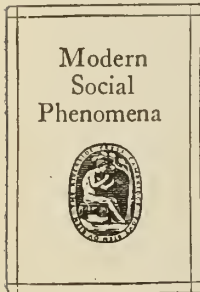
Discussions of sex problems belong to a distinctly different category, says the board, and "deserve dramatic treatment on the screen as well as on the stage. The motion picture aims to present dramatically and seriously life even in its dangerous relationships. It must be permitted to portray life as it is lived in various strata of society. It must, therefore, not be condemned when it shows the bad in order to emphasize the good."

Some months ago the board formed and affiliated with itself the National Committee on Films for Young People. The purpose of this committee is to promote throughout the country not only films suitable for children but also those appealing to both adults and young people, that there may be more motion pictures suited to the whole family group. This committee has in turn organized the Affiliated Committees for Better Films, the purpose of which is to inform local groups in the details of the motion-picture business, and in methods that have been found successful in securing better film entertainments elsewhere.

Book Reviews

FUNDAMENTALS OF SOCIOLOGY

By Edwin A. Kirkpatrick. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 291 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.35.



This book is best suited to students in normal schools. With very little theory, there is an abundance of running comment on a wide range of interesting social phenomena, written in the concrete terms of every-day life.

About one-third of the book is concerned with certain social needs, one-third with the educational situation, and one-third considers the community survey.

The author seems to have been little affected by the heritage from Spencer, Comte, Gumpłowicz and Ward. His classification is not according to their formulæ; nor does he use their terminology, and the book thereby greatly gains in readableness and practicability. Mr. Kirkpatrick approaches sociology as a modern observer, and his discussions are related to the life that we see around us every day. But the great mass of material now discussed under the title of sociology, he has apparently not assimilated. The various topics are strung together more or less loosely. A greater reliance upon earlier writers would have helped, perhaps, in basing classifications more fundamentally.

There is also a certain failure to discriminate between big problems and little problems; nor is there much attempt to assign phenomena their relative places in the chain of causes. For instance, there is little to show that the author appreciates the industrial revolution, the economic causes of social problems, or the great conflict of selfish interests in society.

An illustration of his method is the chapter called *The Family as a Social Group and as an Institution*. He begins by calling attention to the biological nature of the family and the instincts upon which it is based, and indicates that out of these foundations the family has become an institution. Then follows socializing influences—primitive customs, the usual polygamy, polyandry and monogamy, the state regulation of marriages, increasing number of divorces with few remarks as to causes, and a closing paragraph on modern conditions. All this is accomplished in thirteen pages. This, of course, necessitates

the briefest running comment. But it seems to the reviewer that there is not enough consideration of the functions of the family, particularly the economic functions, nor is their sufficient emphasis on what the use of steam has done, and almost no lessons drawn from the variations of the family functions in historic times or among primitive peoples and in earlier times.

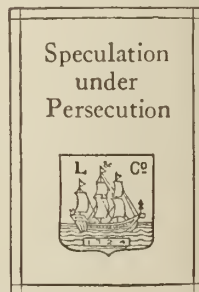
The same criticism holds true regarding the chapters on the community survey. Long lists of data which should be collected are set forth; but there is little attempt to evaluate them. In the survey of the economic conditions there are suggestions for collecting data on natural resources, but little attempt, for instance, to show the importance of nearness to coal and iron.

On the other hand, a good deal can be said for the book as one for the new student. It touches many modern social phenomena. There is no elaborate theoretical approach; the reader, in a way, falls easily into the discussions. Too great insistence on classification and causes might make the presentation a little formal for the beginner.

WILLIAM F. OGBURN.

RUSSIAN SOCIOLOGY

By Julius F. Hecker. Columbia University—Longmans Green & Co., Agents. 309 pp. Price \$2.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.60.



From its beginnings in the latter half of the eighteenth century this volume traces the development of social thinking in Russia down to the present day, presenting as a background a review of the social and political conditions out of which social theory has developed.

No less than sixty-five racial and linguistic groups live within the boundaries of the Russian empire; but the bulk of the population is Slavic, a people characterized as having "a certain apathy, plasticity and pacific quality." Among such a people autocracy is readily seen to be a foreign importation, a "peculiar synthesis of Teuton militancy, Tartar despotism and Byzantine sanctimoniousness."

Following a historical discussion is the presentation of the chief concepts of the different schools of thought:

The Westernists are they who break away from narrowing Russian tradition, adopt the positivistic science of western Europe, borrow liberally from French, German and English thinkers for their philosophical presuppositions, and adapt their sociological concepts to the peculiar needs and tendencies of Russia. As a group the Westernists tend toward individualism, and believe that Russia should develop non-capitalistically on the basis of the land commune.

The Subjectivist school starts from a sense of disappointment in the failure of the populists to arouse the masses, and from a realization that progress must be achieved through the initiative of an "unselfish, critical-intellectual class." The "subjective" method is based on the positivism of Comte, and appears to be a kind of sociological pragmatism, in that it recognizes that some social laws, at least, are not eternal and unalterable, but are progressive, and are perceived only in the particular epochs in which they operate in the process of social evolution. Furthermore, history is interpreted only through a selective process by which we evaluate facts as fulfilling or not fulfilling an ideal good in the mind of the historian. Much is made by this school of the "critically minded individual," as a social force.

Criticism of the Subjectivists was developed in the orthodox Marxists, who are termed Objectivists. These men rejected the notion of a non-capitalistic development of Russia, a conclusion in which history appears to bear them out. They also spurned the doctrine of the exceptional individual as a factor of progress. To them the genius is simply one who earlier than his fellows perceives new generating social relations; equally with all others he is a product of his environment. Economic determinism is the sole factor in social evolution. Society is an aggregation of tool-making and tool-using individuals; and progress is simply the growth of productive forces. The goal lies in man's complete control over tools.

In the anarchist Kropotkin, we return to an appreciation of the commune as the "necessary nucleus of federal anarchist society." Kropotkin's doctrine of mutual aid, which is the causal factor of all evolution, is a real contribution to social thinking. To him decentralized federation is the goal of progress.

The Historical-Genetic group are represented by Korkunov and Kovalevsky; and the treatise closes with a chapter on the Franco-Russian sociologists, DeRoberty and Novicov.

The author is somewhat skeptical concerning the ultimate contribution of Russian thinkers to social theory. In Russia it has been developed too largely by tractarians under the galling pressure of autocracy. Only when this pressure is lifted can students strike out inde-

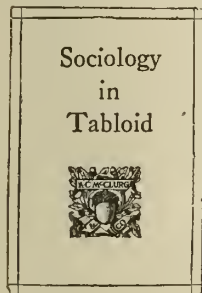
pends of their social and political environment, and attain to conclusions of universal acceptance through the modern method of statistics and investigation.

The volume should be of interest to readers of the SURVEY, because through its pages one is from time to time reminded of the prisons of Siberia and of the sufferings of the Russian martyrs. In their baptism of fire the Russian thinkers may not have freed themselves from provincialism. It is no disparagement to them that much in their writings which is really Russian is not sociology, and what is sociology is not Russian. One is reminded as one lays down the book that in times of persecution speculation flourishes.

ARTHUR EVANS WOOD.

SOCIOLOGY

By John M. Gillette. A. C. McClurg Company. 159 pp. Price \$.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.56.



This book contains the gist of the subject matter found in the usual treatises in sociology, in twelve chapters of twelve pages each, written in a style suitable for the general reader. The book is small enough to be carried in the pocket

and the chapters are short enough to be read without sustained attention. There seems to be a need for a book on sociology planned in this way. In an age when there is so much to be read, the pressure for brevity is terrific. The difficulty is that the book tends to become little more than an elaborated outline or table of contents.

Professor Gillette has not altogether escaped this danger. For instance, the chapter on the origin of races and institutions treats the nature of institutions, the origin of races, language, the state, religion, the industrial order, the family and education in twenty-four rather small pages. The escape from this compactness might be well-chosen and well-timed illustrations, but the author has practically no illustrations. The orderliness of his classifications, however, is good.

One of the results of more recent research is the theory that different racial abilities have played a comparatively little part in the development of culture, and that the abilities of races do not differ as widely as their cultures would seem to indicate, and this recent research of anthropology the author recognizes.

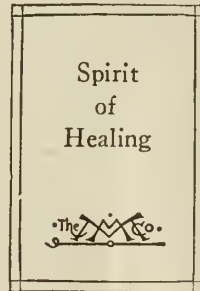
But he thinks of evolution as a process from simplicity to complexity. This is often the case, but by no means always so. The development of language runs almost counter to the process described.

Something like this also seems to be true of marriage. Marriage in primitive society is exceedingly complex as compared with ours. The author is not more guilty in citing his conclusions and his generalization than is the average writer on a subject like sociology, which covers many, many fields of research. Indeed, Professor Gillette has done the difficult task very well.

WILLIAM F. OGBURN.

PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING

By Mary S. Gardner. The Macmillan Company. 372 pp. Price \$1.75; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.87.



The true significance of the quiet work carried on throughout the country in the interests of "public health" by a large and steadily increasing body of trained women is still only partly realized. Few can read this em-

inent readable book without an entirely new vision of the amazing growth and increasing scope of that branch of public service which a very few years ago was vaguely in the minds of most of us as "district nursing." We have for the first time an adequate presentation of this new national movement. Miss Nutting says that the development and status of this subject emerges as a matter of vital public interest, and that in placing this information at our disposal Miss Gardner has performed an important public service.

The chapters on the organization of visiting nurse associations, their methods of administration and the duties of boards of managers show an intimate knowledge of conditions, and an appreciation of the functions and importance of these essential bodies not always professionally realized. In the discussion of the fundamental principles governing all regulated and "standardized" visiting nursing work, it is interesting to note the development of the principle of remuneration as applied to those who receive the nursing service.

The whole attitude of the public, both lay and professional, has gradually evolved until now Miss Gardner shows us that although the purely charitable work must always be included in any scheme for public health nursing, emphasis is being placed more and more on the encouragement of the self-supporting element. Stress is also laid on the necessity for efficient business organization in all departments and details, and we are clearly shown that only by the workers receiving adequate professional and social training can the full measure of their responsibilities be rightly undertaken.

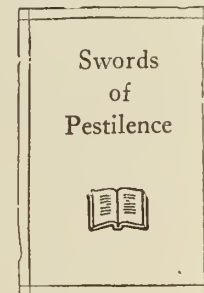
Throughout the book, one point is kept in evidence, the necessity for full use of that modern idea "intelligent cooperation." District nursing, or any of the forms of public health nursing, whether under municipal control or administered by private organizations can never attain full usefulness and remain an isolated work. Miss Gardner constantly emphasizes public health nursing is but a part of the whole scheme for community betterment, and without due realization of its dependence on the other component parts, much of its usefulness would be stultified.

The keynote of the book is the stress laid on public health nurses maintaining unbroken the spirit of healing and of sympathetic service, their remembering that their work must never become mechanical, that they have to deal with the delicate mechanism of human bodies and human souls, and first and last their essential duty to the individual patient is to keep in evidence the maintenance of the divine command, faith, hope and charity.

A. M. C.

EPIDEMICS RESULTING FROM WARS

By Dr. Friedrich Prinzing. Oxford University Press. 340 pp. Price \$2.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$2.70.



Dr. Prinzing's book has many values. One of them is a totally new approach to the more or less familiar subjects of geography and history. It may be news to many a reader that certain medieval invasions from northern Europe were checked rather by cholera than by strategy; that pestilence won nearly as many victories as bullets did; that, for instance, typhus raised the siege of Metz, and took its name, "Hungarian disease," from its ravages during the sixteenth-century wars against Turkey.

Dr. Prinzing traces, usually from original sources, the story of all known epidemics, from "the plague of Athens" to the cholera that followed along the Tchatalja; from the wars of the Peloponnesus to that of the Balkan states. In addition to the interest of the vividly told story of all these outbreaks, Dr. Prinzing's book is a remarkable *apologia* for modern sanitation and laboratory research. For since the sources and modes of infection have been known, an increasing degree of control has become possible. And the great diseases that faithfully followed armies and camps in a deadly neutrality, through the Middle Ages, have not occurred in the present great conflict, with one exception—the typhus outbreak in Serbia. The sporadic outbreaks in many places are undoubtedly more than newspaper reports, al-

though not until the medical history of the great war is written can full tribute be paid to the achievement of sanitation.

As a preliminary to such a history Dr. Prinzing's book is of high value and interest. It is a publication of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

GERTRUDE SEYMOUR.

BOOKS RECEIVED

CARE OF THE MOUTH AND TEETH. By Joseph Herbert Kauffmann. Rebman Co. 69 pp. Price, \$.60; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.66.
 THE CLEVELAND SCHOOL SURVEY. By Leonard P. Ayres. Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation. 363 pp. Price postpaid, \$.50.
 COMMUNITY CENTER ACTIVITIES. By Clarence Arthur Perry. Russell Sage Foundation. 127 pp. Price, \$.35; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.40.
 A CONCLUSIVE PEACE. By Charles Fremont Taylor. John C. Winston Co. 173 pp. Price, \$.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.54.
 A CRITIQUE OF THE THEORY OF EVOLUTION. By Thos. Hunt Morgan. Princeton University Press. 197 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.60.

THE DECLINING BIRTH RATE—ITS CAUSES AND EFFECTS. Report of the National Birth Rate Commission. E. P. Dutton & Co. 450 pp. Price, \$3.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$3.62.
 DRESSMAKING AND MILLINERY. By Edna Bryner. Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation. 133 pp. Price postpaid, \$.25.
 ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES. Economics: Vol. I. By Frank A. Fetter. The Century Co. 523 pp. Price, \$1.75; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.89.
 MODERN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. Economics: Vol. II. By Frank A. Fetter. The Century Co. 498 pp. Price, \$1.75; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.89.
 ENGLISH COMPOSITION AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM. (Riverside Educational Monographs.) By Sterling A. Leonard. Houghton Mifflin Co. 202 pp. Price, \$.70; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.77.
 FASTING AND UNDERNUTRITION IN THE TREATMENT OF DIABETES. By Heinrich Stern. Rebman Co. 218 pp. Price, \$.2; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.210.
 FREUD'S THEORIES OF THE NEUROSES. By Dr. Eduard Hirschmann. Moffat, Yard & Co. 257 pp. Price, \$.2; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.212.
 THE GARMENT TRADES. By Edna Bryner. Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation. 153 pp. Price, postpaid, \$.25.
 HOSPITALS AND THE LAW. By Edwin Valentine Mitchell. Rebman Co. 178 pp. Price, \$1.75; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.85.
 HOUSEHOLD ARTS AND SCHOOL LUNCHES. By Alice C. Boughton. Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation. 170 pp. Price, postpaid, \$.25.

tute an impressive aggregate. The commissioner of internal revenue has complained that the local officials have shown little interest in the apprehension of illicit liquor manufacturers or dealers. It is evident from the circumstances I have instanced that national prohibition will be no more effective than state prohibition in cutting off the production of liquor, and thus the chief argument in its favor falls to the ground. It would be interesting to have Mr. Woods tell us how he supposes the national government, upon which undoubtedly would be placed the great burden of the newly created police problem, would proceed in order to dry up these springs of spirits which are tolerated, if not encouraged, in that South which so enthusiastically seeks to inflict its "peculiar institution" upon the North.

WILSON J. VANCE.

New York.

TO THE EDITOR: Mr. Vance's letter compels me to be personal. My appointment to the Boston Licensing Board was opposed by the liquor interests through every sort of aboveground and underground method because, as they stated, I was a prohibitionist. This statement was constantly repeated by them in order to thwart my efforts while a member of the board to reduce, even by a little, the sale of liquor to thousands of men already drunk, and to prevent liquor licenses from making their places markets for prostitution. My reappointment was prevented through the same representation, accompanied by influences emanating from the liquor interests which reached the governor through his chief political lieutenant, as was publicly shown by evidence upon which no doubt has been cast.

In the light of the actual situation in Massachusetts, my practical efforts for many years have been in the direction of the gradual elimination, step by step, of some of the most serious evils connected with the liquor trade. I am still ready to support every such effort. But I am satisfied that, while there are a few liquor men who will tacitly approve of this policy, the dominant forces in the trade will stupidly oppose it to the last.

I have never made any secret of the fact that I was opposed to the sale and use of intoxicating liquor. Three or four years ago I became convinced of the feasibility and practicability of national prohibition. I have not supported state prohibition, though the facts from the western states are profoundly altering the face of this question.

The facts adduced by Mr. Vance show that the great power of the United States government, under national prohibition, will not be unequal to the problem of the sporadic illicit stills that will be in existence after the organized manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks

Communications

NATIONAL PROHIBITION

TO THE EDITOR: Robert A. Woods discusses the prospects of national prohibition in an article entitled *Winning the Other Half*, published by the SURVEY recently [December 30]. It is evident that Mr. Woods favors national prohibition, a cause which he did not apparently espouse until he failed of reappointment at the hands of the governor of Massachusetts, to the Boston board of excise.

His article contains some positive errors, as, for instance, when he figures that the assent of thirty-five of the states of the union would give us national prohibition, whereas action by thirty-six is necessary. In other ways the article is open to criticism, because its implications are calculated to mislead the reader.

Mr. Woods points out that the South and West are attempting to force prohibition upon the North and East, and quotes with approval a southerner who sees poetic justice in the prospect that the North, which forced abolition upon the South, will get an unwelcome dose of prohibition from that section. He fails to show, however, that the South makes little pretense of living up to the requirements of the system which it is so anxious to "put over" on the reluctant North. He might, with profit, have discussed the enormous growth of illicit distilling which has assumed the proportions of an organized business, and which is confined almost wholly to those southern states which make a boast of their aridity.

According to the reports of the United State commissioner of internal revenue, the enormous number of 19,349 illicit distilleries were seized and destroyed in

the fiscal years beginning July 1, 1909, and ending June 30, 1916. One-fourth of the number, or to be exact, 4,513, were taken in the state of Georgia alone during this period. In North Carolina, 3,125 were seized; in Alabama, 2,221; in South Carolina, 1,330; in Virginia, 1,272, and in Tennessee, 966. Almost every year has seen an increase in the number of stills actually discovered by the federal officers, and every indication is that "moonshining" has passed out of the romantic stage and has become a systematized, prosperous, commercial proposition with many ramifications, its growth having a rather definite relation to the cutting off of supplies from manufacturers of and dealers in alcoholic beverages, legally engaged in business.

This is not the only indication of the lack of good faith in the South with respect to prohibition. Bootlegging and other forms of illicit sales have assumed large proportions. In the little town of Girard, Ala., during the past summer, it was discovered that almost every house was a cache for liquor, which was stored in cellars and sub-cellars, in secret closets and concealed wall passages. The retail value of the stock seized was estimated at \$1,250,000, or some such figure. About one hundred indictments were returned. It does not seem likely that this place of about 5,000 was the only important depot for illicit liquor in the state, but I have not heard of any spectacular raids in any other municipality.

Of course, the amount of liquor illicitly distilled and illicitly peddled without detection is beyond calculation, but with the rather generous amounts allowed to individuals in most of the southern prohibition states, must consti-

is eliminated; especially as the fateful political power of the organized and respectable liquor interests, in the large and in detail, will then be wholly ended. And when, as will from now on be the case, the states can prevent these same organized interests from sending liquor across their borders, they will be enabled to focus their attention upon such internal liquor problems as remain.

The fatal lack of straight thinking on the part of the liquor interests is clearly shown in their sensitiveness to the existence of moonshiners with their little knots of purchasers which have always been in existence here and there in odd corners throughout the rural states of the South, when they are not at all concerned in terms of action about that ghastly total of the violations of law involved in drunkenness and all the ramifications of immorality, brutality, misery and crime so associated with it, which is the disgrace of our cities.

ROBERT A. WOODS.

[South End House]
Boston.

HOUSING REFORM IN 1869

To the Editor: Perhaps no city needs attention to its housing problem more than does Cincinnati; one-third the population lives in one-twentieth the area of the city. Following the cholera epidemic of 1866 came the organization of the Board of Health, which promptly called attention to the serious effect of bad housing upon the health and morals of the people. Cincinnati was the most congested city in the United States. In 1869 the Board of Health caused to be introduced in the legislature a bill for tenement-house regulation. But so radical a measure was so unpopular with the learned law-makers (and the influential tenement owner) that the legislature took no action upon it.

As in many of our other social forward steps, the Board of Health was the first to move. Even without housing laws, it had "two dilapidated old shanties" torn down, and forty-eight repaired and reroofed in 1869. The first and only complete tenement house survey made in Cincinnati, and perhaps the first in the United States, was conducted by the board in this same year 1869, but two years after the board began its operations.

This survey disclosed the fact that there were 1,410 tenements in the city. In these were 16,197 rooms, in which lived 9,894 families of 38,721 people. Of the families, 4,218, or almost one-half, had but one room in which to live, and 3,571 of these rooms had but one window. There were 4,469 families living in two rooms. There was an average of about seven families to each tenement house, an average of five people to every two rooms.

The report of this survey called at-

tention to the fact that many tenements of from two to six stories had but one stairway—and this was before the day of fire-escapes. The survey was made, and the figures published to demonstrate the need of law to regulate the construction of dwelling houses and uses to which they might be put.

It is only recently that we have paid much attention to the housing question; it is but yesterday that we realized that bad housing conditions affect the entire city, yet the report of this survey said, "It is in such crowded tenement houses where diseases of every name and character are most prevalent and fatal, and these are the force from which pestilential and contagious diseases spread *over the whole city.*"

After the housing survey made in 1869, a registry of tenements was kept by the Board of Health for at least ten years, and within that period we find the number of tenements increased from 1,410 to 5,616. The first suggestion of the need of a tenement-house inspector seems to have been made by the health officer in 1877, but it was only after a lapse of about thirty-five years that tenement inspection was regularly begun, at first by the Associated Charities, then under the supervision of an expert whose salary was paid by one of our philanthropic citizens, and finally by the city, now under the direction of the commissioner of buildings.

Perhaps the interest in good housing was never so live as today. Never before was there such a concerted effort to secure better housing conditions, both through effective municipal inspection and regulation; and the activities of civic organizations and interested citizens. And in this matter, as in so many other present functions of our municipal government, we find the dreams of our far-sighted public officials of the late sixties fulfilled after a lapse of more than fifty years.

C. R. HEBBLE.

[Chamber of Commerce.]
Cincinnati.

[Cincinnati, if not the first city in the country to make a tenement-house survey, seems to have been a close second. Dr. John H. Griscom, city inspector to the New York Board of Health, wrote a report in 1842 in which he declared that 7,196 persons were living in 1,459 cellars and that 6,618 families were living in courts and rear buildings. In 1853, Robert M. Hartley, secretary of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, reported that in 1850 there had been 18,456 persons living in 3,742 cellars. In 1856 a committee of the state legislature made an investigation and reported in favor of remedial legislation. It may be that none of these investigations was as thorough as that to which Mr. Hebble refers. New York did, however, secure its first tenement

house legislation in 1867. It is stated that there were at that time 15,000 tenement houses in the city. Boston took no positive action until 1872, when, after a conflagration, it enacted a building code. In 1885 it secured a law dealing with "the preservation of health in buildings in the city of Boston." Perhaps the first serious study of its housing was made in 1888. In 1891 the State Bureau of Statistics of Labor made a more exhaustive study. Other cities seem to have been considerably later than Cincinnati in awakening. The report of the City Homes Association on Tenement Conditions in Chicago was not made until 1901.—Editor.]

A HEARING FOR THE UNDER-DOG

TO THE EDITOR: As a constant reader of your paper, I have noticed one thing, namely, that you never give the underdog a hearing. Everything written and thought for the consummation of your readers is thought and written by upperdogs, which I think does not give justice to the name of your paper collection, SURVEY.

As an underdog, I have read that whenever reference is made to the workers, those workers are referred to as "labor." This is significant; it shows that the upperdogs are not willing to concede to the workers of the world the right to be called human beings. It is continuously pointed out that "labor" is something to be kept in its proper place. We are reading that the upperdogs are looking for managers and officials who can handle "labor" efficiently. And the experts of the upperdogs are constantly figuring out how much each worker needs for his keep while he is working; but never is one thought given to periods of idleness. "Labor" is to be fed only when it is working for an upperdog; and when the upperdog has no work for the underdog, the underdog is supposed to go in cold storage until an upperdog demands its services again.

I presume that you are well aware of the fact that a worker is not supposed to make a living; and furthermore I presume that our colleges are teaching a few fragments of history once in a while. Every professor knows that our present system of property laws is handed down to us from the ancient shepherd kings. Ancient society believed that God was the owner of the earth, and the kings were the direct descendants of God, who could parcel out the earth the way they liked it best.

The kings, as the descendants of God, had the duty to herd their subjects, punish and reward them; and the kings permitted everybody to amass as much as he could of the goods of this earth, so long as the king's share was untouched. And the inhabitants of the ancient kingdoms were continuously fighting among

themselves over the possession of a small parcel of land, on which they wanted to make a living. The friends of the kings, the upperdogs, of course got the best of everything, and the whole secret of statecraft at all times has been to keep the people divided.

Our colleges and universities are teaching one thing only, and this is: Keep the people divided. As our Lord and Saviour was visiting our earth, He taught one thing. He taught: GET TOGETHER!

Now I am asking, where does the SURVEY stand? Does the SURVEY stand for "getting together," or does the SURVEY stand for the law of the upperdog, which says: Keep the people divided!

Let us get together! Why should one man have to wait until an upperdog has a vacancy in a factory, when God gave the earth to all the people in common? Why should one underdog be forced to do all the hard, dirty work and others, the favorites of the upperdogs, have all the light work? Why should one underdog work hard all day, and not receiving sufficient nourishment and clothing for a family during times of employment, let alone times of unemployment, which are as regular and extended as the seasons? Why should young girls be forced to sell their bodies for a pittance, while young men, who would be only too glad to marry them, cannot do so because the upperdogs do not permit it?

The trained liars of the upperdogs are saying: "No two men are alike, and therefore there must be drudges to do the hard work and favorites to do the clean, easy work. A manager is worth more than a common worker and, besides, not everybody can do any kind of work."

As a matter of fact, most workers are not permitted to choose their vocation; and every underdog has to do the work he can get and not the work for which he is fitted best by God. As a matter of common knowledge, most managers and so-called owners of the industries can be replaced by underdogs to great advantage. Upperdogs have possession of the earth, not as a reward of intelligence, but as a reward of brutality and ungodliness.

Hoping you will give the underdog a hearing, I remain, Yours,

LEWIS G. ESCH.

Cleveland.

FIE ON US

TO THE EDITOR: My congratulations, Mr. Editor, upon the returning sanity of the SURVEY. In your issue of January 20 you show, in your disapproving review of the employment of women throughout industry in England in war time that, when the fear of the feminine furies does not control editorial expression, you are compelled,

like the author of *The Four Ages of Woman*, by the plain evidence of the effects upon woman's health and maternal powers, to denounce the fictitious freedom which sets her to work in mining, quarrying, metal working, grain milling and like arduous tasks.

England has fulfilled the ideal of Olive Schreiner and other applauded feminist priestesses and has made "all labor woman's province." Recognizing woman's absolute equality with man, the war rulers, in conformity with the feminist program, have declared that woman shall "be free, free in all human ways" (as Mary Johnston phrases it), free to earn the livelihood for herself and her family wherever she chooses.

Yet you are not satisfied. This glorious enfranchisement of women, their successful ousting of men from tens of thousands of jobs in sugar refining, in breweries, in railway machine shops, in coal pits and stone quarries, on delivery wagons and motor busses, gives you qualms of fear, fear alike for the welfare of the liberated women themselves and for the children who should be born to them. Fie on you, Mr. Editor, for a recreant. You who bowed to the dust before the furious women when they scratched and bit at me for pointing out the inevitable results of making "all labor woman's province," you should surely rejoice at England's brilliant demonstration of woman's capacity for accomplishing man's work.

If you continue recreant you will find yourself unexpectedly endorsing the program of *The Four Ages of Woman* by proposing that, in place of women being put to every sort of work until the disastrous results compel a slow and grudging restriction, we had better require that the fitness of the work to woman's physical powers and maternal obligations shall first be proven and all occupations proven unfit shall be barred against her self-sacrifice.

I rejoice that you have already forgotten, what your women friends so vociferously announced, that wholesale restriction of women's employments means a return to the age of the stagecoach. How dare you approve of putting on women limitations not put on men? If you don't take care you will be speaking with approval some fine day of that pet aversion of your lady allies, "that roseate nebulosity, the home."

JOHN MARTIN.

Staten Island, N. Y.

[How it took a world war to break down certain ingrained conservatisms of English people and throw open a new range of economic opportunity hitherto closed to their women is another story, some fragments of which have been told in the SURVEY from time to time—notably by Mary Chamberlain in *War on the Backs of the Work-*

ers (see the SURVEY for July 24, 1915). How the situation has been abused, and sweating for both men and women resorted to in the munition factories, she brought out with equal clearness. How the Home Office and the board of trade have studied the processes and the workers and come forward with recommendations to conserve youth and health was told by Dr. Hamilton (see the SURVEY for September 30, 1916). How the War Office, apparently without scientific or medical information, and in entire disregard of what these other and more enlightened agencies of the government have brought out, has thrown the weight of its influence (amounting in some cases probably to compulsion) upon women to take over heavy tasks in order to free the male members of their families for military duty—was the subject of the paragraphs in the SURVEY of January 20.

If our critic will turn back to the SURVEY for April 15, 1916, he will find that the editorial to which he refers did not oppose the regulation of industrial occupations for either men or women. Our factory laws are a compromise between the principle of liberty and the principle of human conservation. We opposed the wholesale restriction of women's employment on the basis of sex; and opposed the vesting of judgment and decision as to its scientific health regulation in the one sex to the exclusion of the one most concerned. In this British instance wholesale license is as bad as wholesale restriction; and the War Office the acme of self-constituted male authority.

We believe in safeguarding men as well as women at their work; but (to stretch a point) we wouldn't leave it to the suffragists to install safety devices on Mr. Martin's exposed epidermis or leave it to the men to vote finger-guards and muzzles for his fair assailants.—EDITOR.]

PERSONALS

ANNA LOUISE STRONG, executive secretary of the Seattle Council of Social Agencies, has been elected a member of the Seattle school board—the first woman to hold such a post in Seattle.

JOHN P. SANDERSON, secretary of the Children's Aid Society of Buffalo for the last two years, has accepted the position of executive secretary of the Connecticut Children's Aid Society, with headquarters at Hartford.

ANNA GOODRICH, the newly appointed director of the nursing service of Henry Street Settlement, New York city, has held, at one time or another, most of the important nursing posts in New York state. She re-

tains her assistant professorship at Teachers' College, for which the settlement furnishes field work in the post-graduate nurses' course. Rebecca Schatz, long identified with the house, remains associate director of nurses.

E. A. MOREE has resigned as director of the Atlantic Division of the American Red Cross to become manager of the Press Service Company, New York city, which will specialize in publicity for social service organizations. He is succeeded by Albert W. Staub, who has been in charge of the Red Cross war relief shipments at the Bush Terminal, Brooklyn.

JAMES L. FIESER, who since 1912 has been superintendent of the Associated Charities of Indianapolis, has joined the staff of the Ohio Institute for Public Efficiency as associate director of the Social Service Department. He will devote particular attention to promoting efficiency and cooperation among social agencies in Columbus and other communities of Ohio. His services have been engaged by the Columbus Chamber of Commerce to plan and direct the work of its new Department of Social Service.

WINIFRED STUART GIBBS, who was for ten years supervisor of home economics in the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, has resigned. In addition to her lectures in household arts at Teachers' College, Miss Gibbs is doing independent work as consultant in home economics. She was recently elected president of the New York branch of the American Home Economics Association.

MORRIS D. WALDMAN, for nine years executive director of the United Hebrew Charities of New York city, has resigned to assume leadership of the Federated Jewish Charities of Boston, a new organization which will supervise different Jewish philanthropic agencies. Mr. Waldman is succeeded by Abraham Oseroff, of the Bureau of Philanthropic Research.

JOTTINGS

POLIOMYELITIS is reported from West Virginia, where eighty-nine cases have occurred since early December. During December, twenty-one cases were reported from California, thirty-six from Massachusetts and a smaller number from Wisconsin, Maryland, and earlier, Indiana and Virginia. These are all of interest as having opportunity for special study of any distinct characteristics of the winter type of poliomyelitis.

THE Feeble-minded: A Community Problem was the subject of a symposium recently held by the City Federation of Women's Clubs of Rochester, N. Y., and as a result a committee was formed to aid in educating the community concerning feeble-mindedness. A petition has just been presented to the mayor asking for a psychopathic clinic (and an appropriation of \$5,200) to be conducted as a department of the board of health.

THE first number of what is to be an illustrated quarterly bulletin has just been issued by the Department of Public Charities of New York city. The Bulletin will appear in January, April, July and October. The first number contains 114 pages and has papers under the headings of pathology, medicine, surgery, neurology, gynecology, orthopedics, obstetrics, nose and throat, and eye. Its pur-

pose, as stated in the foreword, is to give "the medical profession the benefit of the scientific work which is being done at the various hospitals of the department."

A COMMITTEE from the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America called upon President Wilson on January 24 to ask for the creation of a federal commission to make a study of American relations with Japan and China. Bishop Earl Cranston, of Washington, D. C., introduced the delegation. The suggestion made was that the two Asiatic countries should be asked to appoint similar commissions to confer with the American commission. The President was also asked to support or initiate further legislation needed to protect aliens in this country.

THE *American Review of Tuberculosis*, to be published by the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis (105 East 22 street, New York city, \$2 a year), is described as a "monthly scientific publication for physicians and research workers in tuberculosis." In it will be merged the transactions of the association and the abstracts and notes heretofore appearing in the association's *Bulletin*. The *Review* will supplement, not supplant, the *Journal of Outdoor Life*. Dr. Allen K. Krause, formerly of Saranac Lake, will be managing editor.

A PAMPHLET recently issued by Charles B. Towns, of New York, recommends the appointment of a special federal commission to investigate drugs and the drug traffic. Mr. Towns believes that the entire traffic in drugs should be in the hands of the federal government, and only an agreement between nations will, he considers, prevent such abuse of commerce as the import into this country by firms (whose payment of \$10 entitles them to trade as "wholesale druggists") of large quantities of drugs which are to be shipped on into Mexico. The pamphlet covers ground familiar through Mr. Towns' articles in the *SURVEY* of October 14 and 28, and November 18, 1916.

MENTAL HYGIENE, to be published by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 50 Union Square, New York city, at \$2 a year, will present as untechnically as possible popular articles on mental factors in delinquency, crime, inebriety, etc. "The widespread determination," says Dr. Thomas W. Salmon, editor, "to control feeble-mindedness raises questions of economics, law, and medicine which demand the most thoughtful consideration." The magazine aims to interest physicians, lawyers, educators, public officials and all students of social problems.

PRIZES in the Hart, Schaffner & Marx economic essay contest for 1916 have been awarded as follows: Class A, first prize, \$1,000, to Duncan A. MacGibbon, McMaster University, on Railway Rates and the Canadian Railway Commission; second prize, \$500, to J. Noble Stockett, Johns Hopkins University, on The Arbitral Determination of Railway Wages; Class B, first prize, \$300, to Victor E. Gutwillig, under-graduate in University of Chicago, on The Manufacture and Marketing of Men's Ready-to-Wear Clothing; second prize, \$200, to Herbert Feis, under-graduate in Harvard University, on Economics of the Minimum Wage, with reference to American Wage Conditions.

FOUR LIGHTS, "an adventure in internationalism," has just made its appearance as a small four-page magazine, published by the Woman's Peace Party, 70 Fifth avenue, New York city (price, 5 cents). It will attempt to "voice the young, uncompromising woman's peace movement in America, whose aims are daring and immediate—to stop the

war in Europe, to federate the nations for organized peace at the close of the war, and meanwhile to guard democracy from the subtle dangers of militarism." The name of the magazine is taken from a quotation from The First Voyage 'Round the World by Magellan: "Then he showed four lights when he wished them to set full sail and follow in his wake."

THE Ford Motor Works, of Detroit, continues to be something of a Pandora's box of social and industrial surprises. The latest is the fact that no less than thirty-seven full-blooded American Indians are getting \$5 a day from Mr. Ford for carrying their share of this "white man's burden." Students of Indian affairs have long been baffled by the question whether it is good policy to encourage the oncoming generation of Indians to go into industry. The reservation system is recognized as no solution for the future. The question is, however, will we merely be writing another chapter of exploitation by turning them into factory hands? Of the Indian's mechanical ability, there is less doubt. He is credited with a genius for it; and one of the Ford Indians recently broke all the plant records in setting up a motor car.

SEVEN final volumes of the Cleveland school survey, just from the press, complete the series of twenty-five monographs that have "made school facts town topics" [see the *SURVEY* for July 8, 1916] in Cleveland, and that have been published periodically the past twelve months. The final volumes deal with school organization and administration, wage earning and education, the public library and the public schools, dressmaking and millinery, the garment trades, and household arts and school lunches. There is a summary volume by Leonard P. Ayres, director of the survey for the Cleveland Foundation. These reports can be secured from the Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland, Ohio, or from the Division of Education, Russell Sage Foundation, 130 East 22 street, New York city.

PAMPHLETS

COMMERCIALIZED PROSTITUTION IN NEW YORK CITY. A comparison between 1912, 1915 and 1916. Bureau of Social Hygiene, 61 Broadway, New York city.

1. PENCIL AND BRUSH; ART IN THE MINNEAPOLIS SCHOOLS. 2. IN A MAJOR KEY; MUSIC IN THE MINNEAPOLIS SCHOOLS. Price, single copies, 25 cents; ten or more copies to one address, 10 per cent discount, postage paid. One hundred or more copies to one address at 25 per cent discount, transportation to be paid by the purchaser. Secretary to the Superintendent of Schools, 305 City Hall, Minneapolis, Minn.

PUBLIC TREATMENT OF DRUNKENNESS IN ST. LOUIS. By George B. Mangold. Washington Univer-

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Some of REBMAN'S New Books

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Fasting and Undernutrition in the Treatment of Diabetes.—By HEINRICH STERN, M.D., LL.D., New York.

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OBSTETRICAL QUIZ FOR NURSES—

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A COMPILATION OF THE LAWS RELATING TO THE BOARD OF PUBLIC CHARITIES. Prepared by John H. Fertig and Frank M. Hunter, under the direction of John N. Moore. Legislative Reference Bureau, Harrisburg, Pa.

SANITATION IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS. By J. D. Long, M.D. United States Public Health Service. Price 5 cents. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

THE FEEBLEMINDED, THEIR PREVALENCE AND NEEDS IN THE SCHOOL POPULATION OF ARKANSAS. By Walter L. Treadway, M.D. United States Public Health Service. Price 5 cents. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

REPORT OF AN INQUIRY INTO THE ADMINISTRATION AND SUPPORT OF THE COLORADO SCHOOL SYSTEM. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education. Price 10 cents. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

REGISTRATION AND STUDENT RECORDS FOR SMALLER COLLEGES. By Benjamin F. Andrews. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education. Price 10 cents. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

RURAL SCHOOL SANITATION, INCLUDING PHYSICAL AND MENTAL STATUS OF SCHOOLCHILDREN IN PORTER COUNTY, INDIANA. By Taliaferro Clark, George L. Collins and W. L. Treadway. United States Public Health Service. Price 15 cents. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

TYPES OF BUILDINGS FOR STATE INSTITUTIONS FOR THE FEEBLEMINDED. By Franklin B. Kirkbride. National Conference of Charities and Corrections, 315 Plymouth court, Chicago.

CONVICT LABOR FOR ROAD WORK. By J. E. Pennybacker, H. S. Fairbank and W. F. Draper, M.D. United States Department of Agriculture. Price 40 cents. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

BEAUTIFUL OLDHAM. Price, sixpence. Beautiful Oldham Society, Hon. Sec. R. Pimm, 61 Windsor road, Oldham, England.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT, EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY AND PREVENTION OF TUBERCULOSIS. By Mezyck P. Ravenel, M.D., Madison, Wis.

HOW TRANSPORTATION COMPANIES CAN HELP REDUCE THE COST OF GROWING FOOD AND CLOTHES AND THEREBY INCREASE THEIR EARNINGS. By Charles H. McDowell, the National Fertilizer Association, 2 Rector street, New York city.

THE IMPROVEMENT OF CANCER MORTALITY STATISTICS IN THE UNITED STATES. By Curtis E. Lakeman. Reprint from the American Journal of Public Health. American Society for the Control of Cancer, 25 West 45 street, New York city.

STATE HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF NORTH DAKOTA. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education. Price 30 cents. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

THE INTERNATIONAL MIND. By J. W. Hamilton, 593 Laurel avenue, St. Paul, Minn.

A NATION IN BONDAGE AND STUPENDOUS ISSUES. Price 5 cents. Latin-American News Association, 1400 Broadway, New York city.

WHAT THE MEXICAN CONFERENCE REALLY MEANS. By Mary Austin. Reprint from the New York Times Magazine. Price 5 cents. Latin-American News Association, 1400 Broadway, New York city.

LECTURES AND LECTURERS ON MENTAL DEFICIENCY. New York Committee on Feeble-mindedness, 105 East 22 street, New York city.

HOW CHRIST WOULD ORGANIZE THE WORLD. By Ralph W. Nelson. University of Kansas, Lawrence.

ARBOR AND HIGHWAY DAY. Compiled for the Shade Tree Committee of the Women's Civic League, Baltimore, Md.

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1. DISTRICTING OF BALTIMORE FOR THE WORK OF CHARITABLE ORGANIZATIONS. 2. THE ENUMERATION DISTRICTS. Bureau of State and Municipal Research, 728 Equitable building, Baltimore, Md.

THE PLACE WHICH ACCOUNTING SHOULD OCCUPY IN ANY SCHEME OF NATIONAL PREPAREDNESS. By John Raymond Wildman, New York University, New York city.

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THE CHURCH LEAGUE. Its Necessity and Its Liberality. By Carl E. Grammer. Issued by the Church League of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Price 5 cents. G. W. Jacobs and Company, Philadelphia.

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THE SURVEY

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A Sermon Preached on February 4

By John Howard Melish

CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY, BROOKLYN

IN the last paragraph of his address to Congress yesterday the President of the United States said: “We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German government. We are the sincere friends of the German people, and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the government which speaks for them. We shall not believe that they are hostile to us unless and until we are obliged to believe it; and we purpose nothing more than the reasonable defense of the undoubted rights of our people. We wish to serve no selfish ends. We seek merely to stand true alike in thought and in action to the immemorial principles of our people which I have sought to express in my address to the Senate only two weeks ago—seek merely to vindicate our right to liberty and an unmolested life. These are the bases of peace, not war. God grant that we may not be challenged to defend them by acts of wilful injustice on the part of the government of Germany!”

I hope that you and I can say as the sincere expression of our hearts, Amen.

“I tell you if these shall hold their peace, the stones will cry out.”—St. Luke 19:40.

Jesus said this word of faith in the ultimate triumph of His cause as He entered Jerusalem for the last time. His entrance itself was a symbolic act. Warriors were wont, after a victory, to have a triumphal entry into their capitals. So Jesus, prince of peace and saviour, would have a triumphal entry. In place of a war horse He chose an ass, beast of burden and symbol of peace; in place of fighting men armed to the teeth He chose children, women and men, waving branches of palms; in place of pæons and songs of hate He chose the angelic chorus, “Peace in heaven and glory in the highest.” Against all this the Pharisees, who claimed to be the patriotic party, uttered a protest. Teacher, they exclaimed to Jesus, rebuke thy disciples. And Jesus answered and said, “I tell you that if these shall hold their peace, the stones will cry out.”

It was, I say, an expression on the part of our Master of absolute and sublime confidence in the ultimate triumph of His cause. Rather than that God’s righteousness and love should fail, the rocks would speak. An Old Testament poet, in the enthusiasm and flush of a national triumph, exclaimed, “The stars in their courses fought against Sisera.” He saw

the universe on the side of God and His righteousness. This great poetic spirit of the New Testament sees nature, the very rocks, working in harmony with God’s love and ready, should men fail to respond to that love, to become themselves lips and brain and heart. I tell you, if these shall hold their peace, the stones will cry out.

I.

We live in a world in which brute forces play a tremendous part. So strong are those forces that many persuade themselves that they are the dominating and controlling things in life. The philosophy of materialism is the philosophy of the man in the street. He thinks that he alone is dealing with the facts; all others are “high-brows,” idealists, visionaries. In the museum of natural history is the skeleton of a huge creature called a dinosaur. That gigantic reptile and the hairy mammoth and the saber-toothed tiger once overran large portions of this continent. They are classified now as extinct beasts. What gave to the human animal the earth and took it from the reptile and the anthropoid ape? Certainly not brute force. Anthropologists say it was because man developed a mind, not a muscle, that made him the inheritor of the earth. And in human history, the materialists notwithstanding, the thought of others has existed alongside of the thought of self from the very beginning, as Henry Drummond so clearly proved in his *Ascent of Man*. The man in the street does not know the process by which the present came to be.

Now Jesus not only saw that other powers than brute forces were at work in the world but He committed Himself to them; He trusted them and confidently awaited the issue. So far as He individually was concerned He was overcome by the brute forces. He was crucified. But He died in the thought that the brute forces had in reality been overcome. And in that faith we know now He was justified. You speak of Cæsar and Hannibal and Napoleon, said the great prisoner of St. Helena, but not one of them has built anything that is durable. But Jesus Christ—multitudes of men are ready to die for Him. Christ is the supreme symbol of trust in the ultimate triumph over the brute, of God’s truth and righteousness and love.

We say that we are followers of Christ and each of us is pledged to follow His example and try to become like Him. Are we willing to trust the moral and spiritual force of the work, to take our stand there and having done all to stand? Many of us, I fear, accept Christ's principles with many reservations. We are willing to guide our course by His star until this or that contingency shall arise, and then we trust to the brute forces of the world. We are willing to follow Him until certain circumstances arise where His principles no longer seem practicable, and then we resort to other principles. We even persuade ourselves that we are the instruments of divine justice, and are needed by God to put the brute powers in their place, and we take the sword in Christ's name in order to bring to triumph His peace. And this in face of His refusal to resort to the sword and His superb and glorious decision to trust to the forces that make for the triumph of God's truth, righteousness and love. Jesus was no moral coward, nor did He advise weak and shrinking submission to wrongdoing. His courage was sublime. And He lost his life by withstanding church and state. But He repudiated violence and He made use of the forces of truth, righteousness and love whereby to overcome the brute. Shall we do less in His name?

II.

It is the feeling of some that at the juncture of affairs when the brute powers seem about to triumph God should step in and thwart the adversaries of His righteousness and love and truth. Why did God let this war take place in Europe, pious souls have asked. Why did God permit the church and state to triumph even temporarily over His Beloved Son, men have asked for ages. And in their personal misfortunes and sufferings the same searching question has been frequently put.

It is a child's conception of the universe. When we were children our thought of God was on a level with our thought of man. As children the best man we thought was he who gave us exactly what we wanted and when we wanted it. So we thought of God as one who was all powerful, and therefore at an instant could and would give us what we wanted.

But when we grew older, when we became parents ourselves, we put away childish things—save sometimes in religion. We know now that the strong, true man is not the man whose action is determined by every request we may make to him, but rather whose action is decided by high principles of honor and justice and wisdom. These virtues do not exclude love—they are the foundation of love—without them the action would not be loving. Therefore our thought of God, if it be a grown, mature thought, must rise from this truer thought of man, and we must think of Him as guided by the most perfect justice and wisdom, in order that He may be perfect love. When you as a father or mother want to give to children the highest joy, the most lasting value, do you not think of laws of health, laws of unselfishness, laws of fairness, and obey these laws absolutely?

"God treats us as sons." His knowledge of the real worth of life is far deeper and truer than ours, as much greater than ours as ours is greater than our children's "and of very faithfulness He may cause us to be troubled." The real joys of life are not to be judged by the joy a baby gets out of a rattle. To have had a chance to cultivate faith and patience, and purity and love and truthfulness, and humility and courage and steadfastness and obedience, is proof enough of the love of God who gives the chance to us, and who shows us ways in which these really great things can be won, not by overriding law, but by obeying law, not by thinking of Him as a law breaker, but rather by thinking of Him as one who is unfailingly and eternally all that our consciences tell us we ought to be.

There are times when Christ's thought and life and principle enter generations as Jesus entered Jerusalem, surrounded only by children and women and a few men. They seem weak and impotent and destined to perish. The blare of trumpets, the neighing of chargers, the strength of arms belong to those who are opposed to Him. There are times when in the conflict between these opposing ideas victory is to the strong and the swift and the ruthless. But appearances are only appearances and the verdict of God reverses the verdict of men. Let us then in the supreme confidence of the ultimate triumph of God's love and truth and righteousness, still say, if these keep silent the stones shall cry out.

The Case for War for Democracy

By David Lloyd George

A LINCOLN DAY MESSAGE CABLED TO THE NEW YORK "TIMES"

I AM very glad to respond to your request for a message for publication on Lincoln Day. I am glad because to my mind Abraham Lincoln has always been one of the very first of the world's statesmen, because I believe that the battle which we have been fighting is at bottom the same battle which your countrymen fought under Lincoln's leadership more than fifty years ago, and most of all, perhaps, because I desire to say how much I welcome the proof which the last few days have afforded that the American people are coming to realize this, too.

Lincoln's life was devoted to the cause of human freedom. From the day when he first recognized what slavery meant he bent all his energies to its eradication from American soil. Yet after years of patient effort he was driven to realize that it was not a mere question of abolishing slavery in the south-

ern states, but that bound up with it was a larger issue: That unless the Union abolished slavery, slavery would break up the Union.

Faced by this alternative, he did not shrink, after every other method had failed, from vindicating both union and freedom by the terrible instrument of war. Nor after the die for war had been cast did he hesitate to call upon his countrymen to make sacrifice upon sacrifice, to submit to limitation upon limitation of their personal freedom, until, in his own words, there was a new birth of freedom in your land.

Is there not a strange similarity between this battle, which we are fighting here in Europe, and that which Lincoln fought? Has there not grown up in this continent a new form of slavery, a militarist slavery, which has not only been crushing out the freedom of the people under its control, but

which in recent years has also been moving toward crushing out freedom and fraternity in all Europe as well?

Is it not true that it is to the militarist system of government which centers in Berlin that every open-minded man who is familiar with past history would point as being the ultimate source of all the expansion of armaments, of all the international unrest, and of the failure of all movements toward cooperation and harmony among nations during the last twenty years?

We were reluctant, and many of us refused to believe that any sane rulers would deliberately drench Europe in its own blood, so we did not face the facts until it was almost too late. It was not until August, 1914, that it became clear to us, as it became clear to Lincoln in 1861, that the issue was not to be settled by pacific means, and that either the machine which controlled the destinies of Germany would destroy the liberty of Europe or the people of Europe must defeat its purpose and its prestige by the supreme sacrifice of war. It was the ultimatum to Serbia and the ruthless attack upon Belgium and France which followed because the nations of Europe would not tolerate the obliteration of the independence of a free people without conference and by the sword, which revealed to us all the implacable nature of the struggle which lay before us.

It has been difficult for a nation separated from Europe by 3,000 miles of sea and without political connections with its peoples, to appreciate fully what was at stake in the war. In your civil war many of our ancestors were blind. Lord Russell hinted at an early peace. Even Gladstone declared "we have no faith in the propagation of free institutions at the point of the sword." It was left for John Bright, that man of all others who most loved peace and hated war, to testify that when our statesmen "were hostile or coldly neutral the British people clung to freedom with an unflinching trust." But I think that America now sees that it is human unity and freedom which are again being fought for in this war.

The American people under Lincoln fought not a war of conquest, but a war of liberation. We today are fighting not a war of conquest, but a war of liberation—a liberation not of ourselves alone, but of all the world, from that body of barbarous doctrine and inhuman practice, which has estranged nations, has held back the unity and progress of the world, and which has stood revealed in all its deadly iniquity in the course of this war.

In such wars for liberty there can be no compromise. They

are either won or lost. In your case it was freedom and unity or slavery and separation, in our case military power, tyrannously used, will have succeeded in tearing up treaties and trampling on the rights of others, or liberty and public right will have prevailed. Therefore, we believe that the war must be fought out to a finish, for on such an issue there can be no such thing as a drawn war.

In holding this conviction, we have been inspired and strengthened beyond measure by the example and the words of your great President. Once the conflict had been joined, he did not shrink from bloodshed. I have often been struck at the growth of both tenderness and stern determination in the face of Lincoln, as shown in his photographs, as the war went on.

Despite his abhorrence of all that war entailed, he persisted in it because he knew that he was sparing life by losing it, that if he agreed to compromise, the blood that had been shed on a hundred fields would have been shed in vain, that the task of creating a united nation of free men would only have to be undertaken at even greater cost at some later day. It would, indeed, be impossible to state our faith more clearly than Lincoln stated it himself at the end of 1864.

"On careful consideration," he said, "of all the evidence it seems to me that no attempt at negotiation with the insurgent leader could result in any good. He would accept nothing short of severance of the Union, precisely what we will not and cannot give. His declarations to this effect are explicit and oft repeated. He does not deceive us. He affords us no excuse to deceive ourselves; . . . between him and us the issue is distinct, simple and inflexible. It is an issue which can only be tried by war and decided by victory."

That was the judgment of the greatest statesman of the nineteenth century during the last great war for human liberty. It is the judgment of this nation and of its fellow-nations overseas today.

"Our armies," said Lincoln, "are ministers of good, not evil." So we do believe. And through all the carnage and suffering and conflicting motives of the civil war, Lincoln held steadfastly to the belief that it was the freedom of the people to govern themselves which was the fundamental issue at stake. So do we today. For when the people of central Europe accept the peace which is offered them by the Allies, not only will the allied peoples be free, as they have never been free before, but the German people, too, will find that in losing their dream of an empire over others, they have found self-government for themselves.

In the Balance

By *Emily Greene Balch*

AUTHOR OF OUR SLAVIC FELLOW CITIZENS

IT IS EASIER to get into a war than to get out again. Events have a coercive logic of their own. War, too, makes strange bedfellows. As in a strike, combatants find themselves fighting for issues for which they would not have entered the struggle. They find themselves allied with forces they do not desire to strengthen.

What would our lot be in case of success in an anti-German adventure and where might we find ourselves landed?

Doubtless most responsible Americans, as well as the mass of the plain people, do not want to join the Allies as full

partners. They conceive of our taking part in such a way as to advance the cause of democracy without underwriting all their war aims.

It is possible that we might go to war debonairly, fight a few naval engagements and be in for a speedy settlement. Even so we forfeit our chance to speak for the "silent mass of mankind," as a joint trustee for civilization and the future, and not as a belligerent partisan.

Moreover, we run the risk of our own jingo crowd following the old war morality, and urging that having spent blood

and treasure we should get something in return. The effort to free Cuba, in large part due to liberal and disinterested motives, led to the acquisition of the Philippines and our undemocratic tenure of unwilling oversea peoples.

War once begun the voices for moderation, wholesome self-criticism and all disinterested thinking are shouted down, if not actually and deliberately suppressed. The country is then exposed to extreme pressure from "ginger" parties and all the forces of our reactionary imperialism.

The other possible contingency is infinitely more serious. It is quite on the cards that once in a state of war we should find ourselves involved not in a reserved and partial way, but with unlimited liability, as an equal participator in the struggle.

But, regardless of how fully we join our fortunes with these of the Allies, how is our coming in likely to affect the situation?

This situation is an extremely complicated one. The factors involved are necessarily the more real to me from the fact that I have been a good deal in Europe during the war and in touch with at least certain aspects of Dutch, Scandinavian and Swiss opinion as represented by international lawyers, members of parliament, Socialists and plain folk.

It must be remembered that an alliance is not necessarily a permanent indivisible whole and it is an open secret that each side endeavors to seduce the partners from the opposing group and to make a separate peace with one or another.

From the liberal or democratic point of view the most dangerous possibility hinges on Russia's internal conflicts and the direction given to her policy. The high Tory party in Germany, the junkers, the militarists, have been seeking ever since the war began to bring Russia over and to negotiate a separate peace which would leave the reactionary or conservative element in Russia and Germany in control within their respective countries and externally in alliance for imperialistic purposes.

It is of the most sinister significance that since the assassination of Rasputin the pro-German and reactionary group in Russia have regained political control. In Germany the corresponding change seems not to have taken place. Apparently the personalities who want to liberalize and democratize Germany and who look forward to future cooperation with the western powers are, in spite of the reversion to extended submarine warfare, now in the lead.

The present condition is thus a very unstable one. A tap on the glass and the shock may precipitate overcharged solution. The entry of this country might easily prove just that shock.

If the United States enters the war, the hands of the German reactionaries are strengthened with the cry of national defense against the world. The position of those in the German party who have opposed annexation, who have opposed unlimited submarine warfare, who desire a peace on which a society of nations can be built, is then undermined. Germany's hope of rescue from a most ominous war situation as well as her hope of future world power will then seem to be to the East. Germany will be driven into the arms of Russia.

Not only the democracy now rapidly growing within the German empire, but the Russian elements that have so long

and so heroically been striving to liberalize their country, are then turned over with their arms tied behind their backs to their domestic opponents.

For it must be remembered that England is not in a position to give to Russia the coveted prize of control of Constantinople and the straits. Germany has it in her power to do so. During the war I have talked with M. Milyoukoff, leader of the chief liberal party, the Cadets, a number of times both in Petrograd and in Stockholm, and I know what immense stress he and his party lay on the prize of Constantinople and all which that implies. The pro-German bureaucratic element in Russia have thus a tempting bait with which to seduce the imperialistic liberals from their allegiance to the alliance led by England and to the cause of democracy.

The natural third in an alliance of imperial Germany with imperial Russia is Japan, which, if it came into such a league, would presumably expect a generous share of whatever extensions of influence in China and the Pacific the three powers might then pursue.

In any case, once at war with Germany, influence in Mexico at once becomes a pawn in the game. Real, or even imaginary, German or Japanese attempts to use Mexico would kindle the fuel even now ready, of fear, racial prejudice and carefully nursed jealousies. To enter a European war is ourselves to throw away the Monroe doctrine. If we enter European politics on the lowest level of competing alliances struggling to control the balance of power, then European politics enter the American sphere whether we will or no. This is the reverse of the President's policy of making the Monroe doctrine universal, avoiding entanglement as in the balance of power system by superseding that system by an organized concert, in which we should bear our part.

This is often a through-the-looking-glass world in which it is wholesome to remember that to walk toward a goal may take one further from it.

In seeking to strengthen the great liberal powers, England and France, we might do the exact contrary.

For ourselves we should then be involved for indefinite historical epochs in the struggle for balance of power and the old game of competing armaments and competing alliances. To throw humanity, civilized and uncivilized alike, into such a competition means not merely the arrest of the normal evolution by which we are in process of developing a true social and economic democracy, but an indefinite reversion to the old days of violence and privilege based on violence.

When one contemplates such nightmare vistas one feels like the old Scotch woman returned from a sermon on hell. "It can nae be so bad as that, naebody could endure it." Alas! one's power of belief in what men, women and children can be called on to endure has been greatly increased by the experience of the last years and the knowledge that at this moment hundreds of thousands of people are starving, inaccessible to help because of war conditions. The Belgian, Lithuanian, Syrian and Armenian horrors give a new measure of the intensity and extent of the woes that mankind can bring on itself.

Samson dragged the temple down on himself and the entire crowd within. In the case we are fronting, what if *all* the people are within the rocking structure?



Union Park, Boston, with South End House near the center of the row on the left, is a region of lodging-houses. It bears a striking resemblance to parts of London.

Twenty-five Years of South End House

By George Hodges

PRESIDENT OF THE HOUSE; DEAN OF THE EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL AT CAMBRIDGE

THE South End House, in Boston, began in 1892 as a social experiment, without traditions, or experience, and with little help from example. Dr. Stanton Coit's Neighborhood Guild in New York and Miss Addams' Hull House in Chicago were begun about the same time. They were all as yet in the stage of large ideals and good intentions, but with only the vaguest programs.

Robert Archey Woods, who started the South End House, and has ever since been head of it, got his inspiration in the Andover Theological Seminary, from Professor Tucker, afterwards president of Dartmouth College. Dr. Tucker encouraged his desire for social service, helped in many invaluable ways the establishment of the house—then, and for three years after, called the Andover House—and served as president of the Andover House Association. The only pattern which Dr. Tucker and Mr. Woods had before them was Toynbee Hall. To London, accordingly, went Mr. Woods, and spent six months studying the methods of Toynbee Hall, under the direction of Canon Barnett. The results of this study he put into a book entitled *English Social Movements*, and in the light of this experience the Andover House was opened in the South End of Boston.

Canon Barnett's undertaking had at the heart of it two determining ideas. He desired to make the privileged of service to the unprivileged; to gather about him in the East End of London a group of men who should come from Oxford or Cambridge, as Arnold Toynbee had come, and share the rich happiness of their intellectual and social life with those from whom much of this joy had been barred by arbitrary and accidental environment.

He desired also that this should be done in the spirit of the Christian religion, in the fraternal spirit of Jesus Christ.

That was before the time of parish-houses; but Toynbee Hall stood beside St. Jude's Church, where Mr. Barnett ministered, as the parish-house stands beside many a church today. It had no formal connection with the church. It was understood to be an opportunity for the energies of some who, for various reasons, could not work under the conditions of the usual parochial societies. But the spirit of the founder—like the spirit of Kingsley and Ruskin behind him—was distinctively Christian. Miss Addams described it long ago as "a bent to express in social service and in terms of action the spirit of Christ." These two ruling ideas Mr. Woods had already in his mind when he went to London, and he came away confirmed in them. They have governed the house from the beginning.

The first workers who assisted Mr. Woods to establish and maintain the house were college men, graduates of Harvard, Yale, Williams, Amherst, Bowdoin, Dartmouth. Presently, it became possible to found South End House fellowships at Harvard and at Amherst, the holders supplementing and illustrating and proving their studies by investigations and practical work as residents of the house. After the opening of a women's residence, a similar fellowship was established to which graduates of different women's colleges have from time to time been appointed.

The relation of settlements to religion used to be much debated. It has long since been decided by the conditions of city life. The Congregationalists, for example, might minister in a Congregational settlement to members of their own denomination, and to some unchurched persons beside. They could not, under such auspices, minister to Jews or Roman Catholics. But Mr. Woods and his associates found that their neighbors were mostly Roman Catholics or Jews. They,

therefore, ceased to call their society the Andover House, and gave it a name which simply identified it with the locality. They did not intend by this change to indicate any departure from religion; they did intend, however, to free themselves from all ecclesiastical limitations to their usefulness. They held that to proclaim themselves as Congregational social workers would be similar to a professional man announcing on his sign a Presbyterian doctor, or a Methodist lawyer. Such a man would have only Methodist or Presbyterian clients or patients, and mighty few of them. They felt that a group of religious people doing social work, saying their own prayers, worshipping at altars of their own choosing, and evidencing their religion in the faithfulness with which they followed the example of the Master of us all, was the need of the neighborhood. Thus the South End House began and has consistently continued for a quarter of a century.

Miss Addams quotes from Tolstoy the phrase, "the snare of preparation." Tolstoy referred to the blunder of delaying action until all plans should be made, and all contingencies foreseen and provided for. He reprobated completing the program before beginning the work. He had in mind societies which spend time and energy in making their by-laws, never doing anything else; like the man in Irving's Knickerbocker who, intending to jump over a hill, took a running start of five miles, and then, at the foot of the hill, sat down to rest.

Mr. Woods never fell into the snare of preparation. He met needs as they came, adapted his program to the changing situation, and freely followed opportunity wherever it led. He believed that the house was for the community, not the community for the house. He would have approved the sentence which R. J. Campbell says was the only "doctrinal clause" of the trust deed of the church in Brighton in which he began his ministry, "This church was erected for the good of the parish of Brighton."

At the same time a diligent study of the situation has always accompanied the work, or preceded it. Mr. Woods and his associates have done for their part of Boston what Charles Booth did for London. They have examined it carefully, with a wise and effective intermingling of science and sympathy. They have published *The City Wilderness*,



ROBERT A. WOODS

Head of the house, an active participant in civic movements not only in Boston but throughout the nation.

A Study of the South End (1898); *Americans in Process, A Study of the North and West Ends (1902)*, and they have in preparation *The Zone of Emergence, A Study of Charlestown, East Boston, South Boston, Lower Roxbury, Cambridgeport and East Cambridge*. Holders of fellowships, residing in the house and doing research work under the direction of Mr. Woods, have published *South End Factory Employes*, *The Lodging House Problem in Boston*, *Part-Time Day and Evening Schools*, and *In Freedom's Birthplace*, a study of the Negro in Boston. Other residents have published in pamphlets the results of their investigations in *The Public Charitable Institutions of Boston*, *Public Baths in Boston*, *Some Slums in Boston*, *Ethnic Factors in the Population of Boston*, *The Unemployed in Boston*, *Boston Evening Schools*, *Beggars and Their Lodgings*, *Steam Laundries in Boston*, *Italian Immigration in Boston*. This output of reports in books and pamphlets goes on year by year, for the suggestion and guidance of social workers.

In the larger social field, Mr. Woods and Mr. Kennedy have edited for the National Federation of Settlements a book on *Young Working Girls*, a summary of evidence from 2,000 workers; and under the Russell Sage Foundation *A Handbook of Settlements in the United States*. They are preparing for the same Foundation *The Settlement Horizon: A National Estimate*. The titles indicate how far these studies go beyond the range of facts and figures. They are meant to provide not only knowledge, but working knowledge, and they represent the studious spirit in which the life of the house proceeds.

Mr. Woods has always kept himself—by continual miracle, his friends think—from being overwhelmed by details. Details are multifarious and importunate. They extend from the distribution of modified milk to classes in citizenship. They include instruction in nursing, housekeeping, cooking, play-acting, sloyd, basketry, millinery, dressmaking, lacemaking, carpentry, printing; clubs of all names and sizes for boys and girls, and other clubs for the same boys and girls as they grow up into men and women; collection of stamp savings, probation work in the juvenile court, a room registry of approved houses, a music school, close cooperation with a district conference of the Associated Charities, an association of



SOUTH BAY UNION

On Harrison avenue, Boston's longest tenement street. Through this and other separate buildings, South End House has reached out into its neighborhood rather than build up a large single institutional house.

caddies gathered from the neighborhood and sent every summer, under direction, to the hotels in the neighborhood of the White Mountains; and the taking of mothers and children into the country. Over all of this the head of the house presides, with every part of it he is personally acquainted, every detail he watches with an eye to its improvement toward better efficiency—adding, subtracting, multiplying, inspiring and directing. But this proceeds without haste or impatience, without anxiety. Mr. Woods seems convinced that there is plenty of time, and that in case of a shortage of supply he can always draw upon eternity. That is perhaps the secret of his work. He has found leisure to take part in other kinds of social service. He has engaged vigorously in local politics. He aided the bar and bottle bill in its way through the Massachusetts legislature. He served as a member of the Boston Licensing Board. He has been an instructor in social ethics in the Episcopal Theological School.

When Mr. Woods came to Boston twenty-five years ago he was unknown. His only acquaintances were those to whom he had gone with letters from Dr. Tucker. He has built the South End House from the ground. The plant consists of the headquarters and men's residence, the women's residence, the South Bay Union, the registry house, the nurses' house, the House of Childhood; and, out of town, the Winning Farm at Lexington, which is loaned by its board of trustees, the Wayside Cottage at West Falmouth, and the Week-end Cottage at Marblehead. The money with

which to buy, build and maintain the holdings of the house has been gathered either by the personal work of Mr. Woods, or by reason of confidence in him. Until the effort now in progress to add \$125,000 to the funds, the house has only once received a larger single sum than \$5,000. The money has come, and still comes, from a considerable company of small givers.

The South End House, after these twenty-five years, practices the democracy which it preaches. It makes no architectural appeal, except, in a modest way, in the South Bay Union, which is a community center for the neighborhood. The other buildings are such houses as were found already built in strategic places, and were made over inside. The plan has been to have a number of such places at a remove from one another, each a center of friendly service, rather than any one imposing structure. The atmosphere of the work has continued from the beginning domestic rather than institutional. The workers have never forgotten that a settlement is essentially a family whose initial mission is to live simply and hospitably with the neighbors. One great advantage of having lived in the same neighborhood for twenty-five years is that there are now many young men and women, leaders in the industries, politics and social activities of the place, who can say, "The South End House? It has been here ever since I can remember. It has been related to my work and play, to my ideals and aspirations, to my joys and sorrows, to my whole life, since I was a child."

Cotton Pickers in Northern Cities

By Helen B. Pendleton

SUPERVISOR DISTRICT WORK, NEWARK, N. J., BUREAU OF CHARITIES; FORMER GENERAL SECRETARY, SAVANNAH, GA., ASSOCIATED CHARITIES

EARLY last spring, when a marked shortage of labor was felt, northern industries turned to the South and began to import Negroes by the thousand. Railroads and industrial plants furnished transportation and offered undreamed-of wages to the simple farm hands from the cotton fields of Georgia and Alabama.

Estimates of the number of Negroes that have come north vary anywhere from two hundred and fifty thousand to half a million. So far there seem to be no trustworthy figures. Newark, it is said, has absorbed about ten thousand. How many are living in the adjoining boroughs no one knows.

At first the railroad and other companies furnished the transportation, sending agents all through the South, who painted in glowing terms—who knows how highly colored?—the high wages and advantages of the North. But apparently that was not long necessary. The news spread like wildfire; it was like the gold fever in '49. The Negroes sold their simple belongings, and, in some instances, valuable land and property, and flocked to the northern cities, even though they had no objective work in sight. And they are still coming. Enough money has been saved from their unprecedented wages to send for wives and children. Almost every day one may see in the Pennsylvania station groups of Negro women sitting patiently, surrounded by bundles and babies and shivering in cotton garments, waiting for night to come, which will bring the men to meet them.

While getting ready to crowd up here, the Negroes composed a chant down in Dixie which ran like this:

"New Jersey, New Jersey, the land where the fritters
Fall into the syrup right off of the trees!"

"But I ain't seen the fritters nor the syrup!" exclaimed one of these dusky Southerners the other day.

The high cost of living has soared far beyond the reported rise of 18 per cent in wages. The corner grocery, with its bewildering bright-colored canned goods, and other dazzling shops offer unusual opportunities for getting rid of money. The instalment houses, too, are reaping a harvest. The stores of "hog and hominy," corn meal, syrup and sweet potatoes which the migrants in many instances clubbed together and brought on with them in freight cars are gone by this time. The process of learning to use hard coal, which they must buy in small quantities, is wasteful. And the saloons welcome them heartily. No one draws the color line there! Negro ministers and social workers who are among them report with sorrow and amazement the amount of whiskey (no beer) that these people have already formed the habit of buying. Evil tentacles, too, have grasped young southern Negro girls, who have disappeared into houses of ill fame.

A number of undesirable, helpless folk, including widows and deserted wives, have "come along in the excitement," as one old cripple remarked. These the Associated Charities workers are trying to send back to the sunny South. One old man, totally blind, is easily recognized as belonging to the type of itinerant beggars familiar on the streets in southern towns, where they sit, making a cheerful noise on some screeching instrument. He says Newark is a wicked city, because the accustomed nickels and pennies do not fall readily into his hand, and is therefore quite willing to return to his native land.

Many of the older men did not intend to engage in hard



THE SMILES THAT WON'T COME OFF
Despite the rigors of a northern winter these Negro
workmen still look cheerful.

labor, because they had a number of strong young sons in the family group. But illness has overtaken some of these young people, and the older ones have been obliged to take heavy work, with the result that they too have fallen ill. The native Negro residents of the city and suburban towns have been kind and generous in helping the southern strangers. They have collected money to send numbers back home, and, when the bitter cold weather began, they collected and distributed thousands of garments. Resident colored people have also taken hundreds of newcomers into their own homes until rooms could be found for them.

But while different churches and kind-hearted people have been most active in helping individually, there was no concerted movement to bring all these forces together until recently, when the Negro Welfare League of New Jersey was organized.

On the other hand, there are unscrupulous Negroes who have not hesitated to take advantage of the trust the strangers have reposed in them.

On January 6, a voluble, well-dressed Negro, representing himself as a house-agent, got \$80 in first payments for rooms and then disappeared. White sharpers, too, have been active. A favorite method of getting money is to pretend to be a secret-society agent and secure membership fees from the unwary.

Almost all newcomers are from southwest Georgia and the adjoining counties. It seems impossible that a Negro is left in Dothan, Alabama. In fact, a white farmer writes from near there: "There has been lots of darkies left here and nearly all the good ones is gone."

They are country folk by every implication of their being, with the slow southern speech that to the northern ear is at first unintelligible. Already they are the despair of housewives, who eagerly welcomed much-needed houseworkers, innocently supposing that these people, whose chief labor had heretofore been picking cotton, would readily adapt themselves to city homes. In the factories and freight-yards the men and boys, when overheated, throw off their outer clothing, just as they would in the mild South, only to be laid up as a consequence with grip and pneumonia. With swollen feet from the unaccustomed roads and pavements and long hours of toil, they are obliged to lose many days' work. The Municipal

Employment Bureau reports that they are now only applying for indoor work, as they have begun to realize the hardships of outdoor labor in a northern winter. To the outdoor worker the snow, too, is a disagreeable hindrance. "All this stuff flyin' 'round in the air confuses me!" they say. When we read in trade journals of the difficulty of inducing these laborers to stick to their jobs, we are not entirely convinced that it is altogether "because they cannot stand prosperity," as one journal puts it.

Moreover, the fumes in the munition factories have made many of them temporarily ill, and they have therefore sought other places and accepted lower wages. The recent destruction of several ammunition plants has thrown a number out of work and frightened away more, so that the difficulties and real hardships attached to their new jobs, added to the strangeness of their surroundings, have been the chief cause of the irregularity of their labor. We know of many families that have been obliged to move again and again in order to find a home, while the breadwinner has had to accept lower wages for that reason.

The industries of New Jersey went after these laborers because they needed them in their business. But, although the Negro is warmly welcomed as a laborer, it is increasingly apparent that as a Negro he is unwelcome. In a suburb of Newark there are forty Negro families who are better housed than the average and who thus have a chance to develop proper home life. When the white ministers of the place were asked to invite the colored children to their Sunday schools, they demurred, saying it "would not work." So a separate building was hired by the Negroes themselves and they are carrying on their own Sunday school.

Soon after the migration began to be noticeable, suddenly, mysteriously, almost in a night, the signs To Let and For Rent in the part of the city where small houses and flats were available were changed to "For Sale," and a recent advertisement for rooms, inserted by Negroes, brought only two replies, neither of them from Newark. These humble newcomers, therefore, have been forced into finding lodgings in basements and in the worst parts of our city.

Several generations ago, when the Negro was a human chattel, the master was considered a bad business man who did not properly house his slaves. He lost money by it and the community did not prosper. But industries of New Jersey, have utterly failed to provide the housing which would enable their Negro help to live decently and in enough comfort so that, while growing accustomed to their unusual work, they might be stimulated to become useful and efficient.

In the last two weeks the Negro Welfare Committee, with the help of trained investigators from the Associated Charities, has visited 120 self-supporting families, all of whom were found in the worst sections of the city. A close study of fifty-three of these families reveals that 166 adults—only twenty of whom are over forty years of age—and 134 children, a total of 300 souls, are all crowded into unsanitary, dark quarters, averaging four and two-sevenths persons to a room. These fifty-three families pay a total rent per month of \$415.50, an average of \$7.86. The average wage of these people is \$2.60 a day. In not one of the 120 families was there a wage-earner making the maximum wage of \$3 and \$4 a day. Here are some of the notes brought back by visitors who recently made these studies:

"Wife and three children living over a stable. Husband earning \$11 a week." "Three families in four rooms." "A little house, not fit for a chicken-coop." "A sorry-looking house for so much money—\$15 a month; doors off the hinges;

water in the cellar; two families in five rooms." "Indescribable; so dark they must keep the light burning all day." "This family lives in three rooms on the second floor of a rickety frame house, built on the side of a hill, so that the back rooms are just above the ground. The entrance is in a muddy, disorderly yard and is through a tunnel in the house. The rooms are hard to heat because of cracks. A boy of eighteen was in bed breathing heavily; very ill with pneumonia; delirious at times."

And so the list goes on, describing difficulties and tragedies that would be sure to overtake numbers of unsophisticated country people recently arrived from a part of Georgia and Alabama not far from the Gulf of Mexico. Unused to city life, crowded into dark rooms, their clothing and household utensils unsuitable, the stoves they have bought being all too small to heat even the tiny rooms they have procured (the instalment houses are charging from \$20 to \$30 for these stoves), shivering with the cold from which they do not know how to protect themselves, it is small wonder that illness has overtaken large numbers.

The health department's report for December states that excessive labor and bronchial pneumonia were responsible for more than one-third of the 975 cases of diseases reported last month. There were 287 more cases of sickness reported than in the preceding month. The deaths from the malady numbered ninety-four.

Health Officer Craster said the cause of pneumonia increase must be laid to the severe weather in December and to the increasing number of colored laborers from the South who are employed in large industrial plants of the city. He continued: "It is unfortunate that these people have been allowed to come here without any advice as to how to live and keep themselves in health in this climate. The colored man has a natural predisposition to chest diseases, such as tuberculosis and pneumonia, and to the latter he falls an easy victim."

Dr. Craster said also that old, dilapidated buildings, long closed as undesirable for habitation, have been opened and rented to them. "These houses," he said, "are rented out as housekeeping apartments irrespective of the fact that there are no facilities for such purposes. Kitchen ranges, lavatories, baths and toilets are either altogether absent or inadequate. There is no heat in a majority of these places, with the consequence that whole families are found crowded around a small kerosene or coal stove in stuffy rooms, with no ventilation, where all the housekeeping is done and where frequently the whole family sleep together to keep warm."

The health inspectors report that wherever these conditions were discovered they directed the inhabitants to get better quarters and notified the owners of the premises, by written notice, that the rooms were not again to be rented. They further recommended that a campaign of education be instituted by the health department for better homes. "They (the Negroes) seem to be a simple, easy-going, honest sort of people, who know no better."

It is all very well to tell them that they must not live in such abominable buildings, but, ignorant as these people are and much as they need instruction as to how to live in this climate and in a strange city, they are with few exceptions anxious and willing to move into decent homes and neighborhoods. *There are no decent houses for them to rent.*

Many have burned their ships behind them, others had no ships to burn, and many came north because of a desire to get away from parts of the South where race troubles are acute. All are dazzled by the lure of city life. They are here to stay. It is reported that thousands more are preparing to come in the spring.

There are nearly one million Negro farm operators in the South and it is estimated that the total wealth of the Negroes of the United States is about one billion dollars. They own twenty-one million acres of land, or more than thirty-two thousand square miles—an area greater than that of the state of South Carolina. The pall of illiteracy is slowly being removed from the South and higher and secondary education are becoming increasingly obtainable for the Negro. A Negro farmer at Albany, Georgia, is the owner of 10,000 acres of land. Ninety families reside on his plantations. A fourteen-year-old Negro boy won the first prize for cotton at the Oklahoma State Fair. The champion corn grower of Missouri is the principal of the Bartlett Farm and School for Negroes at Dalton, Mo.

But while Negro farmers are 29 per cent of the total farmers in the South, Negro farm owners are still only 7 per cent of the total owners.

The South is more prosperous today than she has ever been before, with diversified agriculture making rapid progress, railroad expansion inevitable and factories fully employed. But there is also a shortage of labor there, and the South can ill afford to lose a half million farm laborers who are adapted to the southern climate. The Negro has made his best progress down South. The southern people should strive to keep him there, not by laws and lock-ups, but by better wages and by more and better opportunities of profit sharing, and above all by the cultivation of the spirit that will make it more and more possible for the Negro to accumulate property and to live in peace with his neighbors, especially his white neighbors. To that end it is hoped that the citizens of southern states will search for and put into office such public officials as the present governor of Kentucky.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that the Negro laborer from the South between the ages of twenty and forty will be able to compete successfully with the northern laborer if he becomes properly acclimated. But one cannot fail to see that the overcrowded, unhealthful and often evil surroundings in which the little children of these people are already placed are sure to result disastrously for them, and that no large increase of wages or other advantages of city life can compensate. It is not entirely a Negro problem. The Slav and Italian and Russian Jew face the same difficulty. The influx of a number of people who happen to be Negroes merely augments it.

This migration from the South will be a blessing in disguise if it will show the people of this community the absolute necessity of getting together not only to improve living conditions among these strangers, but to begin to solve the whole problem of providing proper housing for the great mass of the people whose labor is the chief asset of the city. Meanwhile there is trouble brewing for the municipalities that have invited southern Negroes to become residents of the most crowded parts of the United States, without any other preparation than a pay envelope.



The Fighting Issues

A Statement by the Editor of the Survey

By Paul U. Kellogg

I.

THESE were eleven of us around the plain table and we sat there for two hours and a half. There were two lawyers, and two economists, a settlement worker, two magazine editors and a newspaper man, an industrial investigator, a rabbi and a minister. We had, as citizens, found common cause since the outbreak of the war; had done what we could to counter the surge toward militarism; had promoted movements for peace through negotiations; had, in two crises, thrown our weight against war with Mexico.

One of us had come to the meeting to let the rest know that the events of the last fortnight had brought him face to face with a choice between war and "Prussianism."¹ After threshing it out alone for a week, he had all but reached a point where he was ready to cast his lot with war as the only way to throttle what to him was the greater evil. He put democratic fire into what he said as the insurgent of the group. There was the Garrisonian who, in reply, begged him not to break with the principles of a lifetime. There was the Spanish War volunteer, no non-resistant he, who urged that war and force would not throttle Prussianism; that Prussianism, as he saw it, was not an army but an idea; and we can only fight idea with idea. There was the Quaker who pleaded in the name of his co-religionists who are on the rack for their conscience's sake in England, that he stand out against that spread of Prussianism to the New World, which would follow, as night the day, our entrance into the European struggle. There was the peace envoy who protested that for America to plunge into the war would put the liberal forces of Central Europe into new bondage to the junkers, to Russia and the East, and threaten western civilization and democracy for a hundred years. There was the social worker who urged the opportunity and obligation on all of us—on the one hand, to support alternatives to war as a means for maintaining American rights, and, on the other hand, to arouse Americans—German-born and native-born alike—to a life-long enlistment in the overthrow of Prussianism, its overthrow through moral fire and organized agitation here and abroad, rather than through its own familiar weapons.

So it went around the board, sometimes not ten but eleven of us on the same side. The experience threw us all, spiritually, back on ourselves, and made each lay bare the elemental things he stood for. I have never seen or heard or felt anything that gripped me so, in theater, or church, or shop.

So it is going on all about us—this close-up, trench struggle in men's minds, round the issues that are rending Europe—going on in our hearts, in the groups that have crystallized around the earlier war issues, in the older movements that were carrying on American social work and reform before war came to create new and unfamiliar alignments of feeling and conviction.

II.

Whether or not America enters the war, people are more and more going to feel deeply and unflinchingly and, feeling this way, they are bound to show friction, division, intolerance on one side or another, in all the old associations we know. Had the crisis come at the outbreak of the war, I should have feared lest the SURVEY might not have withstood the tension. But we have had two years and a half in which the temper of this adventure of ours in cooperative journalism has been tried; in which mutual understanding, accommodation and other reasonable factors have had play. And while perhaps, here and there, feeling may be so tense that readers will not put up with a journal which gives hearing to a point of view not their own, or which encourages freedom of action as citizens among all those connected with it, I believe that the good sense and confidence of the great body of SURVEY well-wishers will stand.

The formula which the SURVEY has applied throughout these months of war is not a new one. It is the one we have wrought out through a slow process of experience, in which the SURVEY has had to deal with hard and controversial situations in industry and in social legislation, in prison administration and municipal life. It calls for even-handed chronicle of events, for interpretation of conditions, for staff investigation of major situations, for signed articles (whatever their approach) which are real contributions of experience, testimony, proposal or thought; for an independent editorial page and an open communications department. We have carried out this formula without lending the SURVEY or its press service to propaganda for or against such questions as "preparedness." The magazine and those that built it up had come together on other ground. But we have applied our formula to this and other war developments and have dealt with their social aspects as news and as subject matter for article and editorial. In doing so we have been quickened, if anything, by the consciousness that, in common with most American social agencies, we had, prior to August, 1914, ignored the threat of war, ignored the movements to prevent it and ignored the human consequences bound up in both.

Military operations and international politics are not, as such, subject matter for the SURVEY. Neither are meteorology and hydraulics. But when a flood comes down a great valley, sweeping over everything in its course, the rushing waters take on human content; and the relief work, the organization of social action, the prevention of future disasters through forestation and flood control, become our concern. So with war. The European struggle has affected every phase of life and labor, every social movement in America. This we have interpreted. On constricted income, we have done our best to exhibit normal social activities which have been overshadowed by the war and at the same time to interpret the humanitarian projects set going to allay its wholesale miseries; the reactions of the war on human relations and on health, education, labor and other spheres of administration; the movements for civil as against military solutions and schemes of life; the proposals to prevent war and establish an enduring peace as basic to social well-being.

¹ There is, of course, much cant, injustice and brutal generalization in the coinage and circulation of such terms as "Prussianism." I have used it as it is employed in the American press and public discussion at the present time—as meaning that militarism which is personified in the frightfulness faction in the Imperial German Government. But I do not mean by that the German people or the Prussian people.

We have done this not without protest. A fortnight ago an Austrian consul in a mid-western city, a cooperating subscriber, denounced us for reviewing in a staff article the Belgian deportations which have wrenched thousands of wage-earners from their homes and work. He could not distinguish rigorous judgment on the anti-social consequences of a military policy from a general unfriendliness to the German people. The week before an old Canadian reader broke with us on the ground that any hospitality to peace overtures was to give aid and comfort to the enemies of Anglo-Saxon civilization. Nor have Americans been lacking who have felt as strongly and have acted on their convictions. But, as in domestic controversies, we have not tried to be neutral by striking a balance when the truth may not be in the middle. We have tried to assemble evidence and judgments on the things discussed—and to do this without giving over the SURVEY to arguments as to the conflict between the belligerents.

III.

The ruthless extension of the U-boat campaign and the break with Germany have changed this situation. The question is no longer one of diplomacy or of personal espousal; the question (not of our choosing) is the supreme legislative act of or for one hundred million people, as to whether or not we shall throw ourselves into the European war on the side of the Allies. The terms they are fighting for, and the social significance of those terms, we must weigh as never before; weigh the ends we seek, and the relation of those ends to the means we take; weigh the social consequences of our course at home, and weigh the relation of that course to our opportunity as a nation for social service to the future and the world at large. While the question is pending no citizen can escape his share of responsibility for that decision, aye or nay, nor can any social agency affecting Congress through public opinion.

These issues, and the swift events which give them emergency, are ones to which the SURVEY under my editorship will apply the same formula which has served us so well through periods of stress in the past. In doing so, it is well for SURVEY readers to know how I approach them, so that they may take this bias into account from week to week. The SURVEY is a cooperative undertaking made possible by the gifts of time, money and service from many free-thinking people. I am loath, in so grave an emergency, without opportunity for adequate conference, even to seem to commit any of those closely bound up in its fortunes, to positions other than what, in all honesty and sincerity, they individually hold. Therefore, I must ask everyone who reads this to regard it as a personal statement of the editor. Of my own responsibility to speak out, I am altogether clear.

IV

I should want the United States to go into the war, if, as ardent friends of the Entente hold, it were a clear case of struggle between democracy and Prussianism. I should urge this for social reasons, because physical and economic comfort without democracy would be an empty husk, foreign to our robust American conception of the common welfare. At the root of Prussianism, as I understand it, is an isolated nationalism which holds that force is the only method for maintaining a nation's rights, its security and development; that each nation is to be sole judge of its own cause and of its own applications of force. I find this true not alone of Germany. I find it true of our own psychology in this national crisis.

From this conception, it is only a step to that other, which, as Lowes Dickinson has pointed out, is at the bottom of the European war system: the belief that the growth of other na-

tions can come only at the expense of one's own nation, and that contrariwise, one nation can achieve only by circumventing or crushing others. And from this belief, that one nation can go up only as others go down, it is only another step to the belief that whatever a nation can achieve by force, carries its own sanction, and as a sequence, the greater its military strength, the greater its righteousness. In this sense, Prussianism is only a superdreadnought development in Germany of the common evil—an extreme, due in part to the exposed position of Germany as a new continental power. Even so, such an exaggerated development of militarism becomes a threat to every other people, and we have such radicals as Lloyd George conceiving the struggle with Germany as one between self-government and a "militarist slavery."

But such simple separation of whites and blacks disregards the social composition of the battling nations. Under the cry of self-defense, and acting through the thousand-armed coercions of its army system, the Prussian war party was able to muster the German people behind it and since then, blood and treasure, courage and sacrifice without limit, have been rendered unto it in the belief that Germany is fighting for her very existence.

On the other hand, the struggle has built up, in each of the Allied countries, a new Prussianism, so that even England, the home of civil liberties and the refuge of idealists of all Europe, has slipped back and back.

The imperialistic and commercial interests which have played a causal part on all sides and the territorial ambitions of the different powers, have rendered the struggle more complex and would have done much to take the edge from the clean-cut issue with which English-speaking folk have invested it, had it not been for the crude excesses of their enemies which have outraged the moral sense of mankind.

But, assume, if you wish, that the German government is guilty of the worst its enemies charge it with; assume that the primary cause of the Allies is as humanly precious as they conceive it; assume that we would help bring about an overwhelming victory, will we help after all to crush Prussianism, will we free civilization from the social evils we mean by Prussianism, should we go into the war with the Entente?

The German people were not without their great protestants in Reformation times, and they have not been without their protestants in this war—protestants against conquest and annexation, against ruthlessness, and against the whole war system. Are we sure we should not be putting these elements, in the bitterness and insecurity of defeat, into permanent bondage to their junker caste, as Miss Balch points out (page 565), and into an alliance towards the East that will split Europe for a century, and create only a newer, greater threat against the democratic West? With the Prussian leadership suffering spiritual defeat before mankind long since, with its huge scheme of military dominance balked at the Somme and shattered at Verdun, are we sure that the German people themselves could not, in a peace without crushing military victory for either side, be counted upon to render final judgment against the war-makers? Are we sure that the overthrow of Prussian militarism is not their particular job? Are we sure that we can count most for democracy, as an unwilling ally in the empire parcellings of a military settlement in which the civil forces of France and England might be submerged, than we can count as friend to those hopeful forces in a negotiated peace, devoted not to the gains of conquest but to the framing of an enduring structure of internationalism? On another page we reprint Lloyd George's Lincoln day statement to Americans, to my mind the best case yet made for those who in the name of democracy, morality and social

progress propose that we go into the war. But for my part I am not for going into the war to throttle Prussianism, because I cannot bring myself to believe it can be done that way.

V

I should want the United States to go into the war if, as some of the advocates of the League to Enforce Peace seem to believe, that were the way to lay the ghost of war. I should urge this for social reasons, because only so can civilization and social progress have a free field for the next century, against the overwhelming burdens of war debts and wastage.

But there is sobering truth in Mr. Bryan's question: Can we come to the people of Europe, who have borne the brunt of the great conflict, whose very existence as nations may hang by a thread, who are torn by the hates and heart burnings of thirty months of war, and who have lost six million of their kith and kin in the struggle—can we come to them and ask them to heal their strife, settle their great quarrel, and agree to adjust the grievances that will flow from it, if when the war touches us deeply but by comparison trivially we resort short-shrift to the old method that has wrecked all Europe? Nor can I bring myself to believe that a settlement resting on conquest and exhaustion and maintained by force can last.

VI

But the issue as it practically confronts the American people is different from either of these questions. It has to do with the defence of American rights—of American lives and American ships—on the high seas. Here we need to think closely and think hard—harder and clearer and quicker than we have ever thought in labor struggle or political campaign.

Recently I saw a letter from a conservative American war correspondent who specifically asked that he be not written down as "anti-war." He is for war if the people who must bear the brunt of it want to have it; otherwise not. For on one war front after another, he has made a point of asking officers and men whether, had the soldiers now in the ranks had the decision at the outset, this war would have been fought. The answer in many tongues was the same. It was no. We all remember the tense days of 1914 when the issue hung in the balance and when we hoped that, whatever the tugging of armament rings and imperialistic bureaucrats, the great body of public opinion would assert itself in all countries and demand another way out. We felt that democracy, and religion and labor and humanity had all in some inextricable way failed us.

With Austrian troops threatening Serbia, Russian troops mobilizing on the East front, German troops massing against Belgium and France, good sense and reason snapped under the rush for self-preservation. Out of the baffling experience of those days in England, charged with untold human weight, emerged the Union for Democratic Control, which as one of its chief tenets proposes that hereafter the decision as between peace and war shall not be in the hands of a few men, that it is too great a power to rest in any small group, but shall rest in the people. If in Europe, with its close contacts between nation and nation, its exposed boundaries and coasts, its racial hates and imperialistic ambitions, serious thinkers can come forward with such a conserving plan for cool, deliberative, universal action, surely, at our remove from the great struggle, with our less hazard in delay, we can give that plan consideration and, if possible, fair trial. Such a demonstration of one of the most hopeful deterrents to war might prove our largest contribution to that more reasonable ordering of international relations which we all pray for as one great compensation for the present duress. No nation is so favorably

placed to try such an experiment; no opportunity is so prescient as this.

So it is that I have endorsed wholeheartedly the movements to call for a national referendum before going into the European war in the present crisis; or, if that is unconstitutional, to call for an advisory referendum before Congress acts, and in the meantime to spread by postcard and advertisement unofficial, informal questionnaires as a revelation of public opinion for its consideration and guidance. The stake of all the people for all time, in the measure and burden and meaning of life, is too real and engrossing for anything less.

There are other challenging lessons which we can take to heart in the experience of England and France and Germany in August of 1914. We are told that this is to be a war of defense, a war against war, a war to end war. But we have only to turn back to the old newspapers to see that these were the same changes that were rung by people in Western Europe in 1914, only to be drowned out when the behavior of their enemies created new issues, and the ambitions of their allies, new ends of conquest or partition to which they became committed. We can recall that social observers in all the countries engaged, brought out the fact that this was an old men's war—men stirred by the forebodings and watchwords of the nineteenth century and untouched by that spread of a practical internationalism, which in science, and commerce, engineering and social progress, had been weaving not only a new fabric of civilization but was giving to youth a new vision of life; in which the common welfare of mankind is something worth struggling for. We can pause and ask whether the voices raised for war in our universities are those of the older faculty members, or those of younger men who will be molding thought ten years from now and should be heard today. We can consider the personnel of our own chief spokesmen for war—whether they are the young men with vision of 1917, or the young men of the Spanish War epoch—of the days when we had our fling at imperialism abroad, and were not yet aroused to the invasions of political democracy at home.

We can take a leaf out of the history of our domestic movements for social and industrial justice, and ask ourselves whether the most active groups here in America who are espousing the war in the name of liberalism in Europe are those from which we expect leadership when democracy and privilege lock horns in municipality, state capital or Congress.

But to recognize these conflicting and baffling elements in the situation is not to appraise that great latent bulk of public sentiment, which, with some other man at the White House, might have found us in the *melée* long since, and which, in the event of some desperate sea catastrophe, tomorrow or the day after, would bank up solidly behind a policy of aggressive war. Here we are close to certain of our ingrained characteristics as a people. The gross symbolisms with which the cartoonists pictured the "Trusts" in the days of their organization are faint things compared with those indelible personifications of tyranny with which we grew up. We are for the under dog—whether Boer or Belgian, Serbian or Irishman. That heavy-handed stupidity of the German military caste which riled us in the Zabern incident has, since the war began, struck us on the raw a hundred times. We have the tradition of two great wars, which have all the sanctions of patriotic feeling and high principle. We cherish our independence and our fighting spirit. And patriotic service under the colors is the oldest, most instinctive form of service to the state, beside which probation work, or factory inspection, or friendly visiting are nothing but half-sanctioned innovations.

As a channel for these motive forces, we share in common

with the whole world the popular belief that war is the one recourse for outraged national rights. We do not feel that way about the grievance of one town against another town, one county against another county, one state against another state, but we feel that way about the grievance of one nation against another nation. Only slowly has there been any spread of the notion that there are other ways, and that there should be more. War, to the average man, is the one and great redress.

Yet we are at this time met with the counter-phenomena of that other inarticulate body of public opinion which burst loose in grateful applause at the Democratic national convention, when the delegates caught the notion that "peace under provocation" had elements of the heroic about it, and which rolled up the Wilson vote last fall under the cry, "He kept us out of war."

VII

With these two great modes of feeling, either one of which may gain mastery; with those to whom we naturally turn for leadership in social action honestly, sincerely, deeply at variance in their counsels, each one of us is more than ever charged with responsibility to think through the issues raised by the new U-boat terrorism.

We are told that we should go to war to redress our rights at sea and defend American lives and shipping. But with war reaching and rending every community relationship in America, every settlement neighborhood and tenement, every industrial town and crossroads, every phase of education and livelihood, every promise of youth and social advance, we may well pause and ask as social workers and thinkers whether war for us will accomplish these ends, and if not, what will.

To the first question, we are not given satisfactory answers. We are not told how our navy, linked with the powerful English fleet, will accomplish in this war the ends we seek against either the submarines or the land forces of the Central Empires. But back of that, we are given no assurance whatever that our going in will permanently establish the rights we espouse. Submarines and wireless were unknown when our present sea law was formulated. The law of the future, if it tolerates submarines at all, as mines are tolerated now, will have to reconsider the application of rules framed to fit battleships. As a Harvard correspondent writes:

"The whole fabric will be changed beyond recognition at the conferences after this war. Surely such an ephemeral object is not worth the whole nation's sacrifices. . . ."

Beyond that, my impression is that there has never been a war between important maritime powers when the freedom of the seas has been preserved. It is futile to talk about preserving it for the future by anything we do in this war. You may have all the conventions you please; they will go by the board unless we have something stronger or saner than precedent to hold them. We may go in and knock out Germany, but that in itself would be no assurance for American lives and shipping in a war twenty years from now between England and Japan.

What then? Are we to lie down before this new bludgeon, the periscope? My feeling is that we should preserve what we can, and we can preserve as much by other means as by war, and more than appears at first sight.

It is difficult for a layman to extricate himself from the mazes of all the sea rights involved in the positions taken by the American state department in the negotiations with

Germany. The simplest and clearest case is the right of American passenger-carrying ships, without contraband according to our definition, to go where they please in Germany's new war zone, without being blown up without warning or provision for the saving of life. We are next concerned with the rights of American ships carrying contraband according to our definition; with the rights of American merchant vessels with and without contraband as Germany defines it; with the rights of American passengers on all four classes of American vessels; with the rights of Americans traveling or working on ships of all four classes belonging to other neutrals; with their rights on ships of all four classes belonging to belligerents, and finally, with their rights on belligerent ships of all classes armed with deck guns. The extreme case is the American traveler on a British or French ship, loaded with shrapnel and armed with a deck gun with which she proposes to pot the submarine if she sees it first.

The Germans maintained that under the principle of military necessity, the entrance of the submarine, which exposes itself in giving warning, which cannot take its prizes to port, and which cannot care for passengers or crew, called for modification of sea law, just as in other war changes have come in on the basis of changes in ships and weapons. President Wilson countered with the principle of humanity, and while he waived the question of the contraband-carrying ship, he held rigorously to the preservation of life, and insisted that turning passengers loose in open boats in heavy seas or distant from succor was not enough. We are told that authorities on international law among the other neutrals believe that in the future his course will be recognized as one of the great services to the laws between nations.

In doing so he made no distinction between the various classes cited above, covering them all in his diplomatic victory in the Sussex case; and while the German government left an opening as big as a barn door in its assurances at that time, in case it wished to resume "ruthless" submarine warfare, his single achievement meant safety for Americans on the seas for all the months succeeding. It also meant easier munitions and foodstuffs for the Allies. With the peace overtures failing, with the terms of peace announced by the Entente interpreted by German publicists as nothing less than the crushing of the nation, with economic exhaustion and food shortage at home, with the Allies girding themselves for a new spring "push" under new and aggressive leadership, with the war party in Germany claiming for the submarine what they had failed to deliver with the zeppelin—with whatever causes at work, but with one thing sure, the caving in of the opposition which had held the underseas boats in leash, we had the announcement of the war zone to go into effect on February 1.

I unreservedly subscribe to President Wilson's course in breaking diplomatic relations with Germany. With the positions taken in the Sussex case, he could not have done otherwise in consistency. With the sweeping form the U-boat pronouncement took, applying to all American as well as all foreign vessels, he could not have done otherwise as the trustee of American rights and lives at sea. With the German government cutting loose from the elementary canons of what we tragically call civilized warfare, he could not have done otherwise as the champion of the principle of humanity.

His act was a moral condemnation in the courts of mankind of the lengths to which German sea-policy was going, and in that condemnation he has the country with him. I subscribe, further, to his refusal to reopen negotiations until Germany rescind her sweeping declaration.

VIII

The questions now come before us on a different footing. Hitherto they have been a charge upon diplomacy (the Mc-Lemore resolution was in that sense an attempted interference with the state department) and the President has gone the full limit of diplomatic patience, resource and rebuke. The next step may come before Congress as the war-making body; and we should look to Congress for the same patience and the same deliberation which have characterized the President's handling of our foreign relations throughout the war. It is for Congress to weigh the various courses open to it, or suggested by the Executive. And it is significant here to note that in the Sussex exchanges the President did not threaten war, but said we should do what we deemed necessary to maintain American rights and safety at sea. Different things necessitate different steps. Congress and all of us must think and differentiate.

The first distinction to make is that between invasion of our legal rights and the methods employed by the belligerents in invading them. As Professor Hayes pointed out in last week's SURVEY:

"Neutral rights have been flagrantly violated by Great Britain, in that neutral trade with Scandinavian ports and with Holland has been interfered with by the British policy of intercepting all goods of German origin or ultimate destination for Germany, even when the goods have been carried by neutral ships between neutral points; and by Germany, in that numerous neutral merchantmen have been sunk by German submarines either without warning or without opportunity for safeguarding the lives of passengers, some of whom have been citizens of neutral powers."

It is only when we turn from the breaking of the law to the way it is broken that the stark contrast stands out. The neutral merchant ship which undertook to run the English blockade would be called upon to halt; if it kept on, it would be fired on and possibly sunk. The neutral merchant ship which attempts to traverse the German war zone is threatened with being sunk without warning and without chance for rescue of passengers and crew. Here we have the hideous character of unrestricted submarine warfare—the concealment and physical destructiveness of the mine, coupled with a ruthless directing human intelligence.

But, none the less, we should keep it clear that the "Germans have not set out to murder us, resist as we may. They have set out to keep us from carrying goods to England."

So far as enforcing her blockade goes, the means England has at her command are such as enable her to do it without loss of life; not so Germany. We do not know what England would do if she felt her back were against the wall, and her very existence at stake. We do not know what the United States would do. We only know that the German government, over the protest of all the neutrals, over the protest of enlightened groups in Germany, has done this thing. It outrages the deepest feelings we have—as they would be outraged if the German war office should announce that bombs of poisoned gases would be dropped on passenger vessels crossing a certain line of longitude.

If it is because of the excesses of German "frightfulness" that we go into the war, then we should not wait till an American liner goes down. We should have entered it when the *California* was sunk last week—a British boat, but with non-combatants aboard. We should have entered it when zeppelins killed women and children in their raids—and when the defenseless English coast towns were bombarded by German cruisers. We should have entered it long since at the Belgian atrocities and the Armenian massacres.

But if we are going into the war on the basis of American rights and safety at sea, we should keep these things clearly before us; keep them clear of both the excesses and the purposes of the European war.

President Wilson grounded our case on bed rock when he differentiated offenses against property and offenses against life; and when he set off the principle of humanity against the principle of military necessity. But in the application of these broad principles to the actualities of the war, the Sussex case left the question of the safety of American lives badly entangled in the question of traffic in war material and in foreign ships. With this confusion of rights and safety, of commerce and life, the chances are the average American would be for our going to war in the case of another great sea catastrophe involving Americans, regardless of whether the ship were an American vessel or a foreign one. But as a deliberate judgment on the course we should pursue, unaffected by such a crisis, my belief is that he would distinguish, and distinguish strongly, between the two extremes in which our rights are involved, as set down on page 575; between the right of Americans on American ships, carrying non-contraband, to enter the war zone, without danger of being sunk without warning and provision for saving life; and the right of Americans to risk their own lives on a foreign ship, carrying munitions and armed with a naval gun on deck. I believe that is the way we should make our choice, each one of us—deliberately and not under the stampeding of a catastrophe; and I believe that choice is the one we ought to make even in the case of catastrophe. For I believe that, all the intricacies of international law aside—of blockade and visit and search and contraband—the average man would be close to a fundamental discrimination which in this unprecedented war is true and valid—the judgment which would set off people at peace, on ships of peace, carrying cargoes of peace—from commerce involved in the war.

In making this distinction, it seems to me we can sensibly make another. As the executive arm of the government, it was the President's responsibility to bend every effort to maintain American rights at sea. He has done that, and our record is clear. We have protested against their invasion by both groups of belligerents, and have broken relations with that belligerent whose violation was complete and outrageous. But the question is now not one of administration but of legislation, as it now may come before Congress. It is up to the United States to observe every right of foreign citizens guaranteed by us; but it is a matter for us to choose whether we attempt to compel observance of certain of our own rights, limit or amend those rights or temporarily waive them.

For a year and more the federal authorities have cut down on the issuing of passports to American citizens wishing to travel at will abroad as in times of peace. They have done this on the reasonable ground that the European continent is in an abnormal condition in which such travel becomes not only a danger to the individual, but a possible source of entanglement to the United States.

Without in the least abating our protest against the infringement of neutral rights, we can adopt the same course on the same grounds with respect to travel or employment on belligerent ships, and adjust ourselves and our rights of travel to it in the same way that we have adjusted ourselves to the overhauling of our mails, and the constriction of our commerce with continental ports—leaving in the competent hands of the Allies the protection of their own bottoms and of war contraband as defined by the London agreement of 1909.

But here, I would be for this policy of recession, which has

been going on since the war began, to stop. Rather, I would be for a forward movement to protect our rights as neutrals to travel on neutral ships carrying neutral cargoes.

IX.

In taking such a course, we have the choice of acting individually or inviting concerted action by the other neutrals, whose rights and grievance are identical with ours. As Professor Hayes suggests [see SURVEY for February 10], a league of armed neutrals would be a better harbinger of future world solidarity than a league of belligerents—or than individual action by this government. He points out that this is the third great maritime war in modern history, and that such leagues were formed in the two earlier ones, when invasion of neutral rights at sea became intolerable; that this did not involve the neutrals in those wars, even though neutral naval convoys engaged attacking vessels in defense of the merchantmen; that it did not entangle them in the war even though a belligerent declared war on the neutrals (they simply ignored this); and that this joint action for defense laid the basis for those neutral rights which are our present concern.

Such joint action would not involve delay. In instituting the first league, Catherine the Great invited others to join with Russia, but went it alone the first six months. It would not necessarily call for a formal break with Germany by any of the neutrals subscribing to its principles. Unlike earlier proposals for conferences of neutral nations, this would not entangle us in timid cooperation in mediating the European war, but would organize concerted action in a definite field. Concensus of neutral opinion and a community of neutral interests might be brought about by cable, pending conference; and the program would not be halted by the failure of any neutral, or group of neutrals, to come in. By announcing a framework for joint conference and action, we could lift the course at the outset to the plane of organized maintenance of common rights. The plan would not put us at war with a country whose offenses, however outrageous, are not due to enmity of us and ours, and we should not irremediably lose our opportunity to champion real neutral rights against belligerent intentions.

In a sense, such a league of neutrals would be extending the Monroe Doctrine to the sea and conceivably the first to associate themselves would be the South American powers, which, because of their food supplies, are taken more seriously in Europe than heretofore.

Public opinion would sanction such concerted protection in an extreme crisis and a league of neutrals thus might very naturally and convincingly pave the way for America's taking part in such a league of the nations as Mr. Wilson laid before the Senate in his notable address.

The principles of the President's address are ones which the lesser neutrals, especially those of the Americas, take to heart. And these principles could conceivably be reenunciated by the United States at the outset, as things which other neutrals could be asked jointly to stand for in the councils of the world, along with those principles of international rights for which they would be asked jointly to act on the high seas.

X.

Nor would such a course interfere with our girding ourselves for the real struggle with "Prussianism"—the struggle of moral force against a moral wrong. Rather, it would free us for it, first of all, at home. For if the English and French experience is anything to go by, if the outcroppings for censorship and censorship last week are any indication, the day war is declared, that day we are invaded—our liberties, our reason, our power to choose for ourselves.

Such a program would free us for the real struggle against Prussianism abroad. Not only have countless lives been snuffed out, whole regions devastated, villages and cities shattered, but the wreckage has taken in human relations and ideas. I should like to see the organization among us of a League for German Democracy—with young German-Americans as a chief fighting unit in it.

Such a program would free us for our larger task. Lloyd George, in his Lincoln Day address to the American people, draws some challenging comparisons. But he is wrong if he assumes that Lincoln in that election of 1860 had a mandate for war. Lincoln took up its heavy load when it came. He is wrong if he assumes that he had a mandate to wipe out slavery. Lincoln believed emancipation should come as a civil process. What Lincoln was charged with was the preservation of the Union. And in a way that is the same charge upon Mr. Wilson, who in his patience, his refusal to be stampeded, in his grasp of what the people want, has shown many of the qualities of his great predecessor.

The election of 1916 gave no mandate for war, and no mandate for crushing Prussian militarism by going to war. It was a charge to preserve the Union—in peace. We are told that our people have grown rich and materialistic out of the war, and so do not want us to go in and fight. But I have apprehended no reluctance among the steel-makers, or the powder-mixers, or the munition manufacturers, or the other groups who have profited so immensely. The conserving force has come from the plain people who are suffering from the high cost of living—and especially from the West, where democracy is strongest. And it has seemed to me that they have stood for peace because they believed, as Lincoln did at Gettysburg, that it means something to the whole world that the union of these states should be preserved, as a great example of that other scheme of life from war and Prussianism—half a continent, if you will, demonstrating what states without enmity or fortified boundaries, what self-government without over-lordship, may mean in life and the fulness thereof.

Moreover, unlike war, such a course of uncompromised and constructive peace would not forfeit our supreme vantage ground as the one strong neutral from whom conceivably great mediatory steps can be looked for in bringing in peace without victory. It would not destroy our great moral example in maintaining peace under provocation, as a presage of settling international disputes by methods other than those which have wrecked Europe. It would not throw one hundred million more people into the world war, and so wipe out the last great civilized area unswept by hatred, which is the world's only great reservoir of good will and resource for the generous purposes of reconstruction.

XI.

So I state my faith and the things I stand for—in the hope that it may be of some help to others who have been wrestling with the same issues, and who, like the editor of the SURVEY, are not wise in international law, but can make simple choices and urge their government to do its uttermost in the direction of those choices. I do not think going to war is the way to maintain American rights at sea, or to crush Prussianism. I believe there are other ways. And with war, boding miseries beside which our campaigns against tuberculosis and child labor and poverty are addressing themselves to minor evils, with the opportunity for national services to mankind held open till now by the resourcefulness and patience of the President, I subscribe myself to the course which Miss Addams has so rarely attributed to the whole social movement for the conservation and fulfillment of life—a mobilization in the "opposite direction from war."



COMMON WELFARE

THE RED CROSS MILITARY UNITS

ONE of the chief efforts of the department of military relief of the Red Cross is now to hasten the organization and equipment of its base hospitals for the care of sick and wounded soldiers. The base hospital is the keystone of the military relief that the Red Cross is called upon to furnish, yet a year ago not a single such hospital was organized or being organized in the United States. The European war revealed to observers in this country the inadequacy of Red Cross preparations in this respect, and the Department of Military Relief was created in December, 1915, with Col. Jefferson R. Kean, of the Medical Corps of the army, as director-general, to bring this and other military relief features of Red Cross service to a higher efficiency.

Today, if the United States should go to war, the Red Cross could turn over to the medical service of the army five completely equipped and staffed base hospitals, each capable of caring for 500 wounded soldiers. Eighteen other such hospitals are in process of organization, some nearly complete, and could be turned over in a short time. The equipment of twenty-five is the program that the Red Cross holds before itself.

The base hospital is in the second zone of military relief for the wounded. In the first zone—the front—relief consists of first-aid, temporary shelter and transportation of the wounded to the rear. This is carried on by trained sanitary soldiers of the army; Red Cross units and personnel are not admitted to the first zone.

The second zone is the zone of the base, and there relief consists of transport trains for the sick and wounded, and base hospitals. Service is largely manned by a personnel from civil life. The base hospitals here are the first true hospitals encountered by the wounded soldier in his journey to the rear. There for the first time he finds a good bed with a mattress instead of a cot, trained nurses instead of sanitary soldiers, and specialized practitioners from civil life.

The third zone, that of the home country, receives the overflow and the convalescents from the base hospitals near the theater of war.

The twenty-three base hospitals now organized or partly organized are separate and distinct units, capable of quick mobilization the moment war is declared. To secure the staff for each the Red Cross has gone to a large civil hospital and created from the physicians and nurses of that hospital a group in which the individuals know each other and are accustomed to work together. "A chance aggregation of doctors and nurses," says Colonel Kean, "can no more claim at first to be an efficient hospital than a thousand armed men collected from the streets can be regarded as an effective regiment." On the other hand, a group that is already used to working together can be expected to do efficient team work from the start.

Skilled members of the physicians' and nurses' staffs of each of these twenty-three civil hospitals have already "mustered in," that is, have definitely agreed to respond immediately to call when war is declared. Each base hospital has a personnel of twenty-three medical officers, fifty nurses, twenty-five nurses' aids, two dentists, one chaplain, fifty members of the male administrative force, and ten civilian employes. The administrative force and other unskilled members of the unit will be filled up to standard strength after the unit is called into service. The entire unit would be turned over to the sanitary forces of the army if war were declared, and be transported at the expense of the government to the place where it would be located for duty. The director and the chiefs of the surgical and medical departments would be given the grade of army major.

WHERE THE HOSPITAL UNITS COME FROM

THIS personnel has been completely organized in all of the twenty-three hospitals. These are Bellevue, Presbyterian, Mt. Sinai, Post-Graduate, German, Lincoln and New York hospitals, New York city; Lakeside Hospital,

Cleveland; Harvard University, Massachusetts General and Boston City hospitals, Boston; Pennsylvania and University of Pennsylvania hospitals, Philadelphia; Mercy and Wesley Hospitals, St. Joseph, St. Mary and Augustana Hospital, Presbyterian and County Hospital, and St. Luke's and Michael Reese Hospitals, Chicago; Harper Hospital, Detroit; Rochester General Hospital, Rochester, N. Y.; Barnes Hospital, Washington University, St. Louis; Minnesota State University Hospital, Rochester, Minn.; Cincinnati General Hospital; Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore.

In addition to these base hospitals for the army, base hospitals for the navy are being organized in Brooklyn Hospital, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Jefferson Hospital, Philadelphia; and the San Francisco and Los Angeles hospitals in those cities.

The personnel is but half the hospital; without equipment it can do nothing. To buy, store and have ready for instant transportation everything necessary for the surgical, medical and nursing care of 500 sick and wounded soldiers—from the beds they lie on to every kind of bandage and operating instrument—is an essential part of the equipping of these base hospitals. It has been completed for the five first named above. Money for thirteen others is pledged.

The non-perishable equipment of a single base hospital, which does not include surgical dressings and hospital garments, costs \$25,000 and occupies seven carloads of space in moving. Two of the five sets of equipment already assembled are now stored at Fort Schuyler, N. Y., and three at the Bush terminals, Brooklyn. This equipment is supplied in each case by the friends and contributors of the civil hospital concerned.

Surgical dressings and hospital garments, which are either more perishable or lend themselves more readily to individual donation, are being secured through committees of the women's auxiliaries of these civil hospitals. The committee for each undertakes to raise \$8,000 and to spend it on supplies that are standardized for this purpose.

Base hospitals are only one of the preparations for military relief that have been pressed forward by the Red Cross during the past year. Sixteen hundred trained nurses have been enrolled, making the total enrollment 7,600. Navy detachments of nurses, consisting of twenty nurses each, are being organized by thirty-one civil hospitals. Classes in nursing service are being conducted, and already Red Cross certificates in elementary hygiene and home care of the sick have been issued to 4,450 women, with 2,100 others under instruction.

On first call for military service Jane A. Delano, chairman of the National Committee on Red Cross Nursing Service, believes that she could mobilize 2,970 nurses and 1,630 nurses' aids, or a sufficient nursing personnel to take care of an army of 900,000. This is based on what is said to be the usual experience that in the early stages of a war 5 per cent of the soldiers become sick or wounded.

In addition to these preparations, the Red Cross is conducting classes in first aid, is giving sanitary training, is organizing ambulance companies in a number of colleges and universities, and is in other ways trying to be ready to fulfill its charter obligation "to furnish volunteer aid to the sick and wounded of armies in time of war."

THE RED CROSS CIVILIAN PLANS

"ONE million dollars a month," said Eliot Wadsworth, acting chairman of the Red Cross, last week, "may be needed for the care of dependent families alone in the face of a serious crisis."

Whether or not we have war, the mere fact of mobilization creates large problems of relief for the families of guardsmen and volunteers. Last summer, for instance, while not a shot was fired on the Mexican border, Congress appropriated and the War Department distributed two million dollars in relief for families of national guardsmen, in addition to a substantial amount contributed by relief societies and individuals throughout the country before the congressional appropriation became available.

So it is that the civilian department of the American Red Cross is taking extra steps to prepare for any emergencies. At its request W. Frank Persons has been granted a leave of absence by the Charity Organization Society of New York, of which he is general director, to become associated with Ernest P. Bicknell, director-general of civilian relief of the Red Cross, for the next few months in Washington. Mr. Persons will help in making plans for the care of non-combatants and of the dependents of soldiers who may be called to the colors.

As a result of the intensive member-

ship campaign conducted by the Red Cross since the outbreak of the European war, its membership has grown from 28,000 to nearly 300,000. The number of chapters has grown rapidly also being now 267. Part of the task in which Mr. Persons will help will be to correlate these members and the new and old chapters into a working body that will be ready to furnish supplies and other necessary assistance to civilians who may suffer from a war in which this country is engaged. He will also help to increase the number of institutional members, of which there are eighteen at present. These are charity organization societies associated with the Red Cross in the administration of local disaster and civilian relief.

WOMEN ORGANIZED FOR WAR SERVICE

WHILE members of woman suffrage parties and many other women's organizations were last week offering their services, or having those services offered for them, to state and nation, "in the event of a serious crisis," a national organization having the ambitious object of enlisting the service of all women for aid in war time was getting under way at its headquarters in New York city.

Its name is the National League for Woman's Service. Germany's U-boat order hastened its preparations. A plan of development requiring six months to carry out had just been adopted when the U-boat order was announced. Fearing an early rupture, the league hastily prepared an "emergency" program that could be put into effect at once.

One of the league's purposes is to devise and standardize ways in which women's work in war time may be made both prompt and efficient. England's experience in utilizing women in the present war has been studied as a guide. The league hopes to organize the women of the United States so thoroughly that they may be prepared beforehand to do as much and more than the women of England have learned to do during two years and a half of fighting.

The emergency program calls for the immediate appointment of temporary state and local chairmen throughout the country and the enrollment of volunteers and local detachments consisting of from ten to thirty women. Twenty state chairmen have already been appointed. The detachments are expected to prepare at once to perform certain specified services. When military training camps are established, for example, the detachments are expected to know what recreational and social facilities the community affords for the free time of the men in the camps, and if none exists to provide them. Where munitions plants or other large industries are located, the detachments are expected to

cooperate in providing improved housing conditions, proper canteens and welfare work. They are expected to cooperate with the Red Cross and other agencies in caring for the families of militiamen, and to provide facilities for the care of babies and school children while mothers are at work.

They are to be prepared to purchase supplies and to act as cooks in canteens, to drive motor cars when telephone and telegraphic communication is interrupted, and to supply such general service as stenography, making hospital supplies, and serving hot luncheons in workrooms.

The league was formed at the Congress for Constructive Patriotism in Washington, D. C., on January 27.

Among the things the league expects to work for are a "registry of the woman power of America," and a woman's bureau under the federal government "to deal with women's work and women's welfare." The National Patriotic Relief Association has merged with it and several other organizations, such as the Vacation Association, are cooperating with it. The officers are: Maude Wetmore, of New York, chairman; Anne Morgan, treasurer; and Grace Parker, formerly secretary of the Camp Fire Girls, national commandant. The organization committee comprises these three and fifteen other women from fourteen states.

Offers of suffrage help in New York state came from the executive committees of the New York state and city woman suffrage parties. Following the offers were protests from various individuals and groups within the parties, who contended that the executive committees had no authority to pledge the members to any work but that of suffrage. Alice Paul, national chairman of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, issued a statement declaring that until a convention of the union changed its policy the union was "dedicated only to the enfranchisement of women."

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE FOR PEACE

"LET the people decide." These words were flashed on the screens of five moving picture houses by the manager of a Chicago syndicate. And at the door of each movie show were ballot boxes where for three days several thousand people in the audiences did decide, five to one, that the United States should keep out of the European war.

This appeal for "no war without a referendum" has, according to peace organizations, received tremendous response during the last week.

At the Clearing House for all peace societies, 70 Fifth avenue, New York city, the secretary reported that branches of the Woman's Peace Party throughout the country were cooperating in urging Congress to gauge popular sentiment

towards war. Jane Addams, chairman of the National Woman's Peace Party, is quoted as saying: "I am most heartily in favor of the referendum on war. It seems to be our best hope."

The Emergency Peace Federation is attempting to bring pressure for such a referendum, arguing that since the people elected President Wilson because he kept us out of war, it is just that the people be consulted before declaring war.

The board of management of the Labor Forum, New York city, comprising delegates elected from the Central Federated Union, the Brooklyn Central Labor Union and the United Hebrew Trades, has sent a proclamation to every congressman, declaring that "the working people of America do not want war" and calling upon Congress "to use every means of learning the will of the great masses whose humble station in life gives so little chance in proportion to their number for expression through the newspapers."

The American Union Against Militarism, which has been conducting an informal referendum of 100,000 people reports that congressmen have been deluged with replies. [See the SURVEY for February 10.]

In addition to the agitation for a referendum, telegrams are sent every night by the Clearing House to some 100 peace organizations in different parts of the country advising the best step for the next day's work. College students are arousing anti-war feeling and, as at Columbia University, attempting to send messages of cordiality to fellow students in Germany. Each of the 100,000 members of the Socialist Party has been instructed to telegraph the President to keep the country out of war; each of the 6,000 Socialist locals has arranged one to five peace meetings a week; each of the thirty-six Socialist legislators has brought a resolution into his respective legislature, entering a "solemn protest against this wanton attempt to draw us into the European conflict."

A novel anti-war demonstration was the pilgrimage to Washington arranged by the Emergency Peace Federation on Lincoln's birthday. About three hundred people from New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and other cities, gathered at the national capitol, where they approached congressmen with appeals for peace, conducted a hearing before the foreign relations committee, marched to the White House bearing a memorial for President Wilson, and held a public rally.

"Everywhere," according to the SURVEY's Washington correspondent, "the representative character of the delegates, their intense earnestness, and their disposition to hold public officials accountable for a refusal to refer to the nation the decision for or against war, commanded a sober hearing." At the

business meeting it was decided that local and state branches of the Emergency Peace Federation should be organized at once and that a legislative office should be established in Washington.

Two federal bills that are engaging the attention of the American Union Against Militarism are the universal training bill, making compulsory six months service in the field at nineteen and nine years in the reserve army thereafter, which was reported favorably to the Senate on February 11, and the press censorship bill, drafted by the Army War College, but not yet introduced into Congress. It is generally believed that the former bill will not be acted upon this session. As for the press censorship bill, the American union advises a strict watch over it. If passed it would forbid the publication in newspapers, periodicals or pamphlets of any discussion of war except by special permission of the censor.

While pacifists are thus strenuously at work in America, word comes that the Ford Peace Commission at Stockholm will be dissolved March 1.

SOCIAL SERVICE THE WORLD ROUND

THE American Institute of Social Service, New York, founded by the late Josiah Strong, has reorganized its work into four bureaus under the direction of specialists.

The Bureau of Research and Information will centralize the work of the Institute under the direction of Prof. Edward J. Bemis, expert and writer on municipal affairs, assisted by Margaret L. Stecker of Mt. Holyoke College. As a beginning it will list all social agencies, will gather facts and interpret and disseminate them for general use.

Robert A. Woods of South End House, Boston, with Albert J. Kennedy, also of South End House, and lecturer in Simmons College, as his assistant, has assumed the directorship of the Bureau of Social Progress in the United States. This bureau will function as a distributor of information, but includes in its plan actual accomplishment through field work. The comprehensiveness of its program is expressed by ten proposed departments: on morals and social hygiene, charities, health, labor, recreation and amusements, education, child welfare, civics, penology, business and commerce. It will keep in contact with research work of all social agencies and will estimate the effectiveness of various existing combinations and federations, in an attempt to discover what parts of the social field are not yet covered. Moreover, it will hold itself ready to enter into social emergencies when the public needs enlightenment concerning the true issues involved. A study of the early approaches to social legislation on the one hand, and on the other, of the need for follow-up work, in order to prevent fragmentary or bad results from social legislation, are integral parts of the plan. This bureau expects to carry on publicity of social facts among colleges, churches, clubs of all sorts, civic, business and professional organizations, with the help of an advisory committee of specialists.

The Bureau of Social Progress in Foreign Countries will, when sufficient funds are on hand, be directed by Dr. Jesse F. Steiner, teacher of missions and sociology in the University of Chicago and McCormick Theological Seminary, and assistant superintendent of the Stockyards District of the Chicago United Charities. Its chief aim will be the creation of high social standards leading to good will and positive friendship with foreign social forces, not only in times of peace, but in times of crisis.

The Bureau of Social Service in Business Abroad, under the direction of Harry E. Bard, now secretary of the Pan-American Society, will consist of four divisions—Latin-America, western Europe, the near East and the far East.

A Day of Prayer

*To the Churches of Christ in America
and to All Christian People:*

*I*N compliance with overtures from local church associations and in the belief that in such action the council expresses the mind and spirit of its thirty constituent bodies and of all Christian people, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America earnestly recommends that Sunday, February 18, be observed as a national day of prayer, to make our united intercession to God, that His spirit may guide and sustain the President of the United States and direct the steps of our representatives in the Congress of the United States, in all the momentous decisions of this solemn hour in the life of the nation.

In offering our heartfelt prayers for all the peoples engaged in war, moved by their sufferings to deepened sympathy and compassion, remembering that with some of these governments grave contentions have arisen, and in continuing our petitions for peace and righteousness among the nations, we shall be fulfilling the command of our common Lord and Master.

Above all, may we search our own hearts, letting all bitterness and wrath and anger and clamor and railing be put away from us, that the fruit of the spirit may abound, which is love, peace, long-suffering, faithfulness and self-control and that as a nation we may be found speaking the truth, but ever speaking the truth in love.

*Frank Mason North,
president.*

*Charles S. Macfarland,
general secretary.
The Federal Council of the
Churches of Christ in America.*

Nathaniel M. Pratt is general secretary of the institute with headquarters at the Bible House, New York city.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

EVERY adult illiterate in this country should be compelled to learn to read and write English; otherwise he is not a "participating American." This conviction has just been expressed by a member of the Chicago Board of Education, Max Loeb, who advocates the formation of a compulsory adult education league to convert the lawmakers and the public to his idea.

The adult who is unable to read and write, he declares, is "out of touch with our national life," is "cut off from one great unifying element in the community—the English newspaper." How, asks Mr. Loeb, if a man cannot understand English, can you reach him effectively with an American idea?

Compulsion, Mr. Loeb declares, would work no injustice. He says: "The foreigner who takes up his residence in the United States owes it to the country of his adoption to learn to read and write its language. The presence of large numbers of non-English-speaking adults constitutes a clot in the blood of the body politic of the nation. Particularly evident is this in large cities. In Chicago there are, according to the estimate of the Immigrants' Protective League, 200,000 adults who cannot read or write English; 80,000 of these cannot read and write their own language. Less than 10,000 attend evening schools.

"It is obviously impossible to reach any considerable portion of the remainder by relying upon their voluntary attendance. Attendance must be compulsory, with punishment for infraction. The employer must be compelled by law to give to the illiterate adult in his employ three or four hours a week in which to receive instruction in the elements of participating Americanism. The state could well afford to reimburse the employer for the loss of every hour of productive labor devoted by the employe to the instruction, or it could well afford to pay the employe for any loss of wages occasioned by absence from work during the hours of instruction."

The law should apply not only to the foreign-born, Mr. Loeb thinks, but to all alike. He recognizes that his suggestion will meet immediate attack as an encroachment upon individual liberty. But he answers that so did the compulsory education of the child. Moreover, "the field in which one can act altogether according to his own pleasure is being continuously narrowed." Editors of foreign newspapers, too, he says, will not be unanimous in favoring such a step; but when once they learn that "it does not mean the severance of old associa-

tions, but merely the creation of new ones and the opening of unfamiliar avenues of activities, a substantial measure of support may be expected from this source."

The adoption of such a plan by a state in which there are large industrial centers would, Mr. Loeb is sure, be "a practical measure of preparedness just as effective as increase in ships and guns and armament. It would increase the human power of the nation. Germany's cohesion, the universal sense of responsibility to the state, is one of her greatest

Neighbors

To the Settlements of the United States:

EVERY settlement is a little outpost of world federation.

Founded in the interests of humanity, expressing in a practical, realistic way the belief that every man has something to learn from every other, no matter what his birthplace, religion or economic circumstances may be, believing that we all have more in common than we have in difference, the settlements have always interpreted patriotism to mean primarily service.

That country is the greatest that serves the world best. Those citizens are most patriotic who serve their country with the aim in view of a united humanity.

And now that this crisis has arisen, let us hold fast to this faith, and let our hearts be free from a real hostility, even though we engage in war. Not only this—but let us do all in our power to keep the communities in which we have any leadership, free from hatred, looking forward to the time when war shall end and the reconstruction of the world begin again.

The President has made his decision as a sorrowful necessity. Let the country follow his example by keeping on the humane plane of genuine international friendship, even if it be in the midst of war.

Ours is the task to mobilize goodwill in all the communities where we are situated. Will you write me just what you plan to do to promote this important national service in your neighborhood?

It is especially our duty to protect from inconsiderateness or insult Americans of German or Austrian descent. Let us courteously take it for granted that they are loyal Americans till the contrary is proved. And to belligerents living in this country, let us be fair and generous, and see that they are accorded the treatment we should hope for if our positions were reversed.

It may be, though we pray that this is not the case, that we shall witness the spectacle of hostility, suspicion and hatred in the districts where we live. Let us do our best at this crisis to be true to the humanism we profess. Now is the very time to love our neighbors as ourselves.

Mary K. Simkhovitch, president, National Federation of Settlements, 26 Jones street, New York city.

sources of strength. We lack it here in the United States. Compulsory adult education will bring it closer."

REFORMATORY FOR WOMEN IN CONNECTICUT

A FOUR years' campaign for a women's reformatory in Connecticut has come to a head at the present session of the legislature in two bills designed to establish such an institution. The first, framed by Senator Hemenway, editor of the *Hartford Post*, is patterned after the measure that established the Cheshire reformatory for young men. The second, introduced by Senator Lyman of Middlefield, is quite different, calling for an institution on the farm-colony plan and stipulating that three members of the board of seven managers, as well as the superintendent, shall be women.

This has been characterized by Katherine Bement Davis, head of the Parole Commission of New York city, as the best women's reformatory bill ever advanced in this country. The bill appropriates, however, only \$50,000, while Senator Hemenway's measure appropriates \$400,000. Senator Hemenway is said to be desirous to secure a progressive institution and to be willing to support such provisions as have been found best in other states.

An intensive campaign of education in favor of a reformatory for women has been conducted by several interested organizations and by a special Committee on Delinquent Women of the Connecticut Prison Association. This committee has advocated a farm colony for women, to consist of not less than 200 acres, with buildings on the cottage plan. It recommends thorough medical examinations, mental tests and facilities for the treatment of venereal disease, as well as complete classification and separation of groups, vocational training and farm work, and the teaching of some means of livelihood to all women. It suggests further that sentence should not be determined by the court, but that the board of managers should decide when a woman may be allowed to return to the community.

More than 150 audiences have been reached by speakers in the campaign within the past two years. A digest of laws relating to reformatories for women in other states, said to be the first of the kind, has been compiled. The proposal has been endorsed by such bodies as the Connecticut Congress of Mothers, the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the State Council of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Federation of Churches, the Federation of Labor, the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association and the Girls' Friendly Society.

Of the present unsatisfactory methods

Cesare in the New York Evening Post



"SOME PATRIOTS FLOCKING"

of caring for delinquent girls and women in Connecticut, Valeria H. Parker, M.D., field secretary of the Connecticut Society of Social Hygiene and an active advocate of the reformatory, writes:

"Girls between eight and sixteen years of age may be sentenced to the Industrial School for Girls at Middletown. This has a private endowment. There girls receive schooling and training in sewing and cooking. Both delinquent and dependent girls are brought into contact, and there is no proper system of medical examination.

"For delinquent girls between sixteen and twenty-one there is no state institution other than the county jail or the state prison. A girl of this age is frequently fined and sent back into the community, commonly earning the money for her fine by committing the identical offense for which she was arrested. There are two private institutions to which such girls may be committed. The state pays their board, but it cannot control the institutions' policies, and no matter how generous public support may be, it is felt that the institutions cannot meet the needs of the entire state.

"For women over twenty-one there are no institutions, public or private, except the jails and state prison. In the jails first offenders, feebleminded women, hardened criminals, witnesses, pregnant women and young children with their mothers are frequently herded together. Two women were recently found in the same jail, one serving her one hundred and twelfth sentence and the other her one hundred and twenty-first.

"The present lack of provision for delinquent women is largely responsible for the fact that Connecticut stands high in the list of states in per capita expenditure for paupers, insane and delinquents, and that it has the fourth highest death rate."

MUTUAL WELFARE PLAN FOR MISSOURI PRISON

DISGRACEFUL conditions in the Missouri penitentiary, the largest state prison in the country, bid fair to be definitely ended with the appointment of a new warden by the incoming governor and the presentation to the legislature of a sweeping reorganization of all Missouri penal institutions, and though ap-

pointed for only a few months, or until the reorganization takes place, the new warden, former Lieutenant-Governor William R. Painter, has let light into dark places by admitting newspaper men for the first time in three years, and has started an organization of prisoners following closely the Mutual Welfare League at Sing Sing.

The new governor, F. D. Gardner, made the penitentiary his chief concern immediately upon his election. Public hearings were held in St. Louis to determine the best methods of administering all the state institutions. As a result, administration bills have been prepared providing for two salaried commissions, one to take charge of penal institutions and the other of state hospitals and other institutions.

Meanwhile, the contract labor system, though abolished some time ago by a statute that became effective December 31 last, continues under an executive order until the present legislature appropriates money for a satisfactory substitute.

PSYCHOPATHIC SERVICES IN THE COURTS

IN taking Dr. William Healy from the psychopathic service of the Chicago Juvenile Court for similar service in connection with the Judge Baker Foundation, Boston beats Chicago at its own game in achieving more effective cooperation between voluntary and official agencies. It is all the more a summons to Chicago to brace up at this point of advantage which she has hitherto had, since Dr. Healy's service was secured to Chicago by generosity of one of its women citizens. Mrs. William F. Dummer established and for five years maintained the Psychopathic Institute which gave Dr. Healy the opportunity to study and interpret juvenile delinquency. His volunteer help to the Juvenile Court was soon recognized to be indispensable and all its facilities were placed at his disposal in order to secure his advice in dealing with the most perplexing cases among the multitude of delinquents. After the public value of this service was thus privately demonstrated, the county commissioners took over its support and control and the first provision of psychopathic service as a regular part of the equipment of the court in dealing with delinquency was thereby established. From the Juvenile Court it was extended to the Municipal Court and the House of Correction and promises to be adopted by the Criminal Court.

Notwithstanding this achievement, funds were not forthcoming fully or speedily enough for the satisfactory development of the rapidly growing work, and Dr. Healy accepted Boston's better opportunity to promote the cause which he had served for eight years in Chicago.

The farewell dinner tendered to Dr.

and Mrs. Healy by the Chicago Ethical Society at the City Club called forth appreciative attestations of the function of psychopathic service in the courts as indispensable to public welfare. Dean John H. Wigmore, of Northwestern University Law School, credited Dr. Healy with two marked achievements in giving individual application to scientific principles attained by penological research and in demonstrating that it is feasible to give psychopathic science, thus attested, its clearly defined part in the administration of criminal law. Dr. Herman M. Adler, of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, who is surveying the psychopathic agencies in Chicago and who has been engaged to succeed Dr. Healy as consultant of the Juvenile Court, added his appreciation for the application of scientific knowledge with sympathy and emphasized the necessity to plan ahead to realize the possibilities of developing this service of the community through the courts. Judge Victor P. Arnold, of the Juvenile Court, bore witness out of his experience to a judge's absolute dependence upon advice based upon scientific insight in order to attain any intelligent understanding of or dealing with many classes of delinquents.

Among other measures, the state conference favored a court of domestic relations established in connection with juvenile courts; a single standard of morality for husband and wife, so either wife or husband may enter complaint against the other for adultery within one year from the offense; the shortest possible work and business day, with "eight hours maximum" during a twenty-four-hour period; a six-day week for all labor, with Saturday half-holiday wherever possible, or in lieu thereof a mid-week half-holiday for all workers; state provision for the best sanitary housing conditions in industrial and other establishments by means of rigid inspection and supervision by the state Board of Health.

The conference was also opposed to compulsory military training in high schools as improper physical training for boys of high school age; also as involving the turning of a branch of public education over to military authorities.

WHERE TROLLEY COMPANIES AND MEN AGREE

HEARINGS last week before the New York Public Service Commission for the New York city district

revealed the fact that both the street car executives and the unions will oppose the new plan for the prevention of strikes [see the SURVEY for January 27] drawn up tentatively by Oscar S. Straus, chairman of the commission, and Julius Henry Cohen, special counsel. Labor was represented by Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, and Hugh Frayne, general organizer for the federation in New York city. Both expressed their opposition to any plan for limiting in the slightest degree the right to strike.

Mr. Gompers said he would concede freely the right of the employer to discharge a workman, and he demanded as a corresponding right for the employes the right to strike "for any reason or for no reason." He told the commission that if this proposal or any similar one were enacted into law the workers would violate it. The struggle upward from slavery to freedom has been so long and so hard, said Mr. Gompers, that any tendency to return to the old days of "unfreedom" will be resisted to the end. Mr. Frayne argued in similar vein. He feared also that the bill would enable the employers to force the men into the

PREPARING SOCIAL LAWS FOR THE LEGISLATURE

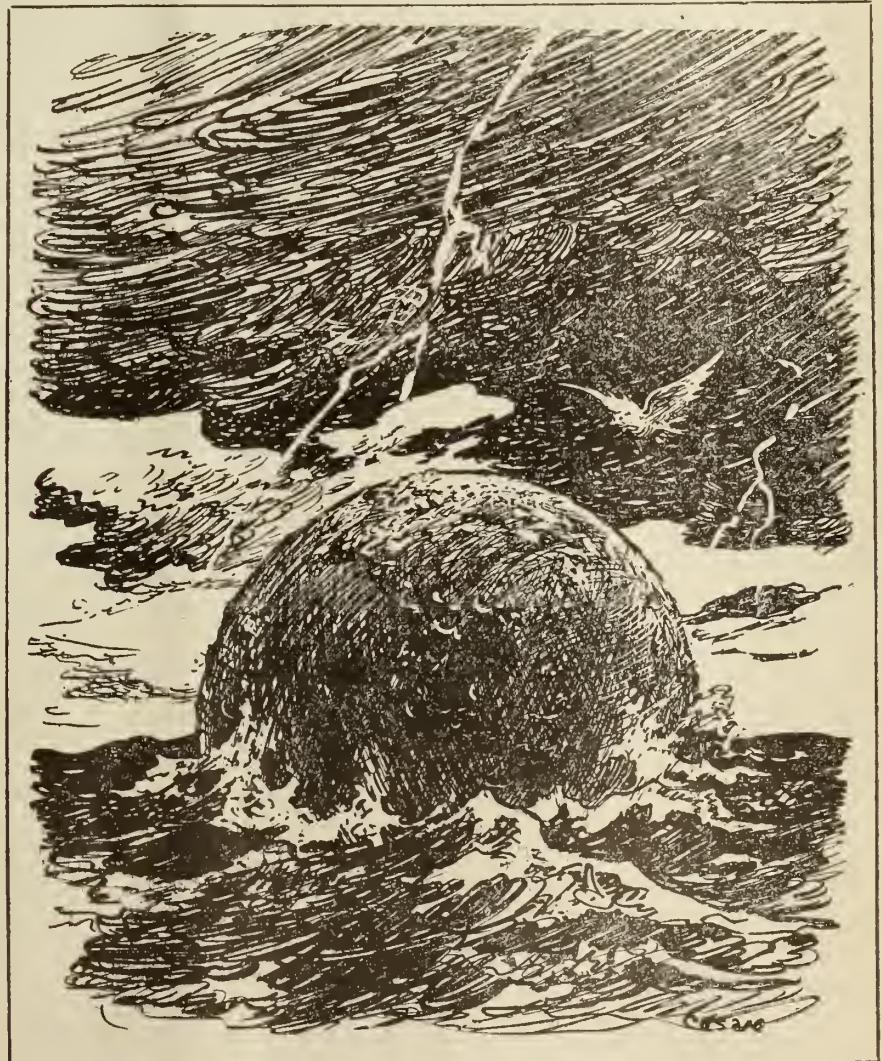
IN anticipation of the sixty-days biennial session of the state legislature, opening January 8, the Washington State Conference for Social Welfare promoted the holding of several conferences on social legislation throughout the state, with a round-up in a state conference, January 16-17, at Olympia, the capital city.

As early as October and November conferences were held by social workers and students in Spokane, Pullman, Tacoma, Centralia, Bellingham and Seattle, when there was an earnest effort made to agree on and to formulate the social legislation that the state needed.

Above fifty suggestions for needed social legislation were handed to one or another of the seven or eight committees, who reported back to the general conference. The conference on organization was divided into seven groups: public health, juveniles and home, morals, industrial, education and recreation, prisoners, and defectives and insane.

After a two days' session the conference took action—never with less than a three-fourths vote, in nearly every case unanimously—on thirty different propositions. The suggestions of the conference were then printed in compact form, accompanied with a note stating that they were the result of the best thought and experience of representative groups of social workers and students, and are now in the hands of every senator and representative in the legislature.

Cesare in the New York Evening Post



"SINKING"

"brotherhoods" fostered and controlled by them.

The opposition of the employers was as vigorous as that of the employes, but the grounds for their opposition were quite different. E. A. Maher, president of the Third Avenue Railway Company, shared Mr. Frayne's fear, but he thought it might be the Amalgamated Association of Street Car Employes that the law would enable the men to join. Col. T. S. Williams, president of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company, wrote a letter to the commission declaring the plan to be "too radical and objectionable to warrant consideration." It was opposed also by T. P. Shonts of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, and by John Beaver, receiver for the Second avenue line.

Last week's hearing was opened by Albert Shaw, editor of the *Review of Reviews*, who made a general statement favoring the plan. Delos F. Wilcox, an expert in the public utility field, suggested some changes that he thought should be made, and Prof. Samuel McCune Lindsey of Columbia University spoke in favor of the principle involved.

ELBOW ROOM AND SUN FOR MINNEAPOLIS

A HOUSING code for Minneapolis based on Lawrence Veiller's model code, will be presented at the next session of the Minnesota legislature. Instead of opposition from the Real Estate Board, the code is endorsed by them, and by the Trades and Labor Assembly, the Minneapolis Chapter of Architects and the Builders' Exchange.

The plan limits dwelling houses to the width of the street on which they abut, but they are not, in any case, to exceed seventy-five feet or seven stories and a basement. A side yard is required on either side of the building proportionate to the height, which is an outgrowth, possibly, of a local custom under the present building ordinance. The building of rear houses is prohibited. Basement rooms in all new buildings shall be occupied by no one except the janitor. To eliminate fire hazard, no frame building housing more than two families on a floor, nor more than two and one-half stories in height, may be built, and all dwellings over three stories must be fireproof. All new buildings must have toilet and water supply for each family, and all old buildings must have toilet for each two families.

The Housing Committee of the Civic and Commerce Association of Minneapolis after four years' work on the problem, is chiefly responsible for the present result. The holding of the National Housing Conference in Minneapolis in 1915 gave the strongest impetus to the movement. Otto W. Davis, secretary of the Civic and Commerce Association, helped draft the building code of Colum-

bus, Ohio, several years ago, and has applied his former experience to the present situation.

IF MILWAUKEE HAD HEALTH INSURANCE

THAT health insurance would have aided, greatly in meeting the needs of the thousands of people who were found sick during the recent health census [the *SURVEY*, November 11, 1916; January 20, 1917] is a further conclusion of the City Club of Milwaukee.

Of the 40,000 persons who were estimated from the census returns as being sick, 25,700, or 64.7 per cent, would have been entitled to medical care under health insurance if a bill like those in New York and Massachusetts had been passed providing such care for employes receiving less than \$1,200 a year, and their families. Of these persons who would have been entitled to medical treatment, less than 11,000 were under a doctor's care at the time the census was taken. In other words, assuming that all of these sick persons should have had medical care, health insurance would have more than doubled the number of persons under treatment.

Out of this number approximately 800 were already receiving cash sick benefit from some source, chiefly in the form of wages paid by the employer or from an employes' benefit association; others from unions, lodges and insurance companies. On the basis of these estimates there were in Milwaukee at the time of the health census approximately 15,000 sick persons not receiving medical care, who would have been entitled to medical benefits if the proposed health insurance law had been in effect.

UNEMPLOYMENT'S AFTER- MATH FACED BY CHARITY

MOST communities are strangely oblivious to the after effects of the plague of unemployment, as they are to the results of no other recurrent plague. The United Charities of Chicago, however, does not intend to leave its constituents or the community in this situation. The report of its last year's work centers on the conditions which resulted from the preceding year's widespread unemployment.

In 1914-15 the society dealt with 22,105 families, representing over 100,000 human beings, "a volume of want greater than had come to any other single charity of its kind in the United States in a single year." This was said to be due to the fact that there were estimated to have been over 100,000 men, idle during that winter, who lost about \$17,000,000 in wages. While in 1915-16 the number of families relieved dropped to 14,670, a decrease of over 33 per cent, including 65,015 individuals, yet 3,391 cases of unemployment were found among them.

But the aftermath of this scourge of unemployment was met this past year in an increase of acute and chronic illness, of which there were 6,816 cases, or 46 per cent of the whole number of cases needing relief as against 33 per cent of the larger total of cases the preceding year. The United Charities workers were thus to call upon doctors, nurses, hospitals and other medical agencies 10,843 times, or in 2,653 instances more than the preceding year.

On the other hand, with more work there were fewer deserted families, 1,146 of them among the 14,000 families relieved the past year as compared with 2,733 desertions among the 13,000 families in the year 1912-13. Fewer pronounced cases of intemperance—857 were discovered last year—than were found in any one of the preceding four years of scarcity of work, "due to the fact that men were busy earning their living rather than idling."

Upon these and other findings of last year's experience Supt. Eugene T. Lies bases two conclusions: First, "that striking warrant is given for the assertion that the average family passionately desires to be independent of charitable assistance and to paddle its own household canoe, that the average man is not a slacker, but will grasp opportunity to work when the gates of opportunity open to him;" second, "that as the evil of unemployment is one that recurs annually in a measure, and every eight or nine years in severer form, now during a period of prosperity is the time of all times for government, captains of industry, unemployment commissions and all social forces to plan preventive measures, economic shock-absorbers."

RIGHT TO LIMIT BILLBOARDS AFFIRMED

THE decision of the United States Supreme Court affirming the validity of Chicago's billboard ordinance not only promises to rid all residence sections of those disfigurements where a majority of adjacent property-owners object to them, but also may set a precedent for further restrictions protecting the stability and orderly growth of towns and cities. Communities seem by the decision to be authorized to define and abolish as nuisances whatever individual property-owners may do that makes conditions unfavorable to residential purposes. The decision encourages the hope of establishing zones within which only such use of property may be permitted as is consistent with the main purpose to which each specified area is devoted.

The City Club committee, which has been actively interested in carrying up the case which secured this decision, is cooperating with the city authorities in instituting a city-wide campaign to eliminate billboards from districts where they are not wanted.

Book Reviews

COST OF LIVING

By Fabian Franklin. Doubleday, Page and Company. 162 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.07.

THE COST OF LIVING

By Walter E. Clark. A. C. McClurg and Company. 168 pp. Price \$.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.55.

SOME PROBLEMS IN MARKET DISTRIBUTION

By A. W. Shaw. Harvard University Press. 119 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.06.

MARKETING PERISHABLE FARM PRODUCTS

By Arthur B. Adams. Columbia University. 180 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.58.



These books respectively discuss the cost of living from four different angles: the first as a point of departure from a discussion of general economic doctrines and public policies; the second as a general study of the rise and fall

of prices with causes therefor; the third as a study of a specific problem in industrial reorganization; the fourth is a concrete study of the machinery and cost for marketing perishable products.

Dr. Franklin, who is associate editor of the New York *Evening Post*, confines himself to "setting forth the principal elements that enter into the question" without suggesting any solution of the problems. He finds that "as a rule wages have probably risen distinctly less than has the general level of the prices of those things which the working people have to buy with their wages," and hence the wage-earners are most seriously affected by high prices. But they "are in possession, through the machinery of their organizations, of the means of bringing pressure to bear to hasten the process of readjustment. By means of strikes, or threats of strikes, they can secure, in a fairly reasonable time, such changes in their rates of pay as are justly called for when a general rise of the price-level has become an established and acknowledged fact."

The most valuable chapters in the books are those devoted to low prices and discontent, and high prices and discontent, showing the different groups affected in low and high price eras.

Professor Clark discusses prices along traditional economic lines under such captions as Demand Causes, Supply Causes and Fluctuations in Money Values. He finds that "a prolonged ris-

ing-price period energizes the business world generally, operates to the advantage of debtors and of owning producers and to the disadvantage of creditors generally, of wage-earners, of salaried persons, and of receivers of fixed incomes; causes interest rates to rise, lessens the severity of crises and the duration of depressions and stimulates social reconstruction, both in fact and in philosophy."

In view of the fact that the wage-earning group are those who "tend to be losers in a rising-price period," the author advises that "public bureaus of statistics in democracies should be especially alert in such periods and should keep the public informed as fully as possible as to the changing wholesale and retail prices and the course of wages. The general public should bear in mind these returns. If wages are seen to be lagging but little behind prices as they rise, then the rising-price era is substantially beneficial altogether." About the only conclusion that can be drawn from the volume, therefore, is that publicity will help wage-earners to get higher wages during periods of rising prices, there being no other important cost-of-living problem.

Mr. Shaw, who is the editor of *System*, makes a distinct contribution to problems in market distribution because he analyzes the recent tendencies in this field. By market distribution he includes not only agricultural products, but the distribution of the products of the factory and the mine.

He finds the characteristic of present-day distribution methods to be direct marketing made possible through advertising and sales by description. There are three available agencies for selling: the middlemen; the producers' own salesmen; and advertising, direct and general. The first is the traditional method, the second is being used increasingly, and the third is the characteristic feature of twentieth-century distribution.

Mr. Shaw finds a tendency to decrease the number of middlemen and believes that this tendency will grow greater in the future "if present economic conditions substantially continue." "The attempts of associations of retailers to check the growth of direct selling have thus far not been successful." Advertising builds up three general classes of demand: express conscious demand; unexpressed conscious demand; and subconscious demand. Its potentialities are indicated in the last two classes.

Professor Adams has availed himself of the various source studies that have been made in the last few years as to the costs and prices in marketing perishable products and has evidently read much of the great volume of literature that has recently appeared in this field. He has not done any, or but very little, investigating work himself. He describes the present system of marketing perishable products and finds the weaknesses of the present system to lie in varying supply and in changing demand together with losses from deterioration and a want of care with the commodities before and after they enter the market, the inaccuracy of market information and the fact that the complicated marketing machinery seems to be too expensively run.

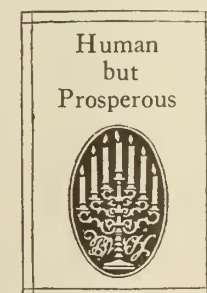
He does not believe that the middleman system will be eliminated; he points out the limitations of cooperative sales and the limitations of direct marketing because of the difficulty of finding consumers and transferring goods to consumers. He expects the reduction of the burdens of marketing to change the nature of the goods and the area of production.

He believes that the cost of performing the marketing process may be reduced through government market bureaus, through the standardization of grades and packages, through the elimination of unfair business practices, through the organizing of market information, through the regulation of transportation, refrigeration and terminal facilities, through educational and investigating work, through more efficient market departments, through cooperative associations and through reducing costs by means of competition between wholesalers, shippers and retailers.

CLYDE LYNDON KING.

THRIFT

By Bolton Hall. B. W. Huebsch. 247 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.07



Bolton Hall has the faculty possessed by so few ardent propagandists of joking about the axioms dearest to his heart and of pounding away at his antagonists without malice. His book, *Thrift*, is made up of all Mr. Hall's

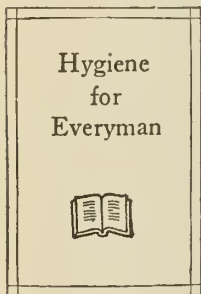
favorite recipes for an ideal commonwealth—a menu by no means to be despised. Single tax and land reclamation, simple life, truck gardening, individualism in industry, all the ingredients are there. *Thrift*, as interpreted by Mr. Hall, is not a niggardly hoarding of savings which should never have been made, but the sum total of efficiency, industry, economy, prudence and frugal-

ity, including saving in temper as well as in time and treasure. His advocacy of this virtue runs through the book.

How to become prosperous without petrifying in the process really is Mr. Hall's theme; and, though we may not agree with him in every detail of his plan, no one can read this little book without getting benefit from his warm human counsel—if only to the extent of learning that to spend a dime's worth of time to undo a one-cent parcel string is not economy. B. L.

THE PREVENTION OF DISEASE

By Dr. Kenelm Winslow. W. S. Saunders Company. 348 pp. Price \$1.75; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.85.

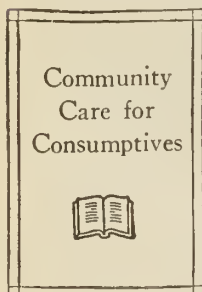


Dr. Kenelm Winslow describes his book in a subtitle as "a popular treatise." This phrase places the book in that increasingly large company of handbooks for the layman, many of which are of high value, all of which should be used with reservation. To the present volume, tribute is paid in a foreword by Charles H. Mayo, M.D., of Rochester, who describes the book as "a concise and simple description of most of the facts known to modern preventive medicine." These facts, continues Dr. Mayo, are offered to those who desire them, not that they may become physicians by reading the matter, but that by their wider knowledge of science they may be better citizens. With this distinction in mind, Dr. Winslow's book is welcomed to the ranks.

The volume is clear and interesting in its presentation of many facts of hygiene, germ diseases, mental and nervous diseases, troubles of digestion, etc., facts that should be part of the general knowledge. Its danger is that of the type it belongs to—lest in some particular case the printed page be relied upon in place of personal examination and the verdict of a physician. G. S.

TUBERCULOSIS DISPENSARY METHOD AND PROCEDURE

By Elizabeth F. Crowell. National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis. 119 pp. Price \$.25; by mail of the SURVEY \$.29.



Anti-tuberculosis work is the pioneer modern public health movement. It was the first to enter the field in a militant way, not taking what came to it, but going out after the business—the business of finding tuberculosis cases, curing them if possible, and preventing them

from spreading the disease. The tuberculosis dispensary has been one of the chief agents in this campaign. Twelve years ago there were barely twenty such dispensaries in the country; today there are over five hundred and the number is growing apace. Miss Crowell's book reviews the technique of their administration—medical and administrative—studies the tuberculosis nurse and her medical social work, and touches lightly, a little too lightly, on some of the broader questions of policy which are involved in the relation of tuberculosis work to other forms of public health service.

It is significant that, while so much volunteer private effort during the past ten years has gone into the thirteen hundred voluntary tuberculosis societies in the United States, the time has already been reached when in an authoritative publication such as this the maintenance of an anti-tuberculosis dispensary is regarded as a function of the community rather than of a private organization. The voluntary anti-tuberculosis society should no longer run a dispensary, or should run it only until it can get the local community to pay for it out of public funds. The private society, however, has yet before it large fields of endeavor, as is brought out in Miss Crowell's booklet.

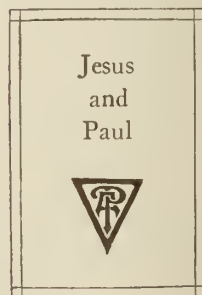
MICHAEL M. DAVIS, JR.

THE SOCIAL PRINCIPLES OF JESUS

By Walter Rauschenbusch. Association Press. 198 pp. Price \$.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$.55.

THE CHRISTIAN ACCORDING TO PAUL

By John T. Faris. Association Press. 129 pp. Price \$.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$.54.



Professor Rauschenbusch has rendered a distinct service, additional to that of his larger volumes, by preparing this little manual of The Social Principles of Jesus for college voluntary study courses. Based upon concrete sayings and incidents skilfully selected from the Gospels for daily reading and thought, the principles underlying and exemplified by these excerpts are grouped and gripped in the Study of the Week concluding each short chapter. Incisive questions probe for the individual reactions of the student, and far-reaching implications compel a wider vision and a further forecast for the better time coming. It is one of those big little books which lead on and out to further study and progress.

Dr. Faris has given a promising initial volume in the Every Day Life Series, which is aimed to spiritualize the personal life by meditation upon scripture passages selected from the writings of Paul, and directly brought to bear upon

individual traits of character and conduct, relationship and action.

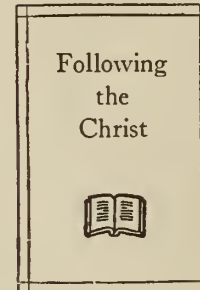
GRAHAM TAYLOR.

THE SYRIAN CHRIST

By Abraham Mitrie Rihbany. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 426 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.64.

CHRISTIANOPOLIS

By Felix Emil Held. Oxford University Press. N. Y. 287 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.35.



While this latest and most realistic portrayal of Christ in his native setting, by Mr. Rihbany, lies outside the SURVEY's reviewing scope, its many touches of oriental social life are to be noted, and most of all the fact that the volume is the product of a Syrian immigrant, who, though poor and friendless on his arrival in America a score or more years ago, is now the well-known preacher in one of Boston's most commanding pulpits and an author welcomed to the pages of the *Atlantic Monthly*. The return which he thus makes to America for all that America has done for him expresses one of the greatest reciprocities ever witnessed. All nations are meeting, mingling and exchanging values here in the new world.

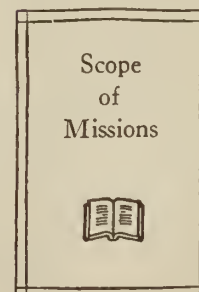
Christianopolis, a translation from the Latin of Johann Valentin Andreae, portraying "an ideal state of the seventeenth century," is an important addition to utopian literature in the English language. Professor Held's valuable introduction connects Christianopolis with the other utopias—Plato's, More's, Campanella's City of the Sun, Francis Bacon's New Atlantis, Samuel Gott's Solyma—and with seventeenth century educational reforms. The text ranges quaintly over many of the rough realities and the fine ideals with which every people is still struggling. G. T.

THE SOUTH TODAY

By John M. Moore. Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada. N. Y. 247 pp. Price \$.60; by mail of the SURVEY \$.70.

SOUTH AMERICAN NEIGHBORS

By Homer C. Stuntz. Same publishers. 211 pp. Price \$.60; by mail of the SURVEY \$.70.



It is indicative of the comprehensive scope of missionary education as promoted by the Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada to find in these volumes emphasis laid upon the material and industrial development of the people in di-

rect connection with the urgency placed upon their social, educational and religious needs. Mr. Moore's compact yet readable volume may well serve as a hand-book of facts and forces practical and valuable to the southern farmer, business man, citizen and churchman alike.

While appealing more to the missionary zeal of Protestantism in following up the recent Panama Congress, Mr. Stuntz includes many economic and social factors of the South American peoples with his sketch of their history and his forecast of "the continent of tomorrow." G. T.

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE MODERN FACTORY. By Dr. Geo. M. Price. John Wiley & Sons. 547 pp. Price, \$4; by mail of the SURVEY, \$4.22.
 THE NEUROTIC CONSTITUTION. By Dr. Alfred Adler. Moffat, Yard & Co. 456 pp. Price, \$3; by mail of the SURVEY, \$3.16.
 THE OBSTETRICAL QUIZ FOR NURSES. By Hilda E. Carlson. Rebman Co. 316 pp. Price, \$1.75; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.85.

OUR EASTERN QUESTION. By Thos. E. Millard. The Century Co. 543 pp. Price, \$3; by mail of the SURVEY, \$3.16.
 PRISON REFORM. (The Handbook Series.) Compiled by Corinne Bacon. The H. W. Wilson Co. 309 pp. Price, \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.12.
 PROBLEMS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION. By David Snedden. Houghton Mifflin Co. 333 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.
 THE PUBLIC LIBRARY AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. By Leonard P. Ayres and Adele McKinnie. Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation. 93 pp. Price, postpaid, \$2.25.
 SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION. By Leonard P. Ayres. Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation. 135 pp. Price, postpaid, \$2.25.
 SCIENCE OF FEEDING BABIES AND NORMAL CARE OF THE GROWING CHILD. By H. Elizabeth Gould. Rebman Co. 155 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.57.
 THE STAKES OF DIPLOMACY. By Walter Lippmann. Henry Holt & Co. 235 pp. Price, \$5.00, paper edition; by mail of the SURVEY, \$5.60.
 STUDIES IN DEMOCRACY. By Julia H. Gulliver. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 98 pp. Price, \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.06.
 THRIFT. By Bolton Hall. B. W. Huebsch. 247 pp. Price, \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.07.
 TRUANCY AND NON-ATTENDANCE IN THE CHICAGO SCHOOLS. By Edith Abbott and Sophonisba P. Breckinridge. The University of Chicago Press. 472 pp. Price, \$2; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.16.
 WAGE-EARNING AND EDUCATION. By R. R. Lutz. Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation. 208 pp. Price, postpaid, \$5.50.

Hammar has been sending me yearly reports since then of the progress of his campaign, and this year he is able to present a record of victory, for there has not been a case of lead poisoning in the plant during the last twelvemonth. This is surely cause for congratulation, and I should like to transmit mine to him through the SURVEY. I suppose there is no one industry in this country that has undergone such radical changes of a hygienic character as has the making of white lead during the last five years. Mr. Hammar's factory is not the only brilliant instance of this reform from within the industry itself.

Alice Hamilton.

[Hull House.]
Chicago.

ANTI-ALCOHOL ADVERTISING

TO THE EDITOR: I note in your issue of January 6, an article on Boston politics and reprints of two of the political advertisements in Boston papers. I do not know who furnished you with the material for this, but whoever it was evidently forgot that the most striking feature of that campaign was a half-page advertisement that we prepared and inserted all day in every Boston paper. This advertisement, we are informed, was the largest advertisement of a political nature ever inserted in every paper in any city.

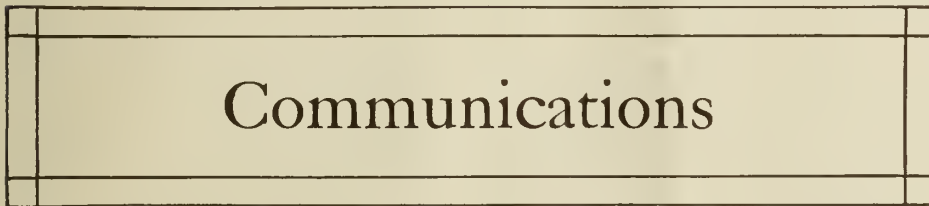
We did this advertising at the request and expense of Hon. E. N. Foss, ex-governor of Massachusetts, and I believe that it is worth noting, not only because of its size and somewhat unusual character, but also because it was a personal contribution of a gentleman whom we all appreciate, and who is greatly interested in the success of the prohibition movement. I am sending you under another cover, a copy of this advertisement, which I am sure you will be interested to see.

Franklin P. Shumway.
[Franklin P. Shumway Company.]
Boston.

NATIONAL STATE OF MIND

TO THE EDITOR: May I be permitted space to express my deep appreciation of the admirable article by Mr. Williams which appears in the opening pages of the SURVEY of January 20? Why is it that there is such a dearth of discussion on this particular phase of the peace problem?

Mr. Williams probes to the very core of the whole matter. Schemes for armament limitation and leagues for enforcing peace will provide immediate relief and a solution up to a certain point, but we could well afford to give larger concern to those fundamental causes which are eternally producing these unfortunate conditions in the world. It is refreshing to have pointed out for us the



Communications

FOR A COUNTRY TOWN

TO THE EDITOR: Some interested citizens of this small rural community of about 400 persons are making plans for a community social center hall. There are three large fruit-packing houses here which bring in a number of people, mostly foreign, in the fruit season rush work. The only recreation for these people is found in a dirty, unsanitary pool-hall and an outdoor playground that is kept up by our church. We need good wholesome recreation for every night of the week in the summer season.

I have been a subscriber to your paper and thought that I might get some information from you or your readers in regard to the plans and dimensions for a social center hall, its uses, and its management.

Warren T. Powell.
[First Methodist Episcopal Church]
Armona, Cal.

TURNING OFF THE SPIGOT

TO THE EDITOR: May I congratulate you on the splendid contribution to the magazine in Mrs. Tilton's articles. The first one seems already to have created quite a sensation of enthusiasm. I look forward with great pleasure to the rest of the series.

Josephine F. Bumstead.
Cambridge, Mass.

TO THE EDITOR: Let me congratulate you heartily on the first article of

Mrs. Tilton's series. I believe it is right in its insistence on the modern point of view for social workers. We can no longer dodge this great issue, and the arsenal of facts which she places at our disposal will be invaluable. I am keenly anticipating the articles that are to come.

Edgar S. Wiers.

[Unity Church.]
Montclair, N. J.

A CLEAN RECORD

TO THE EDITOR: In 1911 when I was making a survey of the white lead industry in this country for the federal Bureau of Labor, I found a really shocking amount of lead poisoning in our factories as compared with those I had visited in England. At that time I wrote: "In one English factory employing ninety men there was not one case of lead poisoning in five successive years. In an American factory employing eighty-five men, the doctor's records for six months showed thirty-five men leaded. Another English factory with 182 men did not have a case last year, but an American factory with 170 men had sixty cases." The difference seemed to be largely due to the surprising ignorance of the American manufacturer as to the danger of lead poisoning and the possibility of preventing it. In the course of these travels I came upon the Hammar Brothers' white lead plant in East St. Louis, and found that here was a place where this danger was recognized and intelligently combated. F. V.

need of a radical change in the national state of mind, which now measures national success in terms of territorial expansion, and to have the final criterion of governmental success defined as "the well-being of the individuals composing the nations." Why is it that mankind has been so loath to realize that the practical values of life are the only ones which can ever bring to men any ultimate personal satisfaction?

Regarding the settlement of the present world eruption the author of the article very modestly disclaims any ability to propound a remedy. But in pointing out the root of the trouble he has gone a long way toward putting us on the right track in our attempts to destroy future wars. A national state of mind cannot be changed in a day, nor perhaps in a generation, but the significance of the author's viewpoint in relation to education is obvious and unmistakable.
Sheffield, Mass. S. C.

SAID OF THE SURVEY

TO THE EDITOR: Every number of the SURVEY seems to me more valuable. The individual articles are most timely and full of facts. Your printing, too, of the President's message and such popular documents as easily get by one in the newspapers,—which are often thrown away before one can cut out what one wants—is a great help. It is an aid to have important proclamations in hand.

PERCY S. GRANT.

[Church of the Ascension]
New York.

TO THE EDITOR: Allow me to express my very deep appreciation of your stand on the peace question, both now and in the past. You are the only weekly courageous enough to keep your ethical humanitarian stand in the wave of emotionalism that is sweeping our land. Your article by Carlton J. H. Hayes, in the issue for February 10, is very splendid. I am writing to you hastily so that you may know at once how greatly I value your sanity, your intelligence, your feeling for democracy.

CORNELIA L. SWINNERTON.

New York.

TO THE EDITOR: I personally feel now a real member of the elect family of the SURVEY, having taken it these five years. I only wish that we had the wherewithal to rise to the high station of Co-ops. Please take the will for the deed. The SURVEY is to me a constant inspiration and thought provoker, away out here in the jungle cut off as we are from the inspiration of fellow social workers.

EDWARD W. FELT.

Vadala, via Vambori, India.

JOTTINGS

THE SURVEY has a flood of missives from Big South Fork of Nolin Creek, Kentucky, protesting against the Gist-of-It statement that Lincoln was born in Springfield, Ill. Springfield papers please copy.

THROUGH an oversight the SURVEY failed to acknowledge the courtesy of the Labor Forum for the loan of the engraving of Lincoln's bust published on the cover of the issue of February 10.

MEASURES affecting the social welfare are being introduced in such numbers in the Pennsylvania legislature that the Public Charities Association, Empire building, Philadelphia, has begun publication of a series of leaflets under the title, *Legislative News*, which will describe these bills and follow their legislative course. Copies will be mailed free on request.

REGISTERED nurses are among those in the professional group to whom the restrictive clauses of the new immigration law are not to apply. This means that health work will not again be handicapped, as in the instances reported in the SURVEY for December 18, 1915, or as last summer when nurses who would have helped New York during the poliomyelitis epidemic were detained at the Canadian border under the contract labor clause of the present law.

"WHO will put 'rest in restaurants'?" asks the Consumers' League of New York city, as it begins its campaign of publicity and lobbying to get shorter hours by law for the tired waitress, "old at twenty-one." Restaurant employes are the largest group of working women without legal protection from the long work day. A bill based on an intensive study made by the Consumers' League of women waitresses [see the SURVEY, November 18, 1916] was introduced into the New York legislature on February 8 and is an extension of the mercantile law which limits women's hours of labor in the factory. New York state is behind all its neighbors—Massachusetts, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New Jersey—in not restricting the hours of women employed in restaurants.

THE National Single Tax League has been launched to coordinate the work of single-tax organizations throughout the United States, to carry on educational campaigns, especially in states where there is a chance of success, and to take over the administration of the Joseph Fels Fund, vested until December 31 in a foundation. In addition to this fund, there is an assured membership of about 2,000, and the total guaranteed income for the first year is \$35,000. The chairman of the provisional committee is Daniel Kiefer, Cincinnati; the advisory committee contains the names of many prominent land reformers, including Prof. Earl Barnes, William F. Cochran, Mrs. Fels, Surg.-Gen. William C. Gorgas, Frederic C. Howe, Mrs. Louis F. Post, Lincoln Steffens and Frank P. Walsh.

THE Women's Municipal League, of Boston, has issued a Citizens' Handbook, "a collection of the laws and ordinances governing the citizens in everyday life," which is a model of what such a publication should be.

It avoids the hazy conception often given by pamphlets containing a transcription of laws into popular speech. Instead, the most important sections are given verbatim. Where the language is difficult, brief notes are prefaced. Clear arrangement, omission of irrelevant or too complicated clauses, and a detailed index serve the intended purpose. There is no attempt at preaching or at magnifying the excellence of the laws which govern the everyday life of Boston citizens. The need for some such compilation arose from the educational efforts of the league among the school children of Boston, some 2,500 of whom are enrolled in its "junior municipal league."

ONE of those gathered in by the Philadelphia police in a recent narcotic raid was a colored man who, in the region around Eleventh and Lombard streets, had the reputation for having the largest feet extant. His shoes occupied so much real estate that, according to the Philadelphia *Evening Ledger*, he had earned the name of "Trilby." At the end of an hour the most that the internal revenue officers and police had been able to find in the house was a small bottle in the coal bin. Disappointed, they were about to leave when an officer turned to "Trilby."

"Some feet you got there," said the cop.

"Biggest in the world," said "Trilby."

"Take off your shoes and let's measure them," commanded the bluecoat.

There was a tussle and the Negro's shoes came off. His feet weren't the biggest in the world, but the shoes he wore probably were. For they were containers for several bottles of cocaine besides his feet.

NEWBURGH, N. Y., is creating by ordinance a Commission of Public Exhibitions, consisting of five members, two of them women, "to prohibit, or prohibit in part, any exhibition or picture which it finds to be obscene, indecent, improper, licentious, or immoral, or any exhibition or picture that would have a harmful influence upon the public." The intent is to establish a municipal policy toward amusements, and it is specifically aimed at burlesque shows rather than movies.

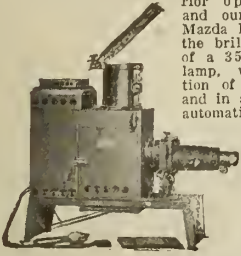
"WILL you join us in trying to create a demand throughout the state for cleaner pictures, which will deal not so much with the seamy side of life, but with that which is purer and truer and healthier, and more wholesome and normal?" A letter containing this plea has been sent out from the Social Welfare Committee of the Chamber of Commerce in Lancaster, Pa., to chambers of commerce and welfare committees throughout Pennsylvania. It is signed also by practically every one of the local moving picture managers. This same committee has analyzed films exhibited in Lancaster and found 52 good, 20 indifferent and 31 bad. In the 31 bad are included such pictures as seemed undesirable for children.

DECLARING that in the electrocution in 1915 of two New York city Chinamen who were convicted of murder "it is beyond dispute that human life was taken upon what was concededly perjured testimony," and that its own investigations established grave doubt as to the guilt of the men, the New York Society for the Prevention of Crime urges in a report covering its work since 1909 three amendments to the law. These are: first, that arbitrary capital punishment be abolished and juries permitted to determine whether punishment shall be death or life imprisonment; second, that if capital punishment is to remain, the technical rules governing the granting of new trials be broadened and the right to appeal extended;

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Circulars giving full details of all models and their uses sent on request

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and third, that the pardoning power be removed from the governor and vested in a board of pardons. The society also favors the passage by Congress of the Smith-Hughes bill, creating a permanent federal commission of five members to inspect and license motion picture films.

CONFERENCES

RAYMOND ROBINS writes that the Maine Community Efficiency Conference, held last month in Augusta, "was by all odds the best conference I have yet attended in this country, and more comparable to those in the western Canada provinces than any others I have attended." Not only, perhaps not chiefly, because of its exceptionally well-arranged program and able speakers was the conference preeminent, but the more so on account of the findings of its several commissions. One reported a rural program, including adequate road-building for Maine, electricity as a factor in promoting rural efficiency, a health survey as a method for determining the health efficiency of a community and the interdependence of country and city. Another handled such civic needs as reforms in present political campaign methods, the necessity for young men to enter politics in Maine, the promotion of civic righteousness through the application of the budget system to state and community finances. Still another reported a five-year program for developing Christian unity in Maine, the survey idea and its use in studying the over-churched and under-churched fields, community problems requiring united Christian effort and laymen's responsibility for the promotion of Christian unity. A pamphlet containing the findings and recommendations of these commissions may be had of A. A. Heald, Waterville, Me., executive secretary of the Laymen's Christian Federation of Maine, which, under the auspices of the state Y. M. C. A., united with representatives of the following organizations in promoting this conference: State Conference of Charities and Corrections, State Board of Trade, State Sunday School Association, Christian Civic League, State Denominational Agencies, State Grange.

AT THE recent second annual conference of the San Francisco and California Associations for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis the need for a municipal country sanatorium, more visiting nurses and additional open-air schools were the chief topics discussed.

The chairman of the finance committee of the Board of Supervisors publicly favored including \$50,000 in the 1917 budget for the purchase of a site and the beginning of construction of a country sanatorium. The present shacks at the San Francisco Hospital, which accommodate 250 advanced tuberculous patients now, are being replaced by a permanent steel structure which will be completed this year. The present quarters will be improved, but the capacity will remain the same. With its 900 tuberculosis deaths each year, the city sadly needs a sanatorium for early cases.

A Tuberculosis Bureau of the Board of Health has been organized, with Dr. W. R. P. Clark as director and four visiting nurses who work with the five nurses of the San Francisco association. Each nurse has her own district and works out of the two association and the Stanford University tuberculosis clinics.

An open-air school for twenty-five physically subnormal children was opened in Feb-

MODERN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

By

Frank A. Fetter, Ph. D., LL. D.
Professor of Economics, Princeton University

Students of social problems will be interested in this book because it represents the opinions of one not only a trained economist, but for many years a member of the New York State Board of Charities.

Topics of Especial Interest

Methods of Industrial Remuneration
Piece Work, Profit Sharing
Organized Labor, Strikes, the Open Shop
Child Labor, the Minimum Wage
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Classified Advertisements

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WANTED: a Jewish woman with settlement experience as head worker of an established East Side Settlement. Address 2452, SURVEY.

WANTED: Woman, capable of writing original letters in connection with Southern Civic Work. For further particulars address 2462, SURVEY.

CASE WORKER, with experience. Duties: Analysis of application blanks, etc. SUPERINTENDENT, Mooseheart, Ill.

PROCTOR, with experience, wanted for institution near Chicago. SUPERINTENDENT, Mooseheart, Ill.

Assistant Secretary

For statewide committee on feeble-mindedness; to assist both in office and in field work. Moderate salary. State experience. Address 2461 SURVEY.

SITUATIONS WANTED

POSITION in social work wanted by young woman, age 28, Southerner. Have had six years experience in social work covering special investigations, children's agencies, industrial work, charity organization, etc. Employed at present. Salary \$1,200 per annum. Address 2458 SURVEY.

WOMAN, School of Philanthropy training, 8 years of valuable experience in social work, seeks position. Good appearance, strong personality and superior references. Address 2460 SURVEY.

Diet and Indigestion

Indigestion, constipation and the ills to which they lead cause more deaths than war, pestilence and famine combined. Yet—these ills, and the pain and suffering they cause, are *needless*. This is fully explained in a new book called "Colon Hygiene," written by Dr. John Harvey Kellogg, Chief Medical Director of the Battle Creek Sanitarium and a recognized authority on the effect of diet on digestion. In his book, Dr. Kellogg tells you how to take care of yourself so as to avoid indigestion, constipation and the ills to which they lead. Only natural methods recommended. No drugs. Some diet restrictions, if you need them, but—nothing difficult. A little exercise but—no tiresome régime. Proper attention to hours for rest, sleep, recreation and work. These are the important items. In his book, Dr. Kellogg gives you full instructions. If you would be rid of indigestion, constipation and the ills to which they lead, send for this book today. The price is only \$2. And—you take no risk for, if you are not entirely satisfied, the book may be returned at the end of five days, and we will promptly refund your money. Thus, we let you be the judge of this book. Over 400 pages, with many illustrations. Write for it today. Find out, at our expense, whether it can help you. Send your order direct to

GOOD HEALTH PUBLISHING CO.

2602 Main St., Battle Creek, Mich.

ISSUES WANTED

Copies of the SURVEY of January 13, January 20 and February 3. Trying to save paper-cost, we cut the supply of these issues so scant that, when they met unexpected popularity, the supply was unequal to the demand. Copies from SURVEY subscribers who have finished with them will be highly appreciated.

To the kind friends who returned copies of the November 25 issue sufficient to fill the empty shelf hearty thanks are rendered.

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT,
THE SURVEY

ruary, 1916, by the San Francisco Association and the Board of Education. During the conference, President Geo. E. Gallagher, of the Board of Education, publicly announced that the board would take steps to increase the capacity of this school to fifty. The board has also expressed itself favorably toward opening an additional school in another section of the city.

Thus a country sanatorium, more visiting nurses and additional open-air-school provision are practically assured for the city in the near future.

ONE of the most interesting and important parts of the Tuskegee Negro Conference this year was the exhibit of foods available in the region which Prof. George W. Carver arranged in large glass cases. Professor Carver has been for some time developing the agricultural department at Tuskegee Institute, and has made an intensive study of the natural resources and agricultural products of Macon county.

For the exhibit he had arranged attractively in a large glass case, portions of corn meal and peanut muffins, bacon puffs, cooked wild greens (curled dock, dandelion and wild lettuce), bread made from a mixture of wheat and velvet-bean flour, lye hominy, cow-pea bread, a home-made cereal consisting of rye, wheat, and corn and crushed toast served with sugar and cream.

With a keen sense of humor and an appreciation of the average Negro farmer's conservatism, Professor Carver attacked the problem of showing the man on the land how, in truth, he could secure for himself and his family the necessary food for man and beast. When it is remembered that thousands of Negroes have left the South, or are planning to leave the South very soon on account of the actual shortage of food and the hardships which have come to the farmers who are trying to raise cotton in spite of the boll weevil, the significance of this part of the conference is evident.

CALENDAR OF CONFERENCES

Items for the next calendar should reach THE SURVEY before March 14.

FEBRUARY AND MARCH

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA, National Council of. Washington, D. C., March 6. Chief scout executive, James E. West, Fifth avenue bldg., New York city.

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION, National Society for the Promotion of. Indianapolis, Ind., February 21-24. Sec'y, Alvin E. Dodd, 140 West 42 street, New York city.

POSTURE LEAGUE, American. New York, March 10. Sec'y, H. L. Taylor, 1 Madison avenue, New York city.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION ASSOCIATION. Boston, February 27-March 1. Sec'y, H. F. Cope, 332 So. Michigan avenue, Chicago.

SUPERINTENDENCE, Department of. National Education Association. Kansas City, Mo., February 26-March 3. Sec'y, Margaret T. Maguire, Washington School, Philadelphia.

LATER MEETINGS

INTERNATIONAL

KINDERGARTEN UNION, International. Boston, Mass., May 7-11. Sec'y, May Murray, Springfield, Mass.

NATIONAL

BOYS' WORK CONFERENCE. Buffalo, N. Y., May 22-24. Sec'y, C. J. Atkinson, 1 Madison avenue, New York city.

CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, National Conference of. Pittsburgh, Pa., June 6-13. Sec'y, W. T. Cross, 315 Plymouth court, Chicago.

CHILD WELFARE CONFERENCE. Under auspices of the National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations. Washington, D. C., April 24-May 1. Sec'y, Mrs. A. A. Birney, 910 Loan and Trust bldg., Washington, D. C.

CHILDREN'S HOME SOCIETY, National. Pittsburgh, June 4-6. Sec'y, Wilfred S. Reynolds, 209 South State street, Chicago.

COMMUNITY CENTERS, National Conference on. Chicago, Ill., April 18-22. Sec'y, John Collier, 70 Fifth avenue, New York city.

[Continued on page 591, last column]

INFORMATION DESK

The following national bodies will gladly and freely supply information and advise reading on the subjects named by each and on related subjects. Members are kept closely in touch with the work which each organization is doing, but membership is not required of those seeking information. Correspondence is invited. Nominal charges are sometimes made for publications and pamphlets. Always enclose postage for reply.

Health

SEX EDUCATION—New York Social Hygiene Society, Formerly Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis, 105 West 40th Street, New York City. Maurice A. Bigelow, Secretary. Seven educational pamphlets, 10c. each. Four reprints, 5c. each. Dues—Active \$2.00; Contributing \$5.00; Sustaining \$10.00. Membership includes current and subsequent literature; selected bibliographies. Maintains lecture bureau and health exhibit.

CANCER—American Society for the Control of Cancer, 25 West 45th St., New York City. Curtis E. Lakeman, Exec. Sec'y. To disseminate knowledge concerning symptoms, diagnosis, treatment and prevention. Publications free on request. Annual membership dues \$5.

COMMITTEE ON PROVISION FOR THE FEEBLE-MINDED—Objects: To disseminate knowledge concerning the extent and menace of feeble-mindedness and to suggest and initiate methods for its control and ultimate eradication from the American people. General Offices, Empire Bldg., Phila., Pa. For information, literature, etc., address Joseph P. Byers, Exec. Sec'y.

MENTAL HYGIENE—National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 50 Union Square, New York City, Clifford W. Beers, Sec'y. Write for pamphlets on mental hygiene, prevention of insanity and mental deficiency, care of insane and feeble-minded, surveys, social service in mental hygiene, State Societies for Mental Hygiene.

NATIONAL HEALTH—Committee of One Hundred on National Health. E. F. Robbins, Exec. Sec'y., 203 E. 27th St., New York. To unite all government health agencies into a National Department of Health to inform the people how to prevent disease.

TUBERCULOSIS—National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, 105 East 22nd St., New York. Charles J. Hatfield, M. D., Exec. Sec'y. Reports, pamphlets, etc., sent upon request. Annual transactions and other publications free to members.

SOCIAL HYGIENE—The American Social Hygiene Assoc. Inc., 105 West 40th St., N. Y.; Branch Offices: 122 South Michigan Ave., Chicago; Phelan Bldg., San Francisco. To promote sound sex education, the reduction of venereal diseases, and the suppression of commercialized vice. Quarterly magazine "Social Hygiene." Monthly Bulletin. Membership, \$5; sustaining, \$10. Information upon request. Pres., Abram W. Harris; Gen. Sec'y, William F. Snow, M.D.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING. Object: to stimulate the extension of public health nursing; to develop standards of technique; to maintain a central bureau of information. Publications: Public Health Nurse Quarterly, \$1.00 per year; bulletins sent to members. Address Ella Phillips Crandall, R. N., Executive Secretary, 600 Lexington Ave., New York City.

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS—Through its Town and Country Nursing Service, maintains a staff of specially prepared visiting nurses for appointment to small towns and rural districts. Pamphlets supplied on organization and administration of visiting nurse associations; personal assistance and exhibits available for local use. Apply to Superintendent, Red Cross Town and Country Nursing Service, Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEALTH—American Public Health Assn. Pres., William C. Evans, M.D., Chicago; Sec'y, Prof. S. M. Gunn, Boston. Object "To protect and promote public and personal health." Seven Sections: Laboratory, Sanitary Engineering, Vital Statistics, Sociological, Public Health Administration Industrial Hygiene, Food and Drugs. Official monthly organ, *American Journal of Public Health*: \$30 per year. 3 mos. trial subscription (to Survey readers 4 mos.) 50c. Address 755 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.

EUGENICS REGISTRY—Board of Directors, Chancellor David Starr Jordan, President; Prof. Irving Fisher, Dr. C. B. Davenport, Luther Burbank, Dr. J. H. Kellogg, Secretary. A bureau for the encouragement of interest in eugenics as a means of Race Betterment, established and maintained for the Race Betterment Foundation in co-operation with the Eugenics Record Office. Address, Eugenics Registry Board, Battle Creek, Mich.

PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS—National Committee for. Objects: To furnish information for Associations, Commissions and persons working to conserve vision; to publish literature of movement; to furnish exhibits, lantern slides, lectures. Printed matter: samples free; quantities at cost. Invites membership. Field, United States. Includes N. Y. State Com. Edward M. Van Cleve, Managing Director; Gordon L. Berry, Field Secretary; Mrs. Winifred Hathaway, Secretary. Address, 130 E. 22d St., N. Y. C.

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York. Publishes *The Crisis*, a monthly magazine, 63 branches and locals. Legal aid, literature, speakers, lantern slides, press material, etc. President, Moorfield Storey; Chairman of the Board of Directors, J. E. Spingarn; Vice-President and Treasurer, Oswald Garrison Villard; Director of Publications and Research, W. E. B. DuBois; Acting Secretary, Roy Nash.

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY—A quarterly publication concerned with facts, not with opinions. The organ of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. To popularize the movement of unearthing the Negro and his contribution to civilization that he may not become a negligible factor in the thought of the world. Carter G. Woodson, Director of Research and Editor. Subscription \$1.00 a year. Foreign subscription 25 cents extra. Address, 1216 You St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Libraries

AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION—Furnishes information about organizing libraries, planning library buildings, training librarians, cataloging libraries, etc. *A. L. A. Booklist*, a monthly annotated magazine on book selection, is a valuable guide to the best new books. List of publications on request. George B. Utley, Executive Secretary, 78 E. Washington St., Chicago.

Recreation

RECREATION—The following pamphlets which have just been issued are full of practical suggestions and information: Preparation—For Peace or War, A Rational Scheme, by George W. Ehler, Price 30 cents; Notes on the Construction and Administration of Swimming Pools, by Joseph E. Raycroft, Price 20 cents; A Municipal Neighborhood Recreation Center, by Harold O. Berg. Price 15 cents. The pamphlets may be secured from Playground and Recreation Association of America, 1 Madison Avenue, New York City.

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ALDERMAN MERRIAM and the Bureau of Public Efficiency, if they have their way, will give Chicago a city manager, a short ballot and a simplified municipal government. A review of it and a temperature chart of "voter's daze" by Professor Taylor. Page 593.

STIFF opposition's ahead of the Mills health insurance bill from the New York state Chamber of Commerce. Speaking for business men, the chamber prays to be delivered from the hands of sociologists and reformers as the Scotch dominie did from "witches and warlocks and lang-nebbed things that go 'woo'." Page 606.

FIRST-CLASS designs for workingmen's homes have come out of the prize housing contest of the National Americanization Committee. The next question is, who will get them built? Some drawings and plans and a summary of the results by the SURVEY's advisory editor on housing. Page 595.

MODERN as many of them are in their methods, Pennsylvania hospitals are nervous over the possibility of a major surgical operation on their subsidies from the state. Standards have been set up, and now it is proposed to cut off those which duplicate the work of others with quite stony disregard to the eminence of their boards of directors. Page 597.

CATHOLIC institutions in Chicago are appealing a Circuit Court decision that it is unconstitutional to grant public subsidies to private charities. Page 609.

MOST men who are both serious and sober are ready to prohibit distilled liquors, but there's a widespread belief that beer and wine are not much worse than ice cream soda. History, experience and science are all against this, says Mrs. Tilton; beer is not the cure for the drink evil—not by a jugful. We've got to be either wet or dry. The fourth of five articles telling of the conversion of a charity worker into a prohibitionist. Page 599.

DEMONSTRATION schools run by Mexicans with the help of men and women in this country who have shared in the experimental schooling of the South are announced as the spring style in "intervention." Page 605.

THE social-service program on which Governor Milliken won his election is now before the Maine legislature with the governor pushing it for enactment. Page 612.

AN apple a day keeps the doctor away and a quarter will buy food enough to nourish the biggest of cops. But the food for a family, free or relieved, is another story. Page 607.

THREE states, through a public commission, have declared that the distribution of milk is a public utility, and thereby subject to regulation in many ways. An attempt to get a halter on the milk bottle before it jumps over the moon. Page 605.

JERSEY'S state prison is every whit as bad, by the report of the official investigating commission, as the New York *Evening Post* made it out. Page 610. And for a clear-cut example, on a small scale—and therefore the easier seen—of the evils of prison contract labor, have a look at the college town of New Haven. Page 611.

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MEXICANS, Mormons and Chinamen—a great cavalcade of them—followed General Pershing across the border. They brought their families, their oxen and asses, their guitars and the typhus lice in their blankets. All were fleeing from the wrath to come, in those parts bearing the name of Pancho Villa. The story of it by the Red Cross man at El Paso in

The SURVEY Next Week



THE SURVEY

112 EAST 19 STREET
NEW YORK

To All New SURVEY READERS:

I hope you are with me in feeling that the SURVEY has made spirited gains throughout the fall and winter—in precision, promptness, make-up; in the substance and stirring quality of its text. Letters reaching us from social workers the country over show that this more adequate service has been meeting with eager recognition.

The break with Germany and the rapid and serious developments of the past month have been of a sort to make us thankful for every reserve of strength and ounce of momentum we can carry into the unsettled period immediately ahead. The SURVEY's responsibilities will unquestionably be heavier than before—both as a transcript of human needs and activities affected by whatever befalls, and as an open channel for discussion of the deep-seated social bearings of situations that develop.

Last February no less than 146 readers enlisted as \$10 cooperating subscribers. They helped us bridge one of the most crucial situations in the history of SURVEY Associates, when through a reduction in grants, our educational fund suffered a shrinkage of between \$6,000 and \$7,000 at one clip. They helped us turn the situation inside out—gave us a flying start, if you will, toward bringing our roster of \$10 cooperating subscribers up to a full thousand before the end of the publishing year on September 30.

Not only is the reduction in grants continuing the current year, but the high cost of living is hitting SURVEY Associates at its most vulnerable point. Paper is the chief item of our bill of fare; and we are paying just twice as much for the paper which you hold in your hand as we paid last year. This means adding \$4,000 or \$5,000 to our manufacturing expenses for the year.

I should be tempted at this time to urge new readers to enlist as \$10 "cooperating subscribers" on the sober plea of seeing this venture of ours through the stress of a period which is sending many publications to the wall, and which puts extraordinary demands upon the SURVEY.

But that isn't altogether my plea. In spite of the difficulties, real as they are, and not altogether to be balanced by economies, we have not been going to the wall this fall and early winter. Our circulation has reacted to the zest and energy which by summer planning and summer retrenchments we have been able to put into the editorial process.

If we can keep up consistent investment in this winter quarter, we are not only sanguine as to clearing the year, but feel that we are in position to render a public service for which, conceivably, all that has been wrought into the SURVEY in the past has been so much preparation. Now if ever, a medium is needed to which men and women concerned in the social welfare can turn confidently for serviceable information and mutual counsel.

So if you are not a \$10 cooperating subscriber, won't you "come in" right now, and help us buckle into these months with a sense of assurance as to the ground under our feet?

PAUL U. KELLOGG
EDITOR.

February, 1917.

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January
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THE SURVEY

Unified Government for Chicago

By Graham Taylor

TWO orders of far-reaching significance were recently introduced in the City Council of Chicago by Prof. Charles E. Merriam, alderman, were passed and referred to committees. One called for a report upon "a unified form of local government in Chicago and the best practical methods of obtaining it." The other directed the Committee on Judiciary to present to the council a bill to be introduced in the legislature "authorizing the city of Chicago, by referendum vote, to adopt the city-manager plan of government."

The driving power depended upon to secure these two ends is the growing discontent over the rapidly increasing expense and decreasing effectiveness of local administration. This is chiefly due to the outgrown state constitution, adopted nearly a century ago, by which the charter rights of Chicago are very sharply restricted. The then prevalent determination to protect individual liberty from interference accounts for the early restraints imposed upon all American local governments whereby they were permitted to do only what they were expressly authorized to do by the legislature, while in Europe local governments are generally left free to do anything not expressly prohibited.

In this way no less than twenty-two distinct public agencies have grown up within and around Chicago, having more or less independent authority to expend public revenue. All but four of them are bodies politic sharing the power of the municipality itself to levy their own taxes, and those four having authority virtually to control the levies laid by other bodies. Overlapping functions, duplication of expenses, undefined scope and divided responsibility inevitably result from such confusion worse confounded.

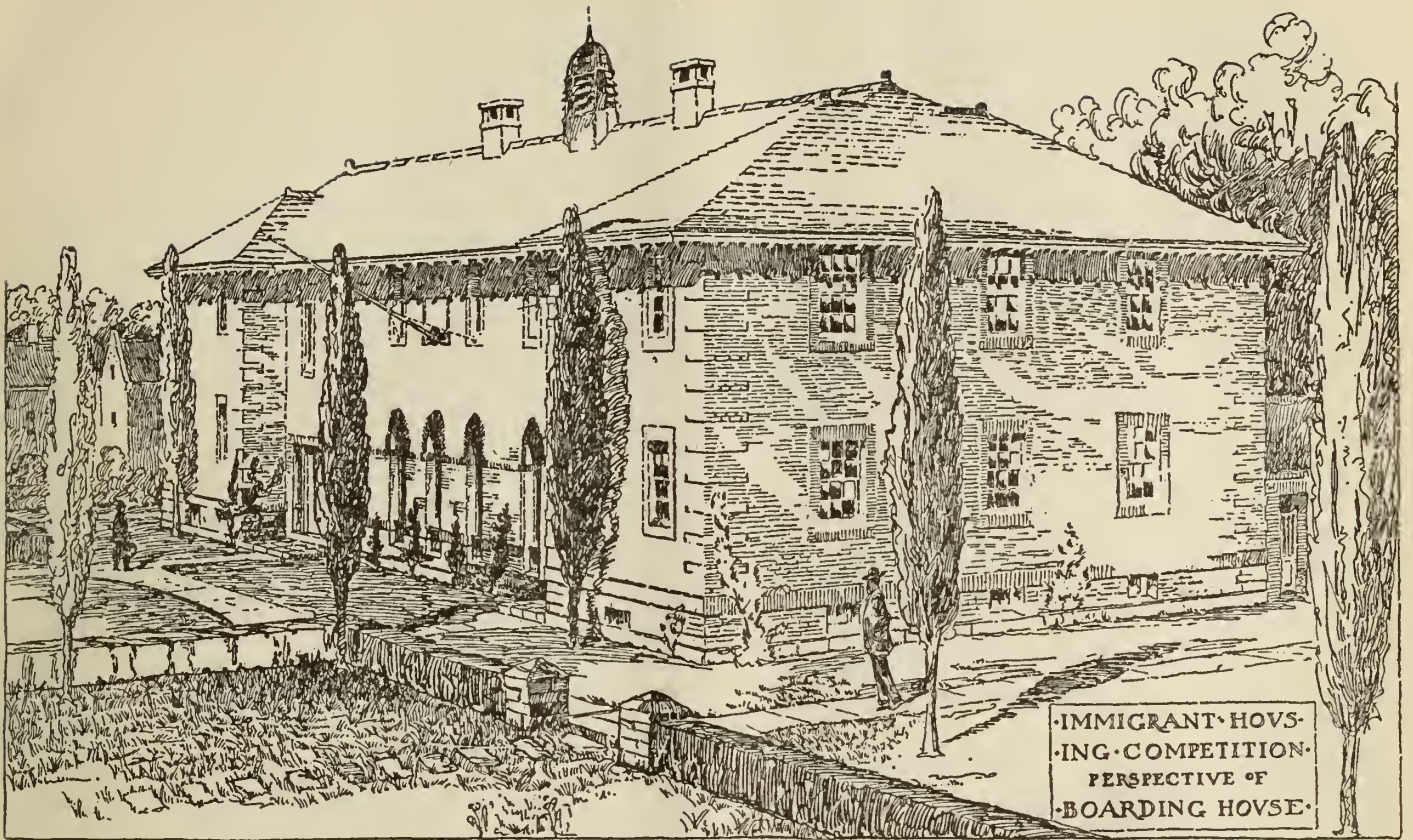
The Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency, which includes some of the most influential and capable citizens, has just issued a preliminary survey of conditions existing in 1915 as derived from its study of official reports and records. Such a graphic and comprehensive survey was thought to be more useful than an exhaustively detailed study to show the need of unification and to suggest plans for securing it. These plans indicate what may be secured under existing constitutional restrictions and what must await a new state constitution, measures for obtaining which through a constitutional convention are now pending in the legislature. Among the changes attainable under existing law by acts of the legislature or other bodies

are a city-manager type of municipal charter, whereby the mayor, or "council manager," may be selected by the City Council, which can thus be reduced in membership from two to one alderman from each of the thirty-five wards, as the number of elective offices can also be diminished. A \$4,000 salary for aldermen and a four-year term were deemed sufficient to secure the services of capable men of moderate means. Further unification could be secured by "interlocking directorates," a precedent for which has already been established by authorizing the county commissioners to act as commissioners of the forest-preserve district. Sixteen park districts within the city limits, each maintaining a separate management, can be consolidated by referendum vote already authorized by the legislature.

Ultimately the proposed scheme for unification seeks the combination of no less than 110 taxing bodies now within the sanitary district including Chicago, five of which are cities, thirty-five villages, ten park districts, fifty school districts and eight townships, Cook county and the sanitary district itself. No less than seventeen other townships, most of which have only formal existence, might be legally abolished.

Such unified government, however, can be secured only by extending its territorial limits to include "all the contiguous area essentially urban in character, or likely soon to become so, having municipal interests in common." This area now corresponds closely to the sanitary district and is all within the county of Cook. Most of the functions of the county could thus be combined with the metropolitan government. The farther outlying country districts of the county could either be annexed to adjoining counties or could constitute a separate rural county. Court reorganization has for some time been studied by the American Judicature Society, the president of which is Chief Justice Harry Olson, of the Municipal Court of Chicago, and it has already presented a plan for unifying the courts of metropolitan communities with alternative methods of selecting judges.

Under the proposed plan there would be but three regular elections in each four-year period, two biennial elections for the selection of national and state officials and one combined city and judicial election held in intervening years. This would result in an annual saving of \$706,162 and, for the four-year period, of \$2,824,650. Some of the other items of the \$3,208,000 to be saved annually by the proposed unifica-



AN APPETIZING PLACE IF THE FOOD IS AS GOOD AS THE HOUSE

Houses for Wage-Earners

By John Ihlder

WHEN a trouble becomes acute we are forced to pay serious attention to it. Until it becomes acute we are likely to treat it in makeshift ways. So it has been with the housing of immigrant wage-earners and the native born of the same economic status. Many of the industrial towns of the past fifty years are as ugly and unpleasant places as ignorance and neglect could make them. The labor crisis brought about by the war now is forcing us to pay attention.

This crisis came after several years of nation-wide propaganda had taught us something of the importance of good housing. So large employers of labor began to seek means of improving the dwellings of their employes. But so new was the idea to many of them that they did not know how to begin. In order to furnish a starting point, the National Americanization Committee organized a housing competition designed to secure plans for four different types of family dwellings:

1. A single-family house to contain cellar, living-room, two bedrooms, bathroom, and kitchen with sink and laundry-tubs.
2. A single-family house the same as that above, except that it should contain three bedrooms.
3. A house for a family and four lodgers, the lodgers' rooms to be separate from those of the family, with no means of communication except through the dining-room.
4. A boarding-house for thirty single lodgers, the rooms of the family and servants to be separate from those of the lodgers, with no means of communication except through the

dining-room. Ample provision of toilets and other conveniences to be supplied for both family and lodgers.

Notices of the competition were sent broadcast to architectural and engineering societies, to industrial concerns, chambers of commerce, state and municipal housing commissions and associations, housing companies and others likely to be interested. The *Architectural Review* supplemented this by sending notices to 6,000 architects. The result was a widespread interest and, in spite of the competition being held at one of the busiest seasons of the year, the submission of designs by more than one hundred contestants.

In order to carry on the competition, the Americanization Committee appointed a special housing committee and this in turn appointed a jury to pass upon the merit of the plans. This jury consisted of Chester H. Aldrich, architect; Morris Knowles, engineer; Dr. Caroline Hedger, sanitarian; John Ihlder, housing worker; M. B. Medary, Jr., architect; John Lawrence Mauran, architect.

When this jury came to examine the plans it found that the idea was evidently a new one to many of the architects of the country as well as to the employers, for a considerable proportion of the designs would have fitted the incomes of fairly well-paid salaried men rather than those of unskilled wage-earners. Yet there were a number in each classification that did meet the requirements, and some were so excellent as to be real contributions.

It had been no part of the purpose of the competition to secure a "model" plan that might be passed about the country

and endlessly duplicated. Rather the purpose was to secure practical ideas and designs which would show the employer who contemplated house-building the least he should have and the possibility of getting it. For this reason the housing committee, instead of standing for the ideal of no lodgers, recognized the fact that lodgers will continue to exist for some time and called for plans which would reduce to a minimum the evil of their presence in the family.

The simplest problem was, of course, that of the single-family house. By the conditions of the competition, land overcrowding had been ruled out, so windows to adequate open spaces could be placed where the architect chose. His task was to plan a little dwelling that would be economical to construct and maintain, conveniently arranged so that house work would be reduced to a minimum and privacy safeguarded, and so designed that it would be an ornament instead of a disfigurement to the community.

These conditions the winners of the first prizes in classes 1-A and 1-B, the two bedroom and the three bedroom single-family houses, met very successfully. The winners of the first prize in 1-B, who also won second prize in 1-A, scored

rather heavily on their successful competitor in 1-A on the economy side, as a house two rooms deep is cheaper than one which is only one room deep.

With the introduction of lodgers the problem becomes more difficult. The stranger in the family is always a potential source of trouble, ranging from trifles to disaster. To reduce this potentiality to a minimum, the committee sought plans which would show the feasibility of separating the lodgers from the family except at meal times. In this they succeeded, as the winning design demonstrates. The lodgers have their own entrance from out of doors and their own bathroom. They have no occasion to invade the living-rooms of the family.

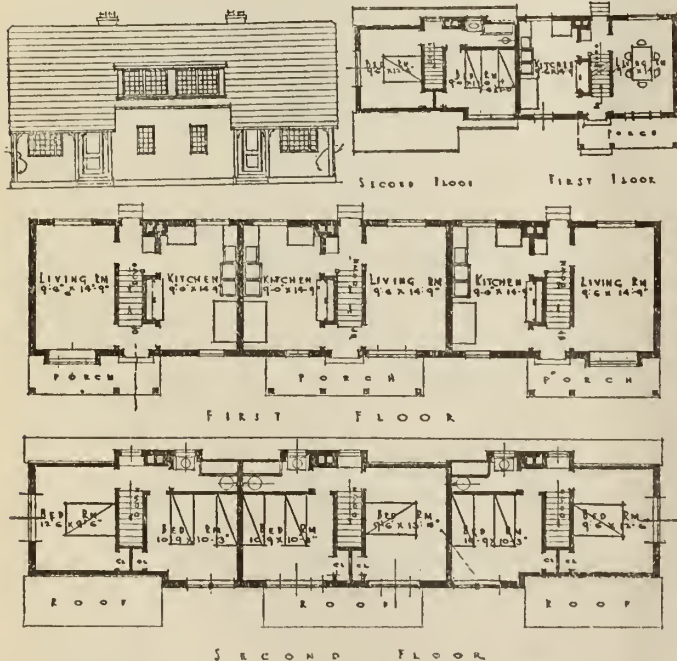
Most difficult of all, if one may judge from the plans submitted, was the boarding-house for thirty lodgers. Some of the plans showed large waste spaces labeled rest- or smoking-room, though adequate provision for recreation-rooms had elsewhere been made. This, of course, meant unnecessary expense in building and unnecessary labor in maintenance.

The winner of the first prize solved his problem most successfully. While almost severe in its simplicity, the building is pleasing in appearance. The interior arrangement is convenient. The space provided is ample for the purpose, but none is wasted. The separation between family and lodgers is observed. Even the servants, usually those most neglected, are adequately provided for.

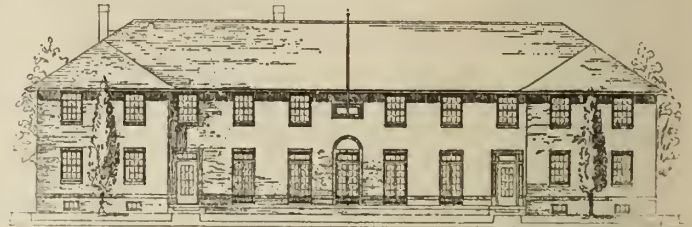
While the prize-winning designs here reproduced are, in the opinion of the jury, all things considered, the best submitted, many of the others contain valuable suggestions. The



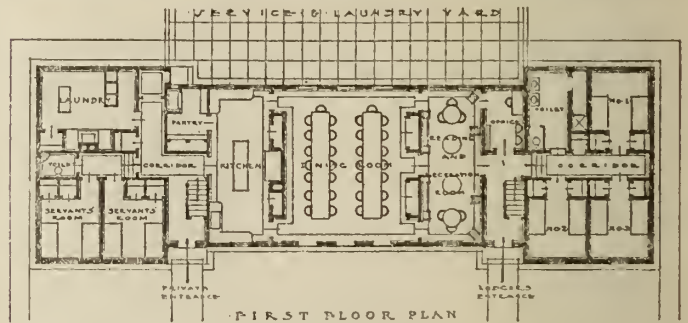
AMERICANIZATION COMMITTEE HOUSING COMPETITION
SINGLE FAMILY HOUSE 1-A



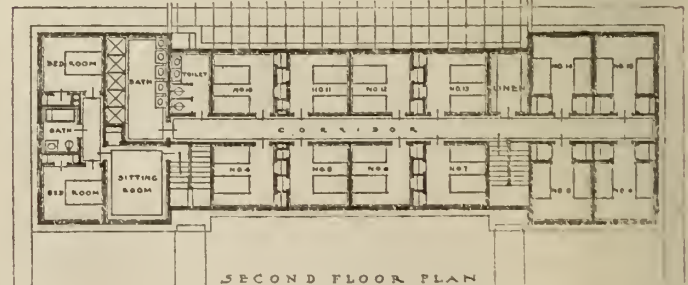
The rules of the competition permitted single-family houses to be built detached or in groups. The winners (Somerville and King) of the first prize in Class 1-A (two bedrooms) show their designs as used either in a semi-detached house or in a group of four houses



FRONT ELEVATION

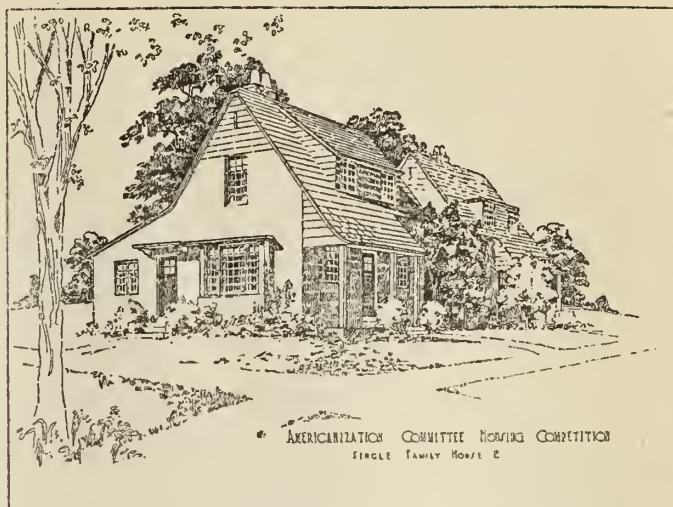
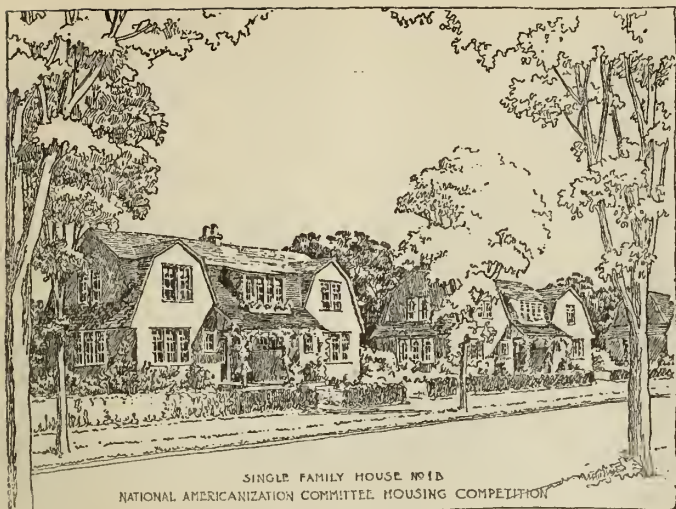


FIRST FLOOR PLAN



SECOND FLOOR PLAN

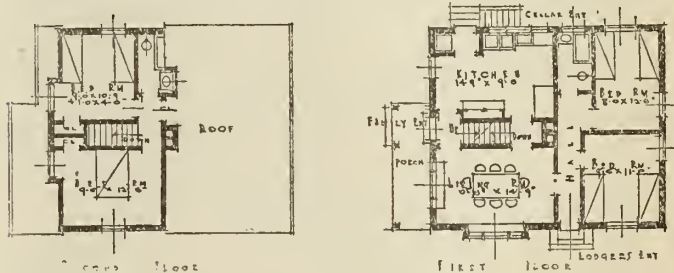
Every big industrial concern that houses its employes has to provide a lodging-house for single men. In communities where employers do not assume responsibility for housing, there is equal need of such dwellings to keep single men from living with families in houses not built to accommodate outsiders. The plan above is the best of those submitted in the competition. The architect is Harry E. Warren. Another drawing of this house is reproduced at the head of this article



The winners (Murphy and Dana) of the first prize in Class 1-B (three bedrooms) show semi-detached houses. As these are two rooms deep they are cheaper to construct than the 1-A prize design. Both designs are a great improvement over the ordinary company house, or contractor-built house

Architectural Review, which is devoting its current issue to the results of this competition, reproduces many of these other plans.

All of the originals that received prizes and honorable mention are still in the possession of the National Americanization Committee. It is to be hoped that further use will be made of them. Either by themselves or as part of a larger exhibit they should be sent about the country, so that employers and others who are contemplating the erection of wage-earners'



Lodgers in the family are always a potential danger. The prize-winner in Class 2 shows how this danger may be reduced to a minimum by separating the lodgers' rooms from those of the family, and providing them with their own entrance. The architects are Somerville and King

dwellings may be inspired to do better in the future than they have done in the past. If the committee itself is not in a position to do this, some other organization should offer its services, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the *American City Bureau*, which now has a large city-planning exhibit to which this might be added, or the National Housing Association.

Untangling Pennsylvania's Hospitals

By Neva R. Deardorff

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, PHILADELPHIA BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH

PENNSYLVANIA "enjoys" a system of state subsidies to hospitals. Perhaps it is a misnomer to refer to the arrangement as a "system," for the subsidies have been granted by the legislature and distributed apparently without any significant relation to the local needs of the communities, their contributions to the state treasury, the quality of the service rendered by the hospital, or any other factor that might reasonably be supposed to enter into the giving of the state's money to private institutions. The apportionment seems to have rested solely on the simple, naïve hypotheses that if there were sick people whom the state wished to see cared for, and if there were institutions which called themselves hospitals, all the state needed to do was to give lumps of money of varying sizes to these institutions and there it ended.

As a matter of fact it would have been impossible, without

the preliminary installation and supervision of their record-keeping and statistical compilation, to have made careful, detailed comparisons of the institutions, had there been any desire to do so.

Of course it is everywhere said that politics plays its usual rôle in determining the amounts of these subsidies, and as no other principle has been discovered, politics will have to assume responsibility. The State Board of Charities exercises a vague, general supervision over the requests of institutions to see that they provide some free beds for the care of the indigent sick, but no definite standards have been imposed and the board has no real disciplinary powers. So matters have gone on year after year.

Naturally, the more intelligent citizens are dissatisfied with the whole scheme of subsidizing private institutions. Their dissatisfaction expressed itself in 1913 in the organization of

the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania to investigate the workings of the "system" and to agitate for the substitution of more modern and effective methods. The first annual report of that organization states:

"For years a persistent protest had been heard from medical conventions, women's club meetings and social workers' conferences that the method of making charitable appropriations in Pennsylvania was unscientific and unjust and resulted in the neglect of the state's wards. From various and increasing sources the system of state appropriations to private charities had been discredited on five specific counts: That it crippled our public institutions and prevented the fulfilment of our public obligations; that it encouraged the development of unnecessary private charities; that it discouraged private philanthropy; that it confused public responsibility with private benevolence and hindered the development of a uniform and clear-cut system of charities; that it carried our charities into politics and resulted in gross political abuses.

"This widespread but unorganized sentiment reached its climax at the fourth Pennsylvania Conference of Charities and Correction at Wilkesbarre in October, 1912. A Committee on Standards and Classification in Granting State Aid reported to the conference on the weaknesses and incongruities of the present system of making appropriations, and declared that 'appropriations from the state treasury should not be made to charities under private management until the reasonable needs of the state have been fully met and an adequate system of state institutions fully developed.'"

During the year 1913 the Committee on Municipal Charities, a self-appointed body of prominent citizens with a large representation from the medical profession, came into being in Philadelphia to advise with the mayor and the administrators of the Department of Health and Charities on the problems which confronted the city. The sub-committee on hospitals found virgin soil for its researches. Not even an authentic list of the Philadelphia hospitals was in existence, so the sub-committee compiled one and with a few exceptions, gave some pertinent facts about each. Among these data were the number of beds, number of physicians, nurses, graduate and pupil; the number of the various kinds of patients, dispensary, private and ward; the income from various sources and whether the hospital had a social service department or not. The following table,¹ showing data relating to ten hospitals picked at random from the thirty-nine in Philadelphia which received state aid, is illuminating:

Hospital	PATIENTS			RECEIPTS 1910			Beds
	Dispensary	Ward	Private Room	From Patients	State Appropriation	Other Income	
Frankford	2,444	1,033	....	\$9,753	\$22,500	\$8,948	75
Hahnemann	11,744	2,468	1,000	58,204	77,500	19,782	300
Howard	13,391	622	227	20,871	7,500	2,692	80
Jefferson	24,454	4,687	1,323	97,871	95,000	59,582	359
Medico-Chirurgical	Unreliable data	Unreliable data	Unreliable data	48,177	100,000	No data	439
Mercy	1,924	256	....	2,333	5,000	1,533	20
Mt. Sinai	15,230	1,143	100	389	15,000	No data	56
Polyclinic	17,894	1,449	297	14,487	40,000	9,915	108
St. Agnes	14,714	2,952	307	45,670	25,000	9,536	241
Woman's	6,839	1,314	642	26,896	20,000	3,209	160

In 1915 these hospitals received the following amounts: Frankford, \$27,500; Hahnemann, \$60,000; Howard, \$10,000; Jefferson, \$97,500; Medico-Chirurgical, \$75,000; Mercy, \$5,000; Mt. Sinai, \$33,000; Polyclinic, \$32,500; St. Agnes, nothing; Woman's, \$27,000. Several of Philadelphia's best hospitals—notably the Pennsylvania—neither apply for nor receive any public aid.

Just publishing the facts was sufficient to show up the subsidies.

As the sub-committee had a somewhat different purpose in mind, it emphasized Philadelphia's need for the regulation

and planning in the location and size of hospitals, and finding the proper relation between city institutions, those state-subsidized, and those privately supported. Unquestionably the general hospital situation, including the subsidies, was and is a hodge-podge.

When the legislature appropriated, in 1915, nearly \$5,000,000 of subsidies for the two-year period, 1915-17, it empowered the State Bureau of Medical Education and Licensure to make an inspection of the 166 state-aided hospitals which exist in Pennsylvania, and to see that a certain portion of the money was spent to modernize the backward ones. The bureau straightway set about its task. It was an interesting job, and it is an interesting report that was made to the governor on September 1, 1916.

The state bureau acted upon the theory that "a hospital, to be worthy of the name and of the confidence of the public, should first be so manned and equipped as to perform efficient service, even if it be to only a few." Definite standards of equipment and efficiency, so far as they have been developed in hospital management, were applied in this inspection.

Among the requirements which the state bureau set up for a good, modern hospital are: clinical, pathological, serological, bacteriological, bio-chemical and X-ray laboratory services, a maternity service, isolation rooms, a complete system of case records, autopsy service, a morgue, terminal rooms and experienced anesthetists. The exclusion of patients suffering from venereal diseases is classed as a deficiency.

As was to be expected, when measured by these tests, many of the subsidized institutions were found to be sadly lacking. But the situation is by no means hopeless. At the time of the first inspection, says the report, "an outline of requirements was clearly presented to each institution with a request that immediate efforts be made to comply with the program presented." Almost all of the hospital administrators, the report states, are of an open mind and are rapidly bringing up their institutions to at least passable standards. Although it makes numerous criticisms, the report deals gently with the hospitals and omits all reference to particular institutions. It is wholly considerate and helpful in its tone. Mention is made of the existence of certain grave abuses and the disinclination of a few responsible hospital officials to remedy those conditions. On these the bureau offers to give the governor specific facts if he wishes them.

Since the first investigation, a re-inspection of the hospitals outside Philadelphia has been made and about twenty institutions are now in difficulties; the unpaid portions of their appropriations are being held up pending a decision of the attorney-general as to whether or not payments can be regularly withheld on the recommendation of the state bureau to the auditor-general.

In addition to toning up the individual institutions, this report has given some attention to the larger aspects of the hospital subsidy problem. The increase in the number of hospitals is ascribed to the fact that "dissensions arose in the management or among the patronizing physicians of the original plant. A division occurred, and the seceding professional men started another hospital."

The bureau suggests that state aid be withheld from institutions which are duplicating the work of others, and "that the policy of the state tend rather toward an effort to perfect the most promising ones by concentrating the available funds upon these."

If this policy is adopted, there will remain but a short step to direct state control and administration, which would perhaps be the most logical and satisfactory evolution from the subsidy system.

¹ Taken from the Report of the Committee on Municipal Charities of Philadelphia, 1913, p. 90.

Turning Off the Spigot

By Elizabeth Tilton

VI.—Is Beer the Cure for the Drink Evil?

"In London at various periods in the early part of 1916 a total number of 903 cases of drunkenness were analyzed, of whom 566 were men and 337 women. Dividing the cases according to cause of drunkenness it was found that 40 per cent had become drunk on beer or stout, 35 per cent on spirits excluding rum, 8 per cent on rum, 10 per cent on spirits and beer, 4 per cent on other drinks. The remaining 17 per cent did not know the nature of their drink."—LORD D'ABERNON, chairman British Board of Control, October, 1916.

"The so-called abstinence movement in the middle of the nineteenth century was only against distilled liquors and came to nothing, or rather it drowned in beer."—PROFESSOR FOREL.

IS beer the cure for the drink evil? That is the question that I want to answer in this article, and I purpose to do it by presenting three cases—first, the case against so-called moderate drinking, second, the case against beer itself, and third, various beer experiments that have been tried.

Frankly, when I became interested in alcohol-prevention work, I believed that men must drink and that, therefore, the best thing to do was to abolish by law distilled liquors like whiskey, and keep beer for the laboring man and wines for the clubman. I fancy I had the idea of the old poem:

For the want of a drop of good beer
Drives lots to tipples more dear,
And they licks their wives
And destroys their lives
Which they would not have done upon beer.

I believe today that men can "lick their wives" on beer and most decidedly "destroy their lives"; in short, that there is no efficient way out of this drink evil but total abstinence supplemented as fast as the sentiment ripens by prohibition of all alcoholic liquors.

My change of opinion was due first to a study of the scientific case against moderate drinking.

This case is a fairly young one, having its aggressive beginnings in the eighties of the nineteenth century. Professor Kräpelin, of Germany, is the father of the many tests that have convinced many thoughtful men that even moderate drinking lowers efficiency. Professor Kräpelin came at his truth by accident. He wanted to measure the mind's action in sickness and in health; to do this he had to throw a healthy man into temporary ill-health by giving him drugs. Among these he gave alcohol and was surprised to find how depressant was its effect. Thereafter, he made many experiments with moderate doses (from seven and one-half to sixty grams), noting the time-reactions, the quickness of response to a given stimulus, before and after alcohol. I think even the most severe critics agree that these experiments did indicate that even so-called moderate drinking will "slow a man down."¹

Many experiments followed Kräpelin. In passing, I will give one test as an example of many. It was made by Herr Joss, at the Protestant Seminary in Berne, Switzerland. Joss tested the capacity of some students to do mental arithmetic. (*Internationale Monatsschrift*, 1900; No. 12.)

Finally he took eighteen boys (about seventeen years of age) and formed them into two equal groups, the "sober" and the "drinking" group. All of these students boarded at the Seminary and had, therefore, the same living conditions. Seven were abstainers, the rest drank their occasional glass of beer. The sober group (including all the abstainers) during the experiment never took any alcoholic drink. To the drinking group Joss gave a little over a pint, later a little over a quart of 4.5 per cent beer.

He found that both quantities gave an immediate momentary increase in mental capacity. He gives tables showing precisely what both quantities did to the "sums" of his pupils and I give below the essential result:

EXPERIMENTS WITH BEER			
Eighteen students: 9 took about a pint of beer (5 dl.), 9 took no alcohol.			
	Possible number of right solutions	Without alcohol	With alcohol
Immediately after taking..	400	254	268
After 1 hour.....	360	197	185
After 2 hours.....	360	215	197
After 3 hours.....	360	209	176
Nine took about a quart of beer (10 dl.); 9 took no alcohol.			
	Possible number of right solutions	Without alcohol	With alcohol
Immediately after taking..	400	268	300
After 1 hour.....	360	212	189
After 2 hours.....	360	210	149
After 3 hours.....	360	208	151

It is seen that even the brimming pint of beer, while it gave, as did the larger amount, a momentary acceleration, thereafter decreased mental capacity. Herr Joss sums up his experiments thus: "Temperate use of alcohol, that is, one to two glasses of beer, caused an initial facilitation of mental work but showed serious after-effects since after 1, 2, 3 hours a considerable lessening of performance appeared (thus, 1 hour, 4.9 per cent; 2 hours, 10.9 per cent; 3 hours, 12.5 per cent)." The genial Joss says further: "We hope that this use of alcohol caused no enduring harm. At first there was a threat of moral injury as the drinker group took to their glasses with considerable pleasure, were happy over their initial victory. But gradually the jubiliations went dumb. The good fellows sat before their quart of beer as if it were a bitter medicine. They were heartily glad when the struggle was over."

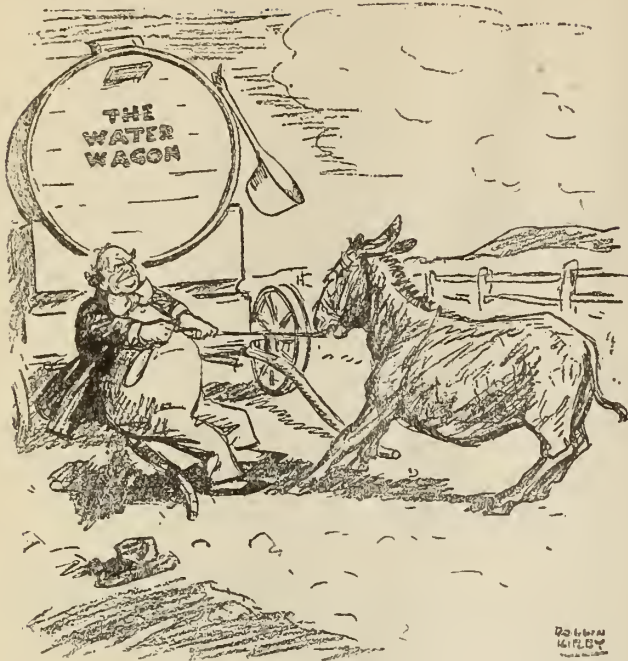
Now, of course, the making of these experiments is very delicate and it has been thought loopholes in them invalidated the exactness of each statement. I give below some of the principle criticisms² showing why there has been a call for more careful tests. Benefiting from the experience of the men who have gone before, the Carnegie Nutrition Laboratory, Boston, is engaged in making an extensive investigation, covering a period of years, of the physiological effects of alcohol. The first volume of these researches is already published and I give herewith a short account of these experiments, in so far as the language of the work will permit of elucidation.

There were ten normal subjects. They were not total abstainers, their histories were rigidly studied and their living conditions at the time regulated. Two doses of alcohol were given, dose A, 30 cubic centimetres; dose B, 45 cubic

¹ Even Dr. Ulrik Quensel, of Sweden, whose rigid examinations of anti-alcohol literature are quoted in the Brewers' Year Book, says of the Kräpelin tests: "New investigations made on a larger number of persons and with a greater variety of method are desirable, but Kräpelin and his followers, nonetheless, established that alcohol in comparatively small doses affects disadvantageously certain activities of psychic life."

² Objections, for example, are that some of the experiments were not made on enough people; that the alcohol was not diluted or was gulped down; that the experiments were made on abstainers, upon whom the effect of alcohol would be greater than upon drinkers; that the self-consciousness of the men experimented upon would change results; and, again, that not enough was known of the living conditions of the men taking the doses.

Kirby in New York World



"BALKY MAUD"

William Jennings Bryan has announced that prohibition is the next great issue before the Democratic party

centimetres. Thirty cubic centimetres is about the amount of alcohol in a quart of beer or a wine-glass of whiskey. The alcohol was taken in dilution and sipped naturally. Although the subjects knew of the experiment, several of the tests were on actions so purely reflex as to seem to exclude any invalidation because of self-consciousness. For example, the purpose of the first experiment was to discover whether or not the so-called moderate doses of alcohol above mentioned made the knee jerk come less quick and strong. Great care was taken to control the tests. A small hammer, magnetically released, administered a blow on the tendon beneath the knee-

Kirby in New York World



A BAD CASE OF NERVES

Governor Whitman, a Republican, has come out for prohibition for New York state, without naming the brand

pan and an instrument called a Blix-Sandstrom kymograph run at the rate of 100 millimeters per second recorded the action. The variations in the response are recorded to the 1/1,000 of a second.³

Though there were "wide individual departures from the average," the data on the whole support the conclusion of a decreased response under alcohol, that is, the jerk did come less quick and strong or, to use the book's own vernacular, "the latent time of response was increased 10 per cent and the degree of the thickening of the muscles decreased 46 per cent." Indeed to quote Dr. Fisk, "so extreme was this effect that it made it impossible to measure the knee-jerk of several subjects after Dose B."

The next experiment was also on another action most purely reflex, on the eye-wink. Here again it was found that alcohol impaired the normal wink, so to speak; it did not come so quickly or flash so far (latent time of response being increased 7 per cent; extent of the lid movement decreased 19 per cent). After this, somewhat higher mechanisms were approached, finger movements, speed and accuracy of eye-movements in looking from one point to another, speech reactions to a series of words, and so on. Dr. Benedict, one of the experimenters, sums up the final results thus: "With only one apparent exception (the eye reaction after Dose A) alcohol regularly tends to depress neuro-muscular action." Or if you like Connie Mack's vernacular better, "Alcohol slows a man down."

So also does sleep slow a man down. The fact, however, that the slowing down which follows alcohol quickens the pulse rate, "prohibits us," says our experimenter, "from regarding the neuro-muscular depression incident to alcohol as a conservative process like sleep."

This last word of science on alcohol and efficiency is one more confirmation of the former Kräpelin tests, indicating that the case against moderate drinking is proved; if by moderate drinking you mean the amount of alcohol that would be contained in a wine glass of whiskey or in from a pint to a quart of beer. There is as yet no proof that a "thimbleful drink" will harm a healthy adult.

But this—the point where alcohol becomes harmless—lets us into a whole world of discussions. As long ago as 1903, C. Fränkel sent a questionnaire on this subject to ninety-three professors of medicine in Germany. Many of the answers were opinions based on no special scientific data. C. Fränkel himself gives the gist of the replies thus: "Adult and healthy persons can stand small quantities, 30 to 40 cubic centimeters of alcohol (as much as about one quart of beer, a tumbler of wine, or a wine-glass of brandy) in the course of a day without any evident and injurious effect. Even these should avoid the regular consumption also of small quantities. He only is truly moderate who does not use alcoholic beverages every day, but does it only occasionally and within the above-mentioned limit." (Brewers' Year Book, 1914). Quensel, also widely quoted by the brewers, gives all sorts of opinions. For himself, he says, that if all men could keep within the limit of about 30 cubic centimeters daily, it is probable that we should not have any serious alcohol problem, especially if this dose were not a daily habit. "But," he adds, "to determine with exact scientific accuracy where abuse begins is not at the present time possible." Many, of course, point out that the dose would vary with the individual, and that there is always the risk of increasing the dose, temperance in drugs being well-nigh impossible to mankind as a whole. Dr. Scharffenberg, proba-

³ For a fuller account see Alcohol and Physiology, by Eugene Lyman Fisk. Atlantic Monthly, January, 1917. Without the statement of this kind middle-man, I could not have presented a clear statement of the above.

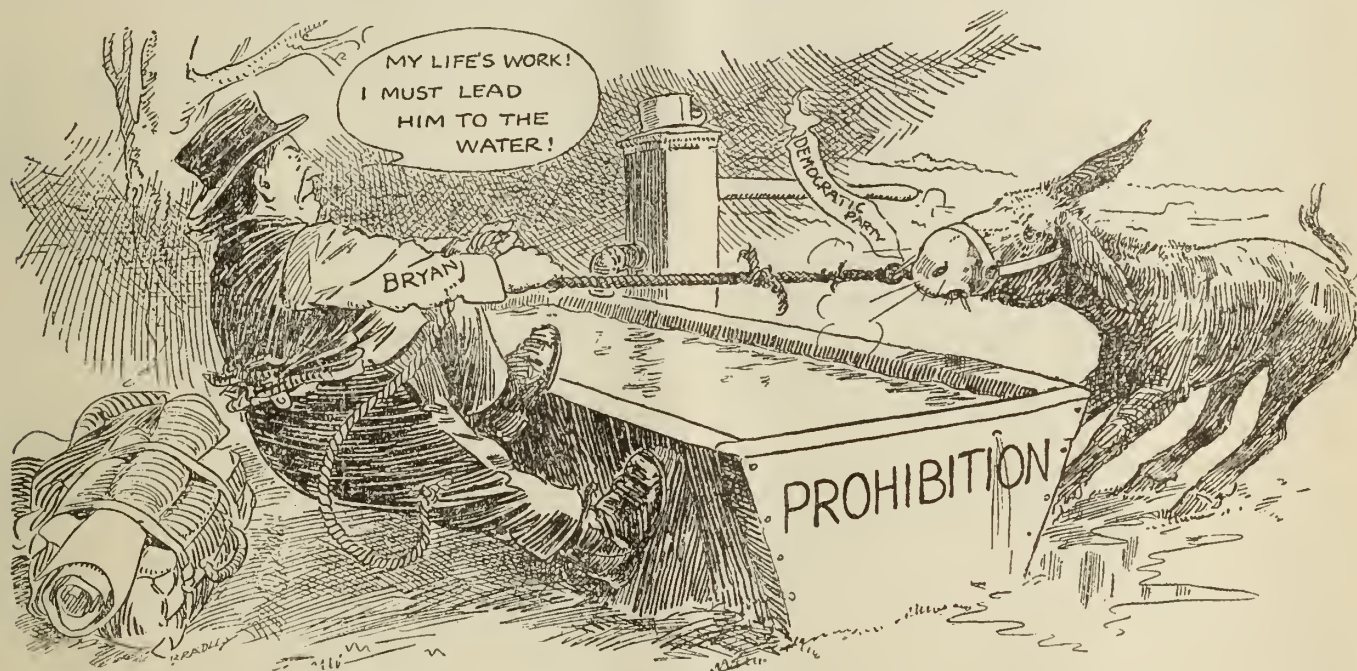
bly the most prominent advocate of total abstinence in Norway, says: "I . . . think it improbable that very small doses of alcohol could injure the health, though I believe that any daily use is risky. . . . It seems to me impossible to fix a certain daily dose as harmless, and personally I am absolutely unconvinced that the maximum dose of 30 cubic centimetres, defended by various doctors, would, taken daily, be harmless for everybody, even if it were possible to keep to it."

Now to readers who never think about drinking from one year's end to another (and they are legion among my readers), a pint of beer seems a goodly amount. My saloon friends, however, say something like this: "You drink till you are lit up—whiskey, a musty, then ale, ale! Talk flows, wonderful warm talk." But the price that is paid for this divine sense of well-being is more than the cost of a glass of whiskey or a pint of beer. In other words, in order to get this euphoria,

abstinence and prohibition, the ideas that men need not drink and that liquor should not be accessible.

When I came to know the scientific movement against moderate drinking, when I found how small possibly harmless doses were, making them for the people that I wanted to help ludicrously impracticable, and also keeping wide open the door to immoderate drinking, I went over to the total abstainers, precisely as the railroads have gone over to them. They do not say "Go into a saloon and drink a tablespoonful of whiskey and no more." They say "Don't go into a saloon and don't drink at all." They refuse to countenance, as far as their employes are concerned, the drink custom or the liquor traffic.

The psychology that builds up a drinkless world is there, the practical reasoning that gets results is there in the stern covenanter policy of "no quarter." And I am with it, because, with the abstaining doctors, I feel that the drink problem is not



"YOU CAN LEAD A HORSE TO WATER BUT—"

Drawn some time ago by Bradley of the Chicago "Daily News," who died on January 9. A Democratic Congress has taken some long dry steps, but the national prohibition amendment to the federal constitution, now out of committee in the House, is not expected to pass the Senate in these final days of the session.

the addict of the saloon must use quantities far exceeding the possibly harmless amounts mentioned above, and must increase his amounts because it is the nature of sedatives that to continue an effect they must be used in ever-increasing doses.

There are men, however, like Dr. Ulrik Quensel, who believe that it would be better to educate men to the above extreme moderation than to total abstinence. These are the moderates. Others, like Professor Von Gruber, president of the Royal Hygienic Institute, Munich, or Dr. Scharffenberg, of Norway, believe that total abstinence is the more practical thing. This is the idea of the Abstaining Doctors' Society started in Europe by Professor Forel, 1896. These men point out that this alcohol question is not a personal question nor yet alone a medical question. It is also a social question, and while many selected individuals might bring themselves to "thimbleful drinking," mankind in bulk is not equal to this moderation. They point out that the liquor traffic welcomes the ideas of Quensel and the other moderates, realizing instinctively that the majority of men can never conform to an occasional thimbleful. What the liquor interests fight is total

personal nor medical alone, but social. It is not a question of what you might do, but what mankind in bulk will do when exposed to a world that sanctions the drink custom and the open saloon.

The readiness of scientific men in Germany to sacrifice their beer for the good of the race is very impressive to me. We read not only of abstaining doctors, but of every kind of abstaining societies, even to abstaining philologists. *Vorwärts*, the organ of the Social-Democrats, demands nothing short of complete abstinence. And since 1900 beer consumption in Germany has shown a declining tendency. It seems strange that the physician and the scientist, with us, is so often white-blooded about a movement so plainly hygienic and social and moving so fast abroad. We are strong in Prohibition that says No to the traffic, but weak in that stronger things, Organized Total Abstinence that says No to the Custom.

VII.—The Case Against Beer

The case against moderate drinking really makes the case against beer. There might, however, be those who reason

that beer is less harmful, and so may be used as a half-way house, a step toward the final goal, total abstinence. Let us take up, then, the relative harm of distilled liquors and beer. This takes us straight to Germany, the land that has tried beer, if ever land has. Hear Germany talk and a picture immediately arises of the excessive drinking induced by beer. Speaking of Munich, Kräpelin says: "The daily amount there runs from four to eight quarts a day; and about 40 per cent of these beer drinkers add small amounts of distilled liquors, and some men drink daily ten, fifteen and twenty quarts." We do not in America drink beer to such excess, possibly because with us it is not considered bad form to drink whiskey. Consequently, a man who wants to secure "the kick," for which so many drink, hurries the result by drinking whiskey and then beer. In Germany whiskey is more the drink of the lower classes.

Let us now get a picture of the recent German battle against beer. Etiology, the science of the causes of disease, came forward in the eighties. Beer was found to be a chief offender. Noted investigators of this disease-maker were Bauer and Bollinger. They found that out of 5,700 autopsies conducted in a series of years in the Pathological Institute of Munich only six women (the more temperate sex) had died of that enlargement of the heart afterward called beer heart. But one out of every sixteen males had died of it. Sendtner, following up these researches, found that while the general death rate elsewhere (according to the Gothaer Life Insurance) was 5.8 from heart disease, in beer-soaked Munich it was 11.9. He also found that brewery hands in Munich had an even higher death rate from heart disease than did the Munich population in general.⁴ Gradually diseases arising from excessive beer-drinking became acknowledged; the well-known physiologist, Professor von Struempell, brought the matter sharply before

⁴ These figures bring to mind Arthur Hunter's investigation covering forty-three life insurance companies and 2,000,000 policyholders.

BREWERIES		Death rate above normal
Proprietors, managers, superintendents.....		35 per cent
Clerks		30 per cent
Foremen, masters, beer-pump repair men, journeymen.....		52 per cent

Starrett in New York Tribune



ST. GEORGE AND THE FLAGON

No single issue proposed by England's war government brought forth such strong protest as the proposal for national prohibition. The outcome was a compromise by which the sale of liquor is greatly curtailed

the German public in the nineties. In an article in the *Deutsche Monatsschrift* (Vol. IV, p. 242) he says:

"Formerly whiskey and brandy were the universal evil-doers, the only despised drinks as against 'noble' wine and 'harmless' beer. At present we know that in practice the injurious effects of beer are at least as frequent, if not, indeed, more frequent, than those of distilled liquor. For beer-drinking has pressed into all grades of society, and while distilled liquor, with rare exceptions, finds its victims only in the lower sections of the working population, we find the injurious effects of too free beer-drinking (Gambrinism, as I call it) especially among the more cultivated classes. Gambrinism, moreover, differs medically in many respects from simple alcoholism, although the special alcohol effect is to be taken into account in excessive beer-drinking. For although the percentage of alcohol (beer 2 to 4 per cent), is not especially high, yet this low percentage is counteracted by the great quantity drunk; 100 cubic centimetres of beer contain only 3 grams pure alcohol, but a liter contains 30 grams. A moderate beer drinker, who daily drinks his five liters, thus gets every day 150 grams of absolute alcohol into his body. But what gives beer its typical earmark is the fact that beer contains comparatively great quantities of fat-forming, or at least fat-encouraging, foods (malt). Most heavy beer-drinkers are, therefore, overfed. Hence the fatness which may itself become a source of illness. Finally it must be noted that perhaps beer contains besides alcohol other injurious substances from the hops, whose effect is also to be taken into account."

Again, in a lecture at Nuremberg, this same writer says:

"Nothing is more erroneous from the physicians' standpoint than to think of diminishing the destructive effects of alcoholism by substituting beer for other alcoholic drinks, or that the victims of drink are found only in those countries where whiskey helps the people of a low grade of culture to forget their poverty and misery."

I am well aware that the brewers, who, being human, are fighting hard to save their business, can find contrary utterances—especially those made fifteen years ago, before the total abstinence principle was so fully established. But it seems to me that the moderation and beer voices are growing less frequent; that the Kaiser represented the best recent thought of Germany when in 1910 he asked his naval cadets to teach the men under them to give up alcohol. I will quote, also, utterances of various doctors and scientists.

Prof. Emil Kräpelin: "In the production of alcoholism in Germany, beer undoubtedly plays the chief rôle. It must be conceded that beer is capable of producing typical delirium tremens."

Prof. Gustav von Bunge: "No other drink [referring to beer] is so insidious. It has been in Germany worse than the whiskey pest because more apt to lead to immoderate drinking."

Professor Möbius, Leipsic: "I know little of whiskey and wine-drinkers. With us it is beer that ruins the people."

Dr. Johannes Leonhart, a distinguished scientist: "The question concerning alcohol is not whether Smith or Jones believes that he can take two or three glasses a day without harm, but how is it possible to diminish the immense amount of injury from it that the whole German people suffer?"

Professor Forel in the *American Journal of Insanity* (1900): "One only needs to study in Germany the 'beer jokes,' beer conversation and beer literature. They have stifled in young Germany the idealism, the taste for the classics and the finer mental pleasures throughout broad parts of the nation and in both sexes, to an extent that makes one cry for help. Among the academic youth of Germany the drinking of beer has truly killed ideals and ethics and has produced an incredible vulgarity."

Dr. Hugo Hoppe, nerve specialist, Königsberg, points out that before the beer invasion of the nineteenth century women and children drank rarely. Now most well-to-do women take their beer with every meal. "Into the children's world also beer has penetrated." This is in line with the Russian Medical Society, which, when it went on record for national prohibition, discussed the reintroduction of beer, but declared against it because beer, being weaker and pleasant to the taste, had great attractions for women and children.

Beer not only would seem to lead to immoderate use (where whiskey is under the ban), but also to family drinking.

"There has been a tendency," says Dr. A. Delbrück, author of *Alcohol and Hygiene* (pp. 480-482), "to make a great distinction among drinks on the basis of concentration, and thus to declare beer a suitable means for driving out spirits: Surely wrong!" He then points out the following facts, first, that in the case of the very light beer (1.5 to 2 per cent alcohol) it is the custom to make it "digestible" by adding a glass of whiskey. Again there is the universal law that the alcohol drinker goes gradually from the weaker to the stronger drinks. But disregarding these two facts, says Dr. Delbrück, it is a matter of common knowledge that men drink beer and wine in much greater quantities than they do whiskey. His figures, showing the quantities drunk in various German and Austrian localities, prove that these beer-drinkers get into their system as much alcohol as does the drinker of distilled liquors. He shows, also, that Bavaria, the country that drinks the most beer, absorbs more pure alcohol than the country that has the highest distilled liquor consumption, Denmark. It may be said that alcohol taken as Bavaria takes it, that is, more in dilution, is less harmful. According, however, to Dr. Delbrück, although it is true that whiskey may do more harm than beer to the mucous membrane of the digestive tract, and possibly to the liver, the other endangered organs, brain, heart, reproductive glands, kidneys, blood vessels, are washed by alcohol in approximately the same concentration whether it is drunk in spirits, beer or fruit wine, and there is added in the case of beer the immoderate amount of fluid so injurious to heart and kidneys. Dr. Delbrück also declares that beer, besides being a creator of special diseases on its own account, can produce delirium tremens. Jacobson found in the general hospital at Copenhagen (the brandy country) that 6 per cent of the cases of delirium tremens came from cases where beer was the exclusive drink. In the Drink Cure, Ellikon, at Zurich, there were always found a considerable number of patients who had drunk no whiskey at all; also some who had drunk only beer and fruit wine.

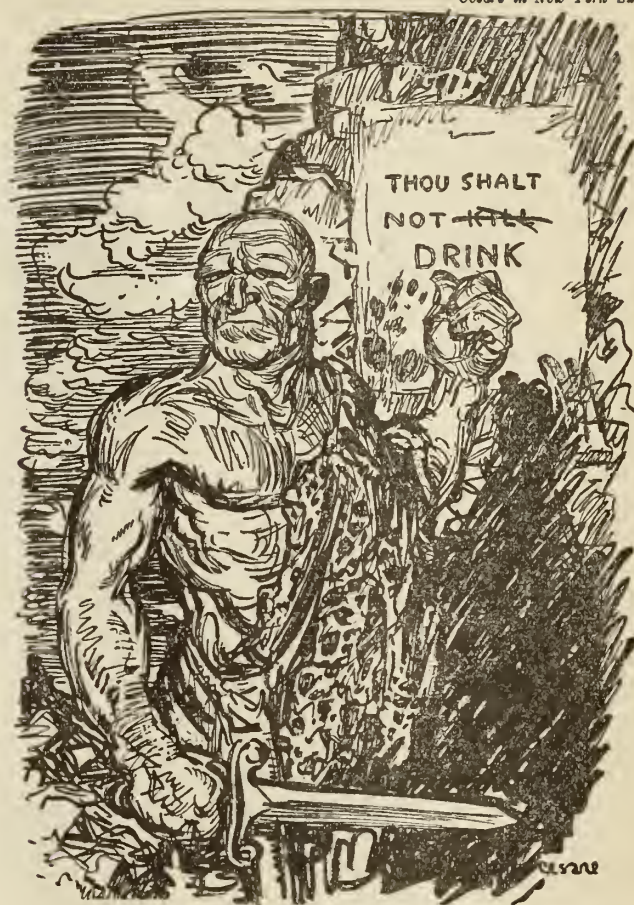
Commenting on all this, Dr. Delbrück declares that while it is true that delirium tremens and liver trouble are much more frequent with whiskey drinkers, yet this is completely cancelled, he believes, by diseases of other organs caused by beer. "In short," he says, "we must conclude that beer is by no means a harmless drink, but it must be classed as an equal with distilled liquors."

Dr. Delbrück is a strong advocate of total abstinence. He declares that moderation has too long been the ideal, that under it men have moved from temperance to intemperance. He believes history shows that headway has been made against drinking only in times of a continuous, bitter struggle for total abstinence.

VIII.—Prohibiting Distilled Liquors and Keeping Beer

I will now pass to the third part of my article—experiments with beer. In 1830 England decided to woo men, if possible,

Caricature in New York Sun



THE NEW SIXTH COMMANDMENT

War has decreed sobriety, not only for soldiers but even more as an efficiency measure for the men who are making munitions and battleships in the factories at home

from drinking distilled liquors by allowing beer saloons without license-fee. These sprang up like mushrooms, the result being (Delbrück, *Alcohol and Hygiene*, page 542) that beer consumption rose 25 per cent in the next five years, while at the same time spirits consumption rose 8 per cent. England found that temperance in drugs was an impossibility, and the whole scheme was finally pronounced a fiasco. Early in the history of the bill, Sydney Smith wrote: "The new beer bill has begun its operations. Everybody is drunk. Those who are not singing are sprawling. The sovereign people are in a beastly state."

A beer experiment was also tried in Iowa. In 1855-58 Iowa was under prohibition. In 1858 the law was amended to allow beer and certain wines. The great trouble was that the beer saloons would sell whiskey under the guise of beer, and there seemed no betterment in it (*Canadian Sessional Papers*, No. 21, p. 255). There is, of course, more money in whiskey than in beer, and hence a temptation to introduce whiskey on the sly into beer saloons.⁵

Massachusetts tried a beer experiment between 1870-73. In 1869, Massachusetts was under prohibition. In 1870, the law was amended to allow ales, porter, beer and cider. Records of the increase of drinking in places where the beer saloons were opened may be found in the report of the (Canadian) Commissioners to Inquire into the Workings of the Prohibitory Law, Ottawa, 1875. Drunkenness and crime increased, and everywhere we hear the complaint that the beer saloon would sell whiskey under the guise of beer. In New Bedford, 1872, the year in which beer saloons were opened, the number of

⁵ For personal memories of the beer law in Iowa, write to Major Fleming, State Historical Library, Des Moines, Iowa.

crimes increased over 68 per cent, and cases of drunkenness over 120 per cent.

Hamlett Bates, police justice, Chelsea, Mass., said on January 3, 1873: "The sale of beer should not be legalized. Almost every beer saloon is a rum-shop."

For the effect of the beer law in Suffolk county, practically the city of Boston, see the comparison below between the prohibition year of 1867 and the beer year 1870.

BEER EXPERIMENT IN BOSTON, MASS.

October 1.

Confined in Suffolk Jail.	
1867 (dry)	173
1870 (wet) with beer.....	222
Difference in favor of prohibition.....	49

Committed to Suffolk County Jail.	
1867 (dry)	3,736
1870 (wet) with beer.....	5,262
Difference in favor of prohibition.....	1,562

Committed to City Prison, Boston.	
1867 (dry)	10,429
1870 (wet) with beer.....	12,862
Difference in favor of prohibition.....	2,433

(Report of Canadian Commissioners, page 75.)

In 1874, Massachusetts was again under prohibition, and Mr. Schade, of the Brewers Congress, reported a decrease of sales of 116,585 barrels in Massachusetts that year over the previous year when the beer law was in force.

It is, however, only fair to say that both the beer experiments of Iowa and Massachusetts were tried at times not favorable to reform, the mind of the country being absorbed in slavery or reconstruction.

Not so, however, the near-beer experiment of Georgia (1908-1916). This came alongside a rising tide of anti-booze sentiment. Georgia passed a prohibition law in 1907. In a few months the law was punctured to allow near-beer. In Atlanta, near-beer was beer up to 3.99 per cent. Thus was Georgia dubbed the "wettest dry state." It seemed to be generally conceded that the bulk of the rural districts remained dry despite the beer amendment. The people were afraid to

have saloons, and got around it by various devices, raising the license fee to farcical heights, and so on.

Most of the cities, on the other hand, Savannah, Augusta and others flouted the beer law. In Augusta, where I was, the saloons ran full blast, selling whiskey unmolested, and so it was in most larger places, according to Mr. Eichelberger, of the Anti-Saloon League. But in Atlanta, a modern go-ahead southern Chicago, the beer experiment seemed to have been better carried out. Judge Broyles was a strong prohibitionist who prosecuted whenever he found whiskey in the saloons. But as for the beer in the saloons being near-beer, Judge Broyles said: "A near-beer law is practically unenforceable, as you cannot have a chemist with every barrel to see that the beer is light." Any beer was sold. It was certainly wet prohibition. Georgia repealed her beer law, and on May 1, 1916, became a real prohibition state. Of Georgia under her new prohibition I shall write elsewhere.

Summary: I believed at one time that the thing to do was to abolish distilled liquors and keep beer under a disinterested management. These beer experiments, taken as a whole, gave me pause. But suppose we could achieve a successful beer experiment, one where no whiskey would be sold by the saloon-keepers. Should I now advocate it?

I should not—my reasons being, first, that scientific experiments show that the amount of beer that a man can take without harm is far below any amount that would satisfy men who desire drink as a regular part of their lives. The experience of Germany shows that once whiskey is declared unfashionable, men drinking, as so many do, to be "lit up," drink so immoderately of beer that they suffer not only from the alcohol in beer, but from overnourishment and perhaps from overworking the heart. Beer is a special disease-maker and also a brutalizer. For myself, I often wonder if there is a real connection between Finland's low alcohol consumption and her low infant mortality, and between Germany's high beer consumption and high infant mortality. However, about this I do not know.

But this one thing I do know—that beer is in no way, shape or manner a cure for the drink evil.

Old Age

By Frederick A. Wright

THE night has come down in utter
Darkness, with gusts of rain
That moan round the eaves, and mutter
In the chimney, and rattle the shutter,
And beat on the window pane.

The boughs of the forest are shaking,
And hark how the wind blows free!
Its myriad voices waking,
Like invisible billows breaking
On the reefs of a shoreless sea.

On the hearth, with feverish flashes,
The coals of the dying fire,
Like eyes beneath falling lashes,
Are sinking, ashes to ashes,
The failing of desire.

COMMON WELFARE



THROUGH THE SCHOOL DOOR INTO MEXICO

THE European crisis has overshadowed two developments in our relations with Mexico which, had they come in normal times, would have provoked widespread attention. With one hand the administration has withdrawn the Pershing expedition—the overhang of the first military method of untangling our border troubles, and with the other hand has sent Ambassador Fletcher to Mexico—the beginning, perhaps, of a new era of civil relations. Opportune, therefore, is the announcement this week that the Mexican-American League, which grew out of the informal peace conferences between Mexicans and Americans in the midst of the tense situation last summer, has been reorganized along lines familiar to those who have followed educational growth in the South.

Seventy-five men and women active in public education in this country make up the Mexican Cooperation Society “for the purpose of promoting education, mutual understanding and cooperative action between the peoples of Mexico and the United States.”

In explaining the society’s program, Paul Kennaday, the executive secretary, writes: “We are going to try to prevent the Mexicans from believing that they are ‘to be done good’ by us, and just as clearly we are not going to be meddling and officious. Nor is all the educating going to be confined to Mexico.”

In Mexico itself the society intends to cooperate with Mexicans who realize the need for a very great extension of popular education. As a first step, it is intended to establish in a suitable center in Mexico a small demonstration school where, in addition to instruction in the usual primary school subjects, children may receive training in agriculture, school gardening, manual training and domestic science. This school is to be undenominational in character and independent of the government. The many successful educational experiments in this country, in most of which members

of the society have taken an active part, will be called upon to furnish models for Mexico. “There is a wealth of material to draw upon,” writes Mr. Kennaday.

“We shall avoid cause for the criticism that we are seeking to educate Mexico through foreign teachers and in ways unfamiliar and perhaps unsuited to Mexico. General supervision will be in the hands of the society and of a small group of intelligent and sympathetic Mexicans. But the daily instruction in the field must be by Mexicans in Mexico and the spirit of the whole must be Mexican. The task of building up an adequate system of popular education in Mexico is a stupendous one and is so recognized by the Mexicans. We, as they, see it to be their task and not ours. But we believe it to be a burden which we can help, somewhat, to lighten.

“The question is naturally asked whether the society is a peace organization. We are not, yet if but the half of our program is carried out, there will be no more talk of war with Mexico.”



FEBRUARY WARNING

Legislative Almanac: “About this time watch out for canneries bill exempting women and children from the provisions of the labor law to save next summer’s peaches and peas.” The “World” cartoon above is a year old. The canneries bill is a hardy perennial, native to all states in the north temperate zone

MILK DISTRIBUTION A PUBLIC UTILITY

A JOINT commission of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware, appointed three months ago to study methods by which the price of milk to the consumer might be reduced without discouraging the dairy industry, presided over by Prof. Clyde L. King, of the University of Pennsylvania, has issued its report. Its recommendations extend both to production and distribution; they include suggestions for increased state and municipal supervision to safeguard purity; and attempt to harmonize the interests of all the parties concerned—producers, dealers and consumers.

The chief of the recommendations is that milk distribution shall be recognized as a public utility. That implies the keeping of accounts by dairymen and dealers in a form prescribed by the state and state examination of accounts; the licensing of all dealers (already in effect); the licensing of testers in receiving stations; the standardization of prices.

This recommendation was not evolved theoretically but by a commission composed largely of prominent dairymen, enlightened milk dealers and professors of appropriate branches of agriculture. Public hearings were held once in Baltimore and twice in Philadelphia. The report states that “farmers, dealers, experts, common carriers, educational institutions and individual members of the staffs of educational institutions” assisted the commission in its work. The acceptance of the public utility theory, thus, was the logical outcome of a close study of facts. Both producers and distributors agreed to it.

One of the greatest obstacles to keeping down the price of milk during part of the year and to maintaining during another a price at which dairying remains a paying business, always has been the seasonal inequality of production which, of course, is due to climatic conditions. To some extent this can be overcome by storage of milk in the form of butter, cheese or condensed milk, or by the

stimulation of new uses at times of greatest yield, such as ice cream or confectionery.

But under the best of circumstances this only gets rid of a part of the surplus. The commission, therefore, had to think of means by which production itself might be increased in winter and retarded in summer. This, it decided, can be accomplished by having more cows freshen in August—a change which conservative dairymen will perhaps spurn but which is quite practicable. But even then, if prices are to represent more nearly actual costs than they now do, they have to vary more than at present between the seasons.

Another difficulty is that milk as a food for adults is in direct competition with other foods, also greatly varying in price. While meat and eggs, considering food value, usually are dearer than milk, plant foods are cheaper. A distinct rise in the price of milk during part of the year with a view to regularizing production, therefore, leads to a diminution of the amount of milk actually consumed. In this connection it is stated that the per capita consumption of milk rapidly increased during the years 1901 to 1915 when the price was stable at eight cents. But as soon as prices rose—owing to a considerable increase in the cost of labor and of grain—working-class consumption in the larger cities went down.

To complicate the matter still further, the sources of supply for the cities in these three states are continually widening. Philadelphia gets only 40 per cent of its milk supply from an area within a distance of forty miles. Since cases are now pending before the Interstate Commerce Commission for interstate rates and before the Public Service Commission of Pennsylvania for intrastate rates, the commission did not deem it advisable to make an investigation of milk rates on the railroads. This, however, is one of the most important points, for competition from a distance, often from areas more distinctly suitable for dairy farming, and production of milk as a side line by tenant farmers principally engaged in other forms of agriculture, are among the most prominent reasons why dairying in the immediate vicinity of cities is often unremunerative.

These problems are not easily solved. Yet "the supply of milk must be permanent and adequate to all community needs, and to this end the price cannot permanently go below the cost of production, and tendencies in that direction ought to be foreseen and forestalled." As one possible method of insuring a fair return without unduly raising prices, the commission has laid out a plan for grading milk into three classes, in addition to that known as "certified." This, some of the dealers consider both prac-

ticable and desirable, while others do not feel that the state should recognize and allow to be sold any but grade A milk.

Present methods of milk inspection, in this report, come in for considerable criticism. The existing practice in Philadelphia is stigmatized as "entirely inadequate." Both in state and city more inspectors are needed, and the budget of appropriations prepared by the commission provides for increased expenditure also on clerical help, automobiles for inspectors, purchase of milk samples, printing and stationery.

A bill before the Pennsylvania legislature is strongly supported by the commission. It provides for the registration, with the payment of a fee, of milk establishments of any kind, the issuance of licenses, classification of milk establishments, and penalties for the sale of unwholesome milk or unnecessary handling of milk and milk products.

The commission does not seem to have considered the lowering of cost which might be secured by reducing wasteful duplication of routes in the retail distribution of milk which other recent studies suggest.

BUSINESS MEN ON HEALTH INSURANCE

DOWNRIGHT opposition to any form of compulsory state insurance, in particular the Mills health insurance bill before the New York state legislature, comes from the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York. At its February meeting the chamber voted to oppose the Mills bill because it "contemplates the creation of a very large overhead charge to be paid by the state and commits the state to the payment in addition of one-fifth of the funds" required; this in the face of the fact that "the state is now overburdened with taxation and the committees of the legislature having the matter in charge are at a loss to know how to raise increased revenues for the current year."

Not only the Mills bill, but "any similar bill at this time," is opposed. Instead, the chamber would create a commission composed of "representatives of business, of capital and labor, one or more physicians, a health officer, an economist, a lawyer, an actuary and a social worker or sociologist." Their task would be to investigate "the condition of employes, particularly in the various trades; to ascertain whether they are paid a living wage; to investigate the conditions under which they live; and the extent to which, in their judgment, sickness and accident can be reduced by increased activity on the part of existing agencies of the state government, and to ascertain as nearly as may be what the cost of provisions similar to those laid down in Senate bill No. 69 [the Mills bill] will be, if divided equitably be-

tween the employer and the employe, and what the cost to the state will be if it assumes the entire expense of supervision and administration."

The principle of health insurance is approved—"an obligation rests on the community and the industries of the community to take care of employes who are unable to work through sickness and who by reason of small wage have not been able to make provision against that contingency." But, the resolution recites, "it is not clear from the facts in our possession that this or any similar plan will meet that obligation."

The facts referred to are contained in a 90-page pamphlet, Social Insurance with Special Reference to Compulsory Health Insurance, written by John Franklin Crowell, executive officer of the chamber (copies may be had on application to 65 Liberty street, New York city).

"Now, after the great powers of religion and morality have seemingly failed to accomplish their purpose," writes Dr. Crowell, "the principle of insurance is appealed to for solving the last of our great social problems, the problem of eliminating human illness and human poverty—twin ulcers of our civilization." And "social insurance is one of the means by which the moral sense of the community expresses its demands in the effort not only to place the man above the dollar, but to have the dollar provided in reserve to save the man when it is most needed."

European systems of sickness insurance are summarized and held to be unsuitable for importation for various reasons—the German because it was established so long ago that it misses all the modern movement for preventive public-health work, the English because of creaky joints in the administrative machinery, due to rushing it through to meet a political situation without calling into play the British "genius for research."

More fundamental than these objections, Dr. Crowell argues that the poverty and exploitation of the weakest among laboring forces, with resulting widespread sickness, do not exist in this country and that European insurance systems based on such conditions are, therefore, not needed here. Such widely diverse witnesses as Frederick L. Hoffman, of the Prudential Insurance Company, and Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, are summoned in support of this contention.

Throughout, the pamphlet or brief puts the case for business men. It describes the medical profession as a state-protected "monopoly" and "union" and pleads for delay in adopting the suggestions of the doctors and others who have busied themselves in "concocting laws affecting business vitally, but which have

not received the serious attention of the business community." The members of the Committee on Social Insurance of the American Association for Labor Legislation, which drafted the "model" bill which the Mills bill follows, are all given, with the exception of Mr. Hoffman, of the Prudential, who only recently resigned. "These are all estimable names in their respective professional fields," says the report. "But there is no representation whatever of business interest on this committee of ten; nor is labor, in whose behalf this association avowedly exists, represented."

The author quotes with relish a statement by the Massachusetts Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association that the minimum-wage law of that state was enacted through the efforts of those "whose livelihood is largely derived from service in this or that 'social welfare' organization, theorists on sociology, an occasional college professor and, finally, a large proportion of well-to-do women whose sympathetic tendencies far outweigh their analytical grasp of the laws underlying the business and economic relations of mankind."

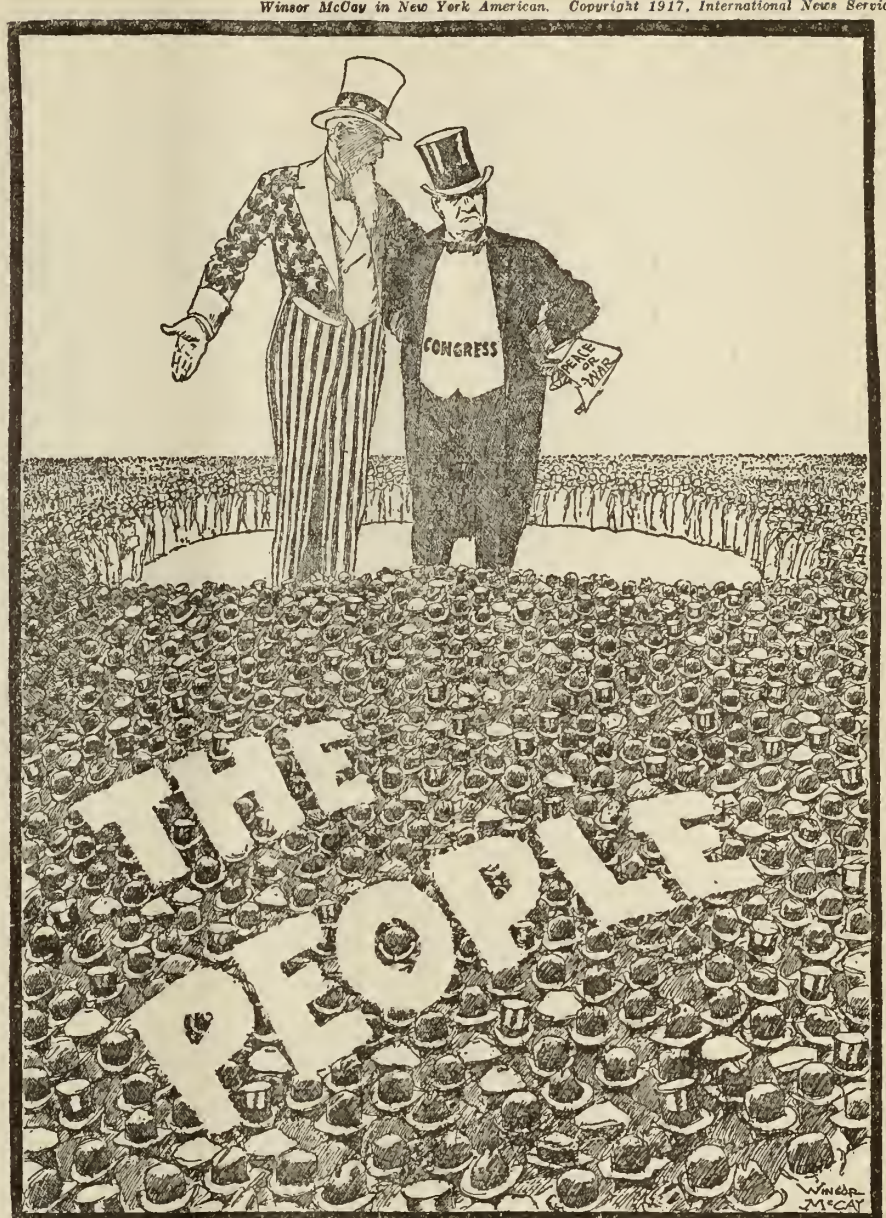
From this Dr. Crowell argues for an "American system of social insurance" based on a great development of the existing sick-benefit funds of lodges, unions and other voluntary organizations, together with the public-health agencies, hospitals and dispensaries.

FOOD FOR THE STRONG OF STOMACH

RELIEF workers in New York city are offering compliments and regrets to those who would apply to their work for needy families the results of the police squad diet experiment. The experiment demonstrated that this picked crew of athletic young men can flourish on a diet costing twenty-five cents a day for each man, the food bought from the ordinary corner grocery store open to all purchasers. The diet allowance of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor is thirty cents a day for an adult in good health, more for the sick and convalescent.

But, the relief workers point out, the buying, cooking and bossing were done by experts under the supervision of Mary Schwartz Rose, assistant professor of nutrition at Columbia University, whereas the ordinary household's food must be handled by the untrained housewife. Moreover, the diet does not apply to families in which there are growing children, who require more nutritious and expensive food. There is, further, they point out, the well-established gameness of the New York cop which would carry him through such an experiment, once undertaken, whereas the ordinary person has but a sulky appetite for the unpalatable.

The official report of the experiment,



UNCLE SAM: "LET THEM DECIDE!"

to be published shortly by the Home Economics Department of Columbia University and the Life Extension Institute, will doubtless answer many criticisms not only of the application of the experiment but of the experiment itself. For the original plan, it is stated, was neither to show that present relief work is extravagant nor to set up a whole new standard based on a 21-day-test; nor were the published menus to be taken as recommended for general use to the exclusion of all others.

Mrs. Rose believes that "the average New York man" can live on twenty-five cents a day—if he wants to—but that a child will cost more in proportion because of the cost of "growing material"—eggs, milk, fruit and fresh vegetables. "The minimum diet is always too low for good relief work," says Mrs. Rose. "But experts must buy and prepare the food or else a margin must be left for errors of judgment in buying and cooking. The experiment shows what is

best to do when one has a little to spend; it does not prove that every family can maintain its efficiency on an allowance so near the nutrition danger mark."

MARKING THE SPREAD OF COMMUNITY CENTERS

"THE community center movement is growing. In six weeks newspaper clippings show either the installation of new community-center systems or a new newspaper-led campaign for installing them, in nineteen American cities, East and West. Ten years ago the phrase was so little known that when an advanced class in education in a western university attempted to discuss social centers in the schools, even the instructor thought it referred to basket parties for the poor, carried out by school children. Now we consider social center an obsolete term and use community center instead."

This quotation is taken from the first number of a new magazine, the *Com-*

munity Center, published by the National Conference on Community Centers and edited by John Collier, its secretary, with Edward M. Barrons as managing editor. The first four issues, to be published before the second National Conference on Community Centers in Chicago next April, take a frankly tentative form as bulletins. In them will be printed the papers read at the first conference, held in New York city last spring. A more journalistic form and scope are expected to develop from the second meeting.

This first number contains contributions on overhead organization, self-governing working-girls' clubs, freedom through self-support, the cooperative principle and other matters of practical interest. Reports from various cities show a refreshing variety of activities undertaken. A center in Springfield, Mass., has been fitted up with complete gymnasium facilities. In Detroit, community center activities have been joined to the movement for teaching immigrants English, in the hope that self-sustaining neighborhood clubs among the foreign-born will eventually result.

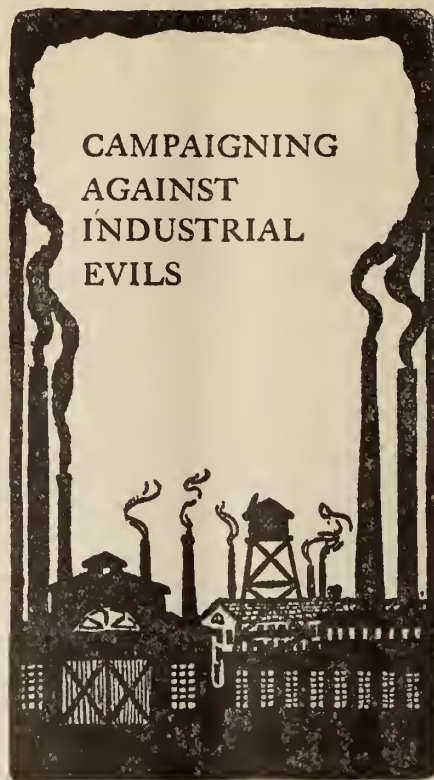
In Boston an Italian group, by presenting a play, Columbus and His Discovery of America, have reminded their New England neighbors to whom belongs the credit for first setting foot upon this continent. Bristol, Conn., is trying to raise \$175,000 for a new community building. In Omaha the education authority has remained so deaf to the entreaties of citizens to let them dance in the public schools that the community center organization was obliged to introduce the "hesitation," the "backslide"—or whatever may be the steps in vogue this winter—into the state institute for the deaf.

A WAITRESS AS GUEST OF CONSUMERS

PASSING the plates is the usual function of a waitress at luncheon, but at the twenty-sixth annual luncheon of the New York City Consumers' League last week, a little waitress was served at the guest table as one of the three principal speakers of the occasion.

Bella Burton has been for twelve years a restaurant waitress, and has worked twelve hours at night till she couldn't stand it longer. Her own story was her plea for a shorter work day for her comrades.

"It's not only putting food down to you that makes it so dreadful," she explained, "it's the rush and tear, especially in the business section. An automobile couldn't stand it running steady twelve and fifteen hours on end, say nothing of a human being. First your feet get out of commission and then all the rest of you goes—your head and back. And if you show you're tired the boss yells: 'Got lead in your feet?'"



From the annual report—the twenty-fifth—of the New York City Consumers' League

"Ignorant foreigners come to this country expecting good conditions," continued Mrs. Burton, "but they get absolutely no protection in restaurants. The girls themselves haven't time to get a law passed—they haven't time to sit down, but they're praying you will help them."

Dr. Alice Hamilton, of Hull House, special investigator of the federal Department of Labor, backed up Mrs. Burton's experience with statistics and facts, proving that long hours and night work result in fatigue-poisoning and lowered vitality. Even in England, where women's labor is most necessary now, Dr. Hamilton claimed that the government is so carefully guarding health that regular hours are less than the seventy-hour week of Illinois working women, and permits for extended hours never make so unrestricted a day as the day of the New York restaurant employees.

In her annual report, Mrs. Frederick Nathan, president of the league for twenty years, said that 58 per cent of the women employed in restaurants worked more than the fifty-four hours a week set by law for store and factory workers, while one-fifth of them worked for twelve hours seven days a week. She urged her hearers to support the Graves bill introduced at Albany, which provides that the working day in restaurants shall not exceed nine hours a day and fifty-four hours a week, and that women shall not be employed between 10 o'clock at night and 6 o'clock in the morning.

Mrs. Nathan thus summed up the future program of the Consumers' League:

Extension of the mercantile law to include restaurants.

Repeal of the Christmas exemption in the present mercantile law, which permits overtime work and exhaustingly long hours seven days preceding Christmas.

Agitation for the eight-hour day in New York state, thus raising it to the standard of Arizona, Colorado, Washington and the District of Columbia.

Education of public opinion and agitation for a minimum wage commission to determine what shall be the minimum wage in the various industries.

Agitation to get a woman's division established in the Labor Department in Washington.

A bill looking toward the eventual abolition of all tenement home work in New York state.

OBJECTIONS TO TROLLEY ARBITRATION PLAN

THE tentative plan for the prevention of street car strikes, drawn by Oscar S. Straus and fathered by the New York Public Service Commission for the first district—New York city—of which he is chairman, had a stormy time last week. It had already run the gauntlet of employers and labor men and emerged with some wounds. Last week numerous spokesmen for "that great third party, the public," joined in the hue and cry.

The opinion expressed was by no means unanimous. Few condemned the plan altogether. Indeed it was heartily approved by a former deputy attorney-general of the state, by a former president of a board of trade in New Jersey, and by Everett P. Wheeler of the Reform Club of New York. All three discussed the plan, however, as if it were to apply to steam railroads, whereas it is strictly limited in its scope to street railways.

Among the critics, more or less severe, were Florence Kelley, Pauline Goldmark, Felix Adler, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Prof. E. R. A. Seligman, Thomas I. Parkinson, Morris Hillquit and John A. Fitch. One or another of these speakers expressed the belief that the clause requiring officers of unions to sign an agreement to the wage rulings of the commission and not requiring a similar act on the part of the corporation would place labor in a disadvantageous position; that the apparent advantage offered to unions would prove ineffective and that there was insufficient provision for representation of the public on the proposed wage board.

More fundamental to the whole plan was the objection raised to having a rate-making body, appointed presumably for their knowledge of financial and engineering problems, made into a su-

preme court for industrial disputes. It was pointed out that there is no representative of labor on the commission. On one final point, the most vital of all, the critics were fairly agreed. They were opposed to the suspension of the right to strike. The bill as drafted withholds the right to strike "pending" the use of the machinery for adjudication and determination to be set up. The inference intended is that after its exercise the men, if they are still dissatisfied, may strike, as under the Canadian law.

It was pointed out, however, that under the terms of the plan the men would not be free to negotiate an agreement, even though free to strike. The plan provides, specifically, that all agreements, however made, become valid only when they have received the approval of the Public Service Commission. If, therefore, the men were to strike against the terms of a contract which had been approved by the commission, they would find themselves, at the end of it, subject to the commission in all respects, just as before.

It was urged by Professor Seligman, Mr. Fitch and others that whatever differences of opinion there may be over the policy of prohibiting strikes, it ought to be evident to everyone that such a prohibition would be intolerable if the law did not fix definite standards, higher than those prevailing in other employments where the right to strike has not been restricted. Mr. Fitch, who was opposed to any restriction on the right to strike, urged that, if such a prohibition is nevertheless to be put into the law, provision should be made for an eight-hour day and a wage at least 10 per cent higher than that prevailing in other similar employments.

The hearings were ended last Thursday. It is expected that the commission will now revise and redraft its plan, with a view to meeting some of the objections that have been raised.

ROUGH ON BOSTON'S 745,000 RATS

A BILL has been presented to the Massachusetts legislature requiring that all new buildings along the waterfront of Boston be made rat-proof as well as fireproof. This bill is the result of an endeavor to rid the city of its annual expense of \$1,355,000 for the support of rats which, as was suggested last summer, "might carry infection of poliomyelitis," and have been proved to carry infection of bubonic plague.

No outbreak of plague has occurred as yet at the port of Boston; but so many steamers come to Boston ports from South America and Africa where plague is nearly always present that every precaution is, of course, desirable. Throughout the winter the Women's Municipal League has been active in providing publicity matter about the means

of transferring plague infection, as well as about the history of outbreaks of the disease. Also they have given addresses before grocers' associations, showing the economy of removing rat harborages. They have estimated that each rat costs the city \$1.82 a day.

In cooperation with the federal quarantine station at Gallups Island the city Department of Health is examining all rats brought to its laboratory in order to catch any case of plague. At port, rat-guards and other devices are being applied to incoming ships under constant supervision.

The importance of such measures will be the more fully realized by recalling the experience of New Orleans in recent years in this work of rat-eradication. The work there has proved the migratory habits of rats—infected animals being found in six different districts of the state. In the course of laboratory routine, over 100,000 rodents were examined last year. Of these, sixty-seven were found infected. That the infection, once introduced, is difficult to eliminate, is proved not only at New Orleans but

also in Seattle and in California, where it has spread from rats to ground squirrels.

The women's league has published the monograph on rats prepared by Dr. Richard H. Creel, of the federal Public Health Service, who was for some time in charge of the plague prevention service at New Orleans. The study describes the various species of rats in the United States, their prevalence, habits, destructiveness, danger as disease-carriers and the best methods of eliminating them.

CHURCH AND STATE AND SUBSIDIES

IF a recent decision of the Circuit Court of Cook County, Ill., is upheld by the state Supreme Court, all institutions under the auspices of "any church or sectarian denomination whatever" will be ineligible to receive public funds. Hitherto some have depended upon such funds for a large measure of support.

The decision in this test case was handed down by Judge Jesse A. Baldwin and restrains Cook county from paying \$4,151 to the Chicago Industrial School for Girls. This money is claimed by the school for the care and keep of wards of the state committed to it by the Juvenile Court. Judge Baldwin holds that the payment of this bill would constitute a violation of constitutional provisions. He says in part:

"Under our form of government, and particularly under the constitution of the state of Illinois, it seems to be the established policy that such institutions, however humane and commendable their purposes and accomplishments, may not receive public money to aid in their support. Constitutional provisions of the character involved in this case are self-executing, and being a part of the fundamental law of the state, are binding upon all courts, legislative bodies, organizations and individuals, and it is not open to the court to inquire into or consider the wisdom of the constitutional enactment.

"Children of Catholic parents, or themselves members of that church, are, without conscious selection or preference on their part, committed to institutions by the Juvenile Court under a statute which provides that the court in committing children shall place them as far as practicable in the care and custody of some individual holding the same religious belief as the parents of such child, or with some association which is controlled by persons of like religious faith with the parent of such child.

"It is my belief that in a very large majority of cases work of this kind is more economically and efficiently done in institutions controlled, managed and inspired by religious and sectarian organizations than when administered by the

WAR'S LESSON FOR SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

A Message from the London Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends

OUR society has always held that war is contrary to Christ's teaching; we have now come to realize that the conditions under which (whether by necessity or choice) men and women are spending their lives are also a condemnation of the standards of Christianity almost universally accepted today.

Many suggested remedies have been put before us, state and guild socialism, industrial cooperation, copartnership, profit-sharing and the like. We feel that all these conceptions may have their part to play in the task of reconstruction. But we are convinced that it is something much more than this that is wanted, if a Christian social order is to be attained. It is to be noted that labor in its struggle for emancipation is seeking not only improvement of material conditions, but freedom to live a fuller life.

We base our position on our loyalty to Jesus, with thought of service to the uttermost, and on our belief in the divine in every man with all its implications. On these we must found an ideal of life, and be prepared to develop it steadily and apply it fearlessly.

No organization, however complex or firmly established, should be tolerated which thwarts or violates this ideal. In so far as society, as we know it, is based on ignoble or inferior aims, if war, or industry, or social convention treats the individual as a pawn, or as a means and not an end, it is in antagonism to Christ. Where the resources of life are used as means to selfish gain and power, and not to the satisfaction of the common needs of men, we cannot consistently acquiesce.

state, so that in announcing this conclusion I am not to be understood as criticizing the efficiency of the school or the conduct of those under whose fostering care it has achieved so much of usefulness."

Appropriations by Cook county, in 1916, to nine Roman Catholic schools of various kinds aggregated \$250,900. This was paid for the support of more than 2,500 dependent boys and girls committed as wards of the county. In addition, the city of Chicago paid, in 1915, \$31,978 to the House of the Good Shepherd and \$12,000 to the St. Vincent Infant Asylum. The loss of public appropriations to all these institutions would aggregate, therefore, at least \$294,000 a year.

Sixteen other institutions accredited by the State Board of Administration receive appropriations from the county for the care of its wards, but none of them is under ecclesiastical control. Several years ago the German Lutheran Kinderheim was the only institution under Protestant control that received any part of its support from public funds, but the Lutheran synod, convinced of the illegality of this appropriation, discontinued the school and turned its work over to two independent corporations which have since conducted a manual training and an industrial school.

Following the decision of the court, Archbishop Mundelein read a letter on the subject at the cathedral service on February 11. This was read also in every parish church, and printed copies were given to every worshiper the same day. In this letter the decision of the court is stated to be due to the fact that the "outgrown, century-old" constitution of the state "makes no provision whatever for dependent children, never even mentions them, showing that the problem as the city now faces it, and as it may be seen day after day in our courts, was not foreseen," and that its framers could have had "no conception of the tremendous asset a religious training would have for the common good, not to mention the individual." The archbishop, turning "in sorrow, not in anger, from this tribunal to the great audience of the million people bound to him by the ties of affection, allegiance and obedience," appeals "to their tribunal of mercy." His letter concludes with this plea:

"The archbishop is not going to desert the orphan children; he will not abandon them to the cold, soulless care of the state; he will take the place of father and mother to them until they grow old enough to take care of themselves. Even if the great state of Illinois and the rich city of Chicago will not contribute a penny toward their support, he will manage somehow. If need be, he will beg from door to door for them. . . . Surely you would not want

them to be handed over body and soul to the cold-blooded, mechanical, well-paid employes of a municipal commission or institution, or farmed out among strangers to be exploited as cheap child labor for the personal profit of others. Then help us as much as you can to give to other children what you would want for your own."

PLANNING SCHOOLS À LA NEW TELEPHONE LINES

WHY shouldn't a city plan its new school buildings with the same foresight that a telephone company uses in planning its new lines and conduits? The Wisconsin Telephone Company, for example, takes a census of Milwaukee's population every five years, learning the number of families in each block, the rents paid, the types of buildings standing and projected, the quantity of vacant land, and other similar items. On the basis of this information it estimates the probable direction and growth of future population, as well as the kinds of telephones that will be in demand in the different districts. It then plans with more precision and economy than it otherwise could where to lay its new extensions.

Why, asked the City Club of Milwaukee recently, shouldn't the municipality do the same in projecting its school sites and accommodations? The club thought that it should. It, therefore, undertook to prepare, in cooperation with the Milwaukee school board, a ten-year building program based on precisely this method of calculation. The program, if adopted, is expected to meet the needs of the city's growing school population more adequately and cheaply than former methods of building.

Many of Milwaukee's children have for some time been going to school in portable barracks. These were makeshift accommodations, made necessary by overcrowding; they were on the increase. Still other children recited in basements, many of which were poorly ventilated and badly lighted, while assembly rooms were turned over for class headquarters and recitation purposes. Even in suitable rooms overcrowding was a growing menace. To learn the exact extent of these abuses the City Club and a special committee of the school board made a survey, the actual work being done by Hornell Hart, civic secretary of the club, and Frank Harbach, secretary of the board.

The survey revealed a net deficiency of 4,000 sittings in the schools. It found that in various outlying portions of the city the school enrollment would in all probability double in twenty years. In less remote portions it would increase slightly, in others it would remain stationary, and in the heart of the city it would probably recede. For the entire city a net enrollment growth of slightly

less than 800 a year was predicted, taking no account of annexations of territory.

With this information in hand it was easy to lay out a building program for the next decade. Tentative plans already before the school board were found to be wrong, and appropriations were shifted in a radical way from one section of the city to another.

Play space was included in the survey. Twenty schools were found to have less than thirty square feet per child in their playgrounds, whereas sixty-five square feet per player is said to be required for dodge-ball and 500 for playground baseball. Estimates were made as to the probable cost of enough land to give each child in the Milwaukee schools a minimum of fifty square feet.

In addition the survey covered needed high school buildings, requirements for new toilets, for new heating and ventilating plants, for trade and technical schools, and for administrative offices. An average expenditure of \$500,000 a year, it was decided, would carry out a ten-year program meeting all of these requirements.

The school board was impressed and the new program will probably be adopted. The increased funds that it demands cannot be secured until the present law limiting the tax on school buildings is amended. If the attempt to do this at the present session of the legislature is successful, the way will be opened also for the reduction of the number of pupils per teacher.

Meanwhile, the report of the club points out that its program is based on the present method of utilizing school equipment for small and irregular parts of the day, and that the platoon system, recently introduced into several Cleveland schools, ought to be further investigated.

The survey will, says the report, be of value only if kept up from year to year. The club believes that it has suggested a method, based on the practice of a private company faced with an analogous problem, by which other cities can insure more economical and accurate planning of their school accommodations.

REPORT ON THE JERSEY PRISON

WHAT intelligent newspaper publicity about conditions in prisons may accomplish is indicated by recent happenings in New Jersey. The SURVEY has already told how the New York *Evening Post*, acting upon information given to it by Frederick Boyd and Patrick Quinlan, two I. W. W. sympathizers who served terms in Trenton prison after conviction on charges for inciting to violence during the silk strike at Paterson in 1913, sent its own reporter to Trenton and published a series of articles exposing the treatment of prisoners

Donahy in the Cleveland Plain Dealer

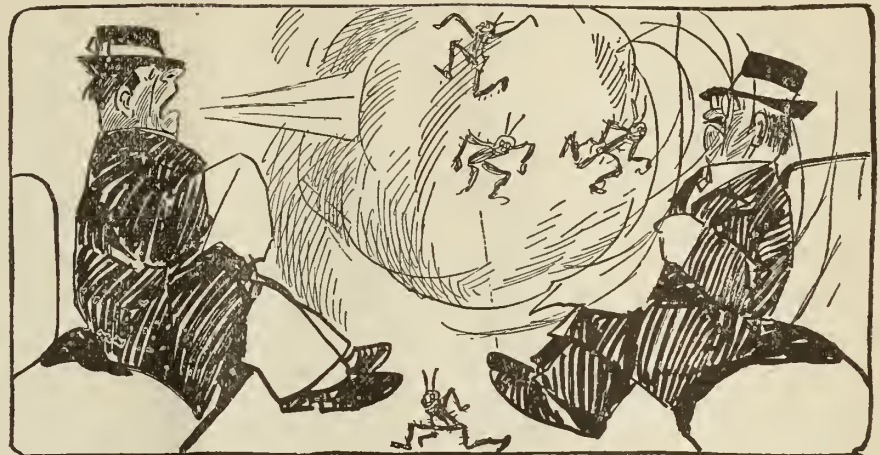
in that prison. The commission appointed by Governor Edge to investigate these charges has just submitted a preliminary report substantiating the charges at many points, and the state Department of Health has arraigned the hygienic conditions.

The commission declares it to be true that "prisoners have at times been punished by lodgment in dungeons and by other methods, under intolerable conditions," though it does not report specifically upon the accusation that men were chained to the walls of these dungeons, and that one prisoner was forced to wear a ball and chain riveted to his leg for four years and a half.

It finds further that the law regulating contract labor is violated; that a person suffering from tuberculosis and committed for two years or more "is practically sentenced to death by disease"; that prisoners with contagious and infectious diseases are not properly segregated; that more than one prisoner is lodged in a cell, in violation of the law; that the food is not satisfactorily cooked and that, because of the lack of a proper dining room, meals are served to prisoners in their cells; that the system of education, required by law, is "entirely inadequate"; that an entering prisoner is customarily placed in quarantine for fourteen days, locked in his cell, with no opportunity for exercise; that the facilities for exercise in the open air for all of the prisoners are inadequate; and that the privilege of applying for parole is in some instances denied or delayed.

The commission makes specific recommendations for remedying these evils. Among other things, it urges adequate physical and mental examination and classification of prisoners, the establishment of a prison school and the use of inmate teachers, and the deprivation of rewards and privileges as a method of punishment. The state-use system of prison labor was established and the contract system abolished by the legislature in 1911, but the next year existing contracts were allowed to be continued until sufficient employment under the state-use system could be provided. As a result, the commission found 500 men employed by private contractors. It recommends an immediate extension of the state-use system.

Since this is only its preliminary report, the commission does not attempt to determine how far these conditions are due to the construction of the prison, how far to management, and how far to divided responsibility in supervision. The Board of Prison Inspectors, in which is lodged part of that responsibility and which was accused of laxness in the course of the newspaper exposure, has issued a statement expressing approval of the investigation and admitting most of the commission's findings. Some of these



"HELLO, DOCTOR, COME QUICK!"

it explains as due to failure of the legislature to appropriate money.

Not only is tuberculosis widespread, reports the Department of Health, but the disease is not even recognized until far advanced; nearly a third of the deaths occur within one month after the first record of sickness. Fifteen per cent of the active cases and 20 per cent of the incipient ones are not recognized upon admission, says the department, and 65 per cent either receive infection in the prison or the disease in an arrested state is reawakened. The department severely criticizes the food, the ventilation, neglect in the matter of medical examination and records, and the mingling of syphilitic and tubercular with other prisoners.

Governor Edge endorsed the recommendations of the commission in transmitting its report to the legislature last week. He also sent with the report two

bills introduced by Senator McCran, the majority leader. One of these appropriates \$44,000 to carry out the commission's recommendations and the other extends the life of the commission for a year to complete its work. The commission was appointed not to study Trenton prison only, but also the state reformatory at Rahway, the state home for girls at Trenton, the reformatory for women at Clinton and the state home for boys at Jamesburg.

EXPOSÉ OF CONVICT LABOR IN A COUNTY JAIL

A FORM of contract labor amounting practically to slavery, in which control not only of work but of the very movements and discipline of 200 men is turned over to private manufacturers for a price, has been found in the county jail at New Haven, Conn.,

as the result of an investigation conducted by the Civic Federation of that city. O. F. Lewis, general secretary of the Prison Association of New York, and Hastings H. Hart, director of the Child-Helping Department of the Russell Sage Foundation, were the investigators for the federation.

Under the contract between the county and the manufacturer, the latter is entitled to the services of the prisoners for ten hours five days a week and for nine hours on Saturday. The company's overseers are allowed to assign men to the different branches of work in the shop. The prisoners are to be "respectful, attentive, industrious and obedient, and shall work to the extent of their ability." Any prisoner failing to act or work in this way may be placed by the company or its overseers in solitary confinement for six days, or longer if permission is granted by the county commissioners. No prisoner is allowed to leave his work without permission of the overseer, and the prisoners may not "converse with each other, gaze about the shop, or damage the work or waste the material furnished them." The company is under "no obligation to furnish tobacco or any other gratuity to any prisoner," but may do so as a reward for industry or good behavior.

The contract is signed by the county commissioners and by A. D. Martin for the Ford & Johnson Company, of Cincinnati, manufacturers of chairs. On March 7, 1913, it was assigned to the Metropolitan Chair Company, which now employs the prisoners. Harry V. Whipple, of New Haven, is president of this company. The contract has been in effect since 1908 and expires December 31, 1918.

Commenting on the provisions of the contract, a committee of the federation says:

"The outstanding feature of this contract is that by it the labor of the prisoners is given over to exploitation by private interests rather than left to be utilized for the reformation of the prisoners and the betterment of them and their families. Prisoners are assigned to work not by state or county officials whose duty it is to make better men of them, but by the employes of the contractor who is seeking profit. By the contract the punishment of prisoners is put in the hands of overseers employed by the contractor rather than by the jail. That the difference in aim and interest between official and contractor will give different results depending on which selects the work and metes out punishment seems too clear to admit of argument."

The \$7,000 to be received annually by the county amounts, Messrs. Lewis and Hart point out, to "about ten cents per day for the labor of each inmate, or approximately a cent an hour, out of which should be deducted the overhead

charges of heat, light, power and rent, as well as depreciation of plant."

"The labor-value of the average inmate," they continue, "can be regarded as at least one-half that of free laborers 'on the outside' in similar work, and in the judgment of some operators in the shops, many of the men perform a full day's work, judged by the outside standards."

The leasing of inmate labor to private manufacturers is common enough in state prisons in this country, but is uncommon in county jails. Criminologists condemn it in either place. Messrs. Hart and Lewis say in their report:

"We are opposed, in accord with authorities in prison reform throughout the United States, to the leasing out of prisoners to contractors. The state should be in full authority over prisoners at all times, and prisoners should labor for the benefit both of the state and of themselves. We are convinced that proper methods of employing prisoners and of disposing of the product of their labor can be so worked out in Connecticut that the state can itself market the product of inmates' labor and that prisoners may share in the profits of their own toil."

Wide publicity has attended this investigation of the New Haven jail and a strong agitation for a study of conditions in all penal institutions of the state has resulted. The investigation exposed a number of other serious evils, such as bad sanitation, unwise mingling of all groups of prisoners, overcrowding, danger from fire and insufficient recreation. The report contains specific recommendations with respect to each of these.

The Civic Federation, of which Charles J. Bartlett is president, has caused a bill to be introduced into the general assembly authorizing the governor to appoint a commission of five to investigate all the jails of the state and their relation to other penal institutions.

PACIFISTS IN COLLEGE AND OUT

IN order that American peace bodies might define principles and activities to which all might agree as a minimum platform, delegates from nineteen organizations met February 22-23 in New York city at the call of the American Peace Society. The outgrowth of a similar meeting last October, practically the same organizations were represented. They included the American Association for International Conciliation, American Neutral Conference Committee, American Peace Society, American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, American Union Against Militarism, Association to Abolish War, Carnegie Peace Endowment, Central Organization for a Durable Peace, Church Peace Union, Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the

Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, Fellowship of Reconciliation, International Committee of Women, Massachusetts Peace Society, Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society, World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship, World Peace Foundation, World's Court League and the Woman's Peace Party.

Jane Addams, chairman of the National Woman's Peace Party, summoned two delegates from every state and local branch to an all-day emergency meeting February 21.

Pacifist agitation among students has followed the introduction into Congress of the Chamberlain bill providing compulsory military training of all male citizens between twelve and twenty-three.

A petition against compulsory training bearing 1,000 student signatures has been presented to the Committee on Military Affairs by Senator Works; ten representatives of the Anti-Militarism League have appeared at a hearing in opposition to the bill; and a delegation representing many colleges will go to Washington for another hearing on Washington's birthday.

Somewhat as an offset to the card which Columbia University authorities urged students to sign as a moral guarantee that they will offer their services in any capacity for which they may be found qualified, the Collegiate Anti-Militarism League has prepared an enrollment pledge stating that the signer will do what he can to keep the United States out of war and is opposed to universal military training.

The results of the questionnaire of the American Union Against Militarism [the SURVEY, February 10] "have had an immense effect on sobering Congress," according to Charles T. Hallinan, publicity director. From Toledo alone he says, 614 returns have indicated 507 people against war, 127 in favor of it. Congressman Tavenner of Illinois reports returns from his district fifteen to one against war; and Congressman Bailey of Pennsylvania, who had 6,000 referendum cards distributed in his district, declares sentiment against hostilities "overwhelming." Both these congressmen are pacifist, but it is to be remembered that they were defeated this year by the very constituents who are returning the informal vote so strongly favoring peace.

WHAT THE GOVERNOR GOT ON HIS JUNKET

MAINE'S new governor, Carl Milliken, went on a new sort of junket before his inauguration. With Arthur A. Heald, executive secretary of the Laymen's Christian Federation of Maine, as a social-service man from Cook's, he visited the principal social agencies of New York and other cities, had a talk with Thomas Mott Osborne

and saw not only state institutions and the men who manage them, but those other men whose function it is to criticize that management and hold it up to high standards.

First fruits of the trip are a social program proposed to the state legislature, in part measures sought in other years by the State Board of Charities and Corrections and others, in part the governor's own.

First off a new budget for the state's finances was introduced. From that Governor Milliken went on to advocate larger powers for the State Board of Health in the treatment and prevention of tuberculosis and in controlling sources of water supply; an expansion of state care of the feeble-minded, any extension

of the state institution, however, to be based on a preliminary survey; maintaining the fifty-four-hour law for women and children against proposed relaxing amendments; repealing the so-called peonage law; regulating employment agencies—a crying need among the crews of the lumber camps; endorsing the plan of the State Board of Charities and Corrections for district in place of county almshouses; advocating a mothers' aid law similar to the generous Massachusetts statute; reorganizing the control of the state prison in an unpaid board of commissioners authorized to establish employment on the state-use plan; extending medical inspection and physical training in public schools together with a stiffening of the child-

labor law; enacting a law to hit at loan sharks.

We have demonstrated on this new continent, said the governor, "the right and capacity of the people to make their own laws." But we "must develop a corresponding ability to obey our laws after we have made them." And he struck hard at the liquor interests, the sore in the side of Maine, who "have the audacity to demand that the organic law of the state be administered to suit their convenience" and "even have the amazing effrontery to point to the continued existence of their traffic as an evidence of the failure of the very law which, by every known method of bribery, trickery and debauchery, they are constantly seeking to break down."

MY FOE

From Rhymes of a Red Cross Man, by Robert W. Service, reprinted by courtesy of the publishers, Barse and Hopkins.

A Belgian priest-soldier speaks:

GURR! You *cochon!* Stand and fight!
Show your mettle! Snarl and bite!
Spawn of an accursed race,
Turn and meet me face to face!
Here amid the wreck and rout
Let us grip and have it out!
Here where ruins rock and reel
Let us settle, steel to steel!
Look! Our houses, how they spit
Sparks from brands your friends have lit.
See! Our gutters running red,
Bright with blood your friends have shed.
Hark! Amid your drunken brawl
How our maidens shriek and call.
Why have you come here alone,
To this hearth's blood-spattered stone?

Come to ravish, come to loot,
Come to play the ghoulish brute.
Ah, indeed! We well are met,
Bayonet to bayonet.
God! I never killed a man:
Now I'll do the best I can.
Rip you to the evil heart,
Laugh to see the life-blood start.
Bah! You swine! I hate you so.
Show you mercy? No! . . . and no! . . .

There! I've done it. See! He lies,
Death a-staring from his eyes;
Glazing eyeballs, panting breath,
How it's horrible, is Death!
Plucking at his bloody lips
With his trembling finger-tips;
Choking in a dreadful way,
As if he would something say
In that uncouth tongue of his. . . .
Oh, how horrible Death is!

How I wish that he would die!
So unnerved, unmanned am I.
See! His twitching face is white!
See! His bubbling blood is bright.
Why do I not shout with glee?
What strange spell is over me?
There he lies; the fight was fair;
Let me toss my cap in air.
Why am I so silent? Why
Do I pray for him to die?
Where is all my vengeful joy?
Ugh! *My foe is but a boy.*

I'd a brother of his age
Perished in the war's red rage;

Perished in the Ypres hell:
Oh, I loved my brother well.
And though I be hard and grim,
How it makes me think of him!
He had just such flaxen hair
As the lad that's lying there.
Just such frank blue eyes were his. . . .
God! How horrible war is!

I have reason to be gay:
There is one less foe to slay.
I have reason to be glad;
Yet—my foe is such a lad.
So I watch in dull amaze,
See his dying eyes a-glaze,
See his face grow glorified,
See his hands outstretched and wide
To that bit of ruined wall
Where the flames have ceased to crawl,
Where amid the crumbling bricks
Hangs a *blackened crucifix.*

Now, oh, now I understand.
Quick I press it in his hand,
Close his feeble finger-tips,
Hold it to his faltering lips.
As I watch his welling blood
I would stem it if I could.
God of Pity, let him live!
God of Love, forgive, forgive.
His face looked strangely, as he died,
Like that of One they crucified.
And in the pocket of his coat
I found a letter; thus he wrote:
*The things I've seen! Oh, mother dear,
I'm wondering can God be here?
Tonight amid the drunken brawl
I saw a Cross hung on a wall;
I'll seek it now, and there alone
Perhaps I may atone, atone. . . .*

Ah, no! 'Tis I who must atone.
No other saw but God alone;
Yet how can I forget the sight
Of that face so woeful white!
Dead I kissed him as he lay,
Knelt by him and tried to pray;
Left him lying there at rest,
Crucifix upon his breast.

Not for him the pity be.
Ye who pity, pity me,
Crawling now the ways I trod,
Blood-guilty in sight of God.

Book Reviews

THE GATEWAY TO CHINA.

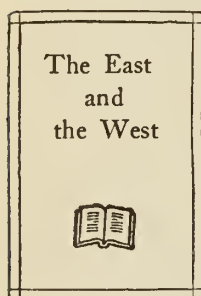
By Mary Ninde Gamewell. Fleming H. Revell Company. 252 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.63.

PRESENT-DAY CHINA.

By Gardner L. Harding. The Century Company. 250 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.07.

AMERICA AND THE ORIENT

By Sidney L. Gulick. Missionary Education Movement. 100 pp. Price \$.25; by mail of the SURVEY \$.30.



"There is no question that my country and yours should know each other better," wrote Dr. Wu Lien Teh to the SURVEY when he sent the article appearing in the January 6 issue. Among the attempts, minor, yet sincere, made recently to deepen this acquaintance may be mentioned briefly three little volumes on the large subject. China is discussed by Mrs. Gamewell from a sympathetic and observing traveler's point of view; by Mr. Harding, temperamentally, with respect for old China and enthusiasm for new; by Mr. Gulick, as a very large part of the problem of the new internationalism.

The "gateway" to China is, of course, Shanghai, the name meaning "mart on the sea," though the city itself is now sixty miles inland. Here, says Mrs. Gamewell, "old China in miniature" may be studied. Cleverly she sketches various features of the city, its modern municipal departments—fire, police and health; its ancient customs still entrenched in the "old city," to be overcome only with the passing of another generation. She takes you to the shops on Nanking road, where you may buy a box of Huyler's, a pair of Walkovers, a Singer or a Steinway, according to your taste and pocketbook. She gives you glimpses of modern business enterprise in Shanghai; of schools—native and foreign, day and boarding, kindergartens, technological institute and the University of St. John's. There is the Hall of United Benevolence—celestial for C. O. S. There, too, are factories, great industrial plants where the workday is fourteen hours plus or minus lunch-time, and where women and children may work all night.

The book is decidedly interesting and entertaining. Through its "gateway" are seen vistas that invite a closer view. Such intimate acquaintance is the aim of Mr. Harding's book. From being a

spectator at a clean and comfortable distance, you suddenly are swept into the crowd of revolutionary spirits whose "splendid failure" is Mr. Harding's theme. You meet the little group of women, headed by Dr. Mary Chang, who, at hardly more than a moment's notice when the revolution came prematurely, organized a relief corps—the White Heart Service they called it, since Red Cross was a forbidden term.

You visit prisons, asylums; see (and hear) a maniac ward, shrink from the vacant smiles, dreadful eyes and shuddering howls therein. You are the first foreign visitor at the Evil-to-Good Institution where homeless girls are "helped" to "homes"—at a price. You talk with leaders who will again conspire and presently die. You hear addresses concerning the infernal pedigree of "politicians" that might have been uttered from a soap-box at a Madison Square corner.

In short, Mr. Harding's book is impressionistic, to express it mildly. It deserves the description he himself gives of the revolution—it is "improvised upon a tremendously vital confusion of ideas." It isn't historical, strictly; it isn't accurate, if one may trust other witnesses; it does not wait to consult "authorities" or to verify statements. Its worth is that it plunges one into the quivering uncertainties of things that cannot be charted and diagrammed, that can be *felt*, however, and known by intuition. You realize anew that "the upbuilding of China is vital to the peace of the world."

But now that one has been interested by descriptive writing, stirred by sympathetic appeal, it is time to do some steady thinking on the enormous possibilities of the Far East. Sidney L. Gulick's little volume is planned to just this end. It consists very largely of questions—such downright statement as it makes is mainly historical; concerning the future, it is at no time dogmatic. The Asiatic problem he defines as the "group of questions and difficulties confronting the peoples of Europe and America, due to the adoption by the nations of Asia of the material elements of Occidental civilization and their entry thereby into the life of the world."

There must therefore be a readjustment of the relations of the great nations of the East and West, so that this new contact shall be not disastrous but mutually advantageous. Three solutions are offered by different groups of thinkers. The first solution is, that the white race shall remain supreme through-

out the world. The second is that white races and yellow shall be segregated in different parts of the world. The third solution is "the new internationalism."

This is by no means merely a slogan, as Mr. Gulick treats it. The fundamental principles of internationalism are given as those of service and sacrifice. The real test of racial superiority is not military and commercial power, but the spiritual quality of life. The concrete program of the new internationalism includes a policy of immigration. "Chinese and Japanese are not asking for free immigration to America, but only for freedom from individual and racial humiliation." This statement Mr. Gulick emphasizes strongly. The program includes further the Americanization of the newcomers—a process which must depend largely upon the influence of those already in this country. And, finally, an honest diplomacy, not from motives of self-seeking, personal or national, but with the purpose of helping China to find its place in the world.

The statistical tables and charts, as well as many references to modern history, provide much food for thought. The bibliography for each chapter's topics includes not only books, but pamphlets and articles in periodicals. The book is planned for study groups, whether definitely missionary in purpose or not, and should lead not only to a clear-cut statement of ideals on this subject, but to an appreciation of the actual significance of the demand that "righteousness and good-will dominate America's international policies."

GERTRUDE SEYMOUR.

LEAVENING THE LEVANT

By Joseph K. Greene. The Pilgrim Press. 353 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.65.



In 1845 there were seven American schools in Turkey, with an enrollment of 135 pupils; in 1913 there were 450 schools, with 25,922 pupils. These figures are but a faint suggestion of the spread of American influence in the near East through the efforts of American missionaries, of whom Dr. Greene is one of the oldest representatives. Dr. Greene went to Turkey as a missionary in 1859, but his book goes back of that time to the very beginning of the missionary movement in the Levant, records the arrival of the first American missionaries, Parsons and Fisk, at Smyrna in 1820 and the tour of exploration through Asia Minor and Persia by Eli Smith and H. G. O. Dwight in 1830, and carries the tale through the numerous political disturbances that have

marked the chaotic history of modern Turkey past the time (1910) when he himself left Turkey to the present war situation and the Armenian deportations of 1915-16.

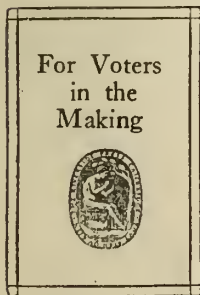
It is an amazing story of persistence and courage. Dr. Greene has devoted three chapters of the book to an analysis of the racial and religious problems of the country, but the interest lies less in the study of Turkey herself than in the chronicle of the persistence of the missionaries. For persons to whom the missionary impulse is incomprehensible, Dr. Greene has written chapters on The Satisfactions of the Missionary Career, and The Missionary Motive and Missionary Methods. Indeed, the book is, in one sense, nothing more than an exposition of missionary zeal and determination quite astounding to the person unacquainted with missionary ardor.

But the question that the book naturally leaves in one's mind is, What next? American effort has established schools, colleges, hospitals and churches from the Balkans to the Caucasus. What will American missionaries do in that disputed country under the new conditions that must necessarily grow out of the war?

HELEN DWIGHT.

A COURSE IN CITIZENSHIP

By Ella Lyman Cabot. Houghton Mifflin Company. 386 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.40.



This is a textbook for the teaching of good citizenship to children. It takes them, step by step, through their ever-enlarging world; from home to school and playground, neighborhood, town or city, nation and, finally, the all-em-

bracing world family. In this course in citizenship the appeals to the child's understanding and emotions are simple and sound. At every step, corresponding to the grades in primary and grammar school, right conduct is presented as the natural product of right thought and feeling.

A feature of special excellence is the skilful presentation of the various branches of municipal undertaking—health, philanthropy, police, fire, street-cleaning, etc.—in a way both to interest the children and to cause them to feel that these works, carried on at public expense, and for their benefit, should naturally enlist their cooperation. "Nobody can give you a clean city if you prefer a dirty one," says the author. Quite the best thing suggested in this line is an investigation as to what the schools cost as compared to other expenditures; what the particular school which the

children attend costs the taxpayers; why so much of the public revenue is appropriated to education of the young, and what should be the attitude of pupils towards their schools and the community which furnishes them. The same of playgrounds and parks. "This is your property; therefore do not destroy it."

The horrors and wastes of war, the beauty and fruitfulness of peace, the heroisms, and even martyrdoms, of peaceful men (*e. g.*, Walter Reed sacrificing his life to prove the source of yellow fever) and the ever-improving mechanism for peaceful solution of international difficulties, both legal and political—all these are richly and no more than justly remembered. Yet in spite of this, not quite so good, to my notion, is the balance between "militarism" and "peace-at-any-price." By implication, the men who fought to found, and later, to preserve, our national life, were heroes also. But there is no clear call to the youth of today to be prepared for similar services, should duty demand.

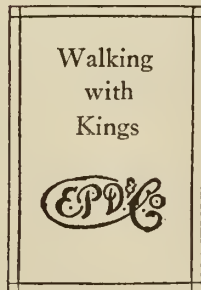
This book was written in 1914, when it perhaps seemed to the writer of this section incredible that the earth would ever witness another great war. Should the book run into another edition (as it surely ought) it seems to me that recent history must strike a few ringing notes on the iron string of preparedness, even through the hand of the organizer of the American School Peace League.

This is a book no more needed by teachers than by conscientious parents. I would rather have it than any other similar work I know, for either the matter contained or the wealth of uncommon and invaluable references to other material, which enrich every chapter.

CAROLINE BARTLETT CRANE.

IN SLUMS AND SOCIETY

By James Adderley. E. P. Dutton and Company. 302 pp. \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.60.



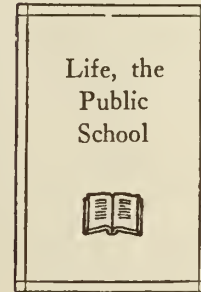
In this title the author indicates the extremes between which his personal acquaintanceships and fellowships ranged. They swung from the nethermost to the uppermost social circles in England, chiefly when he was the head resident of Oxford House, the Anglican church social settlement in east London. Reading its pages is like hearing the genial canon talk over his reminiscences of old friends. With the free play of mind and heart full of his vital intercourse with all sorts and conditions of men with whom he worked and played, he rejoiced and sorrowed during stirring events, and while off guard and at leisure.

Churchmen and dissenters, actors and authors, statesmen and radical agitators crowd the volume with their wit and wisdom, their best stories and glimpses of their innermost selves. It lets one into the inner circles of the best of good fellowship not only, but lets up the stress and strain of the very pressures out of which it grew.

G. T.

WHAT IS EDUCATION?

By Ernest Carroll Moore. Ginn and Company. 357 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.37.



Readers of the SURVEY will find in Professor Moore's book much that is in keeping with their dominant mood. He and they, while fundamentally interested in social welfare, the betterment of life condi-

tions for all, are especially concerned with the under dog (in this case the pupil), prevented by tradition from living the life that is his by right. Professor Moore follows Professor Dewey, at least much of the way, in considering that education is life; he accordingly believes that fuller living in the schoolroom is for the child the means to a better education.

The principal thought of the book is that education is one and the same process whether found in freer days before school life begins, or in the school itself, or in that period when school days are over—"the great school of life" as adults like to call it. If education is thus to be one process throughout life, evidently the school as we know it must be remade, in spirit and procedure. It is here that Professor Moore comes into open conflict with our customary educational practice; and the needed reorganization, we are led to infer, is pretty thoroughgoing. Not that the book gives a detailed account of what the modern school should be. Details are left to others. It is the nature or theory of the educative process that is primarily discussed.

The best and all that we as parents or teachers or social workers can do is so to condition the child, or unfortunate adult, that he will of himself build his world aright, using thereto the guidance of the social inheritance. This relation of teacher and pupil, once understood and accepted, means a revolution in method and discipline. Actual situations involving doing and thinking are necessary if the child is to build up in himself the attitudes and habits necessary to fuller living.

Professor Moore thus accepts in full the functional point of view with its far-reaching implications. It is no disparagement to say that this book belongs in

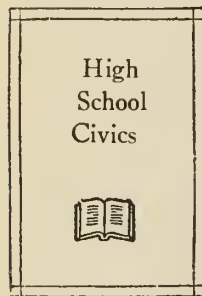
the Dewey school. Excepting Professor Dewey's own writings, no other single book so fully presents the position. The presentation is in no sense a repetition, but is an independent elaboration of practical implications along lines not elsewhere worked out.

On the whole, the book is easy to read, oftentimes quite attractive in style. It should prove useful as a textbook, as supplementary reading, and in teachers' reading circles. Social workers who wish an introduction to the best modern attitude in education will find it here.

W. H. KILPATRICK.

FORMS AND FUNCTIONS OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

By Thomas Harrison Reed. World Book Company. 549 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.65.



This volume of five hundred pages, simple, clear, free from statistical treatment, and charged throughout with the progressive new ideas in government, makes an entirely new appeal to the young citizen, despite its rather

academic title. Mr. Reed says he intends the book chiefly for those high-school students whose formal education goes no further. He not only gives the facts about the forms and functions of city, state and federal governments, but he gives reasons and explanations fully and simply.

Students will not have to learn facts, as from the older texts; to read this book is to understand. The many photographs, specimen ballots, charts and diagrams all help to make the subject-matter exceedingly clear. The main divisions of the book are, first, a discussion of the background and principles of government in the United States; parties and elections; the state, local and federal

governments; and last, the functions of government taken up in detail under each branch of the public service.

One of the most stimulating features of the book throughout is the constant suggestion as to how the individual can best serve as a good citizen. Not only are practical personal activities suggested, but progressive attitudes of mind on public questions are clearly set forth. The book, of course, is intended for use as a text, but it makes easy reading as well. Among the many volumes recently put out on citizenship for school use, it is clearly one of the ablest, both in its careful preparation and clear writing. In its real appeal to the natural civic interests of the high-school student it stands alone.

ROGER N. BALDWIN.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- CONTEMPORARY POLITICS IN THE FAR EAST. By Stanley K. Hornbeck. D. Appleton & Co. 466 pp. Price, \$3; by mail of the SURVEY, \$3.18.
- THE CREED OF EPICETUS. By Ulysses G. P. Pierce. Beacon Press. 203 pp. Price, \$1.35; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.45.
- ESSAYS IN WARTIME. By Havelock Ellis. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 252 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.60.
- HYGIENE IN MEXICO. By Alberto J. Pani. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 206 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.60.
- THE INTERNATIONAL CRISIS: THE THEORY OF THE STATE. Lectures delivered in February and March, 1916, at Bedford College for Women. 163 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.60.
- THE ITCHING PALM. By William R. Scott. American Unitarian Association. 174 pp. Price, \$.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.56.
- LABOR AND LIBERTY. By Samuel Rabinowitz. Published by the author. 306 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.
- THE MODERN HIGH SCHOOL—ITS ADMINISTRATION AND EXTENSION. By Charles H. Johnston. Charles Scribner's Sons. 848 pp. Price, \$1.75; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.91.
- THE PUBLIC DEFENDER. By Mayer C. Goldman. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 96 pp. Price, \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.06.
- THE SEXUAL CRISIS. By Grete Meisel-Hess. The Critic & Guide Co. 345 pp. Price, \$3; by mail of the SURVEY, \$3.14.
- SIXTY YEARS OF AMERICAN LIFE. By Everett P. Wheeler. E. P. Dutton & Co. 489 pp. Price, \$2.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.66.
- SOURCES OF FAITH AND HOPE. By Herbert H. Mott. American Unitarian Association. 150 pp. Price, \$.75; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.81.
- THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF HEALTH. By the author of "Pro Christo et Ecclesia." Macmillan Co. 197 pp. Price, \$.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.58.
- THE TRAINING OF MEN FOR THE WORLD'S FUTURE. By Charles Franklin Thwing. Platt & Peck Co. 89 pp. Price, \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.32.

and dental clinics;" in my opinion these three things are of first importance. According to the statement of John Spargo, fully 2,000,000 of school children in the United States are badly underfed.

Dr. Ernest Hoag, in his book, *Health Work in the Schools*, says: "Statistics show 60 per cent of the pupils suffer from non-contagious defects which need constantly to be taken into account by the educational authorities. Moreover, the physical welfare of every child is more or less jeopardized by the sedentary occupations, indoor life and nervous strain of the modern school." How physical training can "strengthen the physical foundation" when it ignores fresh air and sufficient food essential to the growth of young organism—I fail to understand.

ALINA HUEBSCH.

Hamburg, Pa.

LITHUANIA

TO THE EDITOR: I wish to express my cordial gratitude for An Urgent Appeal from Lithuania in the SURVEY for February 3. This brief comment on Lithuanian problems is the best that I have seen in an American journal or paper for two years.

ALBINAS RIMKA.

[Editor of *Aetitis*]

Boston.

SAID OF THE SURVEY

TO THE EDITOR: I congratulate you on the last SURVEY, February 10, especially the first three articles—about the best yet.

FREDERIC ALMY.

[President National Conference of Charities and Corrections.]

Buffalo.

UNCLE SAM, SURVEYOR

TO THE EDITOR: Within the past six weeks reports of educational surveys for five states—Iowa, Washington, North Dakota, Colorado, Wyoming—have been issued by the United States Bureau of Education. For the first three states higher education was surveyed, for the second and last two the public school system was surveyed. In all cases the bureau was invited to choose the surveyors and make the survey at state expense, except for cost of national employes and of printing. United States Commissioner Claxton transmits each report—an official document of the Department of the Interior—with his approval.

The following facts about the bureau's surveys are cited for SURVEY readers without comment, as typical of points that are being widely discussed in educational circles, gingerly or freely according to official connection and private temperament.

Communications

FRESH AIR FIRST

TO THE EDITOR: Let me make a few remarks on account of the article by Prof. John H. Finley, In the Service of the State, in the SURVEY of January 13. The introduction of physical and military training into school system "should give such basic health education as no other state or country perhaps has ever sought through law and public agency to provide. It is a program for strengthening the physical founda-

tions in which our higher intellectual and spiritual curriculums are to find support. . . . It covers medical inspection, talks and recitations in hygiene, and all forms of healthful physical exercise, such as setting up drills, gymnastic exercises, supervised recreation, organized play, athletics, and a great variety of individual recreational activities."

I looked in vain to find "open-air school system, free food, free medical

1. One hundred per cent more students per class, 33 per cent more hours per instructor for academic college courses than for teacher training schools are cited as proper.

2. Average occupancy of rooms is found by adding the maximum (e. g., 56) and minimum (e. g., 1) and dividing the two, which in the case cited exaggerates by 100 per cent the actual average occupancy.

3. In counting instructors' teaching loads student clock hours are used, laboratory hours count the same as quiz hours, subjects requiring out-of-class work by instructors count the same as those requiring only class time.

4. While declaring in the Wyoming report (p. 49) that when extremes are great averages mean little, all the reports abound in averages and recommendations for averaging salaries (\$2,000), student clock hours (300), etc.

5. State systems of public education and of supervision are described without a word regarding methods and results of the state superintendents' activities and offices.

6. Arithmetical errors due to lack of supervision or defective proofreading abound: $5 \times 15 = 45$; $5 \times 31 = 85$; graph for 92 per cent the same as graphs for 97 per cent, etc.

7. Higher institutions of learning were surveyed without observing instruction, testing graduate work, analyzing actual administration, or securing statements of fact or suggestions from the faculties surveyed.

8. Persons not themselves teacher trainers were chosen to survey Iowa's teacher training colleges.

9. Statistics of cities and country are mixed in one table.

10. Fact bases are usually not stated and general dissertations requiring no field examination are given the title and dress of field surveys.

11. The hop, skip and jump method was used, trying to "put out a conflagration with an atomizer."

These survey reports contain conclusive evidence that the United States Bureau of Education lacks the equipment necessary to assume responsibility for local surveys, that it employs methods that defeat the purpose of surveys, hamper educational progress and jeopardize the ability of the national bureau to serve the purposes for which it was created.

Only one specialist in higher education is employed by the bureau. When he is surveying he cannot, of course, be studying surveys by others, including the invaluable matter that is now hidden in educational reports from colleges, universities and special investigators. The bureau's library is pathetically weak in these working tools. Having surveys to

Do You Want War?

College men are organizing to preserve peace and democracy.

They are organizing to prevent conscription and universal military training and to keep this country out of the European War.

They are conducting mass meetings throughout the country, co-operating in the publication of a no-war magazine, and going in delegations to state and national capitals to voice the student appeal.

If you are a collegian enlist with these anti-militarism forces; if not, help them financially in their fight.

Collegiate Anti-Militarism League

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National Office: Sub-Station 84, New York City

sponsor he is practically estopped from publicly admitting the faults of his own workmanship or of criticizing similar faults in others. He and the bureau in two short years of surveying have already acquired a heavily vested interest in mistakes that must be defended, condoned or "hushed up," although the country needs frank disclosure and discussion of such mistakes by whomsoever made.

WILLIAM H. ALLEN.

[Director Institute for Public Service],
New York city.



JOTTINGS

OHIO women were granted the presidential suffrage by act of the legislature last week.

THROUGH a printer's error, one line was omitted from Peace Among the Nations, President Wilson's address to the Senate, published on pages 488-89 of the SURVEY for January 27. In the following passage the omitted line is given in italics: "Rights must be based upon the common strength, not upon the individual strength, *of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend.*"

THE Jones bill, establishing a woman's division in the federal Department of Labor [see the SURVEY for December 23, 1916] is on the calendar of both houses of Congress. The National Consumers' League urges all friends of the measure to wire their senators in support of it.

SAFEGUARDING Children in Peace and War, Problems of Education, and How to Make Child Labor Laws Effective are announced among the topics for the thirteenth annual meeting of the National Child Labor Committee at Baltimore, March 23-25.

NORTH CAROLINA has passed a law making it illegal to advertise "cures" for incurable diseases. This legislation is the result of long effort by the State Board of Health and many local agencies. The newly elected governor, T. W. Bickett, in his in-

augural address, congratulated the State Board of Health on its campaign against quackery and expressed himself as being in favor of such a law as was later enacted.

CALIFORNIA'S Industrial Accident Commission, 525 Market street, San Francisco, has launched a new periodical, *California Safety News*. The first issue emphasizes slipping and falling as causes of industrial accidents. A foreword gives the purpose of the publication as the education of employers and employes to "reduce materially the altogether too large number of accidental deaths and injuries, which have heretofore been confronting us annually."

TWO prize competitions are announced for 1917 by the National Municipal League. The William H. Baldwin Prize of \$100 is offered for the best essay on Tendencies in Municipal Budget Making. Competitors must be under-graduate students in any college in the United States offering direct instruction in municipal government. The Morton Denison Hull Prize of \$250 will be awarded this year for the best essay by a post-graduate student on any subject related to municipal government submitted to and approved by the secretary of the league. Further information may be had of the secretary, North American building, Philadelphia.

ALL of the thirty-seven cities of Massachusetts have accepted the act authorizing them to establish and maintain schools of agriculture and horticulture. The Massachusetts Homestead Commission, which worked for three years to secure the passage of this permissive measure, believes that it will relieve congestion of population, spread a knowledge of profitable methods of tillage and promote a desire for life in the open. The State Board of Education advises a beginning by providing instruction, at or near their homes, for families and individuals who now have homesteads with tillable land, who could be helped to the possession of such homesteads through private rental or purchase, and who are daily engaged in agricultural or horticultural employment.

THE New York Society for the Prevention of Crime has addressed an appeal to the governor and the members of the legislature to amend the law so as to throw certain restrictions around the exhibition of motion pictures on Sunday. "Under the guise," says the society, "of innocent and wholesome recreation" some commercial interests are urging the unrestricted opening of the movies on

If You Knew What Foods!

If you knew the quantity of nourishment in different foods, you wouldn't need worry over the high cost of living. For—you would then know how to get all the nourishment you need at *very small cost*. If you also knew how to combine foods—that is, what foods eaten together "set well," you need never have indigestion, constipation or any of the headachy, stomachachy ills they lead to. A little knowledge—easy to get—would protect your health and pocket-book. This knowledge is in a book called "The New Cookery," written by Miss Lenna Frances Cooper, B.S.—graduate of the School of Dietetics at Columbia University and now Principal of the School of Home Economics. In "The New Cookery," Miss Cooper tells you what to eat for proper nourishment—for health and for economy. She also gives you 750 recipes for delicious home dishes with the scientific quantity of nourishment under each recipe. More than 400 pages, with numerous illustrations and all substantially bound for home and kitchen use. Price only \$2. Send for the book today. You take no risk. For—if you are not entirely pleased and satisfied, you may return the book within five days and we will promptly refund your money. Thus, we allow you to be the judge. This book is *worth its weight in gold* to the housewife who wishes to feed her family for health—and economically. Order "The New Cookery" today—direct, or through your regular bookseller, from

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2602 Main St. Battle Creek, Mich.

MODERN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

By
Frank A. Fetter, Ph. D., LL. D.
Professor of Economics, Princeton University

Students of social problems will be interested in this book because it represents the opinions of one not only a trained economist, but for many years a member of the New York State Board of Charities.

Topics of Especial Interest
Methods of Industrial Remuneration
Piece Work, Profit Sharing
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APPLETON & COMPANY, NEW YORK



Sundays. . . . The real force behind this attempt is not popular recreation or amusement; it is cold cash for a few." The society believes that "much that is vicious and debasing is thrown on the screen" and proposes, first, "that pictures, and only those, approved by the State Board of Education, be allowed to be shown on Sundays, and (2) that no admission fee be chargeable either directly, or indirectly."

THE first numbers of two magazines devoted to birth control have just appeared. The *Birth Control Review*, monthly, \$1 a year, 104 Fifth avenue, New York city, is "dedicated to the principle of intelligent and voluntary motherhood." Margaret Sanger is editor and Frederick A. Blossom managing editor. The other magazine, *Birth Control News*, is to be published "occasionally" by the Birth Control League of Ohio, 614 Society for Savings, Cleveland. The first number puts this quotation at the head of its first page: "The rational limitation of offspring is not only a right but a duty; the state should recognize that right and teach that duty."

SIXTY annual reports in 125 pages is the achievement of the second Year Book of the Cleveland Welfare Federation, which is better known to readers of the *SURVEY* under its original name—the Cleveland Federation for Charity and Philanthropy. Fifty-nine of the reports are those of the social agencies in the federation and the sixtieth is that of the federation itself. In addition there is a "Who's Who" of more than 3,000 trustees and committee members, paid and volunteer social workers, and many illustrations. The accounts of the work of each group of agencies—children's societies, settlements, hospitals, and the like—is preceded by an introductory statement showing what there has been accomplished in Cleveland in the field of work to which these agencies belong.

PERSONALS

MARCY I. BERGER has resigned the position of director of the Service Department, Wholesale Clothiers' Association of Chicago, which he has held since inauguration of the department in 1911, to become secretary of the Associated Jewish Charities of Chicago.

EDWIN ROGERS EMBREE, assistant secretary of Yale University, is the new secretary of the Rockefeller Foundation succeeding Jerome D. Greene, resigned. George E. Vincent, president of the University of Minnesota, has been elected president [the *SURVEY*, December 9, 1916]. Charles E. Hughes, Julius Rosenwald, of Chicago, and Wallace Buttrick, secretary of the General Education Board, were elected trustees.

J. BYRON DEACON has resigned as secretary of the Pittsburgh Associated Charities to become secretary of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity. He succeeds Riley M. Little, also a former Pittsburgher, who has been appointed a member of the federal Workmen's Compensation Commission. Mr. Deacon will take office after the meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Correction in June. He was formerly secretary of the Pennsylvania Committee for the Prevention of Tuberculosis and financial secretary of the New York Charity Organization Society.

THE death of William A. Mabon takes from the work of caring for the insane of

Classified Advertisements

Advertising rates are: Hotels and Resorts, Apartments, Tours and Travel, Real Estate, twenty cents per line.

"Want" advertisements under the various headings "Situations Wanted," "Help Wanted," etc., five cents each word or initial, including the address, for each insertion. Address Advertising Department, The Survey, 112 East 19 St., New York City.

SITUATIONS WANTED

POSITION in social work wanted by young woman, age 28, Southerner. Have had six years experience in social work covering special investigations, children's agencies, industrial work, charity organization, etc. Employed at present. Salary \$1,200 per annum. Address 2458 *SURVEY*.

CAPABLE, energetic young woman, experienced investigator and general assistant, seeks position with social agency. Address 2463, *SURVEY*.

HOUSE-MOTHER (matron) desires position child-caring institution, privilege of having little niece. Address 2465 *SURVEY*.

SOCIAL SERVICE and Church Efficiency Secretary. Specialist in Men's Work. Open for engagement. Address 2467 *SURVEY*.

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A STRONG CO-EDUCATIONAL CHURCH COLLEGE in Arkansas with \$300,000 endowment and a powerful constituency in the geographical wealth and population center of the state, and enjoying the benefits of aid from the General Education Board of New York, wishes to interest some philanthropic person in the endowment of a department of Social Service.

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New York state one of the leading students and executives. Dr. Mabon was known as a scientist and an administrator; he wrote monographs that were widely read, he taught psychiatry at New York University and at Bellevue Hospital Medical College; as a member of the State Hospital Commission his influence was felt in shaping the state's policy concerning its insane. He was superintendent first at Bellevue Hospital, and later of Manhattan State Hospital. He took part in developing after-care work for the insane, and later, preventive work. He was a member of the first committee on this subject, that of the State Charities Aid Association, in 1906, and of the Mental Hygiene Committee of that association which in 1910 took over both after-care and preventive work. He was a member of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene and of many medical and psychiatric societies.

IN A quiet way, Dr. Arthur Curtis Rogers, for thirty-one years superintendent of the Minnesota Institution for the Feeble-minded, who died recently at Faribault, was a national figure. This was not alone because he transformed the rude beginnings of a school into a great community institution; nor because of his scientific facts and logical expression, nor even because of his personal services. It was rather, writes Walter M. West, "because his studies had made him wise, his wisdom had made him charitable, and his charity had given him power." He worked his way through school and college, and became interested during one summer vacation in the pioneer work being done for the feeble-minded. Determined to study this matter, he worked through a course of medicine at the University of Iowa. His first appointment after graduation was at the Harrison Institute for Indians, in Oregon; two years later he went to Faribault.

The work at Faribault had been but recently organized. To this he first turned his hand. He had to get the support of the legislature; had to separate in the classes the blind and deaf from the feeble-minded for the school had been begun for "defectives." His campaign of education on the needs and interests of the feeble-minded continued through the remaining thirty-one years of his life. To the World's Fair in 1893 he took an exhibit of the work and treatment of patients from the school which was the first of its kind ever shown.

From a little group of fifty "queer" inmates, and four or five teachers and attendants, the school has grown to its present accommodation for fully 1,600 unfortunates, with a staff of about 300 scientists, physicians, investigators, teachers and attendants, housed in sixty-one buildings, beyond which stretch two great farms.

Dr. Rogers was one of the first to introduce industrial and manual training into who has been appointed a member of the federal Workmen's Compensation Commissions for the feeble-minded. He was a firm supporter of the work of grading defectives by mental tests. The cottage plan for housing patients was one of his, as also field investigations on a large scale for tabulating the family histories of patients.

He was a member of many scientific societies, and published in many journals. But his personality was best appreciated by those with whom he was closest in contact. "Seldom was he too busy to be interested in whatever was brought before him," says Mr. West. "He strove to put as much sunshine into the shaded lives of the inmates as possible. He seldom missed the Sunday chapel exercises, the weekly and special entertainments, or the holiday festivals. He ran the merry-go-round; he engineered the launch at the nearby lake, to which all able-bodied inmates were taken every year

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for an outing. He was Santa Claus at each Christmas festival, and the disappointment to the children of the school was not to find out that Santa was not real; it was to find out that Santa was not "Doctor." He was active in the city of Faribault, active in his church; he traveled all over the country, returning each time with additions to his surprising number of facts, figures and friends.

"Dr. Rogers had the initial advantage of a remarkable physique. Very tall, and with a large frame, his kind eyes and smiling lips; his agreeable and gentle address commanded more than ordinary attention. When a boy, he refused to commit himself to the conventions of his Quaker faith. His charity for

all creeds and for all men was the nature resultant of this rebellion. But the true spirit of the Friends always lived in him, and made his one of kindness and, what is rare, a great power of great gentleness.

"The day before the funeral services, as the casket lay banked by masses of flowers in the assembly hall of the school, an aged Catholic priest, who had come in contact with Dr. Rogers during his lifetime, entered the darkened hall. He approached the casket and stood for a long time looking down at it. Finally he said aloud: 'We shall never look upon your like again. You made no distinction in race nor creed. Your heart was love. Humanity was your creed. We all had part in you. Dear friend, farewell.'"

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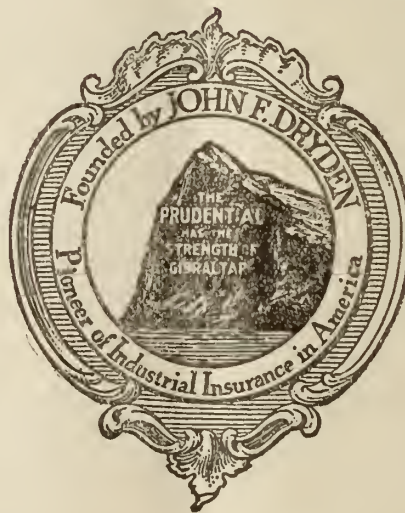
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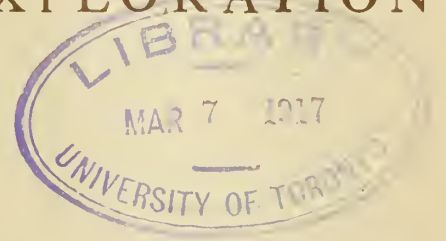
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A JOURNAL OF SOCIAL EXPLORATION



Making Friends of Invaders

Mexican Refugees in Advance of the Returning Troops

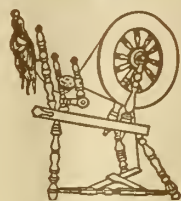
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MISCELLANEOUS

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THE SURVEY

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THE SURVEY is a weekly journal of constructive philanthropy, founded in the 90's by the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York. The first weekly issue of each month appears as an enlarged magazine number.

From the start, the magazine and its related activities have been broadly conceived as an educational enterprise, to be employed and developed beyond the limits of advertising and commercial receipts.

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THE safe side of the Rio Grande is the side the American troopers are on. So General Pershing and his men were followed home by a great cavalcade that might have reminded Gibbon of the folk who followed the Asiatic invaders into the Roman empire. Sanitation and relief were looked after by the Red Cross, and admissibility by the immigration authorities. The story of it by Mr. Gwin, secretary of the Associated Charities at El Paso, who acted for the Red Cross and whose earlier article, *Over the Bridge at the Border*, will be recalled by readers of the SURVEY for July 8, 1916. Page 621.

NEW YORK'S food riots are not hunger riots, but the final blow-up of the sorely tried patience and purses of the women in self-supporting families. When onions went out of reach it was the last straw for the East Side. Page 638.

PRESIDENT WILSON has asked Congress to authorize him to employ "armed neutrality" in protecting American ships and lives. Page 642.

JUST as it was feared, war talk at home has dried up American giving to foreign relief funds. Page 644.

THE Fellowship of Reconciliation offers information as to opportunities for service to men of good will. Page 643.

MEXICAN children in our border states are children apart as Negro children are in the South and various outlanders in other parts. Yet as neighbors of a California settlement house, they proved to have valuable and endearing qualities. Mrs. King, the settlement headworker, is a California social worker, a student of labor problems at the University of Wisconsin and later an investigator of them, now a member of the new Mexican Cooperative Society in New York city. Page 624.

KENTUCKY'S mountain folk with nary an abc have a fine courtesv and intelligence handed down from their pure "American" forbears. A sketch of them by Miss DeLong, the head of the settlement-school which is meeting their peculiar needs and which has a peculiar need of its own—a decent road to hook it to the wide world. Page 627.

ENGLAND'S conscientious objectors sympathetically interpreted and some of them named by Professor Hannah, of Oberlin. Page 636.

ANNOUNCEMENT last week of a new circus which is to travel entirely by motor will be good news to the health-insurance drummer. For in ten months he has traveled 22,000 miles and he loathes the sight of a Pullman. But his empty mileage books are evidence of the great popular interest in health insurance, for all of his trips have been upon invitation. The literature of the subject grows even faster than the price of the paper on which it is printed. Two states have issued official reports and bills are before ten legislatures. The sweep of it described by Dr. Rubinow, physician, actuary, student of European social insurance and now the very active and itinerant secretary of the Health Insurance Committee of the American Medical Association. Page 633.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

125 EAST 27TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

February 10, 1917.

TO MEN AND WOMEN OF GOOD WILL THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES:

IN this moment of national crisis it is in the heart of every true citizen to give his full measure of service to his country. The great Republic which we love is in its hour of trial. Its responsibility and need are calling for the highest loyalty of all. Yet there have been few moments in history when we could so little afford to render our country ill-considered service. What the United States now does may determine not simply its own course for a few years, but the future of nations, of whole peoples, of humanity for centuries. The primary duty of each of us is a dispassionate endeavor to penetrate through the maze of political complications to those fundamental moral principles which alone can give national conduct a permanently constructive character.

I

THE immediate legal issue is the right of American citizens to pursue their legitimate business on the high seas freely in accordance with international law. This is, without doubt, important enough; yet beside the deeper moral issues it sinks into relative insignificance. The crucial fact in today's world situation is not infraction of international rules, but contempt for humanity and ruthless disregard of moral and spiritual principles. These are the deeper wrongs which every man and woman who reverences human nature instinctively condemns. The task of the United States in this decisive hour is not chiefly to vindicate a legal right, but to uphold the principles by which men live.

Moreover, no adequate moral judgment either upon the immediate crisis or upon the general position in Europe can be reached by reference only to the current standards of international ethics or political values. The principles by which men live are universal and ultimate sanctions of truth and love. These are for the most part ignored and denied in the ever prevailing conflict of national self-interest; yet it is only by reference to these principles, which constitute the only adequate basis of a stable world order, that the Christian is entitled to form the moral judgments by which his conduct is to be governed.

II

GERMANY'S new submarine policy has staggered the world. To condone so great a wrong against mankind would be disloyal to every principle of humanity. The impulse comes to leap to arms. If by this means right could be vindicated no offer of life could be too prodigal, no expenditure of wealth too great.

Yet it is not by war with Germany that the United States can champion the moral order of Christendom. This moral order consists of moral and spiritual relationships between human beings, and these relationships, whether between a few persons or between nations, rest ultimately upon the characters of individuals. Wrong can be successfully opposed only by making men righteous. Not a nation defeated, but the nations won to righteousness is what the world needs.

It is not simply that war with Germany would be a colossal expenditure of life and wealth—a diversion of national resources which would arrest social progress for untold years. But the tragedy of such a war, undertaken for the sake of human welfare, would be that after all the price paid, after all the loss of life, the blood-sweat and the anguish, after all the magnificent heroism and self-sacrifice shown by many of its supporters, it would be found to have defeated its own ends. That all the sanguinary conflicts of history have done no more to make the principles of righteousness effective is due to no strange miscarriage of fate. It is the natural consequence of the contradiction between the method of war and the principles of moral order.

The method of war, instead of defending, inevitably shatters moral principles. In making the defeat of the enemy its supreme object it subordinates the moral law to military necessity. In its wholesale destruction of men by men, in engendering widespread hatred and distrust, it violates that reverence for personality which lies at the heart of the Christian religion. In demanding absolute

obedience to military authority and the surrender of the right to act according to conscience, it cuts at the very life root of moral being. However just a cause may be, the method of war is intrinsically and incurably evil and therefore self-defeating.

III

NOW is the time for this nation to have courage to go forward in a better way. This is the hour for us to dare to make trial of the will to love as the effective power for the maintenance of the moral and spiritual order. Hitherto mankind has made feeble use of the inexhaustible resources of love and good will. We have regarded them as available in our families and among our friends, but notwithstanding Christ and the lesson of the Cross, we have little trusted them in social, industrial and international relations. The moral progress of the world waits for us to make them effective in these spheres. The highest task that confronts us as a people, in the present situation, is to generate and set in operation between nations on a scale never before known the irresistible energies of love. The immeasurable needs of humanity plead with us to dare all risks in trying Christ's method of serving the cause of mankind.

The method of love does not mean that we are to condone the unrighteous acts of any nation, or that we are to live as if in a world of suspended moral values. It does not mean that we are to forget how to pass stern moral judgment on every kind of wrong. It does not exclude the use of preventive forces when these can be employed consistently with the sanctity of personality and the redemptive purpose of Christ. But it demands that we seek to combat wrong not by the annihilation of the wrongdoer, but by a sustained appeal to conscience. It requires that a new passion for righteousness must first of all lift us out of our own selfishness and self-complacency, and that in prayer and self-denying efforts we identify ourselves with the present sufferings of humanity. It calls for the exercise of daring and inventive faith for a vast increase of constructive service. It is the supreme task of overcoming evil with good.

IV

ALL that can be said about the principle of overcoming evil with good will avail little unless we are able to make that principle effective in action. If international good will is to be more than an ideal for the future, adequate means for its expression in service must be discovered and employed. Work now in progress for aiding prisoners of war of all the warring countries and for mitigating the distress of destitute populations in Belgium, Poland and Armenia offers existing opportunities. Plans are under consideration for the extension and greater unification of undertakings to meet immediate needs and to prepare for the great work of reconstruction which awaits us at the close of the war. At this time of widespread suffering—immeasurably the most terrible that we have ever known—shall not the men and women of the United States augment many fold their gifts and efforts to meet the world's need on a scale commensurate with national ability?

The Fellowship of Reconciliation unites men and women who share the conviction that the principles of love and good will, as revealed by Christ, should be unswervingly applied as a transforming power in personal, social, industrial, national and international life. While the Fellowship is not itself an administrative organization, its Committee desires, particularly during these critical days, to do all in its power to extend the constructive application of these principles. It will gladly furnish information as to opportunities for practical work and agencies through which gifts and services may be made effective. It invites the cooperation of all and will welcome communications. Its statement of principles and information concerning its literature, methods of work or other particulars may be had on request. Inquiries should be addressed to the Secretary, Edward W. Evans, 511 Otis Building, 16th and Sansom Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.

On behalf of the Fellowship Committee,

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Additional copies of this letter may be had from the Secretary on request

War Relief Needs Are Immeasurably Great and Are All the Time Growing

What Is Your Church Doing?

TO THE PASTORS AND CHRISTIAN PEOPLE OF AMERICA:

With every new day of the great war the need for war relief increases, and with this need increases also the obligation of the people of the Christian churches of America and the opportunity for an exhibition of Christian compassion not equalled in the history of the Christian church. We may be distracted for the hour by the new international developments which affect America so seriously, but the need on the other side does not stop for a moment. It grows hour by hour, and will continue to grow in volume and intensity as long as the war shall last, and at the close of the war it will be greater than ever.

Are the churches of America doing their duty? Is your church doing its duty? Are you taking war relief offerings in some regular and adequate way? The church, whether large or small, rich or poor, which in a systematic way is helping to bind up the wounds of the men and women and little children in Europe and western Asia is surely, in these times of unparalleled distress, exhibiting a religion which is pure and undefiled.

America has given 50 cents per capita out of its total estimated wealth of nearly 200 billion dollars for war relief. The total amount given in this country is believed not to exceed 50 million dollars, and yet it is estimated that it would require 90 million dollars to equip merely the needed hospital beds in one country! The Commission for Belgian Relief, for example, has spent over 300 million dollars, yet of this vast sum America has contributed only nine million dollars. Mr. Hoover and others have said that the profits from purchases for Belgian relief in this country are several times that amount.

WAR RELIEF DISTRIBUTION CHANNELS ALL OPEN

Reports from representative war relief organizations are to the effect that recent international developments are not interfering with the distribution of funds. In most cases money is sent, and this is transmitted either by cable or wireless.

REPRESENTATIVE WAR RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS

American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief

Treasurer, Charles R. Crane, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York. Work not affected in the least. Most of the aid is financial and sent by cable. Funds sent uninterruptedly to Armenians and Syrians inside and outside of Turkey.

American Red Cross

Hon. John Skelton Williams, Treasurer, Washington, D. C. Work proceeding as usual in nearly all the warring countries.

B. F. B. Permanent Blind Relief War Fund

Treasurer, Frank A. Vanderlip, 590 Fifth Avenue, New York. No slackening in our work and no noticeable diminution in gifts received. Send funds, chiefly to France, for assistance of men blinded in the war.

Commission for Relief in Belgium

Treasurer, Alexander J. Hemphill, 120 Broadway, New York. Work expected to go on with little interruption. This confirmed by latest cables. No anticipated slackening in efforts for gifts of supplies and funds.

Fund for Starving Children

Treasurer, Frederick Lynch, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York. No difficulty in sending funds to hungry and starving children in Belgium, Poland, Armenia and other countries. Work will go on regardless of future international developments.

Joint Distribution Committee, consisting of American Jewish Relief Committee, Central Relief Committee and People's Relief Committee.

Treasurer, Felix M. Warburg, 174 Second Avenue, New York. The work of collection and distribution continuing uninterruptedly.

Polish Victims' Relief Fund

Treasurer, Frank A. Vanderlip, Aeolian Bldg., New York. All gifts are in the form of money. This is sent via Switzerland. Advices are that there is no change in the situation.

Serbian Relief Committee of America

Treasurer, Murray H. Coggeshall, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York. Gifts fluctuating more than usual, but work is uninterrupted and all distribution channels are open.

THE CHURCHES OF EUROPE

American Huguenot Committee

Treasurer, Edmond E. Robert, 105 East 22nd Street, New York. Our need is growing, but otherwise no change. No question about funds reaching destination safely.

Union Nationale des Eglises Reformées Evangeliques de France

Treasurer, Alfred R. Kimball, 105 East 22nd Street, New York. No risk whatever in sending funds.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, constituted by 30 Protestant denominations, is under obligation to assist in stimulating the churches of America to generous participation in the greatest work of charity the world has ever seen.

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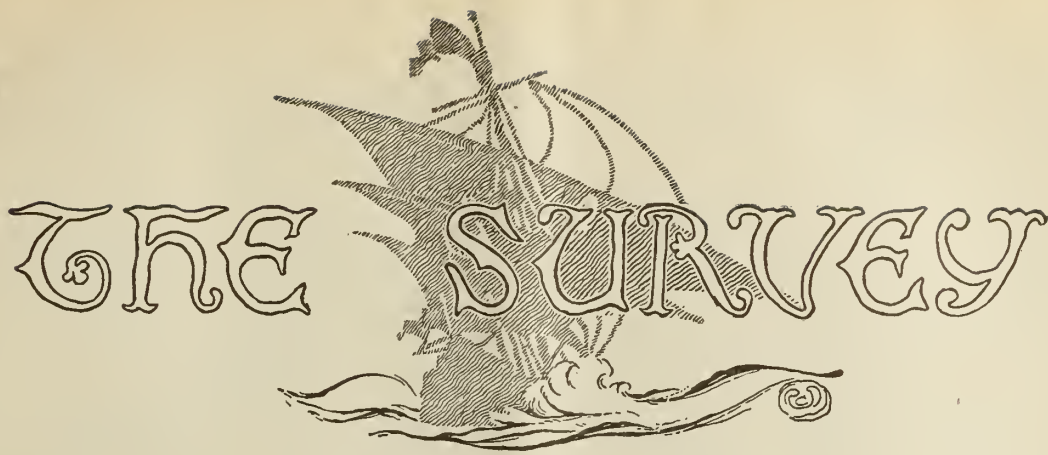
The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

FRANK MASON NORTH, *President*

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105 East 22d Street, New York

[ADVERTISEMENT]



Making Friends of Invaders

Mexican Refugees in Advance of the Returning Troops

By J. B. Gwin

SPECIAL AGENT OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS AT COLUMBUS

GENERAL PERSHING'S advance guard, almost 2,800 refugees, reached the border near Columbus, New Mexico, a day in advance of the American troops. What a spectacle they presented as they slowly approached the gateway to America! First a wavering speck, barely perceptible across the mesquite lands, passed through and settled to rest on the sand plains a mile from Columbus. There were in this strange caravan 1,435 men, 623 women and 691 children. The Mexicans composed the largest number, 2,030; 522 were Chinese and 197 were American. Of the 691 children 523 were dark little barefooted Mexicans. Like the refugees of other lands, they did not come alone, but brought along all they owned except their houses and lands. Without exception, every family or group had a wagon filled up and piled high with furniture, rolls of bedding, food, grain, cooking utensils and coops of chickens. Horses, mules, burros, cows and men on foot filled the road.

It must have been not unlike the wanderings of those early ancestors of the Mexicans, the Toltecs, the Chichimecs and the Aztecs, whose pilgrimages generally took them southward instead of northward. Yet, in many aspects, this exodus furnishes a striking example of the advance made from those early days of tribal wanderings. The household goods and domesticated animals which followed each outfit; the dress and gentle, unwarlike manners of these people from a land of bloodshed and war suggests a much higher civilization, although the manner in which they camped, the facility with which they built campfires and cooked their meal of tortillos and their ever-present frijoles must have borne a strong resemblance to the evening firesides of their Toltec ancestry.

The border immigration officials were prepared for the refugees days before they arrived. A plot of level land about ten acres in extent midway between Columbus and the border line had been staked off into streets and lots, each street with a letter and each lot with a number. One lot twelve and a half by forty feet was given to each family or family group.

Refugees had first to pass the immigration officials, who were assisted by army officers, in order to receive a "manifesto;" then a medical inspector examined them, vaccinated all and turned them over to another official, who directed them to their "lot." This became, for a few days at least, their new home in America.

Captain Doherty at first had charge of the camp for the army, but on the second day Major Parker was given full charge. The general plan agreed to by Inspector Burkshire, who directs all border immigration work, Major Parker and myself, representing the Red Cross society, was that every effort should be made so to adjust individual conditions that the refugee camp should not become a permanent fixture.

The Chinese present in a way the most difficult problem. They have the best tents and, generally, the most "gold," but they cannot secure admission to this country except in bond, no matter what their financial resources. Their lives are endangered if they return to Mexico, especially if they return to that part where Francisco Villa is in control. Legally, they, like the Mexicans, are neither in this country nor in Mexico. The refugee camp is a neutral zone and it depends entirely upon the immigration officials whether they remain there, return to their homes, or are sent to other parts of Mexico where General Carranza is in power. The Chinese consul-general from San Francisco is on his way here to assist in their disposal.

The returning Americans, most of whom are Mormons, are an independent, healthy group of pioneer farmers. They are leaving their farms and the results of years of toil and privations very unwillingly and with no intention of remaining away longer than is necessary for the preservation of their lives. They have large, well-kept horses and cattle. Most of them have sufficient money at least for all their present needs. None of them has asked for help of any kind and in a few days all will have left the camp for other points along the border. Some will rent farm lands along the Rio Grande; others will move into towns and cities and hire out as laborers and ranchers until they can return safely to their homes.

The Mexican refugees have surprised all beholders with their healthy condition, their quiet polite manners and especially with their failure to appear as half-starved, poverty stricken people from a desolated land. Many were dirty, but it was mostly the dirt, which had come from days of traveling across sand-swept prairies. They probably represent the best element there is in Mexico today, the farmers and small business men who have taken no part in the wars. They have come from around Pierson, Casas Grandes, El Valle, Colonia Juarez and from as far south as Guerrero.

It is an impressive sight at nightfall when the refugee camp-



TYPICAL REFUGEES WITHOUT TENT OR WAGON EATING PINK BEANS AND FLAT CAKES

fires begin to spring up one after another all over the camp site. Each fire lights up the faces of a most unusual and interesting group gathered in a complete circle about the blazing wood. American, Chinese and Mexicans are busy preparing or eating their meals in the shelter of wagons or tents which stand in the center of their lots. Everyone, even the children, is extremely quiet and orderly. This may be due, of course, to the effects of the long and tiresome journey across the sands of northern Mexico.

At this refugee camp there is one problem for the immigration officials, another for the army, which was innocently responsible for their migration, and finally, a problem for the American Red Cross. Immigration workers have to pass upon the admission of the refugees to this country and plan some care for them until they are allowed to enter. They must, also, deport any who cannot finally be admitted. The army has assumed some responsibility by supplying wood to all and provisions consisting of pink beans, "frijoles," corn and flour for making flat cakes, the tortillos, and feed for the animals. The first night the soldiers helped nine families and the second night the number had increased to forty. The army has also supplied two nurses and a physician, two hospital tents and medicine. There has been very little sickness, however, discovered among the refugees; three cases of fever which were isolated because of the possibility of typhus and six confinement cases, all looked after by the nurse in the hospital tents. There has, therefore, been little necessity for Red Cross assistance yet and the only material aid has been to supply four dozen blankets on account of the extremely cold nights.

The camp is growing smaller rapidly. Over fifty have left with their families to go on the "regancia" railroad work. Another forty have gone to the mines of New Mexico. A few have started overland with their wagons to Las Cruces, Deming and El Paso. Nevertheless some still remain who cannot be admitted, either because they have no money, relatives to care for them, or work to go to. These, with the Chinese, will constitute the real difficulty. It will take several weeks and probably considerable expenditure by the Red Cross for food and perhaps for transportation, before the refugee camp becomes a bare sand spot stripped of everything, even the mesquite, by the campers.

All the poverty which exists among the Mexicans has not yet disclosed itself, for they are helping each other and hardly a dinner circle is limited to the members of one family but is

shared with neighbors and village acquaintances. Some village chiefs, whom they call Jefe Political, are supplying food to such a large group that it must include the entire population of the village.

It has been impossible to determine how many Mexican refugees found their way to Ciudad Juarez, across from El Paso, the border town which should attract many. Those who have gone there have been lost among the resident population of Juarez. A few have crossed over into El Paso, but a stringent enforcement of the immigration laws and the new regulations as regards the enforced bathing, "delousing" and fumigation of the clothing has no doubt relieved El Paso for the present, of a refugee problem. Most of the Mexicans with property such as horses, wagons, cows or chickens, came overland to Columbus so that probably more are here than in all the other border towns together.



EVERY DAY IS WASH DAY IN CAMP



CROSSING THE INTERNATIONAL BRIDGE AT EL PASO



MEXICANS IN SEARCH OF PEACE ENTERING HOPEFULLY THE LAND OF THE GRINGO

It has been an interesting sight to see the friendly relationship which exists between the returning soldiers and the refugees. The soldier boys had become acquainted with many Mexicans while encamped down there. Other soldiers had helped the Mexicans on the way to the border, pulling their wagons out of ruts, repairing broken wheels and in several other ways showing kindly feeling. When the soldiers started for El Paso many of them visited their refugee friends and bid them "adios." The expressions of good will and appreciation on the part of the Mexicans indicated a most friendly spirit.

I asked a lieutenant about this and he replied: "Oh, well; all hombres are not animals." He reminded me of a housekeeper in El Paso who had two or three Mexican women at different times to do her washing. She had not been on the

border long and knew Mexicans only by hearsay. She said, "I have had such good women working for me; but then they are so different from other Mexicans!"

This remarkable exodus of almost the entire population from a rather extensive area, leaving empty "casas" and deserted villages to follow an "invading" army to the land of the invaders, has given students of Mexican conditions an opportunity to do some clear and constructive thinking about the future of that little-understood country. The best and most stable people of Mexico have gone from their homes in order to preserve their lives, and what remains of their property, to enter the land of the "hated gringos." They have crossed over the border line apparently without fear and without any indication of that hate and ill-feeling about which we have read so much. They have come because this country was at peace and their country was at war; because they did not want to join any Mexican force, but desired only to till their farms and run their mills in peace.

I was anxious to learn if some had not followed the American troops north because they could not obtain the necessities of life in their home villages. But without exception all who were asked gave the same answer, "Villa!" They are seeking protection from Villa and his bandits.

Many refugees cannot read or write, and yet they can hardly be called ignorant. One man had a good flour mill and had built up a thriving trade among his neighbors. Another, according to the soldiers, had a "tienda" or store at El Valle which would do credit to an American community. Some had rich little farms, some were vegetable gardeners. Everyone who talks with the refugees must be impressed with the picture they give of their happy, prosperous lives before the present revolution began. It is they or others like them who will some day make Mexico a peaceful, happy country.

But how shall these Mexican neighbors be given an opportunity to express the gentleness, the industry and the temperance of their lives for the benefit of their country's welfare? Can this opportunity come from the after-effects of a revolution which must some day die from lack of material to feed upon, or can it come better from outside influences which need not cast a civilization like an ill-fitting mantle over Mexican shoulders, but might give the best elements in that country a chance to develop? The returning soldiers and the appearance of travel-stained, homeless strangers have again brought such questions to the fore.



SHAVE OR QUEUE CUT?



AMERICANS LEAVING A 640-ACRE FARM AT PARRAL



YOUNG AND OLD IN THE SETTLEMENT LEARNING ENGLISH

My Mexican Neighbors

By *Edith Shatto King*

FORMER HEAD RESIDENT, NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE,
SAN DIEGO

CARMELITA GARCIA lived in a low wooden shack across the street from the schoolhouse where we both went to school. She was soft-voiced with the prettiest brown eyes and jet black hair. Her clothes were always a little ragged, and she spoke broken English. In one corner of the schoolhouse yard, where a sycamore tree stretched its big trunk across the open irrigating ditch following along the side of the road—here, within sound of the running water and under the cool shade of the tree, we American children played with our dolls. But our favorite play spot was forbidden ground to Carmelita. We never asked her to join us, for she was a Mexican. But how wistfully she stood off at one side and watched us at our play!

Instead of suffering in sullen silence with Carmelita and the other Mexican children, the De Soto children quickly flew into a rage at our insults. They showed their strong Spanish heritage. I remember them, quick and proud, lighter complexioned, with long Spanish faces, in sharp contrast to Carmelita's round dark face. It never occurred to me then that we Americans were the real interlopers in that small, new southern California town; that the families of the Yorbas, the De Sotos, Carillos and Figueroas had been there for generations before our coming.

When we came they were mere hewers of wood and drawers of water in our eyes, and they were welcomed as low-paid manual workers in that fruit-growing region. As a child, I was never taught to fear or hate the "dirty" Mexicans, only to despise them.

They lived, for the most part, in shacks decorated with long strings of red peppers drying in the sun. Large castor-bean shrubs hedged them about, and each had its little garden of flowers and vegetables. On moonlight nights one rarely passed by without hearing the soft tones of *La Paloma* from a guitar or a violin, and sometimes laughter and gay Spanish words, coming from the shadows under the pepper trees.

Other families of Mexicans liked the open starlight better than shack or garden. They traveled in groups and camped about the country wherever work was to be found. They slept, worked and cooked in the open or under rude shelters of boughs or gunny sacks. Men, women and children worked together. And how vivid in my memory are the women at work in the peanut fields, clad in gay colors of red and yellow with a black shawl, worn mantilla fashion over the head and

shoulders—and their fat brown babies close by, naked in the sun.

Yet, apparently, my elders could see none of their charm. "All Mexicans are a shiftless lot," is a remark that I remember. "They'd sit and strum a guitar all day rather than do an honest piece of work." If anything was missing about the garden, my father always said, "Probably a Mexican stole it." If a Mexican was heard singing or talking loudly, people would say, "Oh, he's been to the winery again."

Such were the prejudices that I took away with me when I left this small community to go to college—a community which I believe still has these prejudices and is still, for the most part, made up of thrifty pioneer American stock, which had pushed in from the eastern and southern states in the seventies. The picture is made brighter in my own mind by a remembrance of the gay colors, music and light-heartedness of my Mexican neighbors and Carmelita's pretty, sensitive face.

And it is these latter impressions which have been strengthened by a year and a half spent living again among the Mexican people, this time as head resident of the first social settlement in San Diego, a city of 80,000 inhabitants, located not far from the border in southern California.

Our settlement was overrun with children out of school hours. While the babies played in the sand-pile in the back yard, their older brothers and sisters listened to stories, learned folk dancing, made baskets and sewed in the house. Rosa, with her long black braids, though attending school near by, couldn't speak a word of English. Neither could Felipe, nicknamed "Jap," because he looked like a Japanese. Both were children of refugees from across the border and only a few months in the city. Magdalena, on the other hand, had been born in San Diego, as well as her parents before her.

All the children were very deft with their hands. After sewing-class, one day, little Carmen, who wasn't more than six years old, showed me with great pride a dress for small baby brother Juan, the seam of which she had sewed all by herself. Felipe made baskets so quickly, very rapidly inventing new shapes and combinations of colors.

And yet the teachers of neighboring public schools complained that the Mexican children were impossible to teach. I went to the schools to watch their methods. And I found the Mexican child frequently undernourished and poorly

clothed, placed in classes with quick-witted American children younger than they, when often they could not even speak or understand English. On one occasion when a few Norwegian children entered school they were placed in a special class and their teacher told me with great pride of the rapid progress they made. However, I found no Mexican children learning English in special classes. "What was the use—just Mexicans!"

I do not believe anyone on the border can guess what a generation of Mexican children might become were they properly taught not only English and the three Rs, but also skilled hand work, offering a real opportunity to earn a decent living.

Classes of English, organized in the settlement, were eagerly attended by middle-aged men and women and by young men and girls. One member was the son of a doctor who had received his medical education in Paris. Another, who had been forced to do manual labor in San Diego to earn a living, had been a skilled potter in Mexico. Then there was hard-working Matilda, who never missed English class, because, as she said: "Señora, I must learn English for more money for my sister and her husband who is sick." But her two friends, who were laundry workers, Amelia and Cruz, although they couldn't speak English, were not eager to learn. They came to learn dressmaking, because they wanted pretty clothes. Each girl was slender and beautiful, always with a red rose or a chrysanthemum coquettishly over one ear, holding a curl of her black hair. And with what fire they danced the charming steps of La Jota, an old folk dance!

The house was thrown open and thronged with dancers on Thursday nights. Especially did the young men come in crowds. The only real leader among them I soon found was Thomas Alvarado. His great grandfather had been a governor of California while the country was still a part of Mexico, and Tom supported himself and his mother by taking contracts for picking grapes at El Cajon, or lemons in Paradise Valley. He proved invaluable in managing our dances, making up for us lists of young men and women and writing out in Spanish politely worded invitations each week.

In spite of this care, the young women were so reluctant to go to a dance in a house unknown to them that it was a year before they really came in any numbers, and then generally

accompanied by their mothers or fathers or leading by the hand a small brother as their protector.

Both the girls and boys had such grace and charm of manner! The young men who danced with me on Thursday nights were hard to recognize as common laborers working on the street-car tracks during the day. These Mexicans, who were only sullen, slow-moving, dirty "greasers" under the eye of the cursing Gringo boss, had something of the courtly manners of old Spain in the dance-hall.

Our music was furnished by a stringed orchestra among the young fellows who played by ear, haunting, old-fashioned tunes and queer, fiery Spanish airs. Occasionally Alvarado sat down at the piano and led off with a song, the whole company joining in. La Paloma and Golondrina were the favorites.

Guadalupe, seventeen years old, was one of the prettiest señoritas who danced La Jota. When I went to call, I found that she was the mother of the tiny baby who was sick in their house. I asked about the father and expressed my surprise that she was married. She told me a story which evidently was not true. About two weeks later Guadalupe called on me and said: "Señora, I do not wish to live a lie with you." Then followed her real story. She had been married to a young Mexican lieutenant who had been killed two years before. The father of her baby was a young German, who had befriended, or pretended to befriend, the family on their way out of Mexico. He had said he would follow them to the United States, but had never appeared. Her father was a shopkeeper in Mazatlan and wished to send them money to return. She, however, was sure that if her lover knew where they were he would come and help them. She wished me to be godmother to the baby and to name him for his father.

Another trusting and faithful woman among my Mexican friends was Maria, who came to do my housework. Maria was middle-aged, with such a kind, fine face. Later I found that she was married to a white man, an American, then a cripple in the County Hospital. She had remained loyal to him, visiting him at least once each week with presents of clothing and fruit. She had never been to school and still struggled to read and write even Spanish. She was too proud



"JUST MEXICANS—WHAT'S THE USE!"



CARMEN AND FELIPE

to tell me this, and I only learned it after months of effort in trying, with little success, to teach her English.

When Maria first came to us I instructed her in the use of a patent water-heater and gave her free access to a bathroom. I suggested that when she was tired and an attack of asthma threatened that a warm bath would be beneficial. After that I was scarcely able to keep Maria out of the bathroom, where she bathed and washed her long black hair at every possible opportunity. Maria remained with me for more than a year, and then she left to support herself by sewing. No one could have been more loyal or more honest in every detail than was she. Nor her successor, Isabel, another middle-aged woman.

Maria was of large build, slow in her movements and mind. Isabel, on the other hand, was small and wiry and so alert and quick that all the housework was finished in the morning, and she made pretty clothes for her young daughter in the afternoon. Isabel was the daughter of a small ranch-owner near the border and had had some education. I found her one afternoon with a worn paper copy of *Don Quixote* in Spanish. I have never lived with anyone more thoughtful or devoted than these women. Maria had a way, when she knew I was excessively busy or tired, of following me with, "Señora, te, te," and insisting on my drinking her cup of hot tea.

One day I opened the door for a little wrinkled Mexican woman, dressed in the usual black with a black cashmere shawl over her head, who inquired politely for the "American lady who belonged to the Mexicans." She lived miles away, but she had found her way to our house because an American who took an interest in Mexicans had evidently awakened comment and wonder in the Mexican quarter.

Like these women, I found all Mexicans warm in friendship, brave and courageous. They are generous, hospitable and devoted to their families and children. If a friend, a relative or a neighbor is in need they will share to their last crust. This trait has, indeed, been a perplexing problem to relief-giving societies in San Diego, for the needy Mexican family when given groceries is very likely to share at once with poor neighbors without regard to their own needs. I have known families who were fortunate enough to have one or two members working, to take in and care for a whole family for weeks until work and a place to live could be found for them.

Family life is almost patriarchal. The wife devotes herself to her home and her large family and rarely goes out without her husband and babies. The whole family goes abroad together. The reverence of Mexican children for their parents and obedience to them is almost startling to one accustomed to

the rudeness and independence of American children in their family life.

Mexicans are affable and instinctively courteous and kindly. My neighbors much preferred to tell me something that they knew would please me than to be exactly truthful if their plain speaking were disagreeable in the slightest way. Fluent in speech, they love gesticulation and vivacity. It was very interesting to watch the young men of one of our clubs who could hardly read or write yet who could talk fluently in Spanish and with many a graceful gesture.

The Mexican loves diversion, display—a "fiesta" or entertainment with ceremonies and social intercourse. He likes beauty, gay colors and laughter. The honesty and trustworthiness of the average working-class Mexican in my experience is based almost entirely on a feeling of personal loyalty rather than on any generally accepted American standard of right living. Such loyalty is perhaps the most hopeful ground work for future character development in the eyes of their American neighbors. A small groceryman of my acquaintance informed me that he had never lost money when he gave credit to the Mexican working people in San Diego.

When there is no occasion for this personal loyalty, the Mexican is bitter in hatred. He is supersensitive to insults and slights, quick-tempered, proud and high-spirited. He lacks a habit of sustained industry and a practical sense which Americans cannot accept. And his "mañana," or faculty of putting off until tomorrow, and his slowness of movement are constant irritants. So, too, in American eyes, the looseness of their marriage ties is an obstacle to their development. I remember how casually one day black-haired Julian, with a typical Indian face, referred to "one of my fathers-in-law." Yet this apparent indifference to legal marriage is confined chiefly to what is commonly termed the lowest class, numbers of which in Mexico are frequently too poor to pay for a church wedding, which they have been taught to believe is the only binding ceremony.

If some are addicted to petty thievery, which I did not find true in our own neighborhood, it is doubtless due to the fact that many of the poorest persons have come from haciendas where they were paid such low wages that they had to pick up what corn and beans they could lay hands upon to keep alive. This, I was told, was more or less expected on these large estates, and who could blame them if such practices became habitual?

From what I learned of the life of my neighbors, I am convinced that many of the so-called bad characteristics of the Mexicans are due to their living on estates with no incentive for labor, at the mercy of the landed proprietors. This—and a total lack of education.



A SUNNY KINDERGARTEN IN THE SETTLEMENT BACKYARD

The Far Side of Pine Mountain

By *Ethel de Long*

PINE MOUNTAIN SETTLEMENT SCHOOL

WE people on the far side of Pine Mountain have been comparing the utterances of two friends. One of them wrote us, "You are the sentinels of the alphabet on the outposts of civilization"; the other, one of us, our Burns of the mountains, remarked to a teacher from the North, "Bring us your northern culture, but leave us our civilization."

Here is the heart of the misunderstanding. The outside world, hearing of the southern mountains as the home of feuds and the distilling place for moonshine, reading of boys and girls who have no knowledge of books, or of modern achievement, considers the Appalachians the frontier of civilization; while we who know intimately the life of the southern mountaineers long to preserve the old standards of courtesy and behavior, the dignity and simplicity of the hills.

Too often the people of the mountains have been referred to by the ignorant as the poor whites of the South, or even as the mountain whites. There is no excuse for the last phrase, for the mountains are not the home of the blacks. Likewise, the aspersion "poor whites" shows a complete ignorance of the ancestry of the mountain people and their early history. Perhaps there is really no class that should be called poor whites, except as the phrase is appropriate for those of us whose pocketbooks are perpetually thin. Students of social groups in the United States, however, apply it to the half-degenerate white folk of the southern lowlands, some of them undoubtedly descendants of the indentured classes, brought to this country in pre-revolutionary times.

The mountain people, on the other hand, are in the main of sturdy Scotch, English, or Irish stock, whose ancestors came to this country after the revolution of 1740 in England and who are heirs to all the pride, self-respect, and independence of those early non-conformists. The love of the hills was born in them and is strong today in the hearts of their children, who, though they might find life in the lowlands easier, would pine away there for a "whiff of mountain a'r." An old lady left her home in the mountains for a level farm in Ohio and came back after a short year. Her friends expostulated with her: "Why did you come back here, where you have to hoe corn up above your head? Why, your farm 'most any time might slip off the hill down into the creek." "Law sakes, honey," she replied, "there warn't nary a hill fer me to land my eyes up ag'inst."

In Kentucky, too, the rich red blood of the plain people is mingled with strains of aristocratic stock, for in the days when the settlers were coming through Cumberland Gap to seek their fortune in the blue grass country of Kentucky, members of certain notable families never followed the old wilderness trail through the hills to its end, but stopped in those pleasant valleys among the Cumberlands. Thus immigrant from some far-off country and child of Virginia ancestry they have pushed far back into the heads of the hollows and peopled the Kentucky mountains with a superior stock that has known no foreign mixture for over a hundred years.

One finds no better proof of the fact that blood will tell than in eastern Kentucky today. Poverty you find; lack of knowledge you find; conditions needing to be corrected; still, here are a people to bring hope to America. Here is the



ONE OF THE SCHOOL HOUSES ON THE MOUNTAINSIDE

virility of earlier times, wiriness and vigor that withstand even the enormous handicaps of hookworm which, in certain counties, afflicts two-thirds of the people; old-fashioned traditions of behavior that we wish might be the heritage of all Americans.

Kentucky has, it is true, a great deal of illiteracy. But it is the fatal fallacy of a public-schooled world that literacy is counted the earmark of civilization. The keenest intelligence, the sweetest behavior, the most high-born distinction of manner are gifts of the gods to those who can neither read nor write. A dear friend once said: "We uns that cain't read or write have a heap of time to think, and that's the reason we know more than you all." Few indeed attain the measure of gracious influence and bright wisdom of that philosopher. Her children rise up and call her blessed; she has stretched out her hands to the poor and reached them forth to the needy. These same hands have held the distaff, and as her family grew up they were all clothed from the fruit of her loom. No sound is sweeter to her today than the whirl of her little flax-wheel. Once as she was trying to teach me to spin, she said in surprise at my clumsiness, "Hit's quare, I cain't reecollect the time when I warn't about a wheel, and here you're all growed up and don't know how to spin." A half-hour's more observation of my bungling efforts brought forth this bit of sweet philosophy: "Well, I reckon things is about evened up in this world. You've been everywhar and seen everythin', but I kin spin."

Literacy is not essential to high character or social charm. But readers of the *SURVEY* already know through Mrs. Cora Wilson Stewart's account of moonlight schools [see the *SURVEY*, January 8, 1916] that in the matter of illiteracy the mountain people are far more concerned than the outside public. One cannot read her stirring description of old men and women walking miles on moonlit nights in quest of these simple arts without comprehending the pride and ambition of a people so eager for a chance.

A Chicago University professor, who visited the mountains in an unpropitious mid-summer season when fleas, gnats, jiggers, thunderstorms, and excessive heat might have constituted his chief recollection of a trying ten days, remarked to



THE HOUSEKEEPING BRIGADE

me: "Not since I first went to Europe have I had so stimulating and inspiring an experience. I am longing for the time when I can come again."

This educator will never forget the fine bearing of his friends in the hills, their thoughtful hospitality and unflinching courtesy. He has first-hand knowledge of the keen observation and shrewd judgment that make it possible for a mountain boy to compete in the world with a lad who has had every opportunity; and an explanation why, in so many Kentucky and Missouri towns, one finds the leading business man, or lawyer, or merchant a man from the hills. He understands the essential soundness of a race whose code of honor is that no man ever says an insulting word to a woman unless she "first throws the banter."

Just now the world of the Kentucky mountains is meeting an emergency, as capital builds railroads along the creeks and carries away the coal and timber that constitute the material resources of the eastern Cumberlands. The mountain man whose fore-parents have lived a hundred miles or more from any town on the map sells his farm usually at far less than its real worth and moves out from his eighteenth-century surroundings to the hurrying, unfamiliar twentieth century. Not understanding it (and who of us without a friendly interpreter could bridge two centuries), and unprepared for it, he often becomes the victim of it. Over a third of the people applying for aid at relief bureaus in Cincinnati during the winter of 1915-16 were from the mountains. To this pitiable condition, through no fault of their own, had come the children of the proud poverty and simplicity of the hills. Such a loss of human possibilities is tragic.

Meanwhile, for those who stay in the mountains the touch of the twentieth century is equally unfortunate. Chewing gum, slang, the sophisticated notion that people who work with their hands are not so fine as those who keep their hands clean and are always dressed up, the degradation of young girls in their contact with a different standard of virtue—these are the first gifts the railroad brings in with the opening up of the country. The puzzling questions today are: How can the mountain people who go outside be prepared to make the noble contribution to life of which they are capable? How can those who remain live more richly and happily than their fathers and mothers who, as one man put it, have been too bowed under?

Anyone familiar with the difficulty of making rural schools a power even in the North, can appreciate the fact that in

the South, where common-school education is younger than the Civil War, the district schools are still unorganized and undeveloped. Consider the vast stretches of country in eastern Kentucky alone that would require very high-grade supervision—twelve thousand square miles of mountain land. The public schools are improving, but, just as private kindergarten and private trade schools did necessary work in cities before the public institution, so the private school has led the way in the southern mountains.

Moreover, these private schools have a wide vision of education that they often try to suggest by calling themselves settlement schools. Among them the Pine Mountain Settlement School is one of the youngest. It was founded at the head waters of Greasy Creek, under the shadows of Pine Mountain, because a whole neighborhood begged for it and because one magnificent old man, William Creech, who had longed for it for forty years, endowed it with all the land he owned.

Mr. Creech had set up his children on farms of their own, and why should he keep any himself, he reasoned. "There being a great deal of whiskey and wickedness in the country where my grandchildren must be raised, was a serious thing for me to study about," he wrote. And to make a better chance for those grandchildren and for unborn generations was his greatest wish.

When the day came that the Pine Mountain School was really begun, the old man said: "I don't want hit to be a benefit just to this neighborhood, but to all of Kentucky; the whole United States, if they want it; the whole world if they can get any good out of it." Though agricultural experts and trained foresters, Pratt graduates, "the people of northern culture" whom Burns spoke about, may do all they can for the Pine Mountain Settlement School, they can never put into it a deeper hope.

The Pine Mountain Settlement School is a home school. That is, practically all the children who are learning in it live under its roofs. "Roofs" it must be, for the school believes in a family type of life rather than an institutional. All the seventy children are grouped in different cottages, little tots and strapping fellows, boys and girls together, as in a big family.

Although the school ought in the next few years to increase to twice its present size, it will do so only by building more of these cottage homes. In them the children do all the work of the home. The training of the hand is therefore not merely an addition to the regular school curriculum, but an



NO ROAD AND NO DOCTOR FOR EIGHTEEN MILES

integral part of every-day life. Boys and girls have regular duties to perform, necessary to the welfare of the family. So it is that in this school the housekeeping, cooking, the care of the stock, and the gardening are not the work of paid servants, but are the means whereby the children gain normal training and earn at the same time part of their expenses.

Such a system develops in children a fine sense of responsibility and that understanding of the necessity for work which is at the bottom of both success and character. Watch a nine-year-old girl after breakfast tackling her job of making ten beds on a sleeping porch and sweeping and dusting before school begins. They are well-made beds, too, with "hospital corners." Not long ago a little girl with such a task was not feeling very well, and was told that she needn't get up in the morning unless she felt much better. "Oh," she said, "I'm aimin' to be stirrin' soon; hit's Saturday and I wouldn't trust nobody else to put clean sheets on the beds."

The home life of the cottage, too, is natural and spontaneous. Indeed you would find it charming to sit before the fire of an evening with one of the tiniest in your lap, two or three more gathered about your knees begging for a story; another group sprawling on the floor with heads close together over a book, and still others singing away some old ballad of the mountains. In a quiet corner the older ones are playing checkers or reading King Arthur. Perhaps the oldest boy of all is holding a small child, for in the mountains seventeen- and eighteen-year-old boys do not feel obliged to conceal their affection for little children, if they still delight in "nussing" them.

The entire scheme of education has been organized with a view to bettering and broadening children's knowledge of how to perform work necessary to those who live in the country. At the same time the standard set is kept within reach of their own homes. For most of the boys and girls will live in the hills, and their training must be planned to fit them for happy, useful country life. So much for the school proper, which will in the next few years further extend its sphere of influence by cooperation with the district schools and by the establishment in one populous neighborhood, perhaps four miles away, of a little center where a trained nurse and a social worker will live.

The importance of the work of a trained nurse may be gathered from the fact that this neighborhood is eighteen miles from the doctor. The field for obstetrics is covered only by midwives. In our county too the eradication of hookworm must be accomplished, for some 66 2-3 per cent of the pop-



WEEDING BEANS FOR AN EDUCATION



FOUNDER OF THE PINE MOUNTAIN SETTLEMENT SCHOOL

ulation are infected. And not only must the people now infected be cured, but sanitary changes must be widespread in order to prevent a recurrence of the disease. Our own particular pocket of the county has some 20 per cent of its population suffering from trachoma. By clinics and the establishment of a small hospital for study and cure, these conditions may be corrected.

The Pine Mountain School, which is not yet four years old, has had to evolve from its vision of community service a scheme for the building of a road. It had to pay seventy cents a hundred pounds to get goods in from the railroad, although that railroad was as the crow flies just three miles away. And what could the neighbors do with their surplus apples, having no way of getting them to market, except turn the hogs into the orchards? Yet figures show that the state of Kentucky imports about three million dollars' worth of fruit every year.

The economic welfare of a large area depends on getting a road across Pine Mountain. Now road-building in eastern Kentucky is in its infancy. We have not yet arrived at the millennial state of Canada where a petition signed by ten citizens secures an indefinite amount of well-built road. The county is already doing its utmost to build fifty or sixty miles of road along the main creeks in the geographical center of the county. For many years to come it can do nothing for outlying districts, yet several thousand people are penned up by a mountain a mile high. A good road will cost at least \$50,000. Since the road will be a continuation of a highway linking three county seats, the state will pay for half the cost of its construction, though it can do so only in instalments at the rate of perhaps \$1,200 a year. The school is undertaking to secure the \$50,000 by July 1, so that the road can be built next summer. Half of this will go as the gift of America to the Kentucky mountains. The other half will reduce the school and the country's cost of living and will be turned into endowed as it returns from the state.

Kipling quoted a proverb in Puck of Pook's Hill, "Rome's race, Rome's pace." America needs the mountain civilization, but that can go no faster than the pace the roads make possible for it. The slow feet of oxen have drawn corn sleds, laden with the harvest, from the field to the barn; the slow feet of men have brought little cook stoves over a great mountain, and shoulders used to burdens have carried a sewing machine now and then for a mother whose hands were already full of tasks. Little trails wind through the laurel and the rhodo-

dendron. By these you may travel up the mountain on a mule's back, but you must go down on your own two feet, lest you risk a slide over the mule's ears. Over just such a trail sick babies are carried to the doctor eighteen or twenty miles away. A woman dying with cancer has been carried on a cot over one of them four times in search of the help she still believes she may find.

This path is picturesque, even to the extent of an occasional rattlesnake "quarled" in the middle of it, but it sets a pace that is cruel to keep, for us on the far side of the mountain. People of constructive imagination will understand why the

school must devote all its energies to this road-building. Indeed, it sometimes seems to us that we began at the wrong end and should have made the road before the school! An old man in the mountains—a believer in broad highways, though his means are narrow—said:

"I'll give ye somethin' for the road. I allus have got a leetle chinkapin money in my pocket, and I ain't no hog with hit nuther. I'll give ye a nickel for the road!" Why lack faith in great causes, because one's means are small? After all, the road can easily be built, if only people are not "hogs" with their "chinkapin money"!



"YOU'VE BEEN EVERYWHAR' AN' SEEN EVER' THIN'; BUT I CAN SPIN"

20,000 Miles Over the Land

A Survey of the Spreading Health Insurance Movement

By I. M. Rubinow

A QUESTION which as a professional campaigner for health insurance I am perhaps most frequently called upon to answer is: "What states have already introduced this form of social insurance?" Unfortunately, I am still compelled to reply somewhat apologetically: "None as yet, but there surely will be some legislation in the near future." This, being a promise rather than an achievement, is not always satisfactory to the questioner.

On the other hand, when some group representing a particular interest attacks the entire structure of the system as un-American, paternalistic and what not, the temptation is great to insist that health insurance is coming notwithstanding any partisan objections. And such assurances are resented as a threat and are often very irritating to an antagonistic audience.

What assurance can one give that the statement is neither a promise nor a threat, but simply a scientific prophesy? The irresistible force with which the movement has grown and spread in ten European countries (in six of these within the brief period of 1909-13) may be convincing to a few. The people at large, however, will insist upon evidence gathered nearer home, and the strongest body of evidence, in my opinion, may be found in comparisons with the history of the similar reform in the domain of industrial accidents, for admittedly the movement to secure compulsory health insurance for wage-earners is a direct offspring of the compensation legislation of the last five or six years. Notwithstanding many evidences of dissatisfaction with employers' liability settlement for as much as twenty years, the compensation movement did not begin in earnest until about 1908. The first act of any importance was passed in New York in 1910. Not, however, until 1913 did compensation legislation extend beyond two or three isolated states. By January 1, 1917, some thirty-four states had compensation laws in force and during the current year this list is almost sure to be further extended.

The normal evolution of any movement in social legislation may be roughly outlined as follows: literary propaganda, lectures and meetings, voluntary committees, public commissions, drafting of bills, legislative proposals and finally legislative enactment.

As indicated in my article on health insurance eight months ago [see the SURVEY for July 15, 1916], all of these stages, except the last, are going on simultaneously with great energy and enthusiasm. In fact, these various lines of activity are multiplying so rapidly that it is practically impossible to give an accurate review of them without making a painstaking investigation throughout the country, the result of which would be altogether out of date by the time it was ready for publication.

Although I have no intention of injecting my personality into what should be an impartial statement of facts, it is difficult, in view of the rapid developments proceeding simultaneously in so many different localities, to give at this time much more than my personal impressions.

The last six months of 1916 I spent in the service of the Social Insurance Commission of California, a state in which there probably exists a stronger popular health insurance movement than in any other part of the country. Very

recently I have had even a better opportunity to observe the progress of the health insurance movement during a speaking tour through eight states—Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Michigan and Illinois. Altogether within less than twelve months I was called upon to travel nearly 22,000 miles, addressed over 100 meetings with a combined audience of nearly 50,000, personally met thousands of people interested in the movement and, of course, talked and was spoken to with reference to little else besides this one subject. The impressions thus gained may be one-sided, but they are not easily discarded.

The literary output on the subject of health insurance during the last year has been enormous and continues to grow very rapidly. When, in connection with the report of the California Social Insurance Commission, the preparation was undertaken of a complete American bibliography, it was almost impossible to find any references on health insurance over three or four years old, while during 1916 several hundred titles appeared. During the current year this output promises to be several times as large. Such a growing volume of material is extremely significant. A book may be largely the result of one man's inner consciousness, but a literature of pamphlets and press articles is always a fair indication of popular interest. Scarcely a day passes without bringing to my desk some pamphlet or some magazine article. And as to newspaper stories, the bills of the clipping bureaus for these threaten to become a serious financial burden. Perhaps I am particularly impressed by this literary current because of the very striking contrast with a serious difficulty I had some fourteen years ago in my efforts to place my first article on social insurance in an American publication.

It is a rather curious fact that most of this literature as yet has appeared in specialized publications. American monthly magazines, which contributed so much to the spread of propaganda for workmen's compensation, have had comparatively little to say concerning health insurance. Perhaps that is an opportunity which they have accidentally overlooked. Perhaps it is only additional evidence that our fifteen-cent magazines have during the last five years changed from public forums to sources of public entertainment. However, recent information indicates that several of the popular magazines are planning to devote considerable space to the subject in the very near future.

The symposium in the *American Labor Legislation Review* for June, 1916, is perhaps the most valuable and helpful collection of papers on health insurance as yet published in this country. Numerous studies have appeared in American medical literature, particularly in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, and in the medical publications of those states where the movement is strongest, namely, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, California and Wisconsin.

Thus the issue of the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* for February 15 contains three articles, two notes, three letters and one editorial on the subjects of health insurance and compensation, or a total of thirty-six columns out of sixty-eight.

A special series of social insurance pamphlets has been undertaken by the American Medical Association and five pamphlets

in the series have already appeared, while two are in press and several others in preparation.

Not all of these articles represent valuable contributions to the literature on the subject, but all of them do indicate a rapidly growing interest on the part of the medical profession in the possibilities of health insurance. Opinions are about equally balanced in favor of this program and opposing it. It is significant that a transition may be observed from a general discussion of underlying principles to a careful analysis of detailed provisions in different legislative proposals.

Articles, both sympathetic and denunciatory, may also be found in industrial publications circulating among employers, as well as in labor papers. Thus, for instance, the little *Monitor*, the official monthly publication of the Associated Manufacturers and Merchants of the State of New York, during the last year devoted more space to health insurance than to any other subject.

Opposition

PERHAPS the best way to judge of the real strength of the movement is by the opposition it creates. The literature in opposition has not failed to show considerable growth. More or less active attacks on health insurance flourish in the insurance journals of the country, which up to the present are devoted entirely to the interests of private commercial business, their most valuable support. Perhaps the most ambitious offering in this direction is the series of bulletins of the Insurance Economics Society of America, an organization founded by private insurance capital for the protection of its interests and for opposition to the movement toward public insurance. Of the five bulletins published, four come from the pen of William Gale Curtis, secretary of the Educational Committee of that society, but also president of the National Casualty Company of Detroit.

Notwithstanding all the development of the press, the public lecture still remains a very potent means of popular education in matters of social reform. The demand for public lectures on the subject of health insurance seems to exceed the available supply. During my six months in California I was forced to deliver over seventy-five public addresses. Medical societies, women's clubs, city clubs, open forums and luncheon clubs are all clamoring for speakers on health insurance.

Thus there seems to me conclusive evidence that the public is eager to learn about health insurance. Of course, this may be explained as a natural reaction to long systematic propaganda, energetically pushed. But the promising thing about the thirst for information is the broad sympathy for the movement and the support so easily obtained, at least among social groups who approach the problem impartially and without any bias.

Take, for instance, that small but important group consisting of persons who devote their entire time to the study of political and social problems and conditions in this country—namely, social workers and teachers of economics in American universities. In order to ascertain the attitude of these two professions on matters of health insurance and social insurance in general, the California Social Insurance Commission made an enquête of members of the American Economic Association and the National Conference of Charities and Correction. Of 675 replies received and tabulated 87 per cent went on record as favoring social insurance legislation for this country. Some 9 per cent refused to commit themselves because of lack of information. Only 4 per cent were opposed to it.

By a very large preponderance of opinion, health insurance was voted the next step in social insurance legislation, to be acted on before unemployment, old age or widows' and orphans' insurance (of the 450 replies indicating choice, 270, or 60 per cent, made health insurance their first choice, and 117, or 26 per cent, the second choice). It is true that American professors and social workers do not often write our laws; nevertheless any viewpoint gaining such strong support among them must eventually permeate the thought and conscience of the whole American people and lead to some constructive action, for even a superficial review of the history of any progressive tendency in American political, economic or social life will corroborate the use of this generalization. Witness the anti-child-labor movement, the movement for the protection of women in industry and similar movements too numerous to mention.

Even more important than such isolated instances of endorsement are several large national conventions and conferences in which health insurance has been one of the most important topics for discussion. Among them perhaps only three need be referred to, already reported in the *SURVEY*—namely, the meeting of the American Public Health Association in Cincinnati last October [see the *SURVEY* for November 11, 1916], the Social Insurance Conference in Washington early in December [the *SURVEY* for December 16, 1916], and the annual meeting of the American Association for Labor Legislation during Christmas week in Columbus [the *SURVEY* for January 13]. At all these conferences the large audience which every meeting on health insurance drew and the careful discussion given the matter were noticeable features.

The meetings of these and similar organizations planned for the immediate future will devote even more time to health insurance. Of these the American Medical Association, which is to meet in New York, and the National Conference of Charities and Correction, which is to meet in Pittsburgh, are perhaps the most important. At the latter meeting two sessions are to be devoted entirely to health insurance, with one of those large general evening meetings that always draw such multitudes for the general presentation of the broad principle of social insurance.

Again, in this form of activity, the efforts of the opposition are no less significant. Almost at every one of the numerous conventions of the insurance interests dealing with so-called casualty insurance, attacks on health insurance have been the predominating feature during the last six months. At such conventions as the International Association of the Casualty Insurance Underwriters, the International Claim Association, the Health and Accident Underwriters' Conference, the iniquities of health insurance have been discussed at great length.

Countless Committees

THERE was a time when one could take reasonable pride in being a member of the only social insurance committee then in existence. Since then the organization of committees for the study of social insurance has grown so rapidly that hardly a large city exists without one or more such bodies. I have found them in almost every city in the fourteen states that I have visited during the last nine months, and where they did not exist at the time it was an easy matter to foresee that they would form soon after a meeting was addressed. In New York, Massachusetts and California, especially, the number of such committees is very large.

Even in their organization, spontaneous as they appeared

to be, a certain orderly sequence may be observed. The earliest committee in every locality is one formed by those restless people whose main function in life it has become to stir up all kinds of troublesome problems—the local charity workers, people connected with health departments, with economic and sociologic departments of universities, and social reformers in general. But no sooner do they succeed in obtaining some effective publicity when numerous other committees appear, and not all of them for agitation and propaganda—some for impartial study and others, again, for purposes of self-defense and opposition. Such special committees have been organized by medical societies, nurses' societies, boards of trade, chambers of commerce, manufacturers' organizations, and the like. And, of course, it is no secret at all that the feverish activity in the organization of state insurance federations (organizations of insurance interests, primarily of agents and brokers, backed up by large insurance companies for the purpose of exercising the collective political influence in opposition to any state insurance legislation) during the last six months is largely due to the threat of health insurance.

In preparing its report, the Social Insurance Commission of California was anxious to learn of the extent of the social insurance movement throughout the United States, and made an effort to compile a list of these committees which are of more than purely local importance. Some twenty committees of this kind are listed in its report, but they constitute only at present a very small proportion of all the existing committees.

Antagonistic Propaganda

THE fact that the reports of a good many of these committees are antagonistic to the movement does not at all reduce their value as an indication of the substantial strength of the cause which made them necessary. Among the most recent are the report of the New York Board of Trade and Transportation and of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, the latter prepared by John Franklin Crowell. The former report may be dismissed in a very few words. The accuracy of all the statements may be judged from the main underlying argument that the present health insurance movement is a movement by doctors for the purpose of increasing their medical fees. Whoever has followed the recent discussions of health insurance before the various New York medical societies will readily appreciate the inaccuracy of any such statement. The specific criticisms of the Mills bill, introduced in New York, are all of about the same scientific value; as, for instance, the statement that the bill provides for a "like charge upon all employers and upon all wage-earners without the least regard for the conditions maintained by the employers."

A much fairer effort is that of Dr. Crowell. Instead of taking up minor points in the so-called Mills bill, he makes an effort to get at the fundamentals underlying the health insurance movement. The compact little report [see the SURVEY for February 24] of some ninety pages endeavors to cover a very broad field beginning with the history and description of European systems of social insurance and the movement in the United States, through a criticism of the Mills bill and a statement of arguments for and against the whole policy of health insurance in this country. Most of the arguments brought up are not perhaps very novel, as, for instance, the danger of malingering, the supposed excessive cost, the destruction of individual responsibility of the family, etc. As alternatives for compulsory sickness insurance, Dr. Crowell suggests no less than five specific measures: 1, better economic control of voluntary insurance organizations; 2, a

development of group insurance; 3, extension of the compensation law to occupational diseases; 4, larger efforts at prevention of sickness; and 5, an investigation as to the wage incomes prevailing in the lower wage groups.

"This," says Dr. Crowell, "aims at the root of the truth or falsity of the constantly repeated claim that a considerable portion of the wage-earning population receives incomes too small for them to rear a family consisting of the parents and two or three children. This claim is widely disputed. Some hold that these claims are based practically either on statistics belonging to other periods than of recent years or upon facts of so limited application and scope as to make their application to conditions generally not only fallacious, but the fruitful sources of misrepresentation. It should be no difficult matter with the proper organized committee representing labor interests, the employers and economists familiar with these conditions, to ascertain the facts. Then, with the facts before us, it should not be difficult to correct any appreciable failure of the existing wage system to measure up to the requirement of the normal American standard of living."

Of course, this cheerful hope concerning the ease with which the failure of the existing wage system may be corrected sounds refreshing, coming, as it does, from the pen of an old and experienced economic student. In accordance with this report, the Chamber of Commerce has gone on record as favoring a comprehensive governmental investigation of the conditions calling for health insurance in the state of New York.

The other four "alternatives" are, of course, not alternatives at all, because all of them are suggestions which remain quite desirable even in the face of existing health insurance legislation. Regulation of voluntary insurance carriers, and even extension of group insurance, cannot be expected to produce more effective results in this country than they have accomplished in Europe, where those methods have been tried out for decades. The extension of the compensation law to occupational diseases does not cover perhaps more than 1 per cent of the general problem of illness among wage-earners. And as to the emphasis upon the work of prevention, perhaps no better illustration of the typical red herring can be obtained. On one hand, it is obvious that no amount of preventive hygiene can eliminate the problem of sickness either in the community at large or especially in the wage-working part of the community. And on the other, no specific measure of prevention can be as efficient in reducing the amount of sickness and suffering as a system of compulsory health insurance which furnishes financial assistance and medical care to the wage-workers when they need it.

Official Recognition

UNTIL now we have spoken largely of spontaneous activity on the part of the public at large. By this time, official recognition of the health insurance movement is not lacking. The Social Insurance Commissions of California and of Massachusetts have already been referred to in the SURVEY. It is more than likely that as a result of the introduction of health insurance bills in various state legislatures now in session, many similar commissions will be established during the year. Bills to that effect have either been introduced or will be introduced in Ohio, New Jersey, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and New Hampshire. Even in Nevada, with its small industrial population, the governor has recommended in his annual message the establishment of a commission of study. And the list will compare favorably with the three compensation commissions established in 1909 in New York, Wisconsin and Minnesota.

The first two commissions appointed, those of California

and Massachusetts, have by this time completed their work and turned in their reports. The California report, a volume of 340 pages, is significant because of the unanimous conclusions of the commission in favor of health insurance not only in principle, but also as a measure for immediate action. And while the Massachusetts commission, with its larger membership and very much larger field of inquiry, was unable to agree to a unanimous report, it is still fair to say that on the whole the conclusions of the Massachusetts commission offer additional support to the health insurance movement. The major report submitted by the sub-committee on health insurance and signed by four of the nine members, represents a very strong endorsement of the so-called standard bill of the American Association for Labor Legislation, and the bill which it reprints with endorsement is largely based upon the association bill.

The four members signing this report agreed upon the necessity of compulsion in health insurance, upon the wisdom of including all those who earn less than \$100 a month, upon the necessity of distributing the cost among employers, employes and the state, even accepting the division into 40, 40 and 20 per cent as a reasonable one, and approving the type of carriers suggested in the standard bills. This report of the commission and the strong endorsement of health insurance in the message of Governor McCall [see the SURVEY for January 13] have made the issue of health insurance in Massachusetts a very live one indeed, and at present Massachusetts may be said to have perhaps the best chance of originating health insurance legislation in this country.

Mooted Points

PARTICULARLY important is the specific recommendation made by Governor McCall in his message that health insurance plans should include medical aid to the members of the family, because this recommendation goes beyond the requirements of the English law and also beyond the minimum standards, though not the actual practice, of the German system. It is true that several precedents for such extension of medical aid to the members of the family may be found in European legislation, namely, in the laws of Norway and Hungary, but less than a year ago opposition to this broad program looked so dangerous even to the more progressive supporters of health insurance that they voluntarily excluded it from the bills introduced in New York, New Jersey and Massachusetts in 1916. Governor McCall's endorsement of it is therefore exceedingly important. As a matter of fact, in all the bills introduced this year this part of the program will be retained, as well as the maternity benefit, concerning which there was so much bitter discussion last spring.

While the message of Governor McCall seems to have placed the center of health insurance propaganda for a time in Massachusetts, the results achieved in California must not be disregarded, as even a superficial examination of the report will demonstrate. The general tone of the report may perhaps be judged best by the following quotations from the conclusions (pages 121-23), selected because they are emphasized by heavy type in the report itself. Evidently the California commission has unanimously agreed to the following:

"Individual responsibility for illness threatens hardship and economic dependency to wage-workers."

"Group responsibility for illness through health insurance is the practical way to meet the problem created by illness in California."

"Health insurance to be effective must be made compulsory upon the individual worker."

"Some contribution from other sources than the wage-earn-

ers themselves is necessary to secure adequate health insurance for wage-earners."

"Contribution from industry to the health insurance of wage-earners is just and desirable."

"Contribution from the state to the health insurance of wage-earners is desirable."

"Health insurance offers a sensible, practical method of eliminating in part the most distressing features of the present social system—economic dependency and charitable relief."

"Health insurance will distribute the burden which now means hardship, suffering and lavish public expenditure in such a way that it will be a burden no longer."

"Health insurance to wage-earners would mean a tremendous step forward in social progress."

On the basis of this report Governor Johnson, in his message, concludes: "I believe in health insurance, that ultimately it will be established in our nation, and this within a brief period." There appeared, however, in California constitutional difficulties against the immediate adoption of a health insurance law, and therefore the program as outlined by the commission presupposes the adoption of a constitutional amendment during the current year, its submission to the people for ratification in the fall of 1918, and the introduction of a bill in the spring of 1919, if the constitutional amendment is ratified. Provision has also been made for the continuation of the work of the Social Insurance Commission during the two years, not only for the purpose of drafting a bill, but also of carrying on the educational work preparatory to the submission of the amendment to the people at large. As both the constitutional amendment and the appropriation for the continuation of the commission are understood to be administration measures, some definite progress toward health insurance may be expected in California during the year.

Since no bill is to be introduced as yet, the commission did not think it necessary to draft the detailed provisions of a health insurance bill. It has, however, agreed unanimously to the few essential underlying principles as stated in its official findings:

"In order to meet the problem of destitution due to sickness and in order to make health insurance a valuable adjunct to the broad movement for the conservation of public health, any legislation on this subject should provide: a, for a compulsory system for the conducting of the insurance by non-profit-making insurance carriers; b, for a thoroughly adequate provision for the care and treatment of the sick; and, c, for contributions for the insured from industry and from the state."

Criticisms of Standard Bill

ALTHOUGH no one definite system of organization is outlined in the report, the California commission did, in a tentative way, voice its disagreement with some of the provisions of the standard bill of the American Association for Labor Legislation, largely referring to the organization of insurance. This criticism is based upon the fear that under the standard bill the fraternal orders may be discriminated against (fraternal orders are perhaps stronger in California than in many other states), and that cooperation of employers and employes and the health insurance carriers are impractical and undesirable. And the possibility of separation of the medical benefit from the financial aspects of health insurance is suggested, money benefits to be administered entirely by the organizations of the wage-workers themselves, while the medical benefit is to be centralized under direct state administration. A certain degree of novelty cannot be denied to these suggestions, which undoubtedly will be carefully considered both by the California commission and by other students.

The report, however, states very distinctly that the com-

mission "is not at this time prepared to offer a plan for the organization of health insurance." It sees what it believes to be serious objections to the plan of the association. It believes that these objections can be obviated through other forms of organization. In briefest outline it sketches a plan of organization which it believes free from these objections. This plan, however, may be open to objections still more grave. It is submitted at this time simply for study and debate.

All the bills introduced in the other states will be substantially in agreement with that prepared by the Social Insurance Committee of the American Association for Labor Legislation. The little green pamphlet containing the standard provisions does not, however, at the present moment represent the final stage of the standard bill. This can be studied much better from the text of the actual bills introduced in various states which are in substantial agreement, though local committees in a few cases have insisted upon certain slight modifications. The changes between the present draft of the bill and those published during last summer are largely dealing with the better plans for organization of medical aid. Undoubtedly as a result of public hearings and consideration by legislative committees further changes may be suggested. But judging from the progress up to the present, there seems reasonable hope that health insurance legislation, when it does come, will be very much more uniform than has been the compensation legislation until now.

Is there any reasonable hope that the legislative sessions of the current year will result in the passage of one or more health insurance laws? I should not want to be forced to answer this question. Bills have been introduced up to the present, or will be introduced during the current session, at least in the following states: New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maine, Missouri, Michigan, New Jersey, Ohio, Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois and Pennsylvania. One might perhaps be more inclined to venture upon prophesy and one might also be more inclined to be optimistic about the immediate chances for health insurance legislation, if various international problems now staring us in the face were out of the way. As it is, at any moment all movements for social progress may be swept aside for the time being by some grave international crisis.

But whether this legislative year will see actual health insurance legislation or not is after all not a matter of very great importance. And as to which of the several states may achieve the honor of being the pioneer state in this movement is also rather a local than a national problem. It is quite certain, however, that as a result of this year's consideration several state commissions for investigation of the problem will be created. Judging by the result of the investigations in Massachusetts and in California, the general tone of the conclusions that will be reached by the various state commissions may almost be foreseen. I think even the most bitter opponents of the health insurance movement are willing to admit that the best they can achieve is a certain postponement, and perhaps some modification, of legislation so as to protect their own interests rather than stem the tide altogether.

Position of Private Companies

IT IS therefore significant that the severe attacks upon the whole health insurance movement by private insurance interests are coupled with a plea that private insurance companies be permitted to participate in the insurance. In the San Francisco *Chronicle*, for instance, a few weeks ago a whole page was devoted to an attack upon social health insurance, evidently furnished by the Insurance Federation of the State of California. It is pointed out that the cost would be enor-

mous, that "the abridgement of rights of citizens" through a compulsory insurance is resented as un-American, that health insurance has bred malingering among German workmen, and that it has failed of bettering health conditions. Nevertheless, in the same attack the following curious statement may be found: "The impression is sought to be conveyed that anyone opposing Dr. Rubinow's German, monopolistic social-insurance plan is opposing social health insurance. Insurance organizations and insurance men as a whole seriously object to being placed in a false position by virtue of their objections to Dr. Rubinow's plan."

"It is urged that there is an alternative plan open to California more acceptable than the plan now under discussion. It is claimed that the proper economic solution of this problem calls for the retention in the field of all carriers or agencies now in existence familiar with health insurance and capable of administering it. It is further claimed that any plan adopted by this or any other states should retain stock insurance organizations, fraternal associations and any other mutual organizations which are capable of administering business." The logic of this charge is, I think, perhaps best stated in the words of an editorial in the *Fresno Republican* (Chester Rowell's organ in Fresno, Cal.):

"With amusing stupidity the argument contends that social insurance is a fatally bad policy for the people, but it will be all right provided the insurance companies are permitted to get their share of the business. It is the stock companies who are paying for this page, and they are trying to crawl in under the protection of the fraternal companies, which there is no purpose in injuring."

Danger of Conflict

THE present status of the health insurance propaganda is, I think, very well illustrated by the above attacks. The general public, or at least that part of it which is interested in matters of social progress, is already almost unanimously in favor of the health insurance principle. Labor, organized and unorganized, is very rapidly learning of the advantages of health insurance, notwithstanding the antagonistic attitude unfortunately assumed by a few prominent leaders of organized labor. Even employing interests on the whole are gradually recognizing the justice of the demand for better protection of the wage-workers in time of sickness. In so far as arguments against health insurance are based in general upon political or social considerations, there will be no serious difficulty in overcoming them. The specific objections from wage-workers, employers and from the medical profession can be met either by emphasis on the advantages to either group or by necessary modifications in the provisions of the act.

The opposition that comes from private insurance capital must necessarily be of a more obstinate kind. Not that I imagine for a moment that the development of health insurance is really going to do any substantial damage to the private insurance business as it exists at present, because probably 90 to 95 per cent of the insurance created will be entirely new business. It is even reasonably certain that the development of health insurance among wage-workers will prove a very strong stimulus to the increase in the amount of health insurance written by private insurance companies among higher economic groups. But if a branch of the private insurance business insists upon making the whole program of health insurance a question of principle and wants to fight it as a dangerous symptom of the general tendency away from private toward public insurance, a conflict is created for which the advocates of health insurance in this country are in no way responsible, but which, of course, they will be unable to escape.

The Conscientious Objectors

By Ian C. Hannah¹

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT OBERLIN

“AS soon as we got in the prison (I was first), one of them told me, with an oath, to get my coat off. I told him I was not a soldier, and could not obey military orders. The colonel was standing near and he thundered up and shouted: ‘What! you won’t obey me?’ with a thick accompaniment.

“I quietly answered, ‘I must obey the commands of my God, sir.’

“‘Damn your God! Take him to the special room.’”

This is not precisely what we are accustomed to associate with the British Constitution—more than once described by the *London Times* as the admiration and the envy of mankind—but a good many things have been changed by this greatest and maddest of wars.

The conscientious objector (perhaps with the stress rather on the last word than the first) is in the politics of Britain no novelty whatsoever. All diligent students of history are aware that in the days of the American Revolution the best opinion in the old country was on the side of the colonial insurgents. Even Napoleon had his contemporary English admirers, and living in those times Lord Macartney was impressed by the fact that while other nations sometimes put aside their internal bickerings the British never did anything of the kind. He was inclined to attribute it to the grossness of their diet and to the beastliness of their climate!

During the Boer war this feature of the English character was apparent to the whole world, and it is one of the queer ironies of fate that so many of the “pro-Boers” in that struggle, notably Mr. Lloyd George himself, are now high in the counsels of the nation and called upon to deal with another generation of the ever-present conscientious objector.

A large amount of literature connected with the problem, all of it smuggled out of England, has just come into the hands of the *SURVEY*. Part of it is typewritten or in MS.; part consists of copies of the *Tribunal*, the organ of the No-Conscription Fellowship, edited by W. J. Chamberlain till he went to prison, later by B. J. Boothroyd.

In perusing the documents perhaps what strikes one most forcibly is that it should have been necessary to smuggle them at all. The British government seems to have far less to gain from their being suppressed than from their being published throughout the world, for *on the whole* (with perhaps a good many individual exceptions) it appears that British forbearance and love of justice and fair play have done a good deal to ease an utterly impossible position. More than once an officer has told the men that if they object to obeying as soldiers he will ask them to do a favor to himself. Though it is presumably the worst cases that are reported, the desire of the tribunals to be fair is admitted again and again. Prussian the system may be, but Prussian the bulk of British officers are not. The case above is rather exceptional, but far from being unique.

Nothing short of the actual bursting of the black war clouds could ever have induced such a people as the British to acquiesce in recent acts of Parliament. Lord Loreburn (ex-Lord Chancellor) pointed out that the Defense of the

Realm Act destroyed liberties that had been cherished through a dozen generations; the Military Service Acts go very much farther. Realizing that many English would refuse to take up arms of which they conscientiously disapproved, Parliament provided expressly for exemptions.

The first conscription act provides that: “Any certificate of exemption may be absolute, conditional or temporary, as the authorities by whom it is granted think best suited to the case, and also in the case of an application on conscientious grounds may take the form of an exemption from combatant service only, or may be conditional on the applicant being engaged in some work which in the opinion of the tribunal dealing with the case is of national importance.” The second act, which extended the draft to married men, still more emphatically gives to the tribunals discretion to grant absolute exemption.

The trouble mainly arises from the effort to establish in a court of law something so intangible as a state of mind. England has hardly attempted it for the last three hundred years. For those willing to accept alternative (non-combatant) service, the path is relatively smooth under the more recent regulations—though there is still a good deal of browbeating by unintelligent tribunals. Far otherwise for those who decline, directly, indirectly or anyhow at all, to assist in waging war. “With that kind of man,” says Mr. Lloyd George emphatically, though slightly ungrammatically, “I personally have absolutely no sympathy whatsoever. I do not think they deserve the slightest consideration. . . . I shall only consider the best means of making the path of that class a very hard one.”

Bertrand Russell finds “a manly note of primitive ferocity about those words,” and adds some very strong observations highly unflattering to the intelligence of “almost all” British politicians, but there can be not the very slightest doubt that the premier is voicing the sentiments of all but a small minority of his countrymen. A nation which feels itself to be fighting for very life can hardly be expected to look at such questions with the philosophic calm that is possible across the Atlantic.

Twenty thousand Englishmen in the last half-year have made their protest against compulsory military service. No one knows how many of this number have gone into the non-combatant corps, a military unit especially established for conscientious objectors; but probably it includes the great majority. They are assigned to making roads, to repairing railways, and other works of public utility. A certain proportion of them have got “alternative service”; that is, the tribunal has granted them three weeks in which to find alternative service in any civil employment which the tribunal judges to be of “national importance.” Of those whose application for such “alternative service” has been rejected most have been court-martialled and sent to imprisonment. The military prisons were in a short time crowded with these men, but as a result of public clamor they were afterwards sent into civil prisons. The total number of men arrested has never been made public, but is probably about five thousand.

More recently, recognizing that in a large number of cases there has been miscarriage on the part of the tribunal, the

¹ Author of *Arms and the Map*, *Eastern Asia*, etc., and of the recent novel, *Quaker Bora*.

government has instituted a new plan of giving these men work of national importance, not contributory to the war, instead of prison work. This measure immediately divided them into two classes: those willing to accept such work and those unwilling to compromise (popularly called the Absolutists). The former were drafted into various occupations decided upon by the Brace committee of the House of Commons as answering the requirements of the law, such as granite quarrying, tree-felling, road-making and the like. Since the beginning of the winter, some hundreds have been housed in disused prisons in Wakefield and Warwick, where they make mailbags and other materials used in the public service. The latest scheme is one for drafting a proportion of these men on the land to produce food.

The majority of the conscientious objectors are working men. Their number would have been much greater if some trades had not been "starred" as important national trades and exempted from compulsory military service. This, for instance, applies to the whole of the colliery trade which, if included, would probably have doubled the number of resisters. The Rev. Richard Roberts who came to this country early in January to take over the ministry of the Church of the Pilgrims in Brooklyn, offered him last March, and who, with Henry Hodgkin, a young Quaker, was one of the founders of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, has given the SURVEY some interesting facts concerning the social composition of this army of militant pacifists. Among the men in Wormwood Scrubs prison twenty-three different religious denominations have been counted. A large number were conscientious objectors on social and humanitarian grounds. They are not, however, sentimental dreamers, but the majority are of an intellectual type.

Take, for instance, the group of socialists: Clifford Allen, a graduate of Cambridge University, one of the leaders of the younger group in the Fabian Society; Feodor Brockway, son of a missionary and editor of the *Labor Leader*; G. D. H. Cole, author of *The World of Labor*, a book well known in this country among students of industrial problems, and one of the most original younger socialist writers. Take a group of Roman Catholics: Francis Meynell, son of Alice Meynell, the poetess, and godson of Francis Thompson, the poet; Stanley Morrison, member of a well-known publishing house; Allen MacDougall, a civil servant who gave up his post on conscientious grounds, and author of *Pange Lingua*, a translation of hymns from obsolete Latin dialects. Take a group of social workers: Stephen Hobhouse, son of an ex-cabinet minister, who for some time has lived in a workman's flat in the East End of London; Percy Redfern, editor of the *Wheat-sheaf*, organ of the Cooperative Wholesale Society, and author of a history of cooperation; F. R. Hoare, son of a missionary bishop, worker at Toynbee Hall, who now is warden of a colony for delinquent children which he was allowed to organize on original lines as his work of "national importance." On the side of art: Gilbert Cannan, novelist; Clive Bell, poet; Gilbert Thomas, poet; Wyon, a young sculptor, whose *Pax Dolorosa* was said to be the one piece of living statuary in last year's Royal Academy exhibition. This list will suffice to show that this movement is not the result either of pro-German sentiment or exclusively of labor agitation.

Among the conscientious objectors are graduates and undergraduates from every university in the country. Among the ministers, according to Mr. Roberts, there is a curious line of demarcation in their attitude to this question almost exactly at the age of forty. Not all the younger men are pacifists and not all the middle-aged men are out and out supporters of the government; but most of the leaders of the

pacifist movement in the ministry are among the younger group, notably Dr. Orchard, of the Kingway House (Thomas Binney's old church); H. C. Carter, of Cambridge; Prof. C. H. Dodd, of Mansfield College; W. F. Halliday, of New Barnet; Leyton Richards, of Manchester [see the SURVEY December 2, 1916]; William Payton, of the Student's Christian Movement, and many others. If compulsory military service had been extended to Christian ministers, several hundred would have figured as conscientious objectors.

There is not much variety in the actual pleas put forward by the conscientious objectors themselves; nearly all of them are based on the Sermon on the Mount or on the incompatibility of socialism with war. The following are fairly typical but perhaps possess rather more individuality than most:

"I am a Socialist, and so hold in all sincerity that the life and personality of every man is sacred, and that there is something of divinity in every human being, irrespective of the nation to which he belongs. I cannot betray my belief in the brotherhood of all men. To me, war is murder, and will only become impossible when an increasing number of those who share this conviction remain true to their belief, and refuse to take part in warfare, whatever be the pretext for which it is waged. I never have and never will shirk my bounden duty to serve my fellowmen. At present, I believe I can best render such service by striving to advance the cause of peace."—CLIFFORD ALLEN.

"I believe in the spirit of love in its widest sense as the only hope of the salvation of humanity and unswerving faith therein as the sole means of establishing a real and lasting peace founded on human brotherhood, and it would be a violation of my deepest conscientious convictions to become part of, or willingly assist in any way, an organization, the purpose of which is the slaughter of human beings, however much I may desire the end it is hoped to attain by such means, and in spite of an extreme objection to acting counter to any laws passed by constituted authority."—H. S. BEAVIS.

"I believe human life to be so sacred that I can not take the responsibility of inflicting either death or injury. I believe this war and all wars to be immoral and futile as a means of settling any dispute, that it leads only to increased hatred and bitterness and the general lowering of the estimate of the value of personality. I believe that it is the will of God for me that I should live in fellowship and brotherhood with all men. I cannot distinguish between combatant and non-combatant service or even alternative service, the purpose of which is the better carrying on of war."—H. RUNHAM BROWN.

"I am a Negro . . . born in Jamaica. My parents were sent in bondage to Jamaica. They were torn from their home. My country is divided up among the European powers, who in turn have oppressed and tyrannized over my fellowmen. The allies of Great Britain, i.e., Portugal and Belgium, have been among the worst oppressors, and now that Belgium is invaded I am about to be compelled to defend her. . . . As a people the Negroes are the last among men taken into consideration in this country, although we are regarded as British. Even Germans or any aliens who are white men are preferred to us. I am not given ordinary privileges as a citizen. I have tried to obtain work and I have been refused solely because of my color. . . . I have been buffeted from one labor exchange to another. . . . Business men claim that their employes would not work with me; others hold . . . they may lose their customers because I am a Negro. In view of these circumstances, and also the fact that I have a moral objection to all wars, I would sacrifice my rights rather than fight."

Many may doubtless have been under the impression that most of the conscientious objectors are of a timid, cowardly

type, who chiefly object to risking their lives. In some cases this may be true, but the general impression one gets from reading the evidence is very different indeed. To refuse all service with the result of being forced into the army or sent into prison amid men, by no means of the gentlest, who cannot imagine their point of view; to be sent to France that they may come under full military law in the very zone of war; to be condemned to death for disobedience—this is no primrose path. None has actually been shot, for British good sense is not dead—but the death sentence has always been commuted

into one of ten years penal servitude. This sending the objectors into France is one of the most unfortunate acts of the English government and indeed all the evidence re-emphasizes the truism that the spirit of militarism in one nation can never be destroyed by calling it into existence in another.

Few Americans who have studied the unhappy results of conscription, even in so free a country as England, will be anxious to see the same tragedy re-enacted over here. And it is earnestly to be hoped that the British will drop it at the end of the great mad war.

The Food Riots

By Bruno Lasker

OF THE SURVEY STAFF

"Every face in the mob that was gathered around City Hall steps looked as hungry as the cries asserted. Old women with thin shawls and straggling gray hair half falling down raised thin, weak voices; sunken-cheeked women cried; great flabby women had that gray-blue cast that needed but a touch of the biting wind around City Hall to make a picture of starvation."

NO, this is not a description from the "Hungry Forties;" it is from the account of so sober a journal as the *New York Evening Post* of the crowd which assembled on February 20 in front of the City Hall of New York to demand action from the mayor to reduce food prices. There were 300 of them; their demonstration had been preceded by riots on the lower East Side, on Park avenue north of One Hundredth street, in the Claremont Park district of the Bronx and in Brooklyn, in the course of which pushcarts were upset, policemen assaulted, quantities of produce destroyed. The previous day, a smaller riot of a similar kind had taken place in Williamsburg across the East River, and the following day the outburst spread to still other parts of Greater New York. Mass meetings of women were held in different sections of Philadelphia on February 24.

Of course, the highly colored press accounts, including the one just quoted, were much exaggerated. These happenings were not "hunger riots," though universally so described, but outbursts of exasperation on the part of a section of the population which is always close on the border of poverty. Investigations made by the City Department of Public Charities and by private social agencies in New York show that there has not been a sudden increase in dependency, voluntary commitment of children, homelessness, or other symptoms of acute distress. "There is no condition of real starvation existing in these poorer sections of the city," the commissioner of public charities reported to the mayor on the results of a house-to-house inquiry undertaken on Washington's birthday. "While there are a few families (22 out of 1,472) who are suffering from privation and are in immediate need, the proportion of such families is no greater than is found in the city in normal times." Similarly, the Charity Organization Society reported that there was no indication of panic or hysteria in the families with which its visitors are in touch, and no occasion for resorting to desperate emergency measures.

Nevertheless, the situation is serious. "No one thinks," said Edward T. Devine of the Charity Organization Society, "that the increase in wages comes anywhere near meeting the

increased cost of living in families in which there is only one wage-earner." No less than 1,334 of the 1,472 families visited by the Department of Public Charities "are beginning to feel the effect of high prices which appear to be rising out of proportion to wage or salary increase. Only a small number of the families (77 out of 1,472) by skilful management are able to cope with the high cost of living without deprivation or any undue inconvenience."

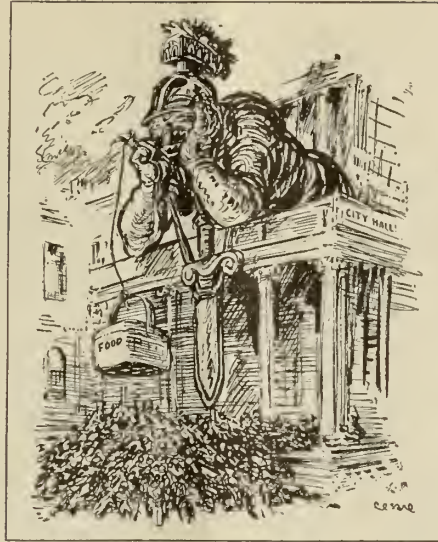
A considerable degree of actual starvation may well coexist with an *apparently* normal ability of the people to support themselves. Serious under-nutrition may, and among our self-reliant and optimistically inclined immigrant groups does, continue for a considerable time before the effects are visible to the naked eye. Indeed, with the large proportion of our city populations which permanently live on a smaller income than the minimum, set by standard-of-living inquiries, upon which life can be sustained in health and decency, starvation is entirely a matter of degree.

It should be remembered also that food substitutions to escape the high prices of certain commodities—assuming a rise in prices which is not general—are not in practice as simple as they may seem in theory. It is to be feared that some of the educational endeavors now made by the Department of Health in New York and other cities and by private agencies will be no more successful than similar efforts have been in the past. In several of the belligerent countries, a forcible rationing and system of food tickets has been found necessary precisely because at a time of general scarcity and generally high prices people are not open to suggestions that they give up voluntarily the dietary habits of generations.

Such changes are more natural in times of plenty when what to the ordinary housewife must be an experiment, is supplementary to but not in daily substitution of the ordinary diet of the family. It is in this way that our foreign-born groups gradually acquire an American menu. But when everything goes up in price, our Irish neighbors buy less meat and potatoes; they do not look around for cheaper substitutes of equal nutritive value. The Italians, accustomed to a flavoring of almost everything with onions, lose not only some nourishment but a good deal of pleasure in their food. As for German and Jewish citizens, it would be difficult to think of any suitable substitute for sauerkraut on their menus. Not the most alluring presentations of the virtues of rice will console our Irish, Italian, German and Jewish brethren; and as one after another their favorite staple articles of diet are going,



"SHE ONLY GETS THE CRUMBS"



"IN OUR TOWN"



"FOOD FOR THOUGHT"

Examples of the way the food riots looked to New York cartoonists. At the right, *Rehse in the World*. Center, *Cesare, Evening Post*. Left, *Brinkerhoff, in Evening Mail*, reprinted by the Jewish East Side paper, the "*Day*," with Yiddish captions, labeling the farmer at the top, and, in turn, the carrier, the wholesaler, the retailer and the consumer with her yawning apron.

we can only expect a sudden break in temper such as characterized the happenings of last week.

This point was reached by gradual steps. That in so wealthy a country as ours the difficulty of making both ends meet should normally be one faced by so large a proportion of the people should be a matter for earnest cogitation. That the customary patience of the poor should give place to riot under extreme provocation is regrettable, but not surprising. As nearly always in such cases, the immediate cause of the trouble must seem trifling to the uninitiated, and all sorts of fancy explanations—such as machinations of German agents—are resorted to. In this case, it was a sudden rise, principally in the price of three commodities, not necessities in a scientifically regulated diet so long as substitutes are available, but all of which enjoy universal popularity—potatoes, onions and chickens.

They were the immediate occasion for the riots; but the increase in the cost of living in New York as in other parts of the country has been gradual. Not only has the choice of diet been narrowing down for a long time, but in spite of an unusually low percentage of unemployment for this time of the year, there is approaching nearer and nearer the specter of actual hunger. "The testimony from these experts was unanimous," to quote again the report of Commissioner of Charities Kingsbury, "that many families throughout the city are feeling the burden of the mounting cost of living, and these experts are of opinion that it cannot continue long without the pinch being severely felt, and perhaps the health of the masses of the people undermined." In tens of thousands of homes the consumption of staple articles of diet has had to be curtailed and economies unknown except at times of abnormally severe trade depression have been resorted to, until no further economies are possible.

Although savings and life insurance policies seem normal if compared with a year ago, the fact that wages have gone

up in almost every trade during this year and that each time the rise in the cost of living outraced the wage increase, explains the apprehension of the people. The crisis came suddenly, though it might have been foreseen. Within a few days there was a sudden jump in the price of onions and potatoes and—in the Jewish quarters—of poultry, which is the normal *pièce de résistance* of the Sabbath dinner. Until a few weeks ago, onions could be bought in any part of the city for 9 cents per pound. In the week preceding the riots, the price had gone up to 14 cents; from this it jumped in the same few days first to 16 cents and then to 18 cents. The highest price of potatoes, for some time, had been 5 cents a pound; within a few days it advanced to 7 cents and 8 cents. Chicken, raised in price the previous week from 22 cents to 25 and 26 cents a pound, overnight made a further advance to 29 and 30 cents.

The riots for a time fastened upon these three commodities. Unfortunately, they took the form of attacks on street vendors who, themselves living from hand to mouth on a very meager profit, are the last of the different agents in distribution to be held responsible for high prices.

It should be mentioned that the Socialist Jewish newspaper, the *Forward*, which subsequently was largely responsible for the orderly organization of the protestants, came out on the first day of the riots with a large head-line: "Do not attack the peddlers—it is not their fault!" This warning, however, was not heeded. Carts were overturned, quantities of potatoes heaped in the streets and set on fire with kerosene, chickens snatched from carts and purchasers and trampled under foot or carried on poles as banners in street demonstrations.

One phase of the demonstrations deserves mention because it illustrates the potential power of consumers when organized for a purpose. This is the successful boycott in some parts of New York of certain commodities. Regular



MALODOROUS WEALTH

Onions, according to the Jewish paper, "*Forward*," will soon be seen at the opera house worn as jewels by the wealthy who can afford to buy them at present prices.

pickets were established in some neighborhoods and virtually prevented the sale of poultry, with the result that the price of chicken in these districts immediately fell by several cents a pound. "I'm going to tell dem yiddisher women" (meaning the emergency committee organized by the women of the East Side) was a powerful weapon and brought down prices on many a pushcart. "I'll make it a nickel—don't say nothing to nobody," one intimidated dealer, whose potatoes were marked 7 cents a pound, was heard to say in reply.

Since then, pushcart dealers and retailers, themselves of the people and handicapped in earning their livelihood, have joined a boycott declared against the wholesalers and, in their turn, will employ pickets to discourage the killing and selling of poultry in all kosher slaughter houses and retail shops. Other small reductions in price since the riots have been due chiefly to fear of destruction of small stores of commodities known to the public and, of course, to the anticipation of public action. Even before it has become crystallized in legislative or administrative action, the interest of city, state and federal government in the cost of living has proved sufficient in itself to bring about a "bear" movement all along the line.

It is extremely difficult to secure reliable data on the movement of retail prices up to date. I am indebted to the Henry Street Settlement for a collection of facts concerning the most recent price fluctuations as they affect actual households on the lower East Side of New York.

The Bell family has given up all vegetables but potatoes, which they think are more satisfying when small quantities only can be purchased. They say that meat is about the same price as before, but they can buy only a little of it. At one time jam was substituted for butter, but the cost was much the same; so they resumed butter, spreading it thin. Milk and sugar are used sparingly. Potatoes, from 2 to 3 cents a pound before the war, now are 7 cents. A large turnip that cost 4 cents, now cannot be had for less than 12 or 15 cents. Mrs. Maguire, an intelligent Irish neighbor, has gone on record in her own writing: "Meat we cannot buy. Cheakean we cannot buy. Eggs we cannot buy. Poteos we cannot buy. Onions we cannot buy. Butter we cannot buy. Vagitables we cannot buy." She adds, "my husband and my children are eating mainly oatmeal and rice; and I know that if I don't feed the children, I won't get anything off of 'em when I'm old, because they will be all skin and bones." The Schmidt family have given up all vegetables but potatoes. Mrs. Thompson, a delicate woman who works irregularly, has been dependent on a milk and egg diet. She says that milk as bought from the wagon is 11 cents a quart and that, although her health is dependent on two dozen of eggs a week, she can now afford to buy only one dozen. Several women interviewed said that they had given up tea because they could not afford the price of sugar. Granulated sugar, in a typical Jewish street, increased in one week from 29 cents for a bag of three and a half pounds to 34 cents. One grocer refuses to sell more than one pound of sugar to a customer in a day; this he sells at 10 cents.

The price of meat does not seem to have advanced so suddenly, but the general complaint is that butchers now sell it "German fashion," weighing in gristle and bone, where previously the customer had her choice of a piece she fancied. In the same way, while bakers, owing to an unusual sensitiveness to popular feeling which need not here be explained, have not recently advanced the price of bread, the quality is said to have much deteriorated. The price of a flour popular in the lower parts of Manhattan has gone up in one year from 21 cents to 40 cents. Taking longer periods, we find retail

price increases which are phenomenal for a country at peace, able to raise its own food supply. Not only food but everything has gone up. "I never paid more than \$1.75 for a pair of shoes for my daughter," (now fourteen years old), a German woman told me; "now I cannot get them at less than \$3."

It is a mistake to assume that only the very poor are suffering from the high cost of living. Even classes far removed from destitution are obliged to curtail their normal consumption. "I want to tell you," says a mother of eight children in the Bronx, three of whom earn a total of \$36 a week, "how hard it is for our family to get along now because of the high cost of living. Bread has risen from 7 cents a pound to 12 cents. Before this rise in food, 30 cents' worth of bread a day was more than sufficient and now 70 cents is not sufficient. The meat which used to be 16 cents a pound is now 22 cents; and this make a difference of \$1.25 at the end of the week. Potatoes have not entered our home for the last three months. Last year we bought potatoes at the rate of 9 pounds for 10 cents, and they are now 7 cents a pound. Dried beans are now 18 cents a pound and peas are 15 cents. We have to pay 11 cents a quart for milk, and eggs that are only fit for cooking are 55 cents a dozen. A year ago I paid 6 cents a pair for cotton stockings, today I paid 17 cents a pair. I never paid more than \$2.50 for shoes which lasted me about nine months. This winter I had to pay \$9 for a pair which will not wear as well. Before, I paid 40 cents a pair for new soles and heels and now 95 cents for the same thing—and we have at least two pairs a week to repair." Among clerks there is a marked lessening of variety of food, and many go without things which six months ago they deemed essential for their children. For instance, there is much substitution of cereals for fresh vegetables, and less milk is used.

Since reliable data are unavailable, explanations of the causes for this prodigious increase in the cost of living must remain largely a matter of opinion, and it is necessary to postpone judgment until the results of the government investigation approved by the Senate on February 24 are available. In the meantime, it may be pointed out, however, that the total reduction in the world's food supply, owing to the destruction of crops by war and the replacement of large sections of the farming population in belligerent countries by persons without experience, cannot be without effect on the volume and value of crops.

Whether certain American products, such as potatoes, have been sold cheaper abroad than here is a question of comparative minor importance. For this is not a new phenomenon, and the slight fall in prices at home which could be secured by an embargo would hardly be worth risking possible international complications and the probable reduction of acreage to be sown next season. Produce from the southern states probably can be shipped in large quantities to free-trade countries in Europe and sold there at less than in New York; transportation may be actually cheaper and distribution more direct or better organized. It is a common impression, however, that other inducements in the course of the present war have still further stimulated exportation of articles of food at the expense of the home consumer; and much of the indignation which has made itself felt in the recent riots has been due to this belief. On the Atlantic seaboard undoubtedly the congestion of railroad traffic has contributed to a shortage of supplies. Since this whole matter is under investigation, guesses as to the seriousness of this cause seem superfluous.

On the other hand, while it is impossible, owing to the lack of indisputable evidence, to estimate correctly their respective influence on the present situation, three factors should, in these

discussions, be held clearly distinct: First, a general rise in prices extending *over the whole period of the war*, partly, perhaps, owing to an actual shortage of supplies, but certainly due in the first place to the general decrease in the value of the dollar caused by the influx of gold; second, *during the last few months*, a general realization of the actual or potential shortage of supplies, now or future, which may have been obscured by apparently large margins of recent crops over annual consumption, and a consequent "bull" tendency in nearly every line of produce; third, *during the last two weeks*, speculation on still further shortage for home distribution with the possibility of large government requisitions in the event of the United States entering into a state of war. How seriously this speculation really operated it is impossible to tell until exhaustive investigations now made by the district attorney of the city of New York are completed. There is no doubt, however, that relatively large consignments of potatoes and other produce have actually been held up or deviated.

Remedies cannot possibly be fundamental and drastic unless the respective share of each of these three elements is firmly established on the basis of fact. For this reason, I consider unjustified the popular denunciation of the investigations proposed by the federal government. At the same time, the circumstances do call for an immediate endeavor to make the most essential necessities available at a reasonable price—reasonable as measured by the ability of the people to pay as well as by actual cost. Governor Whitman of New York has declared himself willing to support an endeavor about to be made by Mayor Mitchel of New York to secure legislation at Albany which would enable the city to purchase large quantities of staple foods and sell them retail at cost price (of course, including actual cost of distribution) directly to the consumers.

Lillian D. Wald, in her presentation of the case for such action before Mayor Mitchel, laid emphasis on the need of having distribution directly controlled by the city, either by the establishment of additional municipal markets or in the

streets. It is only by direct action that any illegal or legal but morally indefensible combination of wholesalers or middlemen for the purpose of exacting price increases unwarranted by an actual shortage of supplies can effectively be broken. While it is, of course, perfectly fair for a community to protect itself by large cooperative purchases and thus create competition for private dealers who, buying in smaller quantities, are unable to secure such favorable terms, it would not be expedient to create hardship by suddenly depriving so large a section of the community of its normal trade. Miss Wald, therefore, suggested to the mayor that possible criticism of the proposal on this score might be forestalled by fixing the retail prices for the city's direct food supplies to the people at a small profit above the actual cost of purchase and distribution, so as to enable private dealers to retain their custom so long as they will be content with a normal profit.

It is hardly necessary in the SURVEY to point out that the establishment of food kitchens or other methods of charitable aid, far from answering the need of the hour which is quite beyond the possibilities of such expedients, would in every way be most undesirable. Yet, as in the past, there is the danger that misguided philanthropists will express their generosity in this way unless the steps for a more drastic handling of the situation taken by the responsible public authorities are on an adequate scale. While, of course, popular education in food values and advocacy of substitutes for the articles which are scarce form a valuable part of such action, for the reason stated above, this can hardly be expected to be very effective just now. Direct municipal food purchase and distribution apart, there is only one effective means of alleviating the distress caused by high prices without introducing worse evils. This is a general insistence on wage and salary increases which so far have notoriously lagged behind the rise in the cost of living. The public authorities themselves have not too good a record in this matter. Let them set the example, and let all fair-minded citizens support organized labor in just efforts to secure its due.

THE POOR HOUSE

By Sara Teasdale

Contributed as a model poem for competitors in the Minneapolis public schools' "health poetry" contest during that city's community Health and Happiness Week.

HOPE went by and peace went by
 And would not enter in;
 Youth went by and health went by
 And love that is their kin.

Those within the house shed tears
 On their bitter bread;
 Some were old and some were mad,
 And some were sick abed.

Gray death saw the wretched house
 And even he passed by—
 "They have never lived," he said,
 "They can wait to die."

COMMON WELFARE



THE PRESIDENT ASKS FOR ARMED NEUTRALITY

PRESIDENT WILSON on February 26 asked the expiring Congress to grant him authority and means to put into operation the "armed neutrality which we shall know how to maintain and for which there is abundant American precedent."

"No one doubts what it is our duty to do," said the President. "We must defend our commerce and the lives of our people in the midst of the present trying circumstances with discretion but with clear and steadfast purpose. . . . It is devoutly to be hoped that it will not be necessary to put armed forces anywhere into action. The American people do not desire it, and our desire is not different from theirs. . . ."

"I am anxious that the people of the nations at war also should understand and not mistrust us. I hope that I need give no further proofs and assurances than I have already given throughout nearly three years of anxious patience that I am the friend of peace and mean to preserve it for America so long as I am able. I am not now proposing or contemplating war or any steps that need lead to it. . . ."

"No course of my choosing or of theirs will lead to war. War can come only by the wilful acts and aggressions of others. . . ."

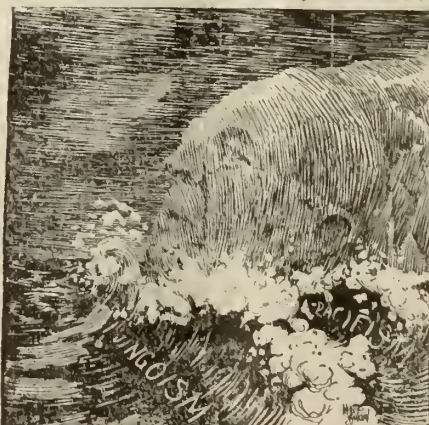
"I believe that the people will be willing to trust me to act with restraint, with prudence, and in the true spirit of amity and good faith that they have themselves displayed throughout these trying months; and it is in that belief that I request that you will authorize me to supply our merchant ships with defensive arms should that become necessary, and with the means of using them, and to employ any other instrumentalities or methods that may be necessary and adequate to protect our ships and our people in their legitimate and peaceful pursuits on the seas. I request also that you will grant me at the same time, along with the powers I ask, a sufficient credit to enable me to provide adequate means of protection where they are lacking, including adequate

insurance against the present war risks.

"I have spoken of our commerce and of the legitimate errands of our people on the seas, but you will not be misled as to my main thought—the thought that lies beneath these phrases and gives them dignity and weight. It is not of material interest merely that we are thinking. It is, rather, of fundamental human rights, chief of all the right of life itself.

"I am thinking not only of the rights of Americans to go and come about their proper business by way of the sea, but also of something much deeper, much more fundamental than that. I am thinking of those rights of humanity without which there is no civilization. My theme is of those great principles of compassion and of protection which mankind has sought to throw about human lives, the lives of non-combatants, the lives of men who are peacefully at work keeping the industrial processes of the world quick and vital, the lives of women and children and of those who supply the labor which ministers to their sustenance. We are speaking of no selfish material rights, but of rights which our hearts support and whose foundation is that righteous passion for justice upon which all law, all structures alike of family, of state, and of mankind must rest, as upon the ultimate base of our existence and our liberty."

Readers of the SURVEY had in their



"THE DASHING WAVES AND THE IMMOVABLE ROCK"

hands three weeks before the President made armed neutrality the basis of American policy a clear interpretation of what the term means not only as a program for maintaining rights at sea, but its potentialities in the direction of a league of neutrals.

In the midst of an epidemic, social workers and thinkers turn to socially-minded physicians for counsel as to ways and means. When old laws, like those of master and servant, fail to serve present wage-earning conditions and augment the suffering from industrial accidents, they turn to the socially-minded lawyer for counsel. So, with the human consequences of war written large across all Europe, the SURVEY turned to a socially-minded historian and student of international law for a discussion of alternatives to war in maintaining sea rights.

Professor Hayes' article on armed neutrality in the SURVEY for February 10 was the result. Its analysis has served others than social workers. It is republished in the *March Review of Reviews*—the first of the leading articles of the month. Reprints of it were distributed to Congress by one of the peace committees; and copies were sent to the White House by several friends of President Wilson.

A CALL TO UPHOLD AMERICAN RIGHTS AND HONOR

A CALL to Americans "to assure the united support of the American people in taking effective action to uphold American rights and defend the national honor" was issued February 26 by a committee of which Nathan A. Smyth, New York city, is secretary.

The call is in a sense a rejoinder to the advertisements and appeals sent out by various pacifist groups, which the signers regard as efforts to paralyze action. Whether war or something short of war is necessary, the call does not state. It demands "effectual measures to safeguard our shipping and our citizens, rather than to wait for Americans to be murdered and then go to war to punish the offender." The call reads:

"Many citizens who are intensely convinced that the present state of the German submarine question demands prompt and vigorous action in defense of American rights hesitate to press their views for fear of embarrassing the President. No such consideration stays the hand of those who seek to paralyze any effort he may make to carry into practical effect his pledge to omit no act necessary for the protection of American ships and American citizens engaged upon lawful errands on the high seas. The clamor of extreme pacifists, and of those who from other motives are opposed to this patriotic course, makes itself insistently heard, within Congress and without. It is no longer permissible, therefore, for those to remain silent who wish to support the President in the protection of our national rights and the defense of our national honor.

"Our ships and our flag are being excluded from the seas by the threat of death and destruction conveyed in Germany's declaration of war on neutral shipping. The need of the hour is to take effectual measures to safeguard our shipping and our citizens, rather than to wait for Americans to be murdered and then go to war to punish the offender. To refuse, or too long delay, such protection would be to acquiesce in the subjugation of American rights to German domination. The time has come to assure the President that he will have the overwhelming support of his fellow-countrymen in taking effective measures to meet the intolerable situation with which the country is now confronted."

All those who desire to join in expressing these views are requested to send their names to the secretary at 80 Broadway, New York city.

Among the signers are Joseph H. Choate, William H. Taft, Henry L. Stimson, Robert S. Brewster, Alexander M. White, James Byrne, Julius Sachs, Alton B. Parker, Elihu Root, Philip J. McCook, Charles C. Burlingham, William J. Schieffelin, Thatcher M. Brown.

THE OPPORTUNITY FOR MEN OF GOOD WILL

A MESSAGE on the present crisis to "men and women of good-will" is being distributed throughout the United States by a committee of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Their approach is shown in the following:

"The immediate legal issue is the right of American citizens to pursue their legitimate business on the high seas freely in accordance with international law. This is, without doubt, important enough; yet beside the deeper moral issues it sinks into relative insignificance. The crucial fact in today's world situation is not infraction of international rules, but contempt for humanity and ruthless disregard of moral and spiritual principles. These are the deeper wrongs



"Confronted with the reality, Dante tears up his description of hell."—
From Berko's Illustrated News (Hungarian), New York city.

which every man and woman who reverences human nature instinctively condemns. The task of the United States in this decisive hour is not chiefly to vindicate a legal right, but to uphold the principles by which men live.

"... Germany's new submarine policy has staggered the world. . . . To condone so great a wrong against mankind would be disloyal to every principle of humanity. Yet it is not by war with Germany that the United States can champion the moral order of Christendom. . . . Now is the time for this nation to have courage to go forward in a better way."

The signers point out that "all that can be said about the principle of overcoming evil with good will avail little unless the proponents are able to make the principle effective in action. If international good-will is to be more than an ideal for the future, adequate means for its expression in service must be discovered and employed."

"Work now in progress," says the committee, "for aiding prisoners of war of all the warring countries and for miti-

gating the distress of destitute populations in Belgium, Poland and Armenia offers existing opportunities. Plans are under consideration for the extension and greater unification of undertakings to meet immediate needs and to prepare for the great work of reconstruction which awaits us at the close of the war. At this time of widespread suffering—immeasurably the most terrible that we have ever known—shall not the men and women of the United States augment many-fold their gifts and efforts to meet the world's need on a scale commensurate with national ability?"

The Fellowship of Reconciliation offers to furnish information as to "opportunities for practical work and agencies through which gifts and services may be effective." Edward W. Evans, 511 Otis building, Philadelphia, is secretary, and the signers include, as individuals, men and women who are active leaders in such different fields as settlement work, business and banking and the bar; Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the student Christian movement, college faculties, and the church.

WAR RELIEF URGED UPON THE CHURCHES

IN the SURVEY for February 10 it was pointed out that the new handicap to the relief of suffering in Europe raised by the break of diplomatic relations with Germany and the submarine campaign was primarily a psychological one; that a falling off in subscriptions to the various relief organizations was the danger most to be feared. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America has realized this and is conducting a special campaign against the mistaken notion that American relief work in Europe is no longer possible or is overshadowed by greater needs at home.

An influential daily paper said recent-

ly that in the matter of war relief "the churches have not been greatly moved." The federal council, which is in close touch with relief activities and with the work of the churches, admits that this is unfortunately true of many of them but asserts that other churches and Sunday schools are giving in a generous and systematic way and expect so to give during the continuance of the war. It reports that there is less disposition on the part of churches and individuals than formerly to feel that, having made a single gift for war relief, there is no further obligation. Indeed, there is an increase in gifts on the basis of regular contributions.

Some in this country say they would prefer to give for a work of permanent

reconstruction in Europe rather than give in the way of charity. But Mr. Hoover and others in intimate touch with the situation in Europe point out that to put food into the mouths of children is the most urgent immediate work of permanent reconstruction. By some authorities it is believed that the greatest permanent injury to the physical well-being of the European peoples will not be the deaths, the wounds and the disablement of the battlefields—though millions of men will be temporarily or permanently crippled—but the weakening of many millions of children through lack of nourishment at a time of life when it is essential to healthy growth and development. There are signs already, in some nations, that the next generation will be undersized, anæmic, stunted in its mental life, with abnormal moral predispositions as well as predispositions to disease.

The work of reconstruction in the usual sense, the federal council urges, cannot take the place of this immediate and insistent appeal to American generosity. Indeed, judged by the scale of American giving to date, it is altogether too great a task for private gifts. The work of physical reconstruction in one country alone, it is estimated, will cost approximately four billion dollars, whereas for all relief purposes in all countries since the outbreak of the war, America has given but fifty millions. The council appeals to pastors, Sunday-school superintendents and other church officers to provide for immediate and regular offerings until the end of the war for the relief of the most immediate and primary wants of men, women and children in the suffering countries.

TO ENFORCE THE FEDERAL CHILD LABOR LAW

THE first public announcement of preparation for the enforcement of the federal child labor law when it shall take effect September 1 is contained in a letter to governors of all the states issued by the secretaries of labor and commerce and the attorney-general of the United States, comprising the administrative board in charge of the task. The governors are asked to call upon their respective legislatures for action which will avoid duplicate state and federal systems of ascertaining the ages of children to be protected. They point out that but one certificate should be required, and that the states need only meet the standard of age-determination set by the federal act to save the bother and expense of duplicate working papers.

Secretary Wilson pointed out that the law permits the federal board to accept the certificates of states which it approves. "There are forty-eight different child-labor laws," he wrote. "On the point of proof of age of children there are more than forty-eight different

萬國音樂祝祭
コーラスニ加入登録スルニハ今ガ好時期ナリ

ՀՈՍ ԱՂՋԱ ՆԱԳՐՈՒՄԷ ՄԻԱՆԱԼՈՒ ՄԻՋԱԳՎԱԶՆԻ ՄԵՑ ՀԱՄԵՐԳԻՆ

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PEACE THROUGH SONG

Singing together—one of the most inspiring of common actions—is proposed by the International Music Festival League as a means to mutual understanding and peace. An international music festival, planned for May in New York city, is to include groups of costumed singers from many nationalities and from capital and labor. The cover of the league's announcement is reproduced above. Copies may be had of Mrs. Kenneth J. Muir, 58 West 58 street, New York city

sets of regulations, varying remarkably. The board has suggested that the states having legislative sessions empower a state board or a state official to make state regulations when our regulations have been determined upon." Or they may enact approved requirements for proof of age.

An appropriation of \$200,000 to be used in the enforcement of the law is before Congress and has the hearty support of the National Child Labor Committee and its 9,000 members.

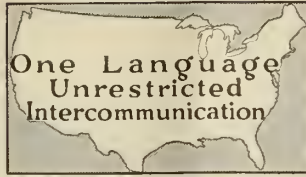
SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN THE STATES

HUNDREDS of bills—very likely thousands—embodying various proposals of social reform are before the forty-two state legislatures in session this year. Most conspicuous are the health insurance measures in ten states reviewed by Dr. Rubinow on page 631 in this issue, the Missouri children's code described at length by Roger N. Baldwin in the SURVEY for December 30, 1916, and a tidal wave of prohibition bills.

"Bone dry" is the watchword of the year. Everybody knows that the federal Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Webb-Kenyon law, which enabled prohibition states to prevent shipments across their borders from unregenerate neighbors. And nearly everybody knows that, by a rider on the post-office appropriation bill, Congress will probably act to make it a crime to ship liquor into a prohibition state, thereby adding to the ten states already "bone dry" fourteen others which prohibit the manufacture and sale of liquor but permit its importation for personal use. The federal prohibition amendment, which proposes the same result for the whole country, is expected to pass the House but not the Senate, this final week of the session.

But of state legislation, even the Anti-Saloon League can scarcely keep track. Its most recent information is that we now have twenty-five prohibition states, fourteen of them being dry by constitutional, eleven by statutory, action. The latest developments are as follows:

The Minnesota legislature has passed a bill submitting a state-wide constitutional amendment at the regular election in 1918 to take effect July 1, 1920. Utah has passed a stringent "bone dry" prohibition statute unanimously in the Senate and with only one opposing vote in the House, and the governor has signed it. Indiana passed an equally stringent law by a vote of more than two to one in the House and more than three to one in the Senate. The Wyoming legislature has voted, without a single dissenting vote in either branch of the legislature, to submit state-wide prohibition to a vote of the people, and is also considering statutory prohibition to take effect January 1, 1919. A state-



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wide constitutional referendum is pending in the Illinois legislature.

"Bone dry" legislation has passed in the dry states of Washington, Oregon, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Iowa, Tennessee; and in Alaska by action of Congress. It is under consideration in Maine, Colorado, South Dakota, and other states. Michigan is considering the submission of a constitutional amendment to be voted on at the state judicial election April 2, forbidding the receipt or possession of alcohol for beverage purposes after April 30. Michigan is already dry by constitutional amendment; the present proposal would put "bone dry" into the constitution, too.

Woman suffrage has made notable gains the past two months. New York and Maine have passed the customary constitutional amendments to go to referendum vote next fall. Ohio has granted presidential suffrage only. North Dakota and Indiana have included municipal and county as well as presidential suffrage, after the Illinois plan, which goes to prove the suffragist contention that votes-for-women tends to spread in a neighborly way from one state to another.

OVERRULING VETERAN PACIFISTS

ABOUT four o'clock on the last day of the conference of some nineteen peace organizations in New York city, February 22-23, the gathering woke up to the fact that it was not a joint effort to find a minimum working plan on which both conservative and radical pacifists might agree, but a "peace town-meeting."

Except for a small insistent minority, the conference had enthusiastically adopted resolutions unalterably opposing war both as a general principle and at the present crisis; urging the settlement of questions now arising by conciliatory and judicial methods; condemning the section of the espionage bill which makes it a crime for anybody to seek information regarding the state of national defense, *even in time of peace*, opposing conscription in state or nation and military training in public schools.

Then it was that Anna Garlin Spencer, herself a radical peace advocate, arose. "I've watched a splendid town-meeting," said she, "but I haven't come to the conference I thought I was invited to attend. I supposed I was to confer in private with delegates with accredited credentials from various peace organizations, and deliberately plan a working arrangement so that pacifists would know how different societies stand on certain specific matters."

The conference, aroused, admitted the truth of Mrs. Spencer's criticism. It decided, however, that it was better late than never to attempt amends and appointed two committees, one on cooperation and leadership, consisting of



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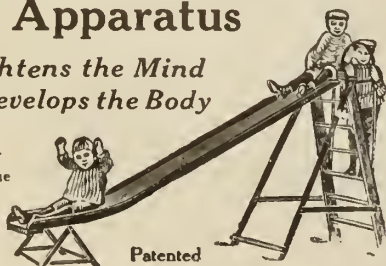
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ten delegates from as many societies to work after adjournment along the lines in which the conference itself had failed, the other to submit a program of immediate action.

Seven recommendations were made by the latter, including the appointment of a delegation to convey to the President the conviction of the conference that the country could be kept out of war; the establishment of a clearing house and bureau of information of peace societies; the organization of a cross country speaking tour in behalf of peace; the use of country papers and the religious press to spread anti-war literature; and the preparation of a leaflet opposing the military method of settling disputes with Germany.

Despite this eleventh hour effort at reform, the spirit of the meeting could not be changed and no action taken could be interpreted as binding the united support of the peace organizations represented.

Thus it is probable that a resolution, which was finally adopted, demanding an advisory referendum vote of citizens before Congress declares war, would have been dropped from a minimum working program of all the peace organizations. Delegates of older peace societies while endorsing whole heartedly such principles as arbitration and mediation, shied at the idea of popular judgment shaping national policy; those from newer pacifist organizations argued that the people who must wage war should have the opportunity of determining war.

An organization which made some attempt to instruct its delegates to the conference was the National Woman's Peace Party. At a meeting of delegates from state branches in New York city, February 21, the party pledged itself to urge citizens of the United States to refrain from entering the war zone; to remind our government of the successful settlement of international controversies by arbitration; to urge, in case of an "overt act," the use of its navy as a police force without declaration of war; to protest against the United States allying itself with any belligerent; to keep alive the responsibility of America in helping the warring nations to find a basis for a just and stable peace at the earliest practicable moment; and to oppose compulsory service acts, military training measures, and the espionage bill.

Again opposition arose, especially from the Massachusetts branch, to the endorsement of an advisory referendum of the people before a declaration of war. It was finally voted to secure a referendum from the party membership on the question before committing the entire Woman's Peace Party—a somewhat paradoxical proceeding which led Jane Addams, the chairman, to remark: "All the delegates seem to be in sympathy with the principle of the referendum!"

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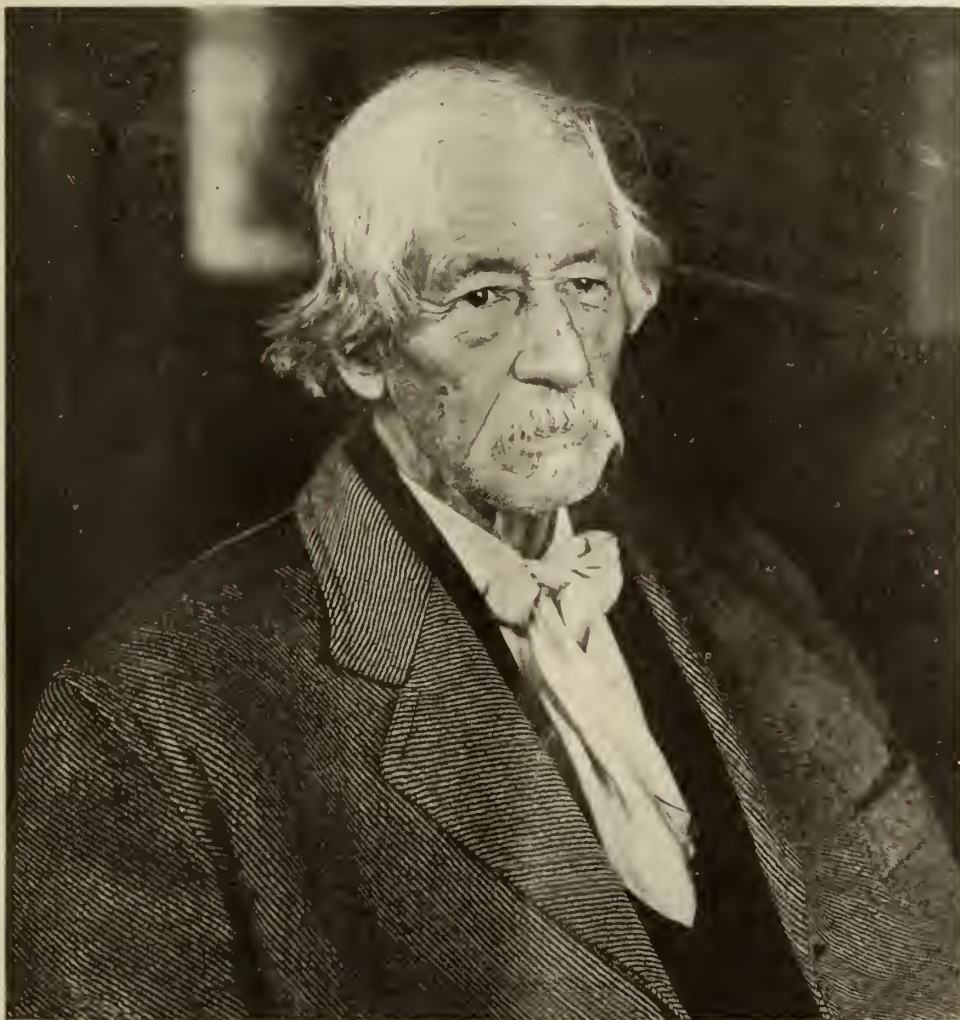
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FRANK B. SANBORN

1831-1917
[See page 656]

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"THE constitution follows the flag," we said of the Philippines. But among the camp followers of the great war are the native germs of every far-flung clime whose men are fighting in the common trenches. The battle fronts have become an exchange for microbes as the wheat pit is for grain. And the internationalizing of pestiferous bugs threatens the home of every returning soldier. Page 649.

ALL that Europe has tried in the way of half-loaves (rather half-pints) of prohibition, we in this country have tried and discarded, Mrs. Tilton finds; even the famous Gothenburg system is a weak and erring brother. The final article in her series challenging King Alcohol in his cups and out. Page 651.

APPOINTED first secretary of the pioneer State Board of Charity of Massachusetts in 1863, Frank B. Sanborn was the dean of charity workers and a survivor of the famous literary group at Concord. His recent death was the occasion for many reminiscences, none more interesting than that of Alexander Johnson, himself a pioneer state board secretary in the middle west. Page 656. The photograph of Mr. Sanborn on the cover was taken at the time of his last visit, a year ago, to the office of the Springfield *Republican*, to which he was a contributing editor before the civil war.

PRESIDENT WILSON, in his second inaugural, holds we shall "stand firm in armed neutrality"; our part is "the part of those who mean to vindicate and fortify peace." Page 658.

SOCIAL legislation has been the poor relation at the short session of Congress ended last week. Page 658.

"EVERYBODY'S doing it" in Connecticut when it comes to introducing bills to prevent night work by women in the munitions factories. But the rush for reform has brought forth four inexpertly drawn bills which may fail to get the girls out of the night shifts. Page 665.

WOMEN trade unionists are demanding equal pay for equal work on government munitions and quoting the working women of France in support. Page 665.

YUCATAN has sent the chief of her department of public education to fetch help in establishing the modern sort of little red schoolhouses in this Mexican state ruled by a "socialistic despot." Page 659.

PNEUMONIA, racing tuberculosis for first place in the death rates, is reported on by a commission which the optimistic may hope will shortly turn into a coroner's jury. Page 660.

AIMING at the Rockefeller boards, Congress has shot off a broadside which bars from the service of the federal Bureau of Education all representatives of outside educational bodies who have helped Commissioner Claxton in his research and special report writing, —or have foisted their propaganda on the government and got it franked through the mail, as you prefer to look at it. Page 664.

HIGHBROW and lowbrow, educational and political, administrative and supervisory—all of Illinois' 128 state boards and commissions have been thrown to the sharks, if sharks there be in Lake Michigan. The entire civil administration is to be placed in the hands of nine departments. Page 663.

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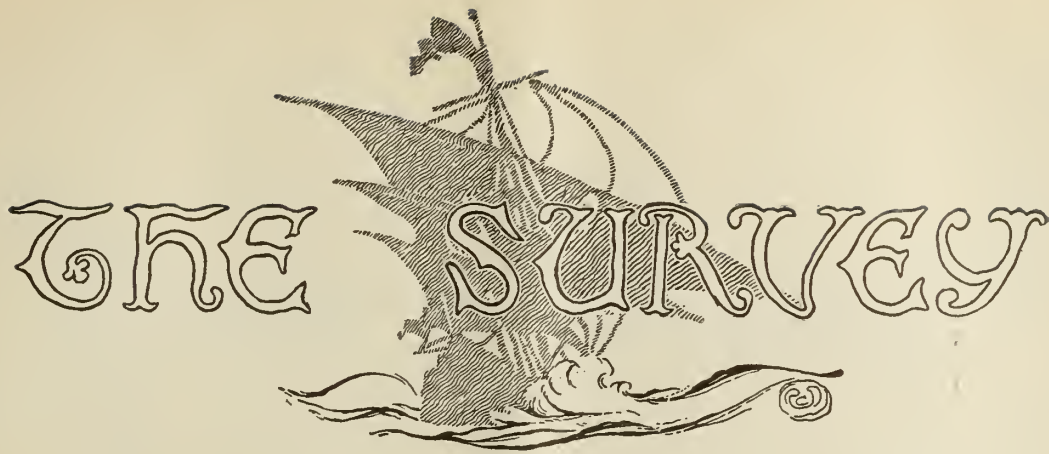
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Social Preparedness

For almost three years, Canada, deeply involved in a war on the far side of an ocean, has found a way to care for soldiers' families and to give effective outlet to the deeply stirred forces of good will throughout the dominion. For an early issue, an article on the Canadian Patriotic Fund, studied on the ground, by

The Editor of the SURVEY



When Microbes Meet Some Long Range Results of the Tug of War

“THE theater of war has become a modern Tower of Babel,” says Dr. William Colby Rucker, of the United States Public Health Service, in the essay for which he received one of the Wellcome prizes, appearing in the March issue of the *Military Surgeon*. “The Siberians suddenly found themselves in Poland; the Russians were quickly transported to Turkey and Persia. French, Irish and Scotch occupied the Gallipoli peninsula, while on the firing line in Flanders, Arabs, Algerians and Sudanese stood shoulder to shoulder. Whole armies suddenly exchanged the northern environment of England for German Africa, Mesopotamia and the Dardanelles. A battalion of Fijis appeared in northern France. The Australians occupied the German islands of the South Pacific and the Teutons poured over into Poland and Serbia. Cairo, Suez and Greece became the temporary abiding place of the New Zealanders.”

The men of all these nations brought with them to the new center their own language, their own customs to some degree, and their own particular diseases. They were subjected to new modes of life, and to change of food and clothing. Groups were placed in intimate contact with other groups in whose bodies live infecting agents of diseases foreign to their comrades. “They have dug deep into soil saturated for generations with the manure of animals and of men.” Only one result was possible, and that promptly followed. Already examinations in military hospitals in the territory of Venice have shown that more than 2,600 soldiers in these hospitals harbored intestinal parasites foreign to the region—one of these parasites the American hookworm. No less than 30,000 cases of typhoid are said to have been present at one time among the French troops; some cholera broke out among German troops in Galicia and the Rakitno marshes; tetanus occurred with frightful regularity; lack of means to rid the troops of lice permitted typhus to make large inroads early in the war. Malaria has invalidated many men, and pneumonia attacked men from southern climates unused to such cold; and enteritis followed the use of poor or unaccustomed food.

“Conversely,” continues Dr. Rucker, “places now occupied

by foreign troops are themselves liable to infection with the organisms which these troops have carried in their bodies from their distant homes. In many instances, these organisms will not thrive because of lack of favorable climatic environment or obligatory intermediate host, but unfortunately this world movement of armed men is bound to result in at least a partial change in the geographic distribution of some of the infections of disease.”

There is, however, another side to the story. Dr. Rucker tells how, as promptly as known scientific means of prophylaxis could be applied, these outbreaks of diseases were controlled. Obligatory inoculation drove typhoid from the ranks. Anti-cholera prophylaxis eradicated that disease. Only one-half of 1 per cent of the German troops had the disease, 10 per cent of these cases proving fatal—a striking contrast to the 50 per cent of fatal cases in the civil population who had not been inoculated. Similarly the proper serum has gone far to check tetanus. And of the total results, Sir William Osler says: “Never before in history has so great a host been assembled; never before in war have armies been so healthy.”

Dr. Rucker's essay describes the practical machinery of sanitation whereby so many valuable results have been attained. There are the groups of non-commissioned officers, including sanitary inspectors, chemists, builders or plumbers, directed by a man who in civil life was a medical officer of health or held a public health degree; or sometimes a bacteriologist or a sanitary engineer. There is the long routine of “guarding water supplies, and teaching those of doubtful origin the testing of rations; the operation of bath-houses and laundries; the issue of parasite-free clothing and blankets; the cleansing and disinfection of houses; the destruction of garbage and manure or other possible breeding places for flies; the cleanliness of camps; the isolation of patients suffering from infectious disorders; also the contacts thereto both in the military and the civilian population; the administration of typhoid and paratyphoid prophylactic; the search for ‘carriers;’ the immediate investigation with the help of the mobile and base pathological laboratories of all outbreaks, whether among the troops in the fighting zone or those on the lines of communication or elsewhere; and the maintenance of spot

maps, charts and tables revealing the health history of every unit in the field."

But besides this tremendous confirmation of what present medical and sanitary science is actually able to achieve, Dr. Rucker outlines some of the problems not yet settled—new and bizarre ailments for which hardly a name has yet been devised, certainly no treatment yet discovered: trench fever, trench foot, war nephritis, epidemic jaundice, "influenza polonica," for instance. And yet more serious, there is the mental disability resulting from the shock of heavy gun-fire. Says Dr. Rucker:

"It has been known for some time that about one-fifth of all soldiers discharged are discharged on account of mental disability. Striking as is the prevalence of mental disease among soldiers and sailors in time of peace, it should be borne in mind that this is greatly increased during war. Injuries of the central nervous system due to the wind of explosives, hysterical aboulias [loss of will-power], developing in the heat of battle, hypomaniacal outbursts in protracted lights, nerve injuries of missiles, malingering of mental symptoms to escape active service, hypochondriasis and neurasthenia in young soldiers—all of these and many more have resulted from the present conflict. The intense emotional strain associated with warfare causes acute exacerbations of some of the milder psychotic and borderland cases, which were able to get along unnoticed under the less stringent requirements of civil life."

Hence, mental disease, even more than physical, will spread over Europe after the war. The resulting danger to the United States through immigration, Dr. Rucker emphasizes and calls for the utmost vigilance of health authorities to guard against an influx of mental defectives.

"Naturally, our sympathies are touched and it will be with regret that we turn from our doors the lame, the halt, the blind, the insane, and all the flotsam and jetsam of the European war, but the national health demands that this duty be performed with thoroughness."

There is in addition an economic element in this probability of the spread of disease. It has often been said that the whole war has had a beneficial effect upon the health of England, the increase in health coinciding with the fall in unemployment and pauperism. A number of foreign residents have left this country, not more to enlist in their respective national armies than to be on hand when the renewed demand for labor begins. Factories destroyed or decayed from non-use will be rebuilt; powder mills turned into dye works; gun factories will turn out plow machines; looms will whirl again; and wheat grow where armies are now camping; labor will prosper as never before, and rights which never have been heard of in Europe will be accorded the industrial class. But the possibilities are also evident of renewed competition, and of the nervous and physical strain resulting therefrom.

"It is interesting to note one disease condition in the United States which is being profoundly influenced by the European war. The improved economic conditions in the United States in 1916, as compared with previous years, resulted in a considerable diminution in pellagra. This disease is an extremely sensitive barometer of economic conditions, and it has been feared that there will be an increase in the number of cases early in 1917. The rise in the cost of forage has caused many wage-earners in the southern United States to sell their cows, thus depriving the family of milk, one of the best pellagra prophylactics. The present high cost of living, particularly the high cost of all foodstuffs, meats, eggs and the

legumes in particular will reduce the ration of the average family. This will react to increase the amount of pellagra. If there is a rise in rents as well as food prices, these will combine to increase the prevalence of tuberculosis.

"To sum up the situation, the increase in disease in the United States as the result of the European war will take place in the economic disease group."

Some practical obligations upon the world form the conclusion of Dr. Rucker's paper, obligations imperative upon all countries, neutral or belligerent. One such obligation is the prevention of infant mortality. High prices and scarcity of food have raised the child death-rate very high. In warring nations child welfare has become a serious matter in the light of maintaining a future population. Throughout all Europe measures for infant welfare are receiving more attention than ever before.

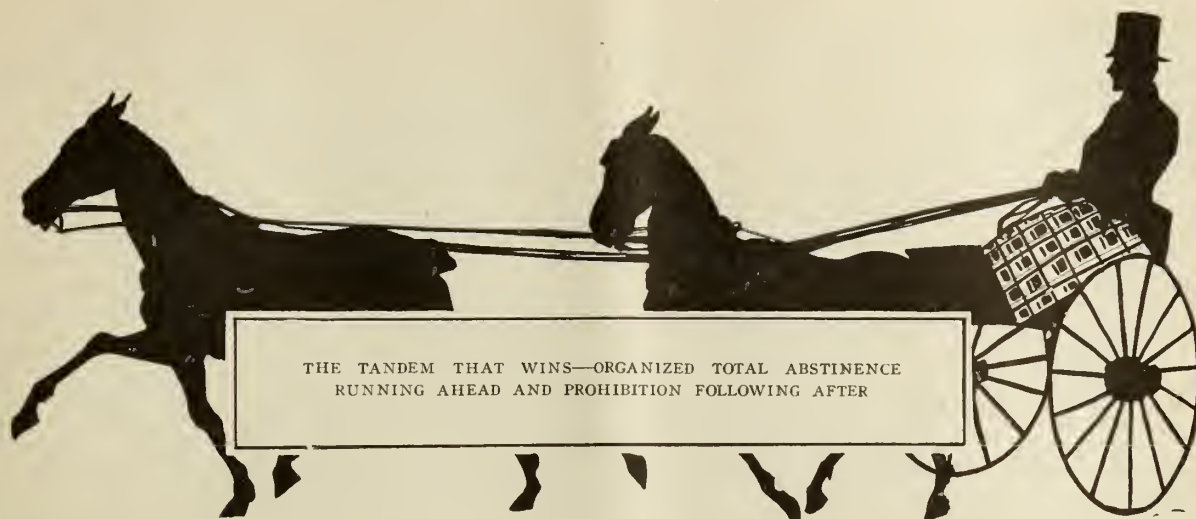
The future of wounded soldiers is another obligation that is being fairly met. "First of all the disabled soldier must be aroused from the condition of moral inertia which is so frequently the outcome of the disablement. . . . The ultimate consequences will be appalling if these cripples are permitted to lapse into a state of mental lethargy."

These measures have a direct bearing on the spread of disease all over the world after the war for, as Dr. Rucker concludes, although health rules are a part of all wounded soldiers' training, some will return to their homes carrying the new infections, particularly those who have been in prisons. There is little need to fear "war pestilences," although tuberculosis will doubtless be a menace for a long time.

Dr. Prinzing's book, reviewed in the SURVEY for February 10, showed that armies of ancient times, of Middle Ages, and even of so modern times as the Balkan wars, have been attacked by infectious diseases because the means of prevention were unknown or imperfectly known. And upon the return of the army to civil pursuits, there occurred widespread dissemination of infecting agents of disease. Hence the belief that war was the inevitable precursor of pestilence. Dr. Rucker thus summarizes the probabilities:

"The amount of disease which will occur in Europe after the war is dependent upon two factors: first, upon the degree of the community's sanitary intelligence; and, second, upon the economic conditions which will prevail. Most of the nations of Europe are well abreast in public hygiene. A few are backward, and these are the ones that will suffer most. On the western front none of the so-called war diseases exist in epidemic form at present. . . . Turkey is in the midst of a typhus epidemic and in view of its lack of generalized hygienic education and the fatalistic character of its people it may be considered as highly probable that outbreaks of other diseases will occur there both during and after the war."

Many who have acquired infection in their new environments will constitute foci of infection at home. The health officer of the future must combat diseases now unfamiliar. This change of habitat Dr. Rucker illustrates from the American Civil War. Before the war, typhoid had been a strictly urban disease; afterward, it followed returning soldiers to their country homes and has made rural districts its headquarters ever since. The preparation, therefore, of all home countries for their returning soldiers and the new possibilities of infection is another obligation of immediate importance. This preparation means, after all, only a larger application of the known principles of community hygiene, more thoroughly than ever by the trained health officer; more loyally and with good-will by the community.



THE TANDEM THAT WINS—ORGANIZED TOTAL ABSTINENCE
 RUNNING AHEAD AND PROHIBITION FOLLOWING AFTER

Turning Off the Spigot¹

IX. Do We Want the Gothenburg System?

By Elizabeth Tilton

"The Gothenburg system, gold in theory but a bad nickel in practice."—PROF. CURT WALLIS, of Sweden (Liberal).

"Up to now regulation [the Gothenburg system] = 0."—DR. IVAN BRATT (Conservative), author of Bratt System for Reforming the System.

"The money interest got ahead of the moral interest and the whole Gothenburg system went off the rails."—AUGUST LJUNGGREN (Liberal), member of Upper House, Sweden.

"Prohibition in Sweden is as certain as Amen in church."—MAYOR PETERSEN, Sodertalje.

IF not prohibition, what? License satisfies no thoughtful man and high license has been found wanting. But, say the academic, the Swedes do it right. The Gothenburg or Company system—keeping the saloon, but reforming it by taking from it the private profit—is what we want. If they are very up to date they add Dr. Bratt's idea of giving each drinker a permit and removing the permit when intemperance occurs, although sometimes they do not know that these permits apply in Sweden only to buying bottles of brandy, and that drinking at the bar requires no permit.

Shall we use this system in large cities where prohibition might not get enforcement, in such boozily backward cities as Boston or Baltimore?

With a view to deciding this question, I am now going to set down the facts concerning Scandinavian legislation as they came to me predisposed by hearsay to believe that, as the Committee of Fifty said, despite its imperfections, the Gothenburg company system contained "the essence of scientific management" of the liquor problem.

First, we note that the countries in which the company system has been used are small and the population homogeneous—Sweden (1911), 5,561,799; Norway, 2,411,948; Finland, 3,154,825. Secondly, the great declines in consumption preceded the system. The story is as follows: In the early part of the nineteenth century drunkenness in both Norway and Sweden reached alarming heights. Beer and wine played almost no part in the drink customs of the masses, but the people drank a heavy intoxicant made from corn or potatoes called branvin, practically whiskey. They

believed it necessary to fortify them against the cold, and almost every cottage had its own still. Drunkenness became fearful, and finally, about 1830, a reaction set in. America sent over helpers; education and agitation arose and consumption fell in Norway from 16 liters per capita in 1833 to 10 in 1843; in Sweden it fell from about 46 liters in 1829 to about 22 liters in 1850. (These figures are only estimates, but all agree that the fall was great.)

But in the forties it was seen that it was not enough to educate; the virile would respond, but the weak and pleasure-loving needed the removal of the ever-ready opportunity. So we get in Norway, 1845-48, and in Sweden, 1855, two prohibition laws, one prohibiting home-distilling, the other giving to country districts in Norway, and to all communities in Sweden, the right to decide whether or no they should have any bar or retail bottle sale of spirits. The response to this last measure was amazing. Dr. Wieselgren, dean of Gothenberg, Sweden, says: "Before 1855 whiskey could be bought in almost every cottage; in 1856 one might travel through whole provinces without finding a single place where it was sold." The result of this educational campaign plus the above prohibition measures was that branvin consumption fell in Sweden from about 22 liters per capita (1850) to 9.5 liters in 1856-60.

Speaking of the similar laws in Norway, Dr. Scharffenberg, of Christiania, says: "The results of this intelligent legislation were magnificent." And he shows us that under it distilled liquor consumption (branvin) fell from 11.3 liters per capita in 1843 to 6.09 liters in 1851-55.

These laws really placed about 80 per cent of the population of both countries under a dry régime, and thus they have lived for over fifty years, the prohibition later, as beer and wine became popular, usually including them also. Importation for private use was, however, allowed and selling to travelers at inns.

I give below two tables, one of Norway, the other of Sweden; both show that the great "sobering up" came before the Gothenburg system. We must, however, remember that it is far easier to bring a high consumption down many points

¹ The final article in Mrs. Tilton's series. The other installments have been published in the SURVEY for January 13, January 27, February 10, February 24.

than a low consumption down a point or two; and both Sweden and Norway made a good showing after the system was introduced.

		NORWAY ²			
Year	Distilled liquor (50 per cent)	Per capita consumption in liters		Beer	Total Pure Alcohol
		(Liters: 1.0567 U. S. liquid quart)			
1833	16.2	Home distilling abounded. From 1835 on livc agitation and education—King Oscar, Bishops and professors lending aid.			
1843	11.3	1845-48, home-distilling prohibited and country districts given right to "go dry"—soon placing about 80 per cent of people under spirits prohibition. (Later under total prohibition).			
1851	6.09	0.63	1859 present mighty total abstinence movement begun		8.5 3.55
1860	4.99	0.38			18.0 3.49
1863	3.93	0.44			13.3 2.71
1870	4.13	0.57	1871 Gothenburg system introduced (used in cities)		11.5 2.73
1875	6.57	1.07	1877 new powerful total abstinence society founded		23.0 4.57
1880	3.68	0.88	In the 80's great progress made by abstaining societies. 65,604 sign petition for total prohibition		18.5 2.86
1890	3.12	1.11			20.9 2.72
1895	3.44	1.44			c. 20.0 2.84
1900	3.15	2.34			26.8 3.09
1905	2.50	0.85			18.8 2.14
1913	3.64	1.61	1913 only twelve towns retain Gothenburg system; Norway gradually going dry by local option; number of organized adult abstainers over 193,000		21.1 2.84

		SWEDEN ³			
Year	Distilled liquor (50 per cent)	Per capita consumption in liters		Beer	Total Pure Alcohol
		(Liters: 1.0567 U. S. liquid quart)			
1829	46 (estimated)	1829, the number of stills was 173,124			
1850	22 (estimated)	About 1830—Live education and agitation led by influential men. 1855 home distilling abolished; communities allowed to prohibit spirits; out of 2,400 rural parishes, 1,800 had decided by 1856 to have no bar or retail bottle sale, thus placing about 80 per cent of population under spirits prohibition. (Later total prohibition allowed)			1851-60 6.70
1856-60	9.5				1861-70 5.35
1861-65	10.6	1865-75, Gothenburg system becomes operative in cities		11.1	
1875	12.4	1877, Rise of great total abstinence crusade		16.4	
1885	8.4			20.3	
1895	6.9				
1910	6.6	1910, about 500,000 total abstainers (organized). Lower House passes national prohibition. Out of 230 members of Lower House 128 are total abstainers and most of these are convinced prohibitionists (1914) (Hercod, <i>Inter. Monatschrift</i> , April, 1914)		47.33	1906-10 4.33

The above tables, as I said, show that the marked declines in consumption both in Norway and Sweden took place before there was any system. After it we see a small decline in distilled liquor in both countries and in consumption as a whole (pure alcohol), a small decline in Sweden and a rather stationary consumption in Norway. Beer, of course, rises. But none the less, to hold total consumption down in those "boozily organized" years of the nineteenth century (to quote Bernard Shaw) was success when compared with the rising consumptions of most countries.

The growing popularity of beer might, and probably did, reduce distilled liquor consumption somewhat, but what held down consumption as a whole?

In the nineties, when prohibition in the United States was for the most part enforced in the country districts and small towns only, men in their hopelessness used to say: "The Gothenburg system is responsible for the better showing made by Norway and Sweden; therefore, let us import it."

Was this true? To judge we must see the Gothenburg saloon at work—called Bolag (joint stock company) in Sweden, and Samlag, in Norway. Moved by the wreckage coming to the poorer classes from drink, the ethical spirits of the town

of Gothenburg (1865), asked the authorities if they might take the saloons away from private dealers and form a company themselves, selling shares (to return 6 per cent) to the townspeople. The request was granted and a company was formed with five main principles: no private profit; no sale on credit or pawn; light, neat rooms; good food at a low price; net profit to be used for the benefit of the workingmen. Distilled liquors alone were to be controlled by the company, because they were apparently about all the laboring man wanted at the time. Beer and wine could be sold outside by any licensed tradesman.

It was, at least in motive, a noble scheme, and gradually with variations it covered the cities of Sweden and Norway, and all but one city in Finland (Helenius). The country districts were for the most part already dry and remained so.

All profits, over 6 per cent, were to go to help the workingman. In a few years, however, the company was obliged either to lose its rights or give the net profits to the city to be used to reduce taxes. This is what some Swedes call "the bad marriage," because it made the saloon with its enormous gains *persona grata* to the taxpayers. Mr. Ljunggren, member of the Upper House, and a great abstinent leader of Sweden, says (International Congress on Alcoholism, 1907):

"In Sweden the towns are ruled by the capitalists and it is to their interest to lessen their taxes by high profits from spirits, so they will not approve any radical measure against alcoholism. They will not even consider the possibility of freeing cities from their dependence upon the drink trade. This very year a proposal of this sort was unanimously adopted by the Lower House, but just as unanimously refused by the Upper House, which is the firm prop of the capitalists of the country. During this debate an expression was heard that was very characteristic. 'If (it was said) the drink trade is forbidden, it will not be pleasant to be a taxpayer in this country.'"

Very recently the revenue has been taken away from the city and given to the state to be, for the most part, redistributed.

In Norway, which adopted the system, 1871, they tried to lessen the evils of this bad marriage by declaring that all profits, over 5 or 6 per cent, must go to charities, hospitals, parks, etc. But even so the revenue was too often found stifling reforms, the Samlag, as they say, being made a milch-cow for the town. Rowntree and Sherwell, therefore, in their scheme for England decided that all net profits must be used simply to secure better recreational facilities for the poor.

Next we learn that the company, taking over old licenses, let eighteen lapse (an excellent thing), used twenty-seven themselves and sublet sixteen to clubs, restaurants, wine shops. In Christiania we read that in 1900 about one-half of the trade in distilled liquors was done by private traders who rented licenses from the company. These dealers plied the trade for private profits—a fact very vitiating to the elimination of all private gain. The reason of this strange looseness, we are told, was that the idea of the system was to help the poor man. As the companies did not care to run the business for the middle and upper classes, they allowed the drinking places patronized by those classes to be run, as before, for private gain. Indeed in the nineties things went so far that not less than thirty-four companies had transferred all their licenses to private persons. (Ljunggren.)

Another loose end is that beer and wine shops are outside the system. Rowntree and Sherwell say: "Every shopkeeper who possesses a trader's license can, if he thinks fit, sell wine and beer for consumption off the premises, and such shops are

² Figures from majority report of Alcohol Commission, 1915, p. 120.

³ The Temperance Problem and Social Reform, Rowntree and Sherwell; Gabriellson, Alcohol Consumption in the Various Countries (1915); Hercod, Jahrbuch, 1914.

frequent, selling wine, beer, cognac with something approaching free trade."

This is the "out" to the Gothenburg system commented on in the investigations made by Carroll D. Wright and John Koren (Massachusetts, House 192). Both speak of the absurdity of trying to cure intemperance by attacking distilled liquors only. They feel that beer may soon be included in the system. But the years have passed and beer still remains outside except in a few towns in Norway. Though for years now beer has become a drink of the people—which it was not when the system began.

It is hard to say precisely how effective the Gothenburg system has been. Swedish and Norwegian experts there on the spot and familiar with local conditions have various opinions. Dr. Scharffenberg, a prohibitionist, and a member of the recent Norwegian Alcohol Commission, which made a lengthy report in 1915, speaks thus of the system in Norway (supposed to have carried out the company idea better than Sweden): "The Samlags certainly have done good by the abolition of private whiskey sellers and by conscientious management of legal regulation. . . . The dark side of the system is the interest which the whole town and especially the largest taxpayers have acquired thereby in the sale of branvin. More or less consciously the whole town became reconciled through the system to whiskey drinking and withdrew with indifference from the struggle against liquor. (Battle Against Alcohol, *Internationale Monatschrift*, June, 1905.)

Dr. Bratt, a Stockholm physician and a conscientious wet, says, "Up to now regulation = O," and in his book, *Alcohol and Society*, he says,

"The wine dealers, renting licenses from the Bolag, drive the whiskey business precisely like any private dealer, have signs—advertise . . . and up to date there have been hardly any indications on the part of the Bolag of taking any measures save those by which the Bolag's income could be increased." Dr. Bratt declares that the companies compete with each other and that regulations are generally violated. This view was endorsed by the Swedish Medical Society.

We get the same picture from the Norwegian Alcohol Commission, 1915, in the majority report (wet). There were five members behind this report and three represented the liquor interests, one being Platou, the great brewery director. They say (p. 195): "The restrictive measures have not shown themselves sufficiently effective to oppose abuse. . . . As far as drunkards are concerned they have missed the mark. . . . New means must be found. . . . The Samlag has not kept pace with its task."

And yet, I think, almost all agree that the company system is better than the old system of license. Precisely what it has done, however, managed so loosely and omitting beer and wine, no man, on the spot, seems to want to say. Dr. Scharffenberg speaks thus: "Alcohol consumption is influenced by such various factors that it is not possible to isolate the influence of one factor with certainty. In my opinion a Samlag conscientiously managed in which no drunken man and no notorious drinker gets brandy can somewhat limit consumption, but not very much can be expected from the Samlags in this direction." Mr. Ljunggren says: "In judging the company system (never yet enforced in Sweden) compared with conditions before the system, it would, of course, mean progress." He believes the fall in drink consumption, however, not due to the system.

A Swedish government report (J. Guinchard, 1914) says: "It is an open question . . . how far the Gothenburg system may in general be credited with the increase in sobriety, which is the aim of these companies. . . . If the system is to perform



"Even the little he hath shall be taken away from him," is the *New York Evening Post's* caption for this cartoon by Cesare. "Bone dry" legislation has swept over the West the past two months since the federal Supreme Court decision on the Webb-Kenyon law made it possible

its function, a watchful public is necessary"—and it states that this has not always been present and abuse has, therefore, resulted (p. 743).

Evidently experts in Scandinavia do not lay declining drink consumption entirely to the Gothenburg system. Truly, many seem to agree with Professor Rygg, statistician for the Norwegian Alcohol Commission, that the decrease in drinking came mainly out of conditions obtaining in country districts. The wet majority report says: "It may be assumed that consumption among the country people has fallen so much that it has more than made up for the tendency to rise which the rapid increase in city population would bring with it."

Now what are the precise things in country conditions that have brought about this decline? The wet majority report says: "We asked the police. The bulk said, 'growing enlightenment,' others said, 'the abstaining movement,' still others, 'prohibition!'" The opinion of the police coincides somewhat with the opinion of experts, wet and dry. Dr. Bratt (wet) says (of Sweden) that sparse population, the difficulty of getting drink in the country, general education, and the great abstaining movement are mainly responsible for the decided improvement in the drink custom.

The minority report of the Norwegian Alcohol Commission (dry) says: "Local prohibition in connection with the untiring abstaining movement has brought about better conditions of sobriety despite the fact that breweries and Samlags [in the cities] still offer easy access to liquor" (p. 7).

This report gives the following table, thus—

PERCENTAGE OF DEATHS DUE TO ALCOHOLISM, NORWAY, 1911.	
Men over twenty years of age.	
Christiania	16.2
Other towns	10.7
Country districts	4.7

"That is a count that counts!" says the report and declares that you can take all the other social results of alcoholism in Norway and find somewhat the same proportion for town and country. Thus we read that in Norway, 1911, there were 54.4 cases of drunkenness (per 1,000) in the cities and only 2.2 in the country; bootleggers prosecuted or punished, 9.51 per 10,000 for the cities, 2.02 for the country. Cases of poor relief have fallen (1866-1913) three times as fast in country as in city, and so on.

In short, the impressive thing in Norway and Sweden is not the Gothenburg system, but the dryness of the country districts under prohibition and the great organized total abstinence movement, the thing the prohibition movement in the United States lacks.

Mr. Ljunggren gives a vivid picture of the abstaining movement, shows how strong leaders keep springing up and how whole countrysides are suddenly on fire for teetotalism. It is all a part of a movement dear to the Scandinavian heart, race-hygiene—and in the forefront of this battle for health they place the battle against alcoholism. There are 500,000 organized total abstainers in Sweden and 193,000 in Norway—that is, in the latter country every eighth person over fifteen years of age belongs to an abstaining society. Many of these societies are aided by money from the government, scientific men are employed to lecture, and both countries are sown knee-deep with the weekly papers of these societies pushing race hygiene and teetotalism into the farthest hamlet.

It really does seem to me that it is this organized total abstinence, supplemented by prohibition in the country districts, that is mainly responsible for the low alcohol consumption of these lands. It is plain that this is what the common people think. In both countries, they are clamoring to extend the prohibition that has so long and successfully covered the country to the cities. Indeed, Norway is slowly going dry, for whereas in the nineties there were fifty-one company systems there are now only twelve left. In Sweden one hears the same clamor for prohibition.

Dr. Legrain, chief physician of important French insane asylums, after a visit to Sweden, pictures the situation thus: the middle and lower classes against the system and for prohibition; the upper class, capitalists, fashionables and aristocrats, scowling them down and the Swedish king rather in sympathy with the abstainers, smiling across at them over the heads of the scowling capitalists whose money is in their dear milch-cow, the Gothenburg system. The whole thing came out vividly, also, in the great national strike of 1909. The workingmen and the abstainers asked the government to close the saloons and it was done. Wonderful declines took place in drunkenness and disorder and the workingmen of Sweden sent forth a ringing manifesto calling for total prohibition for all time. "Away with the capitalist saloon system, let it never again wind its arms of Polypus about the workingman. Forward, fellow-workers, forward, from Sweden's every corner to the goal. Total prohibition for all time."

The government, however, reopened the saloons. But the abstainers were emboldened to get the pulse of the nation by an unofficial vote. The result of votes obtained was as follows: For national prohibition, 1,888,337; against, 16,715. How amazing, say we, that when the people cry out like that to have the saloons closed it should not be done! What are the reasons? First, they have plural voting in Sweden based on property qualifications; a few aristocrats and capitalists hold the balance of power. Then, there is France! Incredible as it seems, this great nation blocks prohibition at every turn. She is the great banker, can lend money

cheap and has also an over-supply of wine. So to nations that wish to borrow (see *Internationale Monatsschrift*, March, 1909, p. 28) she says: "First drink my wine and then you get my money." When the Russian government asked for a loan, France made the condition that the Czar should refuse to sanction the prohibition law passed by Finland. Again, when Sweden had to borrow, France demanded that duty on French wines be lowered by one-half. It is also well-known that the French government has tried to intimidate the Norwegian government into taking from the people the right to vote their towns dry. "No such raging wild animal," says George Brandes, "as a man who sees his purse in danger," and France and the Swedish capitalist are precisely these animals when confronted with prohibition. There are also conscientious conservatives who believe that no matter how well prohibition works in the country, it will not work in the cities where the accelerated pulse of life induces drinking. Dr. Legrain speaks of the "massive intoxication of the cities of Sweden," and Dr. Axel Holst fears prohibition will simply increase illicit selling where, as in Christiania, conditions are so excessively drunken. Dr. Bratt says: "All will depend on public opinion." He fears public opinion is not ripe, since there will be added to the inconvenience that moderate drinkers must suffer great losses to the treasury.

Dr. Bratt would, therefore, reform the system. Whiskey distilleries, he believes, ought to be taken over by the state, and breweries, if this latter could be done. If companies must go on letting out licenses, licensees should sell at cost. This part of the reform has not yet been accomplished, but Dr. Bratt has got Swedish cities to place the retail sale of bottled goods in the hands of the company, which sells only to men who have permits. People must buy at one shop only, and only so much a month, and no permits can be issued to drunkards, paupers, and so on. No permits are required for drinking at the bar, however. As a matter of fact, it was found that about 90 per cent of sale had been bottle sale, and that this sale had been much abused. Restriction has evidently helped, as the following table of the workings of the Bratt permits in Stockholm shows.

COMPARATIVE ARRESTS FOR DRUNKENNESS IN STOCKHOLM BEFORE AND AFTER THE BRATT SYSTEM, INTRODUCED FEBRUARY 6, 1914.

(During a portion of 1914, August to September, Sweden was mobilizing and therefore under certain prohibition measures.)

	Total arrests.
1912.....	16,799
1913.....	17,696
1914.....	11,878

CASES OF DELIRIUM TREMENS IN STOCKHOLM HOSPITAL

1912.....	537
1913.....	623
1914.....	459

The fact is, the call of the lower and middle classes of Sweden for prohibition in the cities is making the upper classes put the Gothenburg system in order. Whether they can stem the tide of prohibition is an open question.

However, it seems only fair to assume that if you could seal up all holes in the Gothenburg system you might materially reduce wreckage. Mr. Andree, director of the Bolag in Gothenburg, the man who initiated the permit system for drinkers (now developed into the Bratt system), tells how he got the idea from reading in Rowntree and Sherwell of the dispensary system in South Carolina. It is true that South Carolina did make over the sprawling, loose-ended Swedish system into a compact whole, but one golden principle was left out—disinterested managers. Officials appointed by the state were the managers, too often unscrupulous politicians and the graft, even robbery, so they tell you when you go to Columbia, cried aloud. Consequently, the dispensary experiment, be-

gun July 1, 1893, was superseded by prohibition January 1, 1916. (Senator Tillman tells me that the corruption coming through the dispensary was not what his political enemies represented.) However, in spite of its failure to grasp the principle of disinterested management, the dispensary system did get results. The state took over all licenses; sublet none to drink-shops; included wine and beer with whiskey sale. No drinking was allowed on the premises. Liquor was sold only in bottles done up in packages, and liquor dispensing shops closed at sundown. Certificates from the county dispenser were necessary before buying, and no such certificate was to be given to an intemperate person. There were results at first (Rowntree and Sherwell, p. 238, see table below), but certainly in Charleston the scheme seems to have petered out. Chief of Police Black told me that in 1915, the last year of the dispensary, there were, besides the dispensary shops, 365 blind tigers running openly in the city. Arrests for drunkenness for 1915 (Dispensary) were 636; for 1916 (prohibition), 475, albeit the law for arresting drunkards had been made much stricter under prohibition.

There were results, thus (Rowntree and Sherwell, p. 238):

DISPENSARY SYSTEM, SOUTH CAROLINA.

	Population	Bars	Dispensaries
	1890	1892	1895
State of South Carolina.....	1,151,149	613	81
City of Charleston.....	54,955	285	7
City of Columbia.....	15,352	38	4

Arrests for drunkenness, and for drunkenness and disorderly conduct.
Dispensary began July 1, 1893.

	Charleston	Columbia
1891.....	849	247
1892.....	690	201
1893.....	412	187
1894.....	459	182

Should we decide to use the Gothenburg system in our large cities of the more "boozily backward" type like Baltimore or Boston, licenses should not be let out, certificates of fitness to buy should be given, drink shops should close at sun-

down, beer and wine should be included—and that ideal, left out by South Carolina, but sometimes achieved in Scandinavia, should be the chief aim—disinterested managers.

But one says to oneself, "If in such miniature countries as Norway and Sweden, they have had difficulty in keeping the management always disinterested, what would it be in our large cities? If profits of the saloons in Scandinavia have stifled reforms, what would happen in our cities with all the surplus profits from the retail liquor business flowing up to the city hall or state house?"

But my main objection is as follows: In setting up a disinterested dispensary system we are turning our backs on the lesson taught by Norway and Sweden—the fact that the increasing sobriety of these countries is usually thought by experts to be due, not so much to the Gothenburg system as to growing enlightenment, to live education against alcohol carried on by organized abstainers, and to the fifty-year-old prohibition of the rural districts containing 70 to 80 per cent of the population.

In the nineties, when the anti-alcohol sentiment here was running low and father's moderation ideal was running high, I can see how despairing reformers dreamed of a perfected Gothenburg system that might regulate some heavy drinkers into moderation. Now, however, that the anti-alcohol sentiment is strong enough to get enforcement of prohibition in larger cities (Denver, Seattle, Birmingham) and to show material results, it seems idle to talk of the Gothenburg system. For it is not woven of the stuff that has helped most to bring about the low consumption of Sweden and Norway—namely, militant abstinence that says No to the custom, and prohibition that says No to the traffic.

History shows that in the few instances where nations have made marked headway over long periods against drink, the headway has been due not to the ideal, moderation, that keeps alive a great organized traffic in business bound to push its wares on weak and strong alike, but to a tandem—organized total abstinence riding ahead and prohibition following after.



The consternation of the German beer-drinker when, in 1910, the Kaiser asked his naval cadets to teach their men to give up all alcohol. Silhouette by Judge Charles B. Wheeler, of the Supreme Court, Buffalo

An Appreciation of Frank B. Sanborn

By *Alexander Johnson*

THAT a prophet may be honored in his own country was shown last week, when, by a vote of the House of Representatives, the flags of the Massachusetts state house hung at half mast for three days on the occasion of the death of Frank B. Sanborn.

The lawmakers of his state did well to honor him, for very few men have done so much to help them as he. He was the first secretary of the first State Board of Charities that ever existed in this country—and that means in the world, for a board of the kind is a strictly American invention. It is within bounds to say that his influence on the many successors of the Massachusetts board, in other states, has been greater than that of any other man.

In this line he was a pioneer. He began a system of inspection and report of the state's charities which showed the way to those who followed.

But Mr. Sanborn's work as secretary was only a part of his usefulness. With tireless energy and ability he began the task of modifying laws relating to the state philanthropic and correctional activities. He brought some sort of order out of the chaos of the settlement law, which, first enacted in 1662, had been added to, altered and amended, until it was said that no man in the state fully comprehended it. He drafted many bills that became laws on other similar subjects.

After five years as secretary of the state board, he took an editorial position on the *Springfield Republican*, under Mr. Bowles, then one of the "big four" newspaper editors of the country. He had been a correspondent of the paper since 1856, and he remained connected with it to his death. But he was appointed a member of the State Board of Charity and became its chairman in 1874. Five years later he became general inspector of charities of Massachusetts, an office he held for nine years, until he was deprived of it, after an animated controversy over the policy of boarding out the insane. This method he had introduced into Massachusetts, having noticed its advantages in Belgium, France and Scotland, and though it has been much criticized and opposed it is still practiced to a small extent.

Although not an alienist he was an expert in the care of the insane and a frequent and often caustic critic of the extravagance, waste and inefficiency that characterized much of the conduct of the asylums and hospitals. He was one of the few public men, outside the state of Wisconsin, who appreciated the sensible, humane and unique plan of county care of the insane of that state, a method he frequently defended at the National Conference of Charities and Correction during the long-drawn-out controversy between the advocates of state and county care.

Although Mr. Sanborn has not attended recent meetings of the national conference, his last appearance being in Boston six years ago, he was for many years a well-known figure at the annual sessions. He was one of the founders of the American Social Science Association in 1865, an officer for thirty-three and its secretary for twenty-five years. The national conference had its beginning under his guidance, as a sub-committee of that association, in 1874. He was the conference's first secretary, its eighth president (at Boston in 1881) and its treasurer five years (1886-1890). During

his term as secretary, although using long-hand, he acted as official reporter as well as editor and the first five volumes of the proceedings were wholly his work, except as the speakers gave him copies of their addresses.

The list of Mr. Sanborn's contributions to the proceedings is a long one. In the cumulative index of thirty-three volumes, published in 1907, twenty-two titles appear after his name, including six reports as chairman of a committee. This is two more than follow the name of the next most prolific writer and more than double the number credited to any but two or three of the most frequently named authors. His most valuable and frequent papers were on such subjects as immigration, insanity, pauperism and settlement laws. Besides formal papers, his participation in debates, his occasional speeches at opening meetings and his reports for the state of Massachusetts brought him frequently before the conference. His shrewd common sense, ready wit, effective speech and abounding though often caustic humor, made him an always interesting, though sometimes disconcerting opponent. Most of his papers written for the conference remain of permanent value today.

Beside his work as the pioneer state secretary and as founder and secretary of the national conference, he had many other connections with public affairs. He assisted at the founding of the National Prison Association. He was a founder of the Clark School for the Deaf at Northampton and remained a trustee during life. He helped to introduce oral instruction in that and other schools for the deaf. In 1867 he helped to establish the Massachusetts Infant Asylum, said to be the earliest of its kind in America. He had part in many other forward movements of charity and correction in his own and other states.

We recognize Mr. Sanborn chiefly as a leader in those fields to which the *SURVEY* is devoted, but he had many other claims to distinction. He was a man highly educated in the best sense and a classical scholar of uncommon ability. Unlike so many who leave their classics behind them when they are graduated from the university, Mr. Sanborn kept his in use, and among his frequent, if not daily, enjoyments, was that of reading the Greek authors in the original; he kept this habit to the end. He was a co-worker with Alcott, Harris and others in founding the Concord School of Philosophy. He was a prolific writer of history and biography. He gave the world its best insight of the characters of Thoreau, Dr. S. G. Howe, Pliny Earle, Alcott and John Brown, and was one of those who knew most and told us best about Emerson. The bulk of his literary work, however, was not in book form, but appeared in magazines and newspapers, especially in the *Springfield Republican*, of whose staff he was one of the most valued.

Mr. Sanborn typified to some of us westerners the ideal New Englander of the old school—determined, democratic, liberty-loving, positive, pugnacious. He was one of the most uncompromising of the abolitionists, a friend and supporter of John Brown. One of the most dramatic events of his career was on the occasion when he was summoned as a witness before a Senate committee to investigate the John Brown raid, and on his refusal to obey, an unsuccessful attempt was made

to kidnap him. At the outbreak of the civil war he was, for six months, editor of the *Boston Commonwealth*, the organ of the Anti-Slavery Society.

Mr. Sanborn's appearance and manner on any platform attracted attention, and, at his prime, held his audience until he had given them all that was on his mind. His love of liberty and passion for justice made him a sympathizer with revolutionary movements against autocratic misrule everywhere. His record secured him many opportunities of platform service.

During his middle life Mr. Sanborn had a striking physical resemblance to Emerson. The first time I saw him, at the Washington conference of 1885, I did not catch the name as the president introduced him, and for a few moments I was certain that it was Emerson speaking. But though the features and the stature were like Emerson's, the expression was of a very different type. In familiar social converse Mr. Sanborn could be most charming. His wealth of knowledge was a continuous surprise, and the play of his humor was irresistible. One long railway journey on which I was his

companion is one of the never-to-be-forgotten memories of my life.

To the old members of the National Conference of Charities and Correction he ranks with the few great men who made that wonderful organization the useful thing that it is. Sanborn, Elmore, Wines, Brinkerhoff, Byers, McCulloch, Garrett, Bishop Gillespie, Letchworth, Henderson, Mrs. Lowell, Mrs. Barrows, Milligan, Paine, Wright—all these and others, have joined the choir invisible whose music is the gladness of the world. But their influence lives after them and is felt, unconsciously, by many who have hardly heard their names.

Only a few of the old leaders are left to us. But to enumerate their worthy successors who are faithfully and zealously carrying on the torch these kindled, would fill many pages of the *SURVEY*. We do not mourn for those who have gone to work in some other mansion of their Father's house. We give fervent and grateful thanks that they lived and worked amongst us and that we had the privilege of their company and friendship.

THE SHADOW

By Elizabeth Carter

THE altar flame was white, the flowers red,
Through the hushed chancel, from the altar side,
Came the priest's prayer before the Living Bread,
He prayed, "O Saving Victim, opening wide—"

Rough scaffolding outside a shadow threw
On the tall window, veiled to hide the sun,
Crossbeams and bars, a tracery that grew
To a mute symbol of the day begun.

For, climbing, pausing, noiseless as a thought,
Black on the amber curtain's narrow span,
Among the bars and beams his hands had wrought,
There rose and crossed the shadow of a man.

A man,—a carpenter. What breath of awe
Swept cold across our prayer-wrapt ecstasy,
In place of lights and kneeling priest, we saw
A Workman's home in far-off Galilee.

Thy Church, Thy brother workmen!—This we know—
(Help us, O Christ, the gulf is deep and wide)
We kneel in peace where the tall candles glow,
Thy brother workmen face the world—outside.



COMMON WELFARE

TO VINDICATE AND FORTIFY PEACE

ON a bitter March day, in the face of a stinging wind that took the words from his mouth before more than the first rows of his audience could hear them, President Wilson delivered his second inaugural on Monday.

"We have sought very thoughtfully to set our house in order, correct the grosser errors and abuses of our industrial life, liberate and quicken the processes of our national genius and energy, and lift our politics to a broader view of the people's essential interests," he said. But "this is not the time for retrospect," it is the time to face those "matters lying outside of our own life as a nation and over which we had no control. . . .

"It has been impossible to avoid them. They have affected the life of the whole world. They have shaken men everywhere with a passion and an apprehension they never knew before. It has been hard to preserve calm counsel while the thought of our people swayed this way and that under their influence. We are a composite and cosmopolitan people. We are of the blood of all the nations that are at war. The currents of our thoughts as well as the currents of our trade run quick at all seasons back and forth between us and them. The war inevitably set its mark from the first upon our minds, our industries, our commerce, our politics and our social action. To be indifferent to it or independent of it was out of the question."

Deeply wronged ourselves upon the seas, we have not wanted to strike back; we have throughout realized "that we were not part of it," we "have drawn closer together," realizing that we were "standing in some sort apart"; we have "been clear that we wished nothing for ourselves that we were not ready to demand for all mankind—fair dealings, justice, the freedom to live and be at ease against organized wrong. It is in this spirit and with this thought that we have grown more and more aware, more and more certain, that the part we wished to play was the part of those who mean to vindicate and fortify peace."

"We have been obliged to arm ourselves to make good our claim to a cer-

tain minimum of right and of freedom of action. We stand firm in armed neutrality. . . . But nothing will alter our thought or our purpose" even though we be drawn into "a more immediate association with the great struggle itself."

Looking forward, "there are many things still to do at home, . . . but we realize that the greatest things that remain to be done must be done with the whole world for stage and in cooperation with the wide and universal forces of mankind, and we are making our spirits ready for these things. . . . We shall be the more Americans if we but remain true to the principles in which we have been bred. They are not the principles of a province or of a single continent. We have known and boasted all along that they were the principles of a liberated mankind. These, therefore, are the things we shall stand for, whether in war or in peace":

"PRINCIPLES OF A LIBERATED MANKIND"

"THAT all nations are equally interested in the peace of the world and in the political stability of free peoples, and equally responsible for their maintenance;

"That the essential principle of peace is the actual equality of nations in all matters of right or privilege;

"That peace cannot securely or justly rest upon an armed balance of power;

"That governments derive all their powers from the consent or by the common thought, purpose or power of the family of nations;

"That the seas should be equally free and safe for the use of all people, under rules set up under common agreement and consent and that, so far as practicable, they should be accessible to all upon equal terms;

"That national armaments should be limited to the necessities of national order and domestic safety;

"That the community of interest and of power upon which peace must henceforth depend imposes upon each nation the duty of seeing to it that all influences proceeding from its own citizens meant to encourage or assist revolution in other states should be sternly and effectually suppressed and prevented."

SOCIAL LEGISLATION OF A WAR SESSION

SOCIAL legislation had but scant attention from the Sixty-fourth Congress during its final session which ended on March 4. Public interest and the interest of the members of both houses centered on the international situation. It was almost a "war session," and the problems of social and industrial justice could fare but indifferently well.

One notable exception is to be found in the prohibition of the liquor traffic. Despite the war spirit—possibly to some extent because of the existence of that spirit—Congress took three steps toward nationwide prohibition. It passed, with scarcely an hour's discussion, the act making Alaska "bone dry" in accordance with the expressed desire of its electorate. It passed by overwhelming vote the bill establishing prohibition for the District of Columbia. More significant still, it adopted as a "rider" in the post-office appropriation bill a clause forbidding the shipment of intoxicants into any "dry" state. A fourth and minor step, which may prove important in the evolution of Latin-America, was the enactment of prohibition, subject to referendum, in Porto Rico.

As contrasted with its first session, during which both the Keating-Owen child-labor act and the Kern-McGillucuddy federal workmen's compensation act were passed, this second session of the Congress saw merely a marking of time on the part of its program of labor legislation. On the calendar when the House met last December were the Casey bill, establishing a women's division in the Department of Labor; the London bill, providing for a federal investigation into the need and best means for securing old-age pensions, sickness insurance and unemployment insurance in the United States; the Nolan bill, providing a minimum wage of three dollars a day for federal civil-service laborers; the Griffin bill, providing old-age retirement pensions for postoffice employes; and the Booher bill, regulating the interstate shipment of convict-made goods. The Crosser bill, providing a scheme of federal development of colonies on the lines followed in

New Zealand, was later placed on the calendar.

Two of these, the Nolan and the London bills, secured a majority, but not the required two-thirds majority, when an attempt was made to secure their passage by suspension of the rules. A favorable attitude toward the Griffin bill was shown when it was rescued from a hostile committee. Passage of all three in the new Congress may fairly be anticipated, thanks to the close division of parties in the next House, and the necessity on the part of the ruling faction to make terms with the progressive independent members.

One measure passed by the House during this session was that providing for a bureau of labor safety in the Department of Labor. Both the House and Senate overruled their committees which had sought to prevent an increase in the annual appropriation for the Children's Bureau. On the other hand, both houses agreed on limiting to \$3,000 the salary to be paid the employe of this bureau who should have direct charge of enforcement of the child-labor law throughout the nation.

Educational interests gained attention on two points. The Smith-Hughes vocational education bill was finally agreed to, after ten years of discussion of its general purposes by successive committees. It provides for limited federal aid, on a basis of equal appropriations by national and state authorities, in the payment of teachers of industrial and agricultural subjects, and in the maintenance of normal schools for such teachers. Formal action was taken, in the agricultural and in the executive, legislative and judicial appropriation bills, forbidding the employment in the Department of Agriculture and the Bureau of Education of persons remaining in the employ of the General Education Board or allied or similar organizations.

Railroad legislation proposed by President Wilson, which would have established the principle of compulsory delay of railroad strikes pending official investigation of the industrial disputes at issue, was defeated in committee, due chiefly to stubborn resistance on the part of the railroad brotherhoods and the American Federation of Labor.

Agitation over the high cost of food and fuel, particularly during the opening and the closing weeks of the session, led finally to the adoption in the House of the bill proposed by the President, appropriating \$400,000 to the Federal Trade Commission for a study of the reasons for the high cost of food, and a report on means of keeping prices down. The Senate refused to pass the bill. Numerous bills were offered, proposing embargoes on foodstuffs, federal control of food distribution, etc., but none were even granted a hearing in committee.

Industrial conscription, to cover em-

IN SUPPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

EIGHTY-SEVEN social workers of Boston have sent the following telegram to President Wilson:

"Because Germany, by its deliberate acts, is not only driving American commerce from the seas, but is killing our fellow citizens, therefore, we, the undersigned, with no love for war, but with a sense of the nation's duty, pledge our unswerving support to the government in immediate and forcible measures of defence."

Among the signers are C. C. Carstens, Meyer Bloomfield, Dr. Richard C. Cabot, Michael M. Davis, Jr., Henry Copley Greene, Fred R. Johnson, Jeffrey R. Brackett, J. Prentice Murphy, William H. Pear, Seymour H. Stone, Robert A. Woods, Ada E. Sheffield, Ida M. Cannon, Charles W. Birtwell, Philip Davis.

ployes in plants producing ships, munitions and supplies for the navy, in time of war, was stricken out of the Padgett amendments to the naval appropriation bill.

Public-health measures got no serious consideration. No attempt was made by Senator Owen to bring up his bill creating a Department of Public Health. Legislation restricting still further the traffic in poisonous drugs was not discussed. The Kent bill providing federal subsidies to sanatoria for non-resident consumptives failed, as did the bill to bring peyote within the provisions of the Harrison drug law. No action was taken on the bill creating a division of rural sanitation and mental hygiene in the Public Health Service, and the Smoot bill, providing for research and experiment in home economics, and the Adamson bill for the labeling of pure fabrics, failed.

Just at the close of the session there were introduced an industrial and an educational measure which will be reintroduced and pressed in the new Congress. The first was the Keating-Robinson bill, drawn on the lines of the child-labor act, forbidding interstate shipment of goods produced in establishments where women are employed more than eight hours a day. The second was the Hollis bill, granting federal aid to elementary education in the several states.

Suffrage was given no recognition during the three months of this meeting of Congress, beyond a report of the Susan B. Anthony federal amendment resolution from the House Committee on the Judiciary. This report was made without recommendation.

Salary increases voted to government clerks in all but the Postoffice Department amounted to 10 per cent on salaries up to \$1,200, and 5 per cent on salaries

from \$1,200 to \$1,800 a year. This was a compromise of demands on the part of some 20,000 clerks, many of whom are employed at rates fixed half a century ago.

Defeat of the attempts at enactment of the Shields dam bill, the Myers waterpower bill and the Phelan oil-lands bill resulted in keeping within the public domain resources valued at more than a billion dollars, which will eventually be developed and operated by the government unless sooner granted for private development.

The military appropriation bill, with its universal compulsory military training, as proposed in an amendment to the military appropriation bill, dies with that bill in the Senate. Hearings on this scheme before the Chamberlain subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs developed the most emphatic protest of the session, on the part of educators, physicians, physical trainers, publicists and students of conscription age.

In the new Congress the balanced power in the House, the necessity for cooperation between progressive and administration forces, the character of the constituency which reelected President Wilson—these factors are held to promise more for social legislation in the two years ahead.

YUCATAN SCHOOLS SEEK OUR HELP

WHILE this country was reading the news last week of Germany's intercepted proposal to Mexico and Japan that those nations form an alliance with her against the United States, an emissary of one of the Mexican states that has earned for itself the name of Utopia because of its social and economic reforms during the past two years, was visiting educators, social workers and others in the United States, bringing word of the educational awakening that has overtaken his countrymen and seeking experience that would be of service to them when he returned.

The emissary is Gregorio Torres Quintero, chief of the department of public education in Yucatan. Yucatan forms the tip end of the peninsula that juts out into the Gulf of Mexico, and Professor Quintero represents the interests of education in the general reformation that has attracted so much attention to that state recently. The governor of Yucatan, Salvador Alvarado, a Carranzista, has been called a "socialistic despot." This title has been conferred upon him for his many reforms on behalf of the people, who number about 350,000 and two-thirds of whom are Indians, the other third being of Spanish descent.

Chief among Alvarado's reforms, as they have been reported in this country, is the redistribution of land and the

giving of a tract of about forty acres "without confiscation" to each of Yucatan's 50,000 family heads. Laws protecting women and children in industry have also been notable features of Governor Alvarado's regime. The state now has minimum wage provisions, an eight-hour law, compensation for injuries to workmen and provision for their old age. Children under thirteen cannot be employed.

Professor Quintero tells an interesting story of educational reforms in Yucatan. "In the past year and a half," he says, "we have established 600 schools for the Indian population. Here we teach chiefly Spanish, reading and writing, arithmetic and civics. The three hours in the morning in these schools are devoted to children, both boys and girls, less than twelve years of age. An hour and a half in the afternoon is given over to girls between twelve and twenty-one, and another hour and a half in the evening to boys of the same age. We separate boys and girls of these ages in our educational system.

"This education is compulsory for all under twenty-one, unless they are married. The classes are not limited to persons of that age, however, and, in fact, many older people come. Compulsion has existed for some years, but only under the present administration has it really been enforced. These schools are put up at the expense of the farm owners, but the equipment and material is supplied at state expense.

"What we want to do now is to improve our vocational education. We have in Merida, the capital of Yucatan, a mechanical arts school for boys and a domestic arts school for girls, but we are not content with them; they must be brought up to higher standards. Neither have we competent instructors in these subjects. There are 200 girls in the domestic arts school and thirty boys in the mechanical arts school, which has just been started. We want hundreds in both. We want to teach our young people not only how to work but the dignity of work. We want to offer instruction in the wool and iron industries, in printing, in the making of shoes, in agriculture and in other branches.

"Owing to the climate and other causes young people in our country mature more rapidly than they do in the United States. Our girls marry, many of them, at sixteen, seventeen and eighteen. The vocational schools that we shall establish will take boys and girls of twelve and up.

"We have provision for professional and higher education also. There is a college for engineers in Mexico City and one for physicians in Merida. Our school for lawyers was closed by Governor Alvarado because he believed that the country has too many lawyers al-

ready. Law students now study privately."

Professor Quintero is here to take back Americans as well as American methods. His official instructions direct him to find, if he can, a man experienced in cooperatives; a man skilled in conducting a large printing office and able to speak Spanish; a woman able to take charge of work in domestic arts and science in the state educational system; one or more men for trade schools; two or three men to serve as instructors in the department of education; and one man who is expert in tropical agriculture. Professor Quintero will remain in this country for four or five months.

PNEUMONIA, THE WINTER MENACE

THE Pneumonia Commission of Philadelphia has reported to the city Department of Health and Charities. The commission was appointed in 1915 when Philadelphia's death-rate suddenly sprang from the lowest level in the city's record to the highest. The outbreak of grippe-like disease and pneumonia extended widely through the city, says the report, incapacitating many employes of industrial establishments in the city and making practically every household a focus of infection of acute catarrh of the upper respiratory tract.

The clinical committee of the new commission began with an epidemiological investigation to obtain exact information as to the proportion of the population affected by the outbreak. It addressed 5,100 questionnaires to physicians, schools, homes for the aged, orphan asylums, post-offices, hospitals and various industrial plants. Only about one-third were answered, but the replies received gave the commission some important information.

"Fully 10 per cent of the population of the city was affected by the epidemic," writes Dr. Riesman, chairman of the commission. "That means that about 170,000 people were incapacitated. . . . There was an increase in the number of deaths from all causes, more especially from heart disease, kidney conditions and pulmonary tuberculosis. . . . Three thousand cases of pneumonia were treated by physicians during the period of investigation (December, 1915—January, 1916), according to the replies to questionnaires. Since responses were received to only about one-third, it is evident that there must have been more than 3,000 pneumonia patients.

"An interesting statement was made by many physicians that the spread of the disease had apparently no relation to the hygienic surroundings of the patient. . . . Pneumonia affected several members of one household. This is an extremely important point, for since pneumonia is not a reportable disease,

infections might occur in the same household, giving room for investigation of the spread of the disease.

The laboratory committee was hampered by the lack of funds—the city appropriation being just one-half of the amount asked for; but experiments in the manufacture and use of serum are continuing. At Phipps Institute tests are being carried on to determine the relative value of disinfectants.

The commission believes that the public should know several facts about pneumonia. First, that there are two types of the disease, lobar and broncho-pneumonia. Being a disease of the respiratory system, the causative agent enters through inhalation. The organisms deposited upon the mucous membrane of the nose and throat find suitable place for growth and development. In many individuals these organisms may cause no untoward effect, resistance being sufficient to prevent their invasion. When, however, the organisms become active and the resistance of the person is lowered, disease results.

Again, it should be known that, although persons of all ages are susceptible to pneumonia, the very young and the aged seem predisposed to infection, as they are to "colds." By far the largest percentage of deaths from pneumonia occurred between the ages of 45 and 70 and under the age of two. Men have been found more susceptible than women, because of the more frequent and longer exposure to the weather. Winter is the season of pneumonia because of the possibility of chill, and because then persons tend to gather indoors, where closer contact in overheated and unventilated places favors the spread of infection.

That many cases were reported among the rich as well as among the poor indicates, says the commission, that the importance of ventilation has not yet been generally appreciated.

As to preventive measures, the commission urges a few practical suggestions: "By far the most important general measure . . . is proper and sufficient ventilation. . . . Second in importance is causing the public to refrain from the indecent, repugnant and most unhealthful habit of expectorating upon the sidewalks, public places and highways. . . . The proper clothing during winter months . . . the proper amount of sleep and avoidance of excesses, aid in increasing the resistance of the body. . . . Persons should acquire the habit of sleeping in ventilated rooms. In the workshop . . . suitable ventilators should be installed."

Since this is a problem of the public as a whole, as the commission has shown, the appeal is to the public for obedience to the common sense dictates of personal hygiene, to give as early attention to unfavorable symptoms as is

Cesare in New York Evening Post



"ONE KIND OF WOLF AT THE DOOR"

The high cost of living still has its place in the papers in competition with news of war and rumors of war. The New York "Herald" is aghast at the discovery that T. R. has been crowded off the front page by a potato

Donahay in Cleveland Plain Dealer



"BRINGING HOME THE BACON"

Ding in New York Tribune



"PARTNERS IN CRIME"

given to a leak in the plumbing; also to refrain from using patent medicines.

Such measures are submitted to the public, says the commission, pending discovery of more scientific and definite means of prevention. The cooperation of all civic bodies and health agencies, plus the good will of the public, are essential to the success of any undertaking to control pneumonia and eventually to reduce its excessive mortality which has become a rival of tuberculosis itself in fatality.

TO CONTROL THE COST OF LIVING

AGITATION over the so-called "hunger riots" is still carried on spasmodically in different parts of New York city, but has now reached the second stage, when the case for public action is taken up by orderly representation. Its net result seems to have been beneficial in at least two ways. First, prices have fallen considerably within a week, and there is some reason to expect a further drop. Second, city, state and federal governments have been aroused to the need for administrative control of the cost of living.

As regards the fall in prices, the riots and boycotts have been remarkably successful. In a few instances, prices have fallen to a figure which two weeks ago would have been considered very reasonable. Potatoes, at the time of writing, are 6 cents a pound as compared with 8 and 9 cents a week ago; onions, 11 cents as compared with 18 cents; dressed chicken, 19 cents a pound as against 29 cents.

"Publicity, fear of federal, state or city action and the recent demonstrations are the cause of the sudden drop in

wholesale prices," says Joseph Hartigan, commissioner of weights and measures, who is in charge of the New York city markets. "As a result of the Mayor's Food Supply Committee's advice to the public to eat rice and other substitutes for potatoes and onions, the wholesalers became panic-stricken. The retailers generally found that their customers were buying few or no potatoes, onions or turnips. The immediate effect was an idle wholesale market. Prices began to drop in an effort to tempt buying. It was a most remarkable situation. A few days ago these products were in constant demand at ever-increasing prices. Over Sunday large shipments came from the West, and Monday found the wholesalers ready to meet the demand. But the agitation and publicity given the subject over the week-end practically killed the market."

A curious situation has been created by the refusal of the organizers of the boycott to stop it. They fear that the reduction in prices is due to a desire of local dealers to rid themselves of perishable stocks, or stocks for which they desire an immediate cash turnover, and that prices will be raised again when these stocks are exhausted. The maintenance of the boycotts is, therefore, likely to continue until either the dealers or some public authority can assure the public that proper means have been taken to avoid a recurrence of excessive prices.

Of the actual measures taken for the relief of the emergency, the least significant but the one which has most caught popular attention was the prompt action taken by the Mayor's Food Supply Commission, of which George W. Perkins is chairman, in throwing on the retail market consignments of smelts from the

Pacific coast, hominy, and Brazilian beans, which, though small in themselves, have undoubtedly had an excellent contributory effect. These provisions are distributed through retail dealers to whom the committee allows a reasonable profit. The lenders of the capital required do not expect or receive a profit on their investment. The endeavor of the committee is more especially to introduce provisions which are not usually consumed in large quantities in this part of the country, so as to avoid as far as possible direct competition with the trade.

In the meantime, the clause of the sundry civil bill providing an appropriation of \$400,000 for the Federal Trade Commission's proposed food investigation, while it failed to be reported by the Appropriations Committee of the Senate, succeeded partly in its purpose by helping to scare food speculators. Senator Borah, of Idaho, introduced an even more far-reaching resolution, to appropriate six million dollars to be expended by the President in aiding local authorities to furnish food and clothing to persons now actually suffering and in investigations of rising prices, their causes, and means of adjusting them. This, of course, had no chance of passage during the crowded last days of Congress.

In New York state, the legislature has before it for consideration the Wicks bill "in relation to agriculture, foods, and markets," a document of 292 pages. Its primary purpose is the creation of a state department of agriculture, foods and markets. While the existing Department of Agriculture in the state has been built up gradually to assume various functions of protection to farmers, under the new

plan the interests of city consumers would receive from the state equal attention to those of producers. For this and other reasons the bill is severely opposed.

Among the functions of the new commission would be to "investigate fully the source of food supply, the production, manufacture, storage, transportation, marketing, and distribution of food sold in the state; the cost of food at the point of production and the expense of transportation, marketing, and distribution;" also "in case of emergency threatening the scarcity of food to take measures for relief," to "investigate and recommend the best methods for increasing the food supply," to "act as a mediator in any controversy between producer and consumer." The commission would also cooperate with municipalities in creating market facilities and in preventing the sale of unwholesome food; investigate and prevent unfair competition and set standards of purity. Adoption of this measure would confer upon the State of New York the power of investigation which by the action of the Senate in cutting off the appropriation sought, was denied the Federal Trade Commission. The commissioners, under this bill, would have full power to go outside the state for their study of food production and distribution.

In New Jersey, a commission appointed to inquire into causes of high cost of living, has started an investigation of the quantity of foodstuffs in storage and, as a measure of immediate relief, proposed to the legislature a bill empowering municipalities to appropriate money for the purchase of foodstuffs to be sold at cost in public markets.

Similar power is sought by the city of New York through the Goodman bill in the Assembly which provides for the establishment of community stores and empowers the Board of Estimate and Apportionment to borrow and spend money on food purchases to alleviate the suffering caused by high prices. This bill, strongly supported by labor and other interests, is likely to pass without delay and will enable the mayor to do officially what the Mayor's Food Supply Committee is doing now through the generosity of its members.

The health department of the city of New York, and the mayor's committee have both tried to use the opportunity for an intensive effort at public education in food economy. In this connection, lack of recognition that education in dietetics must of necessity be a slow process and can only under exceptionally favorable circumstances be successful when applied to adult women, has given rise to some amusing incidents. First, it appeared that the health department rebuked the mayor's committee for putting out educational leaflets which are unsuitable, either because of the cost of the recipes suggested or because these

are too far removed from the dietary habits of the people. But since, it has been learned that the health department itself does not fare much better in its educational efforts. It advises, for instance, women in the poorest parts of the city, who often do not possess the rudiments of dietary knowledge, "Don't use onions merely for their mineral salts. Apples, oranges, and bananas are cheaper," and advises the substitution of cocoa made with milk for tea and coffee on the grounds that it is nourishing. As usual in such cases, the endeavor to instruct has brought the city administration an accusation—undeserved in view of its other activities to relieve the situation—of attempting to avoid taking really vital measures of relief. In the meantime, the rice dealers are reaping a rich harvest from the free advertisement given them by city, state and federal authorities.

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT FACING ABOUT

"I SAW an occasion for nailing to the masthead of the society the flag of hospitality to the discussion of all points of view." This was the explanation of H. S. Person, president of the Taylor Society, of an address delivered last Saturday in Boston, which seemed to set a new course for the members of that society. Whether a mere sociologist has any right to an opinion on subjects connected with scientific management, or whether a professor of economics should venture to differ from any of the teachings of the late Frederick W. Taylor, are questions which some of the scientific management engineers have in the past answered in the negative. As Felix Frankfurter, dean of Harvard Law School, put it in discussing Dr. Person's paper, the followers of Taylor have been "more Catholic than the Pope" in their devotion to the idea that their leader was infallible, and some of them have held all criticism invalid, excepting that coming from the "initiated."

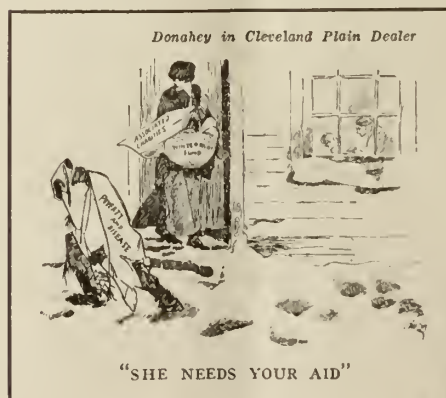
It was this point of view that President Person, who is head of the Tuck School of Business Administration at Dartmouth College, set out to abolish once and for all in his address on the Manager, the Workman, and the Social

Scientist, the three whose opinions must be considered according to Dr. Person's view, in any discussion of problems of management. He held that none of these individuals sees all of the truth; that each is "a functionalized observer of industrial facts and judge of their significance; that each is complementary to and essential to the other, and that no organization which stands as advocate for one of the latest major contributions to industrial development, as does this society, can accomplish its purpose if it fails to consider every possible approach to the examination and valuation of the particular contribution which it seeks to promote."

Dr. Person set out to analyze the qualifications of each of these three "functionalized observers," in order to determine the principal advantages and disadvantages of each. He found the manager possessed of four disadvantages. In the first place, his attention is so concentrated on the details of his business that he is not free to weigh, study and acquaint himself with the thoughts of others. "He may not even keep up with the development of human thought concerning the very service which he performs for society;" second, "the very nature of his responsibilities compels him to regard and to value all things from the point of view of profits." Indeed, went on Dr. Person, "in most instances he is wholly unaware that there are other standards of valuation of the mechanism, processes and policies which he is called upon to consider." Third, he has too great a tendency in the direction of standardization; he forgets that he is dealing with human elements, which in some respects cannot be standardized, fourth "he is subject to the danger of regarding all the elements, which he directs, as commodities, and failing to recognize that spiritual factors are involved. Particularly, he too frequently fails to recognize that labor as a simple physical force cannot be separated from labor as a distinct and original seat of human intellect, feelings, desires and opinions."

The advantages of the manager were not dwelt upon with the same degree of detail because "they are well known and come immediately to our minds." Dr. Person mentioned first of all superior intelligence and great natural ability. Added to these are his sub-conscious understanding of the complexity and delicacy of the industrial machine, a thing which is the product of evolution and with which the manager has grown up. This is what makes the manager a "practical man."

Turning to a discussion of the workman, Dr. Person's address was less an analysis of the qualities of the worker than it was a revelation of a point of view. At the outset he stated that it has been a traditional opinion that the worker "could not exercise sound judgment in such matters (that is, industrial



"SHE NEEDS YOUR AID"

processes or policies) if called upon to do so." But within recent years a different opinion has been developing, held not only by workmen and by many social scientists, but "by an appreciable number of enlightened managers." This is the idea that the worker is entitled to assist in determining industrial policies. A majority of the managers who accept this as a truth, nevertheless regard the active participation of the worker in the making of such judgments as impracticable. A minority, said Dr. Person, both recognize his right and advocate the exercise of it.

Dr. Person did not overlook, however, certain definite limitations which he stated the workman possesses. Honest recognition of the facts, he declared, makes it necessary to point out that a majority of workmen have neither the education nor the experience "to render them broad and sympathetic in their views, and possessed of trustworthy perspective and sense of values." But this he held to be less damning an indictment of the worker than it is of society. The average workman, he said, "has had to leave school at an early age to begin the long struggle of support of self and family, in a regime of the bartering of labor as a commodity in which the advantages of bartering have been against him."

The other disadvantage of the worker, according to Dr. Person, is the class-conscious character of his leadership, and the fact that other matters are neglected for the "militant effort to achieve class solidarity and class prosperity." The speaker did not fail, however, to note that the emphasis laid upon wages on the one hand, is offset by the emphasis of profits on the other, and it is on account of this conflict in interest that "it is expedient to match the workman's judgment against the manager's and the social scientist's, in order to obtain the benefit of the workman's unique advantages for judgment, which in an increasing proportion outweigh his disadvantages."

The disadvantages of the social scientist, according to Dr. Person, are his lack of industrial experience, which lead him to advocate impractical measures, and a tendency toward an unconscious assumption that society is more advanced than it is. His point of view, however, is valuable in a discussion of industrial problems, because he not only has a perspective, which the manager and workmen do not have, but he depends for his judgments, in addition to his own observation, upon the judgments of the manager and of the workmen.

It is because each of these three observers has a distinct contribution to make to problems of industrial management, according to Dr. Person, that "a group of men standing for the Taylor philosophy of management should welcome—should insist upon the widest possible discus-



DETROIT'S UNITED CHARITIES BUILDING

THREE years ago the old Home for the Friendless at 22 West Warren Avenue, in the very center of the new Detroit, was amalgamated with the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the two taking the name of the Children's Aid Society. The building has now been turned into a common home for the three largest child-placing agencies of the city, together with other important cooperating societies—the Application Bureau, Associated Charities, Bay Court, Michigan Children's Home Society, St. Vincent de Paul Society, and Visiting House Keeper Association.

sion of all phases of scientific management."

The paper called forth spirited discussion among members of the society and invited guests. Despite a certain amount of dissent on the part of industrial managers, the paper was cordially received. One noteworthy thing about the meeting was the absence of any representative of labor to participate in the discussion of the paper. Strangely enough this was the fault of labor, or rather of the individual representative of labor who, it was announced by the secretary, had accepted the invitation to speak, but failed to appear.

ILLINOIS' REORGANIZED STATE SERVICE

ILLINOIS surprised itself in the passage, by the practically unanimous vote of both houses of the legislature, of the act consolidating the civil administration of the state government in nine departments. The people were surprised at the politicians, whether or no the politicians were surprised at their own unanimity.

The act abolishes or consolidates no less than 128 boards and commissions and 300 official positions or jobs having

salaries aggregating \$400,000, and combines all their functions in the nine departments of finance, agriculture, labor, mines and minerals, public works and buildings, public welfare, public health, trade and commerce, registration and education. At the head of each department there will be a director, assistant director and other officials with functions specialized in accordance with its work. In addition to these paid officials an unpaid advisory and non-executive board is provided for each of six departments.

All these appointive positions are to be filled by the appointments of the governor, with the consent of the Senate for a period of four years. The classified civil service is protected by a provision that nothing in the act shall be construed to amend, modify or repeal the state civil service law and by another requiring that every civil service employe in the classified list at the time this act takes effect shall be assigned to a position having so far as possible duties equivalent to his former office or employment. While those connected with the branches of work that have been consolidated in the several departments will be thus protected, those whose functions have been abolished may be dropped.

The extent and outworking of the changes thus introduced are well illustrated in the newly created Department of Public Welfare. It will combine not only the State Board of Administration hitherto controlling all the state charitable institutions and the State Charities Commission, but also the separate boards hitherto managing the several penal and reformatory institutions which have never been under any centralized control or supervision, except the governor's authority over his appointees and their management. The purchasing and contracting function, however, is hereafter to be exercised for all departments by the Department of Public Works and Buildings. The director, at a salary of \$7,000, and an assistant director at \$4,000, an alienist, criminologist, physical supervisor, superintendent of charities, superintendent of prisons, superintendent of pardons and paroles at \$5,000 each, constitute the staff of the Department of Public Welfare appointed by the governor, who in turn holds the director responsible for the appointments of the wardens, superintendents and other officials not included in the classified civil service.

All these executive officers are supplemented by an advisory and non-executive Board of Public Welfare Commissioners composed of five persons. Its functions are to investigate the condition and management of the whole system of charitable, penal and reformatory institutions of the state, including jails and almshouses, not only upon request but at its own initiative; likewise to inquire into the equipment, management and policies of all institutions and organizations, charitable and correctional. It is authorized, at request and on its own initiative, to report and recommend to executive officers of the department, the governor and the General Assembly, and also to collect and publish annually statistics relating to insanity and crime.

The Department of Labor combines the prerogatives hitherto exercised by the commissioners of labor, the management of the free employment offices, the inspection of private employment agencies, the state factory inspectors, the Board of Arbitration and Conciliation and the Industrial Board, which has operated the workingmen's compensation act. In addition to the director and assistant director of labor, a chief factory inspector, superintendent of free employment offices, chief inspector of private employment agencies and five industrial officers are provided, besides an advisory board of five members for the state free employment offices and a similar board for each local free employment office established by the state. On these boards two members represent labor, two the employing interests and one the general public.

The other departments are organized with similar regard to their functions. The department of finance, however, is

given very large powers to unify, standardize and direct the bookkeeping, accounting and reporting of the several departments and to prepare a state budget, including exhaustive statements of revenues and expenditures for the two years preceding those covered by the budget. Each department, office and institution is required to file estimates of receipts and expenditures for the ensuing two years, accompanied by a written statement giving facts and explanation of reasons for each item of expenditure requested. The state budget thus prepared is to be submitted to the governor and recommended by him to the general assembly.

Governor Lowden has not only assured representative citizens whose counsel he has sought, but has announced to the politicians who are pressing their nominations for appointments, that all departmental heads will be selected primarily with regard to their efficiency, political preferment being distinctly a secondary consideration. His appointments are awaited with hopeful interest. The act becomes effective July 1 and has elicited a support from the legislature and the public such as no governor has hitherto received for any executive measure.

A SIMON-PURE GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT

NO person associated with any private educational institution or receiving a salary from any private corporation or individual may hereafter be employed by the United States Bureau of Education, either as special collaborator or otherwise, on penalty of being deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and of being fined not less than \$1,000 or imprisoned for not less than six months, or both.

Moreover, no part of the appropriation made for the bureau may be used "in connection with any money contributed . . . by the General Education Board . . . or . . . by any corporation or individual other than . . . state, county or municipal agencies;" nor may the bureau "receive any moneys for salaries or any other purpose from the General Education Board . . . or contributed or tendered by any corporation or individual other than . . . state, county or municipal agencies, except by act of Congress authorizing the same."

These prohibitions are contained in a recently adopted amendment to the executive, legislative and judicial appropriation bill. They grew out of a debate in which the influence of the General Education Board and "allied organizations" was severely criticized, and in which the charge was made that this influence extends to determining policies of state and local boards of education and even to honeycombing the federal bureau with their own employes who use the prestige and frank of the government to circulate the propaganda of the pri-

vate organizations. A federal investigation may be demanded of the relations now and recently existing between the General Education Board and similar organizations and endowments on the one hand, and government departments on the other.

For some years it has been the practice of the federal bureau, under Commissioner of Education P. P. Claxton, to appoint special collaborators from persons employed by universities, colleges, normal schools and in other educational positions throughout the country. These collaborators receive nominal sums of from \$1 to \$25 a year from the government, and carry on investigations, prepare reports and do other service assigned to them. Their connection with the government gives them a certain standing and often results in their researches being printed as bulletins of the bureau and circulated under government frank.

Charges had been made and accepted as true by various senators that the General Education Board "and allied organizations in private control" were paying or controlling the salaries of nearly all of the 150 of these special employes. Early in January a resolution directed the secretary of the interior, in whose department the bureau of education lies, to furnish sundry information concerning the relations existing between private corporations and the bureau, as well as a list of the names, positions and sources of income of all employes of the bureau connected with or receiving money from any source other than the bureau. The list showed that two of the employes were employed directly by the General Education Board and two indirectly. It included many of the best-known teachers and educational administrators in the country, many of whom apparently had no connection with private organizations but were connected solely with state universities, colleges or normal schools or were employed in other public educational capacities.

Concerning the relations existing between private corporations and the bureau, the statement furnished by Secretary Lane and written by Commissioner Claxton said: "There is no relation whatsoever of the organization known as the General Education Board, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Foundation to the work of the Bureau of Education. The Bureau of Education has entered into cooperative relations with the Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York city, for the purpose of making a study of Negro education in the United States; with the National Kindergarten Association, New York city, and the International Kindergarten Union for the purpose of investigating and promoting kindergarten education; with the National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations for the purpose of promoting education in the home; and with the Committee for Immigrants in

America for the purpose of investigating and promoting the education of adult immigrants in the United States. No funds whatsoever are contributed to the Bureau of Education directly by any of the organizations above mentioned. The organizations with which cooperative arrangements have been made are now providing for the Bureau of Education the services of certain employes whose salaries, however, are paid directly to such persons by the several organizations. The persons whose services are thus furnished the Bureau of Education are under the direct supervision and control of the commissioner of education, and do such work as is outlined for them by the commissioner."

The amendment referred to at the outset was introduced by Senator Chamberlain, of Oregon. Later Senator Kenyon, of Iowa, offered an amendment to the agricultural appropriation bill applying the same restrictions to the Department of Agriculture. Senator Kenyon estimated the number of nominal employes in the latter department at 500, and was apparently unwilling to credit the statement of the secretary of that department that none of these were paid by the General Education Board or other private organizations. Secretary Houston declared that all such connection had been severed since the enactment of the Kenyon amendment to the 1915 appropriation bill, prescribing the sources from which funds may be accepted. The Senate adopted the Kenyon amendment to the current bill, however.

Among the charges regarding the influence of the General Education Board and its "allies" that Senator Chamberlain intimated he might ask Congress to investigate are: That it determines the policy of state and local boards of education; that its influence is exerted on behalf of anti-progressive legislation, as in the case of a recent survey report in Maryland, in which the issue of child labor was involved; that it is gaining control of state and private universities; that it dominates the non-sectarian educational system of the South; that through its gifts of funds to colleges and universities it becomes dictator of their development; that through the pension system it influences the character of teaching, and molds the tendencies of future teaching, throughout the country; and that this influence is centered in a board of fifteen men, themselves responsible to one great private fortune for the continuance of their activities.

WOMEN MUNITIONS WORKERS AND THEIR PAY

THE announcement by the federal Department of Labor that the War Department had called for a large number of women munition workers is exciting comment in Washington, and the wage question involved will probably

be brought up in Congress. According to the announcement, women are wanted as machine operators at wages of \$1.36 to \$2.24 a day, while men operators are offered \$2.24 to \$2.64—the maximum for women being the minimum for men. Representative Keating of Colorado, who recently secured the passage of a House resolution of inquiry looking to equal opportunity and equal pay for women and men in government service, has announced that he will introduce and work to secure any legislation that may be necessary to obtain equal pay for women munition workers. The Federal Employes Union has filed a protest with the secretary of war and the secretary of labor.

Another phase of the question is being urged by women members of labor unions and suffrage organizations, namely, women's obligation to other women and to men workers. Florence C. Thorne, of the American Federation of Labor headquarters, has called attention to the recent action of women workers in France, who, she states in an article in the February *American Federationist*, have formed an intersyndical committee for action against the exploitation of women. Under the leadership of A. Marechal, secretary of the general syndicate of workers in the linen underwear factories of the Department of the Seine, a declaration and appeal has been drawn up, from which the following is quoted:

"This frightful war, from which women in all nations often have as much to suffer as men, will have some reactions which we must from now on foresee if we are to be guarded against the threats which are increasing daily. . . .

"Women must understand that everywhere they may be called to take the places of men, it is their duty to demand equal pay for equal work. They must demand it: first, because it is the most elementary justice that the labor be paid according to its intrinsic value and not according to sex; second, by personal interest; third, by duty toward other women (as it has been demonstrated that the acceptance of a reduced wage brings inevitably a fall in all wages of the trade); fourth, by duty toward the fighting men who must not find when they return conditions of labor still lower than they were before the war.

"We ask of the women of all countries: first, to make in their respective countries a methodic inquiry into the state of men's and women's wages; second, to arouse all professionals, societies, feminists, etc., to organize a powerful international movement in behalf of equality of pay with the view of obtaining from their governments at the moment of the signature of the peace treaty assurance that pay must be for a definite work absolutely independent of the sex of the individual who executes it."

RUSHING TO PROTECT MUNITIONS MAKERS

NIGHT work by women in munitions factories in Connecticut, brought out in Amy Hewes' article in the *SURVEY* for January 6, describing her investigation in Bridgeport for the Russell Sage Foundation, has led to the introduction of four prohibitive bills in the state legislature. Miss Hewes called attention to the ambiguous provision of the present law, which set a closing hour of ten o'clock but no opening hour, so that its effect was merely to prevent work between ten o'clock and midnight. Moreover, a court decision held that this provision applies only to mercantile establishments and not to factories. And this is on top of a ten-hour day.

Miss Hewes' article was reprinted in full in a Bridgeport paper and extracts from it appeared in many New England newspapers. The president of the State Federation of Labor, commenting on the facts, was widely quoted as saying: "Labor supposed when it secured passage of laws prohibiting the working of women and minors in manufacturing establishments more than ten hours a day or more than fifty-five hours a week, or after 10 P. M., that it had sewed up the whole matter, but now the mistake is evident. At this session of the General Assembly we will urge the passage of a measure to stop the employment of women and minors in manufacturing after 10 P. M. and before 7 A. M. It will be specific enough so no subterfuge may be found. The evils of night employment of women are apparent, and it is for the best interests of the state that the practice be stopped."

The federation bill before the legislature provides for an eight-hour day and a forty-eight-hour week for minors under sixteen and for women in factories, and a fifty-five-hour week, with no daily limit in mercantile establishments. Night work for "females over sixteen years of age" is prohibited between 10 P. M. and 6 A. M. in factories, and after 9 P. M. (with no opening hour specified) in mercantile establishments.

The Consumers' League of Connecticut has had a bill introduced providing for a nine-hour day and a fifty-hour week in factories for minors under sixteen and women, and a fifty-five-hour week (also without a daily limit) in mercantile establishments. Night work for "females over sixteen years of age" in factories is prohibited "before five o'clock in the morning or after ten o'clock in the evening," and in mercantile establishments after 9 P. M., again with no opening hour specified.

The third bill, sponsored by the Connecticut Committee for Shorter Workday Hours for Women and Minors, a branch of a New England committee organized in 1916 at a conference called by the Woman's Trade Union League,

the Consumers' League and other agencies in Boston, provides for a nine-hour day, and a fifty-hour week for minors under sixteen and women in factories or mercantile establishments, and prohibits work for minors and women in factories "before six o'clock in the morning or after six o'clock in the afternoon." Night work for women in mercantile establishments is forbidden "before six o'clock in the morning or after ten o'clock in the evening."

The labor commissioner is said to have planned the fourth bill, which is reported to differ from the others in not shortening the present ten-hour day, while agreeing with two of them in asking for a fifty-hour week in factories and fifty-five hours in stores.

Thus one organization wants an eight-hour day, two want nine, and one wants ten. Three ask for a fifty-five-hour week and one a fifty-hour week in mercantile establishments. The closing hour in factories is ten o'clock in two bills and six o'clock in two, and in the four bills three separate periods for prohibition of work for women at night in factories are named—between 10 P. M. and 6 A. M., 10 P. M. and 5 A. M. and 6 P. M. and 6 A. M. All agree, however, in naming a definite period at night when the work of women in factories is prohibited.

Students of labor problems feel that, valuable as it is, sudden widespread interest in a reform may have disadvantages when the friends of progress do not work together or agree in advance on common objects. They point out that the bills are open to objection because of their phraseology, which may permit evasion. For instance, the phrase, "no minor under sixteen years of age and no woman," does not necessarily include girls between sixteen and twenty-one, in fact several sections of the New York labor law clearly show that the word "woman" means an adult twenty-one years of age or over. And the two age groups, "no female under sixteen years of age" and "no female over sixteen years of age," certainly omit girls of sixteen. Further, none of the four bills restricts labor to six days in the week, and a weekly limit without a daily limit in stores is unenforceable; to set a closing hour and no opening hour in mercantile establishments, as is done in three of the bills, is, they point out, to repeat the same error which made the earlier restriction illusory when the mushroom munitions industry served to test it.

Before the bills were introduced at least one of the groups sponsoring them sought advice from the Legislative Drafting Bureau of Columbia University, but decided to draft its own bill without expert aid and risk the careless phraseology which by the experience of other states nullifies the effect of a statute or causes a verdict by the courts against its constitutionality.

Social Legislation

BILLS PROTECTING WOMEN AND CHILDREN

TO make the federal child-labor law passed by the last Congress more effective when it goes into operation next September, the National Child Labor Committee is cooperating with the Federal Board on administration of the law in urging the states to make their standards consistent with national standards.

West Virginia, for instance, which has never had regulation of hours, has allowed night work under sixteen and mining for boys under sixteen when schools are not in session, and has exempted some children from the fourteen-year limit, is this year considering all such restrictions, together with a standard employment-certificate system, special sixteen- and eighteen-year limits for dangerous occupations, a street-trades law and a night-messenger law. Kansas is working for a sixteen-year limit in mines, extension of the fourteen-year limit to include canneries and mills and standardization of employment certificates. In New Mexico, which has never had a child-labor law, the legislature is considering a bill which exactly conforms to federal standards, and in Utah an eight-hour day and dangerous-trades law for children under sixteen have just been passed by the House.

In Texas the Senate has passed an eight-hour law and a law placing a fifteen-year limit upon employment in factories, mills, workshops, laundries, telegraph offices, theaters and other places of amusement and a seventeen-year limit upon employment in distilleries, mines, quarries, places where explosives are used and in disorderly houses and messenger service requiring calls on such houses. The fact that exemptions are granted to twelve-year-olds under certain circumstances makes it non-conformable to the federal law, however.

Connecticut, where there is now a ten-hour day for children under sixteen, also balks at the standards set by the federal law. Because some people believe the state "is not ready" for an eight-hour law, a nine-hour law has been introduced into the legislature. The National Child Labor Committee, however, is trying to have a substitute eight-hour bill reported by the committee.

Besides West Virginia and Kansas, several other states are stiffening their employment-certificate system, asking more adequate proof of age (South Carolina and Indiana) and, as in Illinois, additional educational requirements.

Four states are attempting to regulate street trades—West Virginia, already mentioned, Connecticut, Minnesota and California. The California bill embodies the highest standards—a fourteen-year limit for boys, an eighteen-year limit for girls and no night work.

Two states are interested in restricting agricultural employment. As a result of an investigation in 1915 by the Ohio Public Health Association, an eight-hour day and forty-eight-hour week for boys under sixteen and girls under eighteen are recommended on onion, celery, and truck farms in Ohio. In Colorado the investigation of beet workers in 1915 by the National Child Labor Committee has resulted in the drafting of a measure for a fourteen-year limit for work in the beet fields. Although there is tremendous opposition from beet growers and workers, the bill is supported by the State Federation of Women's Clubs, Mothers' Congress, W. C. T. U., Federation of Labor, juvenile court officers and four railroad brotherhoods.

The New York Child Labor Committee is stopping gaps and filling up chinks in the present laws with their exceptionally high standards. The committee is planning a bill to provide for transmission of reports to school authorities concerning children found illegally employed and another to put the state-wide inspection of mercantile establishments under the Industrial Commission.

Prompted by the success of the federal child labor bill, the National Consumers' League is actively endorsing a measure (the Robinson-Keating bill), prohibiting in a similar manner interstate or foreign commerce in the product of any mill, cannery, workshop, factory or manufacturing establishment where females sixteen years of age and over have been employed more than eight hours in any one day or more than six days in any one week. The other federal bill which the league is urging is the Casey-Jones bill for a women's division in the federal Department of Labor.

In addition, the National Consumers' League are supporting together with the National Women's Trade Union League certain state measures designed to limit the working day of women—in eight-hour day or forty-eight-hour week bills in eight states, in a forty-nine-hour week bill in Rhode Island, in bills abolishing night work for women in Rhode Island and Connecticut, in a bill regulating home work in New Jersey, and in the

New York bill placing women employed in restaurants under the provisions of the fifty-four-hour law for women in factories.

The last measure is particularly sponsored by the New York City Consumers' League, which helped frame it after conducting an investigation of working conditions in restaurants and is campaigning widely in behalf of its passage. The city league is also endorsing a one-day-rest-in-seven bill for women employed in drug stores and restaurants. It is opposing the Bewley bills proposing certain exemptions to the factory law.

COMPENSATION AND OTHER LABOR BILLS

OF bills affecting labor, those concerning workmen's compensation are in the majority. States in which compensation laws may be passed for the first time are Delaware, Missouri, North Carolina, North and South Dakota and Utah. Bills to amend existing laws range from those in New York to extend the law to all employes and to increase weekly payments to 100 per cent of wages, to the Indiana bill to exempt train employes and the one in Minnesota to repeal the law altogether. In California, Indiana and Minnesota it is proposed to reduce waiting time to one week; in another bill in Minnesota and in Massachusetts and New York to abolish it altogether. Amendments offered in Illinois and Massachusetts would permit the commutation of weekly payments in a lump sum. Other bills propose to increase the proportion of wages to be paid in compensation to 65 per cent in Indiana, to 66 2-3 per cent in Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire and Oklahoma, and to 75 per cent in Wisconsin. In Minnesota, New Jersey and Utah state funds are proposed. Ohio has passed a law prohibiting casualty insurance companies altogether from handling compensation business.

In Indiana there is a bill requiring the injured employe to accept the doctor furnished by the employer, while in Maine, Massachusetts and Minnesota there are bills to permit the employe to select his own physician. An Indiana bill would provide a judge in each congressional district to administer the law, another bill would require the consideration of bonuses in determining the wage which is to be the basis for compensation payments. A Massachusetts bill would permit a man hired within the state to recover for an injury even if it occurred outside the state. In Rhode Island there is a proposal to extend medical and hospital treatment for a period of four weeks. Washington would amend its law by providing for first aid.

In Colorado there are bills for the repeal of the industrial commission act, amending and repealing parts of the

mine-inspection act and declaring certain trades dangerous for the employment of children. In Minnesota there is a bill for the establishment of a commission on industrial relations.

Old-age pensions have received attention in Congress and in New Hampshire, where bills are pending providing for investigation and report. In California, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania there are bills for the establishment of pension systems. The Massachusetts bill would apply to all persons over sixty-five years of age who are unable to work and who have no other means of support. The Pennsylvania bill would give \$5 a week to a single person and \$8 a week to a married couple who are living together, the bill to apply to all over sixty years of age who are "unable to work and without means to live."

BILLS ON PUBLIC HEALTH AND HYGIENE

NURSING organizations are interested in a bill before Congress providing a national charter for the American Nurses' Association and in one before the New York state legislature amending the public health law relative to the practice of nursing. This bill, which was passed by the Senate at the last session, establishes definite standards and requirements for the practice of nursing as a profession, and distinguishes between the graduate or registered nurse and the nursing attendant. Indignation is widespread throughout Pennsylvania concerning the Gans bill, which would annul the nursing practice act of that state and open the ranks of the profession to any person trained or untrained who chose to care for the sick.

The American Social Hygiene Society is following bills in twenty-three states. Injunction and abatement bills are pending in Arkansas, Connecticut, Missouri and Ohio. A bill repealing the present injunction and abatement law has been introduced in Arkansas. The compulsory reporting of venereal disease is proposed in Arkansas, Kansas, New Jersey and North Carolina; Vermont would require drug clerks also to report persons treated or for whom prescriptions are made for venereal diseases; marriage of a person with venereal disease would be prohibited in Arkansas, California, New Jersey, Oregon and South Dakota, a certificate of health being required in all instances save the first. Iowa proposes to prevent the transmission of venereal disease by requiring physicians to advise patients of the character of such diseases and prohibiting all intimacies in the cases of persons infected. Bills providing industrial schools, reformatories or other places of commitment for delinquent girls and women are reported for Arkansas, Connecticut, Indiana, New York and North Carolina. West Virginia forbids

girls infected with syphilis to be committed to any industrial institution.

Provision for bringing control of venereal disease within the scope of public health authorities is suggested in California, whose state health inspectors are to investigate venereal disease clinics; in New Hampshire, where employment of district nurses by the State Board of Health to instruct parents in the subject of sex hygiene is being considered; in Ohio, where the State Board of Health is to arrange for free distribution of antitoxin and serum for use in the treatment of gonorrhoea and syphilis; and Wisconsin, which will withhold license to practice medicine until the applicant presents a verified statement that he is acquainted with the public health laws and the rules of the State Board of Health.

The transportation of women for immoral purposes will be prohibited, if the bills to this effect pass, in California, Delaware, South Carolina, Washington and Wyoming. In several states bills increase the fine for fornication, and provide in addition for a sentence of six months or more. Kansas prohibits the advertisements of "cures" for venereal disease; so does New Jersey. Connecticut would investigate the prevalence and treatment of such infection in the state institutions. Massachusetts would prohibit the employment of students as vice inspectors.

Provision for child-welfare work, either through a special commission or through the State Department of Health, is being considered in New Hampshire and Washington. The age of consent is raised to eighteen years in Massachusetts and Vermont.

The National Committee for Mental Hygiene and the Committee on Provision for the Feeble-minded report bills for the establishment or added equipment of institutions for feeble-minded in Arizona, Arkansas, California, Delaware, South Carolina, Washington and Utah. Pennsylvania asks an appropriation for a new village for feeble-minded women. Bills for the care of the feeble-minded, not more definitely described, are reported from Oklahoma and West Virginia. Sterilization of the criminal or insane in state institutions is proposed in Kansas, Ohio and Oregon. Bills extending the present hospital service are pending in Massachusetts, New York and Indiana. Bills providing for surveys of feeble-minded in schools and in society at large, and for further study of various aspects of the problem of the insane and the feeble-minded come from nine states. The most complete program now represented is that of Massachusetts, under the supervision of the new Commission on Mental Diseases.

These bills are being watched with interest by the American Hospital Association also. This association is like-

wise following the numerous measures providing hospitals of the general type for counties or states all over the country.

Practically all of the measures being promoted by anti-tuberculosis societies aim to secure more adequate provision for consumptives, either in the way of additional nursing or hospital facilities. There is a notable lack of registration laws, indicating that for the most part states have adopted legislation requiring registration of living cases, although many such laws and regulations are far from adequate. The question of compulsory segregation is also coming to the fore in a number of states, notably in New England.

Measures that have been introduced may be commented upon as follows: In Maine, an appropriation of \$500,000 will be asked for the maintenance of state tuberculosis sanatoria and other tuberculosis work. A subsidy for district sanatoria and a law conferring on health boards the power to segregate consumptives is also being asked. In New Hampshire, the anti-tuberculosis society is asking for an appropriation of \$150,000 with which to maintain the state sanatorium and to provide care in other institutions for tuberculous cases. A movement is on foot to turn over the Pembroke Sanatorium to the state, making it a public institution.

A county hospital law providing for referendum and state-subsidy features is being agitated in Vermont. Bills providing for the removal and detention of dangerous cases of tuberculosis and for a special institution for the segregation of such cases are before the Massachusetts and the Rhode Island legislatures. The Ohio Society for the Prevention of Tuberculosis is interested in a number of bills—to provide for a state health day, to give local boards of health power to employ public health nurses, to provide for county tuberculosis dispensaries, and to provide for a complete reorganization of the State Board of Health, with a commissioner and an advisory public health council, following the New York state plan. A bill is before the Michigan legislature prohibiting the employment in restaurants, hotels and similar places of persons afflicted with tuberculosis and other communicable diseases. A number of other measures dealing with tuberculosis will also come before the legislature in the near future, as a result of the activity of the Michigan tuberculosis survey [see the SURVEY for January 20]). Three measures of particular importance are being agitated in Indiana. The registration law, adopted two years ago and found ineffective because of certain flaws is being amended so as to make it workable. The county hospital law is being amended to provide for a state subsidy of five dollars a week and for a referendum feature. Another measure makes it possible for persons who have

recovered from tuberculosis in sanatoria, if they so desire, to be taught special tuberculosis nursing, and providing for institutions for this purpose. A radical reorganization of the entire Minnesota public health situation would be effected by the passage of the public health bill, following the report of a special commission appointed by Governor Burnquist. The bill provides for a commissioner of health with a small state board. The dual administration of tuberculosis is abandoned and the functions of the advisory commission are put under a division of tuberculosis, to be established under the new régime.

Under the direction of the Tennessee Anti-Tuberculosis Association bills providing for county tuberculosis hospitals and for county nurses will come before the Tennessee legislature. South Dakota is considering a bill providing for county tuberculosis nurses and for reorganization of the State Board of Health. To Oregon belongs the credit of having put through the first constructive tuberculosis legislation in the season of 1917, a comprehensive county tuberculosis hospital law with a referendum feature. The bill has passed both houses and is before the governor for signature. A law providing for county tuberculosis nurses has also been passed.

ZONING AND HOUSING BILLS IN FOUR STATES

GOVERNOR BRUMBAUGH, of Pennsylvania, made a strong appeal for the enactment of a state-wide housing code in his annual message. So far, the only bill which has assumed definite form is one drawn up by Samuel G. Dixon, commissioner of health, which has not yet been introduced in the legislature. New Jersey has under consideration a zoning act which is about to be introduced. It is an enabling act, granting to certain cities the power to regulate and limit the height of buildings and to determine the area of open space required for their light and ventilation, also to restrict the location of certain trades and industries.

California, likewise, is endeavoring to provide for still further protection of city extensions. Charles H. Cheney, expert adviser of the California Conference on City Planning, has drafted a bill prohibiting the building of apartment houses in single-family, private-residence districts. The previous zoning act of California, which has served as a model to a number of other states, makes it possible to keep industry and business out of residential districts, but does not distinguish between private houses and multiple dwellings.

The legislature of Minnesota has before it a housing bill applicable to first-class cities only, and that of Michigan one which applies to all cities with a population of 5,000 or more, while

Rhode Island is considering a permissive housing bill. In Indiana a bill has been introduced giving health officers power to vacate insanitary shacks and dwellings and extending the control of the state over housing conditions in villages,—a step in the upbuilding of a complete state housing code for which Albion Fellows Bacon has been so long at work.

RECREATION AND COMMUNITY CENTERS

THERE is only one way in which the responsible public authorities can meet the recreational needs of the people thoroughly and consistently, and that is the appointment of permanent recreation commissions with sufficient appropriations to engage an expert supervisor and with sufficient powers to acquire land, erect buildings, and levy taxes for administration and maintenance. Hence, the legislative campaign for better recreation facilities in recent years has largely been in the direction of securing home rule for towns and cities and of overcoming their disabilities in the matters named.

In New Hampshire, a bill has passed the House almost without opposition and is practically sure of passage by the Senate also, which enables cities to use land owned by them for recreation purposes without the need for securing special legislative sanction, also to purchase other land for playgrounds and to equip and operate neighborhood center buildings, to employ play leaders, instructors, and other officers and, without further recourse to the legislature, to earmark a specific percentage of each year's tax levy for recreation purposes. The bill is entirely optional and permits the giving of new powers to school and park commissions, where these are in charge of municipal recreation activities, or the appointment of separate recreation commissions.

Massachusetts has had an almost identical law on the statute book since 1912, and a similar bill has recently been passed in Nebraska and has been introduced in Minnesota. The last-named state already has a law, passed in 1915, making it obligatory upon the Board of Park Commissioners of Minneapolis to levy annually a tax not exceeding one-eighth of a mill upon each dollar of the assessed valuation of the city for the acquisition, equipment and maintenance of playgrounds as part of the city's park system.

A bill pending in Illinois enables the incorporation of adjoining cities, towns, villages, school or park districts as joint "recreation districts" to be administered by seven commissioners appointed by the county judge—precedence in appointments being given to persons representing school boards, private schools and city or park boards having play space or buildings within the district suitable for

public recreation purposes. The recreation commission is to have power, upon satisfactory arrangement with the school authorities, to establish in school buildings and on school grounds evening and vacation schools, reading rooms, libraries, debating clubs, gymnasias, public playgrounds and other recreation facilities, also to cooperate with other authorities in the management of other playgrounds and buildings. In the acquiring of lands, the commission is to have power of eminent domain. It is empowered to levy an annual tax not exceeding two mills on each dollar of assessed valuation.

There is, further, a unique bill before the legislature of Illinois providing that in the plotting of any tract of land of ten acres or more, subdivided into lots of less than one acre each, situate within or less than five miles outward from the boundary lines of any city, town or village with a population of 100,000 inhabitants, not less than one-tenth of the area plotted, after deducting the land set apart for streets and alleys, shall be dedicated to the public use as public space, park, common or playground.

In Iowa a community center bill is under consideration which provides for the creation of community center districts by the State Council upon the petition of 15 per cent of the property holders in any given district. The assessment of the cost of land and permanent improvement is not to exceed three mills upon the dollar. When established by vote of the property owners, a further tax not to exceed 5 mills upon the dollar may be levied for supervision and maintenance. The bill further provides that the State Council shall appoint three residents of the district who are qualified by reason of their fitness, to form a community center board with authority to appoint a supervisor or director and other officials, and with general authority over the activities. The bill also provides for cooperation of this new authority with the school board with a view to utilization of public school buildings and grounds.

BILLS ON THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT

LINTON SATTERTHWAITE, of Trenton, has prepared for introduction in New Jersey a bill providing that all counties entitled to three or more members of the assembly shall elect them by the Hare system of proportional representation. A bill for proportional representation has also been introduced in Missouri. In Congress, Warren Worth Bailey has again introduced his bill which would permit any state to elect its congressmen by proportional representation if it wished to do so.

A survey of the work of the state legislatures recently made by the Na-

tional Municipal League shows a very general interest in the city manager idea. Bills facilitating this form of government are pending in many of the states. In several, notably North Carolina, bills giving cities the choice of several forms of government have been introduced. The proposals for consolidation of city and county government in Chicago were discussed in the last issue of the SURVEY. Similar proposals are also under consideration in Cleveland and Philadelphia.

In Philadelphia, the abolition of the existing constitutional distinctions between city and county is one of the proposals of a report on charter revision adopted by a citizens' committee. Its principal recommendations are now in the form of a bill before the Pennsylvania legislature and include the following provisions: that the city solicitor who is now an elective officer shall be appointed by the mayor and the receiver of taxes by the city treasurer; that the Board of Revision of Taxes and the Board of Public Education (the latter now appointed by the judiciary) shall be appointed by the mayor, and that the power to levy taxes and to borrow money for school purposes shall be lodged in councils; that the duty of regulating the sale of liquor by granting licenses shall be transferred from the bench to a board of three commissioners to be appointed by the mayor. The bill further provides for reorganization of councils by substituting for the present dual system a single chamber of fifteen members elected at large, composed of one representative from each electoral district, with a salary of \$2,500 (\$5,000 to the chairman of the Finance Committee). The bill contains clauses widening the authority of this reconstituted councils, greatly increasing the authority of the mayor and of the executive departments, abolishing the present state tax on municipal bonds, enabling the taxation of real estate owned by public service corporations which is now exempt from local taxation, increasing the discretion of city councils to determine the terms and conditions upon which city work may be performed or let by contract, and centralizing the control of elections under the authority of the registration commissioners.

The New York Short Ballot Organization is presenting at Albany its familiar constitutional amendment for cutting off minor offices from the state ticket and making them appointive by the governor. The bill at the same time cleans up the confusion in methods of removal and eliminates confirmation by the Senate. Another amendment for what it describes as the semi-appointive judiciary puts upon the governor the duty of making nominations for each judicial office subject to counter nomination being

made by petition in case his nomination is not universally acceptable. All candidates would then go on the ballot without party designation, except that the governor's candidate would be indicated by the words "recommended by the governor."

The County Government Association of New York presents its amendment, removing the obstacles to new forms of county government, and has introduced its bill proposing a necessarily incomplete application of the commission-manager plan of government to counties. In this bill, the district supervisors are replaced by a small board elected at large who appoint a county manager, who in turn appoints all administrative officers who are not required to be elective under the constitution.

The Municipal Government Association of New York state is working for a constitutional amendment giving home rule and the right of cities to draft their own charters; also for a general non-partisan election act applicable after a referendum to any city which wants to adopt the non-partisan system.

EDUCATION AND PROTECTION FOR IMMIGRANTS

IN addition to the bill before Congress providing for an appropriation of \$50,000 to the Bureau of Education, several states have of late increased their attention to the educational needs of immigrants and have made additional provision for night schools without, however, requiring new legislation specifically for the purpose of Americanization activities. A number of state boards of immigration, some of which previously have been no more than land-boosting organs, have begun to realize that in the interest of the state the prosperity of settled farmers is of no less importance than the number of newcomers and are gradually developing into agencies for aiding and protecting immigrant agriculturists. Since, however, with the present high rates of wages in industry, inducements to take up land fall upon deaf ears, there has been no occasion for legislation to aid immigrant farmers.

Only two states, so far, New York and California, have Boards of Immigration which render valuable protective and educational services to the immigrant apart from colonizing schemes, paying attention to distribution, housing and employment, and investigating complaints of exploitation. Now Massachusetts has a bill providing an annual appropriation of \$25,000 for the creation of a permanent state board of immigration. The bill was recommended by the governor in his annual message, is supported by the Boston Chamber of Commerce and was endorsed in the recent elections by both parties.

In New York, the governor's message recommended that steps be taken to

reduce illiteracy by creating a special bureau for educational work among adult immigrants in the Department of Education. A bill has been prepared making an appropriation for this purpose and empowering the state superintendent of education to appoint an expert. The New York legislature also has before it a resolution for a constitutional amendment providing that all voters shall be literate. This was introduced by the majority leader, but has found little support.

In Ohio, provision for the education of adult immigrants in the use of the English language and in citizenship was included by Governor Cox in an emergency program of absolutely necessary legislation which he recommended. This has the support of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce and of other important bodies.

PHYSICAL AND VOCATIONAL SCHOOLING

IN the field of education, the two subjects that are perhaps attracting most attention among legislators are physical and military training and vocational education. In Delaware a bill is pending to provide compulsory physical training in the elementary grades and compulsory military training in high schools. Similar measures are pending in Michigan and Missouri. New Jersey is considering a measure to make physical training compulsory in all schools and to leave to each municipality the decision as to military training in the high school. Connecticut has a choice between providing military education for boys between fourteen and sixteen, and creating a commission to report upon the practicability of such education. Meanwhile, New York also has a choice between repealing entirely last year's act providing physical training in the schools under partial military auspices, and extending military training for boys between sixteen and nineteen to boys who are employed. A possible militarizing of vocational education is seen by some people in a provision of this amendment that permits military training to be met in part "by such vocational training and experience as will specifically prepare boys for service useful to the state." Massachusetts has a bill providing compulsory physical training in the public schools, subject to the direction of the state board of education, and another calling for an investigation by the commissioner of education relative to establishing courses in citizenship and patriotism.

Though no bills have yet been introduced, it is probable that some of the legislatures now sitting will pass measures making effective the provisions of the federal Smith-Hughes bill, not yet signed by the President, granting aid to states on certain conditions for the de-

velopment of vocational education. Meanwhile, these measures are pending in various states: in Massachusetts, a measure to permit employed children under sixteen to go to school for several hours each working day; in Connecticut, a bill to compel all children who are getting employment certificates to attend school until they are sixteen for 100 consecutive days full time or for forty weeks part time; in Kansas, a measure providing that children between fourteen and sixteen must complete the elementary grades before entering employment; and in Pennsylvania, an amendment to the school code to provide for the establishment and maintenance of evening schools, vacation schools, reading rooms, library stations, debating clubs, gymnasiums, public playgrounds, public baths and similar activities in public school buildings and on school grounds.

Colorado is considering a comprehensive measure revising its educational code; New Mexico, the creation of a commission to eradicate illiteracy; Connecticut, a bill to provide summer schools on petition, another to fix the minimum salaries of teachers, another authorizing the State Board of Education to construct a model rural school at Danbury, and another authorizing the State Board of Health to equip a division of child hygiene; Oregon, two measures providing a method of industrial education for the adult blind and establishing a state school for homeless, neglected, abandoned and dependent children.

In South Dakota a bill has passed the Senate providing for a state-wide survey of education. Kansas is considering legislation to make the county the unit of taxation in school matters. Several states are considering legislation providing pension for teachers. Massachusetts has a measure authorizing certain cities to establish municipal universities, another providing that state-aided vocational education may include vocational guidance, and another establishing a state board of immigration.

In New York great interest has been aroused in a measure sponsored by the State Department of Education making each city board of education the real legislative body for education in the community. It takes a mass of hard-and-fast administrative provisions out of the various city charters and lodges broad powers in the boards themselves. Each board is fixed at nine members except that of New York city, which is left at forty-six. Another measure abolishes the New York city board entirely and substitutes a single commissioner of education. Two other bills make mandatory the education of mentally backward and physically retarded children. Another measure soon to be introduced proposes to make drastic amendments in the compulsory attendance and child-labor laws.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT AND PRISON REFORMS

PERHAPS never, reports the National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor, have so many states been debating the issue of capital punishment as this year. Legislators do not, however, seem to be as favorable to the abolition of the death penalty as the recent spread of humanitarian ideas in the prison field might indicate. Colorado, Utah and Vermont have killed measures abolishing it outright. In Massachusetts a bill was lost but the lower house is now considering a measure to refer the question to the people. The upper house in West Virginia voted 13 to 12 in favor of abolition only to have the measure lost next day on reconsideration. The Indiana Senate killed a bill and the House is now considering a similar measure with the expectation that if it fails an abolishing amendment will be brought before the constitutional convention to be held in June. Delaware is considering two measures, one permitting juries to recommend life imprisonment in cases of first-degree murder but retaining the death penalty for five other offenses, and the other empowering the governor to appoint a commission to investigate the question.

In North Carolina a bill is pending to reduce the number of capital offenses to one—murderous assault. Measures to abolish are still pending in Pennsylvania, New York, New Hampshire, Illinois and Nebraska. Meanwhile, Tennessee has re-established the death penalty in two bills, both of which the governor is expected to sign. Oklahoma is considering a measure to increase the number of capital crimes by one, that of bank robbery.

In New York Katharine B. Davis, head of the New York city Parole Commission, is responsible for a measure calling for the purchase by the state of the laboratory of social hygiene at Bedford Reformatory. This laboratory was established five years ago by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and others to study the causes of crime among women and to work out a new methodology for magistrates in disposing of convicted girls. Dr. Davis' proposal is that the laboratory be made a state clearing house to which judges could send certain women offenders after conviction and before sentence for study and report. The purchase price is estimated at \$309,000.

Two bills affect adversely the new Parole Commission in New York city. One would abolish the commission entirely and repeal the indeterminate sentence act upon which its effectiveness depends, and the other would withdraw the city penitentiary from the jurisdiction of the commission. Two bills would extend the paroling powers of private reformatories for women.

A hopeful effort to establish a farm colony for tramps in New York will be set back if a bill is passed providing that the site intended to be used for that purpose be put instead to military purposes. A joint resolution has been introduced to amend the constitution so as to give children's courts power to dispose in certain cases of adults charged with crime, and also to determine both civil and criminal matters concerning children.

Another New York measure prohibits the fining of convicted prostitutes, purveyors and keepers of disorderly houses, and provides that they must either be sent to prison or released under suspended sentences.

In Connecticut a bill has been introduced authorizing the governor to appoint a commission to investigate all the jails of the state and their relation to other penal institutions. The same state is considering the establishment of a women's reformatory. New Jersey, following the report of a commission on conditions at Trenton prison, has been asked to appropriate \$44,000 for improvements and to continue the commission for another year to investigate other penal institutions. Pennsylvania is considering the establishment of a half dozen state farms to take the place of its county jails. A bill is before the Massachusetts legislature to establish a psychopathic laboratory in connection with the State Reformatory for Women. In Missouri measures abolishing contract labor in the state prison were defeated and Governor Gardner is urging their re-introduction in the second half of the session.

Bills creating the office of public defender are pending in California, New York, Tennessee and Michigan. Colorado has passed a measure establishing this office in Denver.

REMEDIAL LOAN BILLS IN FIFTEEN STATES

WITHIN the year the Supreme Courts of Ohio and Oregon have declared to be constitutional the small-loan laws enacted in those states in 1915, while the Pennsylvania law of 1915 has been upheld by the courts of Philadelphia and a decision in the state Supreme Court on appeal is expected soon.

As to new legislation, a uniform draft of a small-loan bill approved by the Division of Remedial Loans of Russell Sage Foundation and by the American Association of Small Loan Brokers has been prepared for introduction in several states, notably California, Indiana, Illinois and Maine. This bill places all lenders of \$300 or less under the control of the state officer in charge of bank examinations; permits an interest charge of 3½ per cent a month computed on unpaid balances; prohibits the charging of additional fees or bonuses.

It has been found so difficult to safeguard against abuse the charging of fees on small loans that it is the consensus of opinion that the only way to handle the matter properly is to permit a reasonable rate of interest without additional fees of any sort which can be used as a source of revenue by the lender. The bill requires the consent of the wife to an assignment of wages and prescribes adequate penalties for violations of the law in any respect.

In all, some fifteen states are at present considering bills affecting the making of small loans. In California the uniform bill with minor changes has been introduced by California Association of Small Loan Brokers; another bill limiting interest rate to 2 per cent monthly without further fees has been introduced at the instance of the San Francisco Remedial Loan Association, and a third bill, prohibiting higher interest than 1 per cent monthly, first introduced in 1915 by Senator Brown, has been reintroduced this year. This is held to be an antiquated and impractical bill.

In Colorado, a bill limiting interest on small loans to 12 per cent a year has been introduced by Senator Dunklee—described as an inadequate and unsatisfactory bill. In Illinois, the uniform bill, approved by a Chicago committee of representatives of social and civic organizations and remedial loan societies, has been introduced in both branches of the legislature. In Indiana, the uniform bill, approved by the Indianapolis remedial loan association board and the Indianapolis *News*, has passed the Senate by unanimous vote. In Kansas, there is an inadequate bill limiting interest to 2 per cent a month. In Maine, the uniform bill, approved by a committee of the Portland Associated Charities, has

been introduced by Representative Garcelon.

In Massachusetts, five bills affecting the making of small loans have been introduced. Remedial agencies hold that none of them deserves passage; the law as amended in 1916 is apparently working satisfactorily. In Minnesota, a bill modeled on the Michigan law has been introduced by Senator Green. The present law is inadequate but the system of fees provided for in the proposed amending bill is held objectionable. New Hampshire has a bill based on the uniform bill, while in Ohio a bill has been introduced prohibiting building and loan associations from loaning on chattel mortgages,—legislation apparently needed. The Utah bill limiting interest to 3 per cent a month without fees and placing lenders under a supervision of the bank commissioner is based on the New Jersey law of 1914, which has proved generally satisfactory. In West Virginia a small-loan bill has been introduced by Senator Gregory, but information as to its provisions is lacking. In Wyoming, a bill modeled on the objectionable Colorado bill, limiting interest to 1 per cent a month, has been introduced.

Bills legalizing the Morris plan of loans have been introduced in Maine and Pennsylvania, and it is understood are to be introduced in New Jersey, Minnesota and several other states. These bills are intended to relieve companies operating the Morris plan from restrictions to which other loaning agencies are subjected by the general laws. On this account, and for the reason also that they permit the charging of fees and fines in addition to interest, they are opposed by the remedial loan agencies.

Book Reviews

WELFARE WORK

By E. Dorothea Proud. G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., London; the Macmillan Company, New York. 368 pp. Price \$3; by mail of the SURVEY \$3.20.



"It is a strange irony, but no small compensation, that the making of weapons of destruction should afford the occasion to humanize industry," writes Lloyd George in his foreword to Miss Proud's book. Though some may claim that this is an overstatement, in view of the *laissez faire* policy followed

during the opening year of the war and the difficulty with which alleviation of its consequences is being effected, yet the fact remains that the tremendous industrial mobilization of Great Britain, undertaken so successfully by Mr. Lloyd George as minister of munitions, has been accompanied by a greater regard for the welfare of the workers and the development of various plans for industrial betterment, one of the most conspicuous of which is the establishment of a Welfare Department under the Ministry of Munitions.

It is with this department that E. Dorothea Proud, author of the present volume, has been associated since its foundation. What she has to say on

the subject of welfare work, therefore, carries added meaning, even though the book itself was completed before the creation of the department. She has had wide experience in studying such work, both in Great Britain and Australia; and it is on this experience that her discussion is based. The book itself is her thesis as Spence scholar from Australia in the London School of Economics.

Welfare work, as discussed here, does not harmonize with the narrow conception that many of us have of its meaning. Miss Proud's broad definition includes all "voluntary efforts on the part of employers to improve within the existing industrial system the conditions of employment in their own factories." This comprehends not alone the provision of a proper physical environment for the workers, in well-lighted, sanitary factories equipped with rest rooms and lunch rooms, adequate lavatories and cloak rooms, but also attention to the more fundamental problems of health in industry—the causation and effects of fatigue and its relation to output, the adaptation of the task to the physical equipment of the worker. It comprehends not alone such questions as recreation, educational opportunities and housing for the labor force, but also the basic industrial problems of wages and hours of work. Those welfare departments which place the main emphasis on the social side of their work, according to Miss Proud, miss their fundamental purpose, which is more closely allied with work than with play. Such activities as clubs, classes and the organization of sports are incidental to the work of these departments.

The function of the welfare secretary is to bridge the gap left in modern industry by the absence of personal relations between employer and employes. In accomplishing this aim numerous duties must be performed. The task of engaging workers, or at least of their provisional selection, is one which serves as a connecting link between the factory and the welfare department and gives to the latter a *raison d'être*.

Consideration of the motives which actuate employers in undertaking welfare work leads to the interesting observation that, while in England a mixture of humanitarian and business motives prevails, in America the only attitude "tolerated" is that welfare work is a good thing because it pays. This indictment of the American commercial spirit, however, is not based on the same opportunities for observation in this country which Miss Proud has enjoyed in England and Australia.

Aside from the description of welfare work as it is and as it may become, sections of the book are devoted to illuminating discussion of the social function of the employer, of the part played by employers in English factory legislation,

of the attitude of workers toward employers' efforts to improve conditions, and other allied topics. The whole volume constitutes an exceedingly valuable contribution to a field where clarifying discussion is much needed.

HENRIETTE R. WALTER.

THE MOTHERCRAFT MANUAL

By Mary L. Read. Little, Brown and Company. 440 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY \$1.35.



The scope of this book of the director of the School of Mothercraft of New York city is so ambitious that we are not surprised to find within its covers considerable confusion, inaccuracy and the wrong placing of emphasis. We

may agree with the author that "the intelligent worker with children in the home must be acquainted with what is normal and usual at any stage in child anatomy, physiology and psychology," but we would not grant that "such knowledge and preparation can be acquired only through study of the literature of child psychology, and through intensive first-hand acquaintance with children." The literature of child psychology is so muddled and contains so much twaddle that the average American mother should be warned against it, or at least advised to confine her attention to the one or two clear, scientific, practical books which have permanent value.

To give the essentials of anatomy, physiology and psychology of the child, as well as a complete bibliography and résumé of the literature of these subjects in one ordinary-sized volume, would indeed be a gigantic task and demand an unusually wide and thorough scientific knowledge.

There are a dozen places in the chapters on mothercraft, founding a family, preparing for the baby, and the care and physical development of the baby, where there is evidence of the lack of a sound scientific knowledge not surprising in one who longs for the day when "applied science will be esteemed more worthy than pure science." We are amazed in this day and generation to find tuberculosis given as "a hereditary taint" and one "precluding marriage." "Catarrhal deafness" is also included in this list of ailments which should prohibit parenthood. Adenoids might equally well be included, since they are a contributing cause of chronic nasal infections.

We wish we could hear more of "antitoxic diet," or what constitutes a "toxin free" diet. We wonder what obstetricians would think of indiscriminate ad-

vice to increase carbohydrates in the diet the last months of pregnancy, especially if a small child were a desideratum. We heartily agree that alcohol has no place in the diet of the child, but we object to such quotations as "the time may come when we shall see that every drop of alcohol taken by the parent means a drop of stupidity for the child." Why not state what we know is true, and not what we would like to believe is true?

In the tabulation of the causes of infant mortality, we are surprised to find no mention of the chief cause of death among infants—prenatal and natal injury. Prematurity is equally ignored.

While the description of the nursery and the care of the infant is good, the mother of a family with a small income will find little to help her in its pages. The infant schedule is too complicated to be practical for the mother of many children, unless it is possible for the mother to give up all her waking hours to the care and study of her baby.

The last part of the book, however, on the education of the child, on games, play and story-telling, is full of good points.

The chapter on home nursing and first aid is not at all satisfactory. The part on maternity is especially poor. Miscarriage and kidney complications, the two great dangers of pregnancy, are not mentioned and the statement is made that no satisfactory anesthetic for labor cases is known. How about nitrous-oxide oxygen?

The bibliography is large, loose and incomplete. We miss entirely such standards as Galloway's *Biology of Sex*, Torelle's *Plant and Animal Children*, Slemmons' *Prospective Mother*, Grulee's *Infant Feeding*, Forbush's *Manual of Play*, and Shedloch's *Art of the Story Teller*.

The manual fails, to our way of thinking, because the author has attempted to cover too wide a field, without adequate scientific knowledge of all the topics covered. There is material in the book for half a dozen small books, if the wheat could be separated from the chaff.

DOROTHY REED MENDENHALL, M. D.

A POINT SCALE FOR MEASURING MENTAL ABILITY

By Robert M. Yerkes, James W. Bridges, and Rose S. Hardwick. Warwick & York, Inc. 218 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.37.

To the many students and workers whose interest focuses on the problems of mental hygiene, this publication from the press of Warwick and York will come as a welcome aid. The limitations of the Binet-Simon tests, valuable in many respects, have been felt by many groups for a long time. This new method of measuring mental ability, by a single series of tests, has been devised by Professor Yerkes, of Harvard

University and of the Psychopathic Hospital in Boston, and Professor Bridges, of the University of Alberta; assisted by Rose S. Hardwick, instructor in the Boston School of Physical Education.

Since it is planned to discuss in the SURVEY at an early date the values and limitations of various tests for mentality, it will suffice at this time to call attention to the authors' description of their "point scale." G. S.

CARE OF THE MOUTH AND TEETH

By Joseph Herbert Kaufmann, D.D.S. Rebmam Company. 69 pp. Price \$.60; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.66.

Out of his experience in the Bronx Hospital Dispensary and the Vanderbilt Clinic, New York city, Dr. Kaufman has prepared a "primer of oral hygiene." He has succeeded in making the scientific material simple and in giving it a practical turn, which should make the resulting little volume a decided help to anyone who is trying to teach children the facts of hygiene, whether at home, in school, in community centers or in clinics. A great deal of information is packed into these few pages—information not only about the structure of teeth and the necessity of keeping them clean, but also about the interesting relations between mouth conditions and general health or specific ills. There are very good illustrations both of tooth structure and of various kinds of tooth-brushes, from the full-bristled article to a novel thing with but half a dozen tufts. G. S.

THE TYRANNY OF SHAMS

By Joseph McCabe. Dodd, Mead and Company. 296 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.

THE SOCIALISTS AND THE WAR

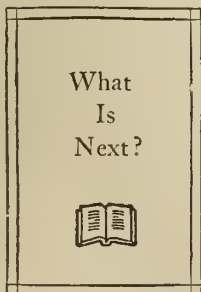
By William English Walling. Henry Holt and Company. 512 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.

THE "SOCIALISM" OF NEW ZEALAND

By Robert H. Hutchinson. New Review Publishing Association, N. Y. 155 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.07.

THE NEXT STEP IN DEMOCRACY

By R. W. Sellars. Macmillan Company. 275 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.



The study of socialism which is being stimulated by the war will be aided by these volumes. Mr. McCabe's iconoclastic criticism of most of the dominant ideas and institutions of the time interestingly and forcibly ex-

presses the rapidly deepening discontent with chaotic disorganization and inefficiency in the present order of life and labor. Out of his destructive criticism of shams and cant, he develops a plea for a national organization of industry and a collectivist social order which he

calls "a new planetary arrangement." His attack on "the military sham" and "the follies of sham patriotism" are particularly timely.

William English Walling's "documentary statement of the position of the Socialists of all countries, with special reference to their peace policy," is a permanently valuable contribution to the history of the war, as well as to that of contemporary socialism. Its value is enhanced by "a summary of the revolutionary state socialist measures adopted by the governments at war."

The trenchant critique of New Zealand's socialism, ending with the denial that New Zealand's "progressive institutions have in any way solved the problems of capital and labor," files an emphatic exception to the continued applicability of Henry D. Lloyd's title, New Zealand—A Country Without Strikes. Whatever evidence may be forthcoming in rebuttal, Mr. Hutchinson seems to caution us against the exemption of socialism from the failure of everything human to realize its ideal.

Professor Sellars, of the University of Michigan, while claiming and defending socialism as the "next step in democracy," by no means takes for granted that it can be taken soon or without long preparation anywhere. Freshly and frankly discussing the objections and tendencies to be reckoned with in urging the socialist propaganda, he everywhere lays emphasis upon the educational and moral discipline which must prevail as a condition and an accompaniment of realizing the hopes of socialism and the efforts to "universalize democracy." G. T.

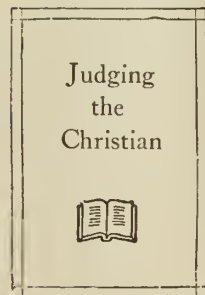
THE WAR AND THE SOUL

By R. J. Campbell. Dodd, Mead and Company. 300 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.36.

THE FORKS OF THE ROAD

By Washington Gladden. Macmillan Company. 138 pp. Price \$.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.56.

While it would not be fair to compare or contrast critically these two volumes, because written for very different reading, they may be taken to characterize two types of writing about the war from the church's point of view. Mr. Campbell's volume consists of a series of disconnected articles printed in an English newspaper and written for the average reader. Personal rather than public issues are dealt with for the most part so individually that one would think the problems of the soul and the war could be kept distinct from the racial, social and big human problems. Strangely for one who has written and



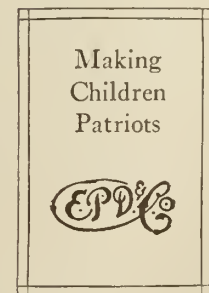
preached so much on social conditions of life and labor and their improvement, Mr. Campbell insists many times and in many ways "that the problem of what is wrong with the world is not greater by one iota because of the war than it was before the war began"; that "not for one moment do I believe that the world is less Christian than it was before the war, or less intent on spiritual things." Thus from a surprisingly individualistic point of view the changes are rung upon this apologetic note with varying degrees of consideration for the plight of humanity and the progress of the race.

Dr. Washington Gladden nowhere hesitates to face the sternest facts with which the war confronts the Christian faith and all who profess it. He sees civilization and the church alike "at the forks of the road," where they must choose, the one between militarism and the parliament of peace, the other between the worship and service of tribal gods and sacrificial loyalty to the Father God, "who hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." Before this "scandal of the centuries," this "grotesque anomaly of the coexistence of Christianity and war," before this "one tragic fact of history—the lapse of the church of Jesus Christ from her vocation—the failure to grasp and enforce the central truth of the Kingdom of the Father, which Jesus lived and died to reveal," the church stands, he fears not to say, "dumb and despairing in the presence of the worst moral disaster that history records."

How it and Christian civilization will come out of this tragedy he does not easily take for granted. But it depends upon a choice of the way of life which it is not too much to hope men of vision will discern. G. T.

PATRIOTISM AND THE FELLOWSHIP OF NATIONS

By F. Melian Stawell. E. P. Dutton and Company. 91 pp. Price \$.75; by mail of the SURVEY \$.79.



We have been asked recently to recommend a book which teachers and leaders in children's clubs might use to expound that wider Americanism which President Wilson voiced in his peace message of January 22. We have not

yet found a textbook that can be recommended for such a purpose. The manuals on patriotism usually have no reference to human brotherhood; and the manuals on peace too frequently understate the real claims on the individual of kin and country. There has come to hand, however, this short primer by an English teacher which may serve as a

model for the kind of teaching most needed among our young folks with regard to patriotism and internationalism. Unfortunately, for our purpose, it is English in its references to present problems and to history, a circumstance which naturally makes the book itself ineligible for American use.

As an antidote to the ordinary school teaching of history, Miss Stawell's plan deserves at least intelligent experimentation. She starts out, very properly, with a discussion of law and its relation to the individual conscience. That brings her at once to the conflict between nations, each believing itself to be right. In an English book, one is glad to read: "*Wrong can never be stopped, if those who set out to right the wrong become as unfair as the original wrongdoers.*" (The italics are the author's.) "That is one of the many reasons why war should not be waged at all unless the wrong that is already being done is intolerable. A victorious nation, even when its cause is just, is apt to go much too far and demand a punishment greater than the original offense. Then the defeated country is left smarting under a sense of injustice, and little but further evils, and further wars, can rise from such a triumph of the 'right cause'."

A plea is made for national unity on the basis of common traditions and ideals; but this unity, she insists, must be voluntary, respecting the differences between the component elements of the nation. That intense national patriotism is not necessarily antagonistic to a fervent internationalism is illustrated by the example of Mazzini. But international unity cannot be permanent unless it is established on a firm economic basis. Hence, exchange of goods and migration, the problems of colonization and of the duties of the civilized world towards the backward races naturally fall within the scope of this manual.

On the practical side, the author supports the idea of a world court on the lines of that proposed by the League to Enforce Peace. On the idealistic side, she emphasizes that "change of heart," not only in international politics but also in the every day relationships of the individual citizen, which alone can ensure the end of war and the beginning of a real fellowship of nations. B. L.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- ACROSS THE THRESHOLD. By Baron Vanc. Harold McNair, publisher. 144 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.56.
- FROM DARTMOUTH to the DARDENELLES. A Midshipman's Log edited by his mother. E. P. Dutton & Co. 174 pp. Price \$.60; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.65.
- RELIGION FOR TODAY. By John Haynes Holmes. Dodd, Mead & Co. 335 pp. Price \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.
- THE TEACHER AS ARTIST. (Riverside Educational Monographs.) By Herman Harrell Horne. Houghton Mifflin Co. 62 pp. Price \$.70; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.75.
- THE WAY LIFE BEGINS. By Bertha C. Cady and Vernon M. Cady. American Social Hygiene Ass'n. 78 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.07.

- THE WORD OF THE TRUTH. Edited by Arthur Temple Cornwell. Truth Publishing Foundation. 160 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.05.
- DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY. By Brother Chrysoptom. John Jos. McVey. 379 pp. Price, \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.35.
- HEALTH AND DISEASE. By Roger I. Lee. Little Brown & Co. 378 pp. Price, \$1.75; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.91.
- HUNTING THE TANGO. By Burr S. Stottle. Bur-

- ton Pub. Co. 218 pp. Price, \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.10.
- A MODERN MOTHER'S EXPERIENCE. By Belle Israels Moskowitz. A. Malsin, Pub. 166 pp. Price, \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.03.
- THE MOTHER AND HER CHILD. By Wm. S. & Lena K. Sadler. A. C. McClurg & Co. 456 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.
- RETROGRESSION AND OTHER POEMS. By William Watson. John Lane Co. 98 pp. Price, \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.31.

THE FIGHTING ISSUES

"A statement by the Editor of his stewardship of the SURVEY in this crisis; and his own approach to the issues of war and peace."—From the SURVEY for February 17.

TO THE EDITOR: . . . I wish I were able to circulate a half million SURVEYS of the kind you put out for February 17. I can conceive of no more patriotic service than this. As it is, I have to be content with more humble deeds.

NEWELL L. SIMS.

[Department of Sociology and Political Science, University of Florida.]
Gainesville.

TO THE EDITOR: Your "Kellogg" article of February 17 is fine. War on Germany or any other people can't end war. . . . "Let us have peace" by forbearance.

HENRY M. HALL.

Pittsburgh.

TO THE EDITOR: I do not care for a magazine edited by one who desires a referendum in the present crisis. I believe this to be a representative democracy.

K. M. MARSHALL.

Chattanooga, Tenn.

TO THE EDITOR: Mr. Kellogg's statement and defense of his position are more satisfactory to me than any statement and defense that I have elsewhere seen or heard, or that I have been able to devise for myself. It did my heart good.

CHARLES E. EDGERTON.

Washington, D. C.

TO THE EDITOR: I have read the SURVEY with interest and profit from the beginning, and during all these years I have taken the good things so much as a matter of course that I have never been thoughtful enough to send the editors a formal expression of appreciation.

I cannot refrain, however, from sending just a line at this time to express my appreciation of your article, The Fighting Issues, in the issue of February 17. Like so many of my fellow-citizens, I have been torn by conflicting emotions in this unparalleled crisis in our international affairs, and your article has been more helpful than anything that has yet come to me.

GEO. S. WILSON.

[Secretary, Board of Charities of the District of Columbia.]
Washington.

TO THE EDITOR: I write to ask you to discontinue my subscription to the SURVEY from this date.

The moral and spiritual issues of the European war seem to me the paramount questions of the hour before the American people. I am convinced that upon their right decision depends the safety, honor and welfare of our country.

The attitude of the SURVEY to these great questions is to me so profoundly unsatisfactory that I can no longer retain my confidence in the social programs which you advocate, and feel constrained to dissociate myself

from them and from those who are directing them.

P. M. RHINELANDER.

Bishop's House, Philadelphia.

TO THE EDITOR: Directed to it first by a friend who did not like it, I have read with increasing delight your article on The Fighting Issues in the SURVEY for February 17. Your analysis is clear, your arguments against brute methods of settlement convincing. I am with you unreservedly in keeping the country out of war.

SOLON DE LEON.

New York.

TO THE EDITOR: Your big editorial is splendid—statesmanlike, clear and cogent, and I hope it will do a lot of good.

C. H. INGERSOLL.

[Robt. H. Ingersoll & Bro.]

New York.

TO THE EDITOR: The Fighting Issues, by the editor, in the issue of February 17 is GREAT! That is the stuff I am preaching, though I feel I am rather a Voice crying in the wilderness now. Mr. Kellogg has done a great service in this critical moment of our national life to present so keen an analysis of the situation and America's outstanding duty. I wish every preacher in the land would take his statement and preach a sermon on the vital Christian truth that is imbedded in it.

ANGELO E. SHATTUCK.

[Pastor, First Congregational Church.]

Kokomo, Ind.

TO THE EDITOR: I cannot refrain from sending you at least a few lines of thanks and appreciation for the courageous stand you have taken. . . . When all other papers were swept away by sentiment and a false patriotism, which, in the long run, would have done us more harm than good, your message of cheer and inspiration struck through the dark clouds and brought hope.

Not that I fear to sacrifice my life for the good of a cause, but because I feel that war is the least efficient way imaginable to secure the desired end for which some would have us engulf the nation, therefore am I anxious to do all in my power to avert the threatened disaster. That I hold is in the long run the best thought and aim of the League to Enforce Peace. . . .

HERMAN F. LION.

[Pastor, First Unitarian Society.]

Gardner, Mass.

TO THE EDITOR: I have read your publication for over a year and occasionally have gotten much good out of the excellent articles published. But the decidedly pro-British and, therefore, un-American tendency of your paper is almost too much for one who knows American history and who loves his country better than any other, including the king-ridden countries of Europe. . . .

The Lincoln message of Lloyd George is ridiculous in its claims that the task and aims of this great American president were the same that England is pursuing today. It is too well known that Abraham Lincoln was not only fighting slavery, but also England, which supported the South in its efforts to maintain slavery and to break up the United States of America into two different sections, the North and the South.

England, so history teaches us, loves no country but England. English militarism exceeds and always has exceeded the militarism of any other two countries, and it indeed fights the militarism of other nations now in this present world war for the sole purpose of coming out of this struggle the undisputed ruler of the earth, on the continent and on the seas. . . .

And it would be a great pity and the greatest mistake America has ever made if our great republic would lend its aid and give its money, means and blood to aid a foreign power in the accomplishing of its own selfish purposes.

CHARLES F. OEHLER.

[President, Evangelical Lutheran Synod of California.]
Sacramento, Cal.

TO THE EDITOR: Please let me thank you for your article, *The Fighting Issues*. It is perhaps the strongest thing that has appeared in the *SURVEY* since it was founded, and certainly the clearest exposition of the whole problem before us that has been written since trouble came upon us. I am not convinced of the wisdom of shouting for a referendum; but the unusual mixture of sanity and idealism in the main program you lay down for the country to follow should appeal to social workers. Surely a President who has led us in such strange new paths of international tolerance will not permit a state of war to exist until positive defense of the realm demands it.

W. J. NORTON.

[Director, Council of Social Agencies.]
Cincinnati.

TO THE EDITOR: The climax of the service which the *SURVEY* has been rendering to the cause of sanity and righteousness and peace comes with your article of February 17 on *The Fighting Issues*. I cannot refrain from sending you a word of hearty thanks. My reading of the New Testament and of the witness of the Inner Light makes me a conscientious objector to all war. I am convinced that it is a tragic mistake for people to think God wants them to kill each other wholesale in order to keep the world from falling to pieces, just as it was a tragic mistake for them to think God wanted them to offer human sacrifices or roast heretics alive—convinced, in other words, that war is foolish and ineffective as well as wrong. To have the futility of going to war in the present crisis so logically demonstrated as you have done is an immense comfort. I pray the logic of the demonstration may appear to many practical, "hard-headed" people, as it will to all natural idealists.

A. J. MUSTE.

[Pastor, Central Congregational Church.]
Newtonville, Mass.

TO THE EDITOR: It is only fair that in this momentous period of our history you should hear from those who have the *SURVEY* magazine very much at heart.

Allow me to thank you for this truly statesmanlike presentation of the war issues in the latest number of the *SURVEY*. The article, *The Fighting Issues*, seems to possess that complete contempt for war, save as a last extremity, which filled the soul of an Isaiah and Micah. Despite the excitement of

A PROTEST

TO THE EDITOR: I have read with great care your extended editorial in the *SURVEY* of February 17, entitled *The Fighting Issues*.

As the situation appears to me, the forces of the civilized world are facing a life or death struggle of the principles of democracy. Shall government of the people perish from the earth, is a question that I think is shortly to be answered. While the sound of guns is remote, while the spectacle of human sacrifice is beyond the Atlantic ocean, yet, measured by time, both may be close to our very thresholds.

The instant Great Britain is defeated, that instant the strongest existing force for democracy has ceased to be. The ambitions of nationalism, as expressed by the Prussian ideal, will be released from all restraint.

Other peoples will be no safer from its insatiable appetite than were the unorganized settlers from the deprivations of the Kiowas or Apaches in 1868 in western Oklahoma, where I lived as a boy and can bear witness to horrible atrocities.

Democracies move slowly, clumsily toward any end that calls for deep intelligence or logical intellectual processes. The consent of the governed means the consent of an average that knows little, thinks little, is not touched by far-reaching considerations, but largely controlled by the emotions or superficial reasoning.

Pacifism at the moment is, to my mind, one of the most deadly influences at work in America. However conscientious its advocates may be, the effect is disintegrating our efforts to protect the principles on which the government is founded. I go further than those who think self-defense for us means simply preparation, for I truly believe that unless Prussianism is scotched it will dominate the earth, and an aggressive warfare employing all the strength of the nation, in finance, in men, in ingenuity, is absolutely essential now to insure a future lasting peace. The American Tory at the time of the Revolution was often personally honest; many Copperheads at the time of the Civil War were men of fine spirit and personal character, but both were unhealthy to the country in which they lived, and both had to be stamped out.

I have no quarrel with the spirit that actuates the many great men and women who are now weakening the virility of the nation, except as they are making the task of protecting our lives, our property and our liberties infinitely more difficult.

WILLIAM E. HARMON.

New York.

[I would favor the people of the United States throwing themselves into the European struggle if I felt, as Mr. Harmon believes, that democracy and liberalism in western Europe were being downed, and that for this country to go in and fight were the only sure way to save them for all of us.—

PAUL U. KELLOGG.]

the hour, you have kept cool and the paragraphs show genuine constructive thought. Such an article should be published in

pamphlet form, together with the letter of David Lloyd George and *In the Balance* by Miss Balch. We need less criticism of the President, but more positive contributions to keep us from war along constructive lines. America today needs clear thinkers who are unafraid. Your contribution is a very real one, and I for one desire to support your stand.

RUDOLPH I. COFFEE.

[Director, Social Service Department, Independent Order of B'nai B'rith.]
Chicago.

TO THE EDITOR: Not only do I think your article sound in policy, but it seems to me sound in law. I think the main thing now is to keep the issue of sea law segregated from the maze of the European war. In every great European war the nation pushed to the limit has adopted extreme measures in violation of neutrals' rights—France did it in 1798, actually seizing American merchant ships not carrying contraband and converting them into French war vessels. Yet Washington and Adams refused to go to war. England did it in 1811—claiming a legal right to impress American seamen. Henry Clay and the hot-bloods of the West plunged us into War of 1812—the treaty of Ghent of 1814 had not a word to say about impressment and it actually continued after the war was over. Now it is Germany's turn. My position is that even a victorious war with Germany cannot establish the principle of sea law for which we contend. I thought you brought this out effectively. If we can hammer this into public opinion, the Government may succeed in holding back.

MANLEY O. HUDSON.

[Professor of Law, University of Missouri.]
Columbia, Mo.

TO THE EDITOR: . . . My position is peculiar. I am neutral. I am neither pro-Ally nor pro-German. I am *for* the peoples of England and Germany and *against* war. I am against no peoples. As to their governments, they are all atrocious. I am against all of them.

I find that your statement is not from a neutral standpoint, but presents a pro-Ally bias. Invidious terms are applied to the acts of the Central Powers, while the same or similar acts on the part of the Allies are not brought into the reckoning.

There is a common error made even by anti-militarists. It is to hold a government, and some go so far as to hold a whole people, responsible for the crimes of an intensive militarism. German militarism is atrocious not because Germany or the Germans are atrocious, but because militarism is atrocious; and Germany has developed militarism, as she has developed many other things, to a high state of efficiency. There is no militarism that is nice and ethical. Militarism without atrociousness is simply mitigated and inefficient militarism. The supreme expression of militarism is atrociousness. If either side in this war attains ultimate and conclusive victory, it will be by a path so strewn with atrocities as to shock the world.

I cannot go with you even "to protect our rights as neutrals to travel on neutral ships carrying neutral cargoes." Of course this is not a part of the dispute. The Central Powers would allow such ships every freedom; the Allies will not. The "right" that is making the fuss is the "right" of American citizens to travel on belligerent vessels carrying contraband. If we were really neutral we should be making a fuss that British shipping employs American citizens and puts them at work below decks where they are most apt to be hurt in the event of disaster. . . .

My own attitude is that war is the unthinkable thing. It is not to be considered as an alternative for anything. It is not to be thought of either as a primary or as a final recourse. We must put it out of our minds. We must cease to think in terms of war.

When we have done this we are in a position to discuss the solution of international problems. Until we have done this we are not fit to discuss them. I would not trust a president to conduct grave international negotiations who believes in war as one of his recourses. He is a highly dangerous person.

How infinitely more dangerous is he when, as is the case with Mr. Wilson, he has been the arch champion of military preparedness, and when he has the astuteness to precede a warlike step, such as the breaking of diplomatic relations with a belligerent nation, by a message of peace! . . .

We must disentangle the monstrous thing we call war from the peoples of Europe who are now its victims; and we must oppose the President, or the press, or the Morgan interests, or the munitions makers, or any other force which offers us war as a way out of an international dispute.

JAMES P. WARBASSE.

Brooklyn.

TO THE EDITOR: I can well understand that a man whose mental outlook is the product of years of social thinking and social activities should reach conclusions in respect to a question of national rights quite different from those of us whose experience has not been so largely affected by these influences. There may come a time when it will not be true that in the last analysis authority rests on force. That time has not come yet. There may be a time in the future when there will be no such thing as national rights to protect and when a spirit of internationalism will control human relationship, but if so, human nature has a long way to travel before that goal is reached. In the meantime, it is proper for you and all right-thinking men to endeavor to hasten the millennium. I conceive it to be your duty, however, in a moment of acute national crisis, to weigh your responsibilities to your country under the conditions as they now exist instead of choosing such an occasion for furthering ideals however noble, but which are

Who's Your Milkman?

Under this title, an article by Dr. J. H. Kellogg was printed in the August, 1916, issue of GOOD HEALTH and created so much interest that the edition containing it was soon exhausted. Since then, we have responded to many requests for the article with type-written copies, but—this is too expensive. Therefore, as the requests for "Who's Your Milkman?" continue to come in, we have had the article reprinted and will hereafter supply copies postpaid at 10c each. Send five 2c stamps, if you wish a copy of this important article about the milk supply. Address—

GOOD HEALTH PUBLISHING CO.
2603 Main Street, Battle Creek, Michigan

only possible of realization under conditions which may exist in the future. . . .

I see that you believe in limiting the constitutional power of Congress to declare war by a popular though necessarily informal referendum. To say nothing of the inconclusiveness of any informal proceeding, or the difficulty of phrasing the questionnaire in a way that would meet the facts of a given situation as it might thereafter actually develop, I cannot but feel that this idea, like most of the ideas in your article in the SURVEY, is prompted by your natural abhorrence of the notion of war rather than by the logical reasoning of which you are capable. Illustrations could be chosen from any and all forms of civic, industrial and social life of the futility of such a course as a national policy, but take a simple example from college sports. The players on a football team are coached by men chosen for their experience and skill. Imagine the confusion and the effect on his opponent if in a critical stage of a game the captain should appeal to the grandstand for advice as to which play he should adopt. . . .

I have written at some length, not for the purpose of persuading you to my way of thinking, but in the hope that you may give "deliberate thought" before you lend your aid, and, directly or indirectly, the aid of the SURVEY to the many efforts that will be made by those who wish to see their dreams realized before the time for this fulfillment is ripe, to say nothing of the efforts of many others who from motives far less worthy than yours, are working to see peace established while Prussianism still has the vital spark of life to rekindle another Armageddon at no distant date. There is a time for thought, for speech and for action. An ill-chosen time for exercising either of these functions is as hurtful to a cause as confused thought, ill-considered speech or mistaken action. The revivalist accomplishes much good at times and with certain types of people, but if he seeks to promote his cause before an audience gathered in a theater for pleasurable relaxation from serious thought, he offends good taste and good sense and is apt to do his cause more harm than good. M.

New York.

TO THE EDITOR: Will you allow me to thank you for your fine discriminating article, The Fighting Issues, in the current SURVEY. . . . Can you not get our young men to see that there is something just as great and heroic and more different in other methods than that of war? It seems such a pity we should just go in for doing the thing which is wrecking Europe when we have such a great chance to do something new, constructive and healing for the future. ANNIE L. SEARS.

Boston, Mass.

TO THE EDITOR: . . . It is not easy to do independent thinking at a time when all the world shouts "Don't think but stand by the Government." But your creed is that civilization will be best advanced by "mobilizing in the opposite direction from war," and you are being faithful to that creed at a time when it is hard to be faithful to it. . . . ELIZABETH TILTON.

Cambridge, Mass.

TO THE EDITOR: I have just finished your confession of faith as regards The Fighting Issues in the SURVEY for February 17, and I want to say that I subscribe to what you have said. I want to thank you, too, for so clearly stating much that has been passing through my mind.

I am a constant reader of the SURVEY and get a great deal of inspiration out of it. I am the United States attorney in Philadelphia, and I wish I could tell you how often

the SURVEY has given me light—real light—on some question coming before me as the prosecuting officer of the United States in this district.

It would have been impossible not to treat of our national duty in the present crisis—not to treat of it, I mean, in the SURVEY—and I think you have handled the matter with great ability and in just the right spirit. The social worker has his own thought upon it, and it is right that his thinking should find expression.

FRANCIS FISHER KANE.

Drifton, Luzerne Co., Pa.

TO THE EDITOR: Will you allow me to say that I think your article, The Fighting Issues, in last week's SURVEY was a most just and lucid exposition of this great question which is in all our hearts and minds just now—and I sincerely thank you. . . . ELLEN DABNEY.

Boston, Mass.

TO THE EDITOR: Your editorial statement of principles in the last SURVEY interested me very much, as it should have done all subscribers to the SURVEY.

But, as I judge you wish some response from your subscribers, I am sending you a word of thanks, though of difference.

I hope to see peace with honor continue as the policy of the United States in this terrible state of almost world-war. But, rather than submit to the insolent orders and brutal policy of Germany, I should choose war, thrust on us by the Prussianism that threatens civilization, as we understand it.

I may be a pagan, but I cannot today be a pacifist as I understand that word. Moreover, a great deal of the present agitation for peace is nothing but pro-German propaganda.

The nation wants peace, so does Mr. Wilson. And I am entirely willing to trust his patriotism and his courage. A nation, as an individual, can be "too proud to fight," and a time may come when that same nation must be too proud and too generous not to fight, no matter what the suffering and loss.

KATE M. MCLANE.

Baltimore, Md.

TO THE EDITOR: The February 17 number of the SURVEY is at hand, in which appears your article, The Fighting Issues. Let me tell you how very, very much I appreciate that article. It is the best thing that has yet come to my desk in this field. Of course, as an out-and-out pacifist it is hardly enough to satisfy my position. To the folk on the other side the same will probably be true. . . . I am exceedingly glad that I have one paper coming to my desk each week that is not willing to sacrifice its great ideal of social vision, even in such critical times as these.

J. COVINGTON COLEMAN.

Niantic, Ill.

TO THE EDITOR: I conclude that I can do you no good, and you certainly are doing me no good. Your "peace" policy would stir my wrath if it were not for my amazement that in the present situation such views can be held by men who hold a position of light and leadership. Will you kindly relieve yourself of the expense of sending me further copies of the SURVEY.

HENRY A. STIMSON.

New York city.

TO THE EDITOR: I want to thank you for that noble, searching article of yours, The Fighting Issues. If we can all learn to search our minds and hearts like that, America will be "saved."

MARY P. SEARL.

Boston, Mass.

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THE SURVEY



From a Poster of the Canadian Patriotic Fund

A Canadian City in War Time
By Paul U. Kellogg

Germany's Civilian Organization

The Red Cross Preparing

A Reveille to American Industry

Price 10 Cents

MARCH 17, 1917

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VOLUME XXXVII, No. 24

The GIST of IT

SHOULD our hour come, we have much to learn of social preparedness, particularly from our neighbors of the North.

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THE Canadian men who have not gone overseas have given money generously and have served in the persuading of other men to dig deep into their pockets. But in the Canadian Patriotic Fund the women have done their bit in a big way. Soldiers' families have been cared for, their business kept going, their insurance premiums paid, their children sent to school, all their affairs put in order by a band of devoted women. They worked as if they were all paid for it, when they were not paid at all; as if they were trained for it, whereas most of them had it all to learn; and as if it were the one thing near their hearts, while the hearts of many of them were torn asunder by fear for the brothers and sons in the trenches. And in their efficient embodiment of the good will of a whole people they have raised social service by volunteers to a new estate. The story of it by the editor of the SURVEY. Page 677.

FOREHANDED in packing up before the conventional spring moving day, the Red Cross got its call to service while its records and goods and chattels and things were in packing boxes on their way to its handsome new building. Telegrams were sent, none the less, to its 272 chapters, and the local committees of its country-wide organization are at work. Page 685.

GERMANY'S machinery for preventing distress has, so far as we can tell from meager reports, worked smoothly through existing agencies, such as the social insurance funds and the Red Cross. And new agencies have been devised to meet the bitter need of new times, particularly in the care of soldiers' families and other civilian sufferers. Page 687.

INDUSTRY in this country, under the Council of National Defense, has such an opportunity as never came to it before. Machines can be conscripted under a new law for the service of the country and men, while they may not be under the same degree of compulsion, undoubtedly will rally to the patriotic task. And if in war time, why not in peace time, to serve the common ends? Page 691.

MEXICO'S brand new constitution establishes the eight-hour day and the minimum wage, requires welfare provisions, recommends social insurance and otherwise takes an advanced stand on labor matters. Page 695.

WORKMEN'S compensation laws have now run the gauntlet of all the judges and been upheld by the United States Supreme Court. Page 698.

ALABAMA Negroes, despoiled by both floods and the boll weevil, have been placed in charge of the Red Cross after a congressional appropriation had been all spent without putting them back on their feet. Page 695.

A DETERMINED preacher has finally slammed shut the door on San Francisco's segregated vice district. In the midst of his campaign 300 prostitutes called at his church to urge that they be left alone. Page 694.

PHILADELPHIA'S emergency aid plan of organization. Page 697.

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How the Canadian Act Really Acts

FACING a general railroad strike last summer—and with the questions it raised still among our unfinished business—almost the whole country turned to the Canadian industrial disputes act as our way out. But the act is almost as widely misunderstood as it is acclaimed. A study of it, on the ground, has been made for

An Early Issue of the SURVEY

THE SURVEY

A Canadian City in War Time

I. The Patriotic Fund and the Women of Montreal

By Paul U. Kellogg

YOU are met just inside the door by "Billy, the policeman"—not a bluecoat, but the office nickname of one of the remarkable group of Montreal volunteers, members of the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Canadian Patriotic Fund, who, since August, 1914, have put in two days a week, three days a week, some of them six days a week without let-up or vacation, on the work of the Montreal Relief Committee.

You have crossed the threshold of what she calls the "room of smiles and tears," or, if you will—for human nature is much the same in war-time as in peace-time—of "damns and blessings." On an average day you are one of a hundred such callers; one of 500 on a crowded day. In February, 2,678 came, old women and young, children, babies in arms, soldiers in khaki with a limp or a cough from "gassing." There in the long room, covering half of the entire floor of a large office building, with the business-like system of a life insurance company, and with the human insight of modern social work, 10,301 individual applications have been handled since the outbreak of the war. And that, in more ways than one, is only the beginning of the story.

On either side of the aisle are rows of chairs where the English-speaking on the left, the French-speaking on the right, await their turn to go to the little tables and tell their stories to the interviewers.

The afternoon I sat near the door there was a flurry among the people filling the chairs, so that a young Scotch girl who burst out crying reached the refuge of the corridor almost unnoticed. The flurry had to do with Kitty, who was all smiles. Her mother had

brought her, a little six-year-old, with straw-colored hair under a round blue sailor's cap with "H. M. S. Grampian" done in gold lettering on the front. Kitty carried her father's swagger stick for a cane, and once half-way down the aisle turned and waved back at "Billy, the policeman." The gesture almost cost her her balance, for this was Kitty's first visit on her first pair of legs.

Kitty's father is an English immigrant who was a private in training at Amherst, when word reached him that Kitty had been run over by a Montreal street car. One leg was cut off near the hip, the other near the knee. There was no legal redress, for it was the child's fault. Kitty was in the hospital for three months, where a visitor from the Patriotic Fund saw her every day. A friend provided money for a teacher, another a rocking chair. She was one of fifty children from soldier's families to go in groups of eight or ten to a certain country home last summer. Then a Montreal business man came forward with \$1,000 to meet the cost, whatever might befall, of the five pairs of artificial limbs she will need as she grows to womanhood. Meanwhile, the father has come back from the front, gassed, wounded and rheumatic from the wet of the trenches. Besides Kitty there are two other young children.

The future faced by this Montreal soldier and his wife, what war has meant to them and, no less, what the misadventures of ordinary times pile on to what the war brings, epitomize the family problems dealt with under the Patriotic Fund. The notion that, when a man enlists, the drop in his earnings is made good by government, or by patriotic gift; that the situation



KITTY

Her father at the front, both her legs taken off by a trolley car, this scrap of humanity and her changing need of artificial limbs to keep pace with a growing body, epitomizes both the emergent and the continuing relief problems which Canadian women are meeting through the Patriotic Fund



REPRESENTATIVE DISTRICT HEADS

Left to right: Mrs. D. B. Swinton, English ward head, St. Henry district; Mrs. F. W. Wanklyn, English ward head, St. George and St. Andrews; Miss Davidson, ward head, Laurier; Mrs. Huntly Drummond, English ward head, Cuneconde; Mrs. Arthur Terroux, ward head, St. Mary and Papineau; Mrs. Robert Adair, English ward head, St. Mary and Papineau

can be met by a regimental list and a check-book and by rushing food and fuel post-haste to some starving household still clings in the minds of casual thinkers in Montreal. But there are a thousand missionaries of another way of thinking. These are the women who, at the central office of the Patriotic Fund and in its twenty-seven districts, have come to close quarters, many of them for the first time in their experience, with the meaning of the ordinary hazards of life to those who live close to the margin of subsistence.

No sooner had war been declared than the British reservists in Canada set out to join the colors. One hundred and fifty families of these first soldiers were left high and dry in Montreal alone. It was clear that the recruiting of Canadians for overseas forces would create a much heavier burden, although no one then foresaw that the dominion quota would reach to such a huge figure as 500,000 men.

In Montreal the Charity Organization Society was asked to tide over the immediate emergency. After conference at Ottawa, Sir Herbert Ames, member of Parliament from Montreal, initiated the movement which was at once duplicated in



HELEN R. Y. REID

A charter member of the Charity Organization Society and a leader in the University Settlement, Miss Reid brought experience of social work and of men and women to her task as director and convener of the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Canadian Patriotic Fund

other parts of the dominion and led to the incorporation, as early as August 22, 1914, of the Canadian Patriotic Fund, "for the assistance in case of need, of the wives, children and dependent relatives of officers and men on active service." To date, \$15,500,000 has gone through the central treasury to be administered through provincial and local branches.

Something like three times as many families come under the Toronto branch as under that at Montreal, but it has fallen to the latter city to develop the system which is generally recognized as the high-water mark not only of record-keeping but of case work. Although the initial president of the fund was no less than field marshal, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught and of Strathearn, K. G., K. P., G. C. B., etc., former governor-general of Canada—the Duke of Devonshire is his successor; although Sir Herbert Ames has spent much of his time since the outbreak of the war organizing 600 branches throughout the dominion; although many other public-spirited men have given themselves unstintedly, one raising over \$4,000,000 in a single week's campaign in Montreal alone, and another, Clarence F. Smith, chairman of the local relief committee in Montreal practically using all his time for thirty months past in this work and that of the Military Hospitals Commission; nevertheless, the fact remains that the administration of the fund in Montreal, the actual work of organization, relief and rehabilitation, which has set the standard for the dominion, has been the achievement of women. Each department is headed and staffed by women. The relief committee has itself met only twice this last year to hear and visé reports, and take formal action.

The primary responsibility of the Patriotic Fund is to assist in making good the income loss of families of bread-winners at the front. It is not a general relief society nor yet a pension office; it deals with a limited group of beneficiaries through a limited time, but with greater freedom to make its help fit the family than any existing government department.

Take the case of the Canadian private. His pay is \$30 a month, ten cents a day field allowance adds \$3 to this. Since January 23, 1915, under an order in council, at least \$15 is to be paid, not to the man at the front, but to his dependents at home. In some cases the man assigns not \$15 but \$20. In addition, the Canadian government grants \$20 a month, separation allowance, to the dependents of volunteers serving in the Canadian overseas contingents. "Dependents" include only wives, children under fourteen of a widower, and in charge of a guardian, and widowed mothers, if the son is unmarried and her sole support. Thus the household of a soldier may receive \$35 or as high as \$40 a month from government sources. Pay and separation allowances are both far less for other soldiers serving in the British or allied armies.



HEADS OF THE OFFICE DEPARTMENTS

In the line above, left to right: Mrs. A. W. Cochrane, emergency cash desk; Margaret D. Sutherland, secretary Ladies' Auxiliary; Frances B. Hains, investigation department; Gwendydd Weller, budget department; Mrs. Alexander Strachan, emergency cash desk; Mrs. Wallis Jamison, filing department; at the left: Mrs. A. W. Mussen, admitting officer; right: Lilian M. Bender, discharges and casualties department



The grants of the Patriotic Fund are above and beyond these flat rates. They make allowance for the varying individual needs of families. The minimum granted to childless wives is \$5, the maximum to any family \$30, which brings the largest family income dealt with under the fund—adding assigned pay, separation allowance and fund grant together (\$20 plus \$20 plus \$30)—up to \$70. This is, of course, the exceptional case. The general principles upon which the Montreal budget is estimated are shown by the following maximum monthly scale:

Wife	\$10.00
With 2 children and under	
15-10 years	7.50
9-5 years	4.50
Under 5 years	3.00
With 3 children and over	
15-10 years	6.00
9-5 years	3.00
Under 5 years	2.00

To quote from the last report, this grant

“is modified by a consideration of the regular earnings of the soldier before enlistment. A widowed mother receives approximately what her son was contributing to the household at the time of his enlistment, minus the cost of his keep. Widowed mothers who have sufficient support from other sources are not recognized as beneficiaries. Mothers of soldiers who have able-bodied husbands living are also not entitled to receive anything from the fund. The fund is not a charity. It is only given where need is recognized as a direct result of enlistment. Unemployment and sickness do not in them-

selves constitute a claim, and no claim is considered unless the committee have the guarantee of assigned pay, going regularly to the dependent. . . . Increase of income from other sources, such as employers, lodgers, government separation allowance, wages, etc., immediately reduces the allowance from the fund.”

So much for the families of men overseas, or on the way. In the late winter and early spring of 1915 the first of the invalided soldiers returned to Canada. These men now come under the Military Hospital Commission and fall in to three classes:

Class 1. Men unfit for overseas service, but capable of taking up their previous civilian occupations; or men whose disability is not the result of service.

Class 2. Men needing further medical treatment or rest in or out of a convalescent home, hospital or sanitarium.

Class 3. Men permanently disabled by the war who would not be benefited by further medical treatment.

Families of the ordinary run of class 2 continue to get pay, separation allowance and fund money, so long as the man is getting indoor treatment. Fund grant ceases and home subsistence allowance begins, if a soldier becomes an out-patient. On his medical discharge, he passes into civilian life, with or without pension, but in either case drops from army rolls, separation lists



MRS. J. A. HENDERSON
Of the investigating department, in soldierly coat with its red cross



One corner of the reception room at the Patriotic Fund headquarters in Montreal

and fund. Of serious social concern is the fact that not only fund benefits but case-work with families end with discharge; but this problem of after-care will be taken up later in this series. The Patriotic Fund is concerned solely with the care of the family of an active or invalided soldier up to the point of his discharge, pension or death.

This work begins at the period of recruiting. By no means all the families of Canadians come on to the fund. With help of soldiers' pay and separation allowance they carry their own burden. But the fund makes sure that failure to take advantage of its provisions is not due to ignorance of its existence, and distributes posters, pamphlets, etc., at the armories. Paymasters are supplied by the Montreal Relief Committee with a blank for both recruit and paymaster to sign, giving the names of the soldier's dependents and the assignment of pay, which is one of the first conditions of sharing in the fund. At the same time the recruit gets another blank for the parish priest to sign, certifying to births and marriages from the church registry. Regimental records in a period of emergent recruiting are hard to draw upon, and this simple method of cutting across red tape is one of many inventions of the organizers of the Montreal office to simplify and expedite relief.

The soldier's wife or mother bringing these certificates is shown to a seat in the reception room by "Billy, the policeman." Many a soldier arrives to find out before leaving for active service what the fund will do for his wife and family. Five volunteers divide responsibility for the different days of the week, and from seventeen to twenty-two assistant interviewers, also volunteers, work under them at the little individual tables. Names, ages, birthplaces, religion, employment and wages of all members of the household; rank and regiment of the man; next of kin, employers, references and other data are entered on the application blank. In cases of extreme need, emergent aid is given pending investigation.

From the reception room the case goes to the investigation department, where form letters are mailed to employers, references and priests. One volunteer spends her entire time handling certificates, another looking over references. A corps of six investigators, under a responsible head, all volunteers, visit the home and neighborhood to verify the statements made in the application. Some of these investigators put in half-time, some full time, and in the course of two years the tact, precision and friendliness of their work have developed amazingly. For such intimate family details as the income of the household and the amount contributed by the soldier before and after enlistment must be secured if the trust is to be protected and the family adequately helped. Entries in the investigation slip call for facts as to whether wages are continued in whole or in part; debts, insurance and bank accounts; character of neighborhood and house; number of rooms, number of dark rooms; number in family; health of family; doctor's certificate when illness is pleaded as reason for not working; earnings of all members of the family.

Meanwhile applications and certificates go to the filing room, where 9,700 card records are ranged numerically in the cabinets. Duplicate cards are typewritten, one for an alphabetical file here, and one for the discharge and casualty desk, to be described later. Twelve to fifteen helpers are at work every day at the files under a director, one of the most unusual developments of volunteer work. With 2,000 cases drawn from the files every day, with fifty-seven volunteer ward heads and ten office departments handling them according to their lights, the task of keeping records in apple-pie order is a never-ending one. Large manila envelopes, such as are a nuisance in professional work, serve a conserving purpose in holding the papers together; but even so, three volunteer "house-cleaners" are busy keeping the papers straight, with the latest investigation slips on top, references, application, regimental slips, birth certificates and money slips all in due order. By organization, the volunteer system, with its wealth of help, thus can overcome its frailties and, as the saying goes, make one hand wash the other.

The budget department opens off this room, where, on the basis of the results of the investigation and the terms of the Patriotic Fund, a budget for each new family is carefully worked out by the chairman of the relief committee. All cases are subject to revision from time to time, as changes in employment, number of dependents, discharges and casualties occur. As the budget must please not only the beneficiary, but also the ward head (the district superintendent of relief), and the various agencies of public concern which are stirred alternately by stories of fraud and unworthiness, and by stories of injustice, work in the budget department is a delicate and never-ending job.

One course of correction is the file at the discharge and casualty desk, where lists of invalided men brought to Quebec for medical examination, casualty lists published in the newspapers, and later the official lists of dead and wounded, lists acted on by the Medical Hospitals Commission and the pension department, are checked against the Patriotic Fund data and memoranda sent to the filing room for collation in its daily sheet. Cards, with little colored signals, are grouped in two grim rows of drawers. Dark red tabs stand for missing men, light red for prisoners, black for those who have died of wounds, yellow for invalids home, white for those killed in action, blue or green for wounded. Blue was a German dye, it seems, and Canada ran out of blues the second year!

At every stage in this routine, from the reception desk with its tally of callers to the filing room with its sheet showing the whereabouts of every case, daily record-keeping goes on so that

any clogging in the current flow of work quickly reveals itself. But all this is only the bookkeeping end of the real work. If the activities of the Ladies' Auxiliary stopped here the experiment would be no more than the adaptation of modern office methods to a volunteer force.

Distance, differences of language and religion, the absence of any trained group of investigators and the conflicting aspirations of various local organizations had to be overcome in mobilizing relief forces at the beginning of the war. By its charter, the Canadian Red Cross was barred from such work with civilians. The Soldiers' Wives League was a survival of the Boer war days, but without staff or resources, and the various regimental organizations with their very definite limitations had still to be created. There was danger of patriotic zeal expressing itself in a hundred quarters and scattering the good will of the community. At the same time it was felt that all social and civic sources should be representative in any tremendous enterprise. Finally the Montreal Council of Women called a conference, out of which the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Patriotic Fund came into existence.

The island of Montreal is thirty miles long and fifteen broad, by no means all of it thickly built up. This was divided into twenty-seven districts. Over each district were placed two heads, one English, the other French-speaking, for fully three-fifths of the 800,000 inhabitants are French-Canadians, and many of the wards or districts bear the old French or Indian names—Maisonneuve, Hochelaga, St. Mary and Papineau, St. Cunegonde, Cartierville, Bordeaux and Ahuntsic, Delorimier, Lachine and Outremont. Each ward head has visitors, who are expected to make monthly visits to the families assigned them, and meet with the ward head at headquarters and in her home. With the formation of a Franco-Belge sub-committee, an auxiliary of fifty French and Belgian volunteers was launched.

Each ward head keeps the records of the family visiting in her district, according to methods of her own choosing, so long as the information on current cases desired at headquarters is turned in with regularity. Here greater standardization could, of course, be enforced on a professional staff. Some of the ward heads put in three mornings a week, some three full days, some have enlisted capable assistants, who put in full time. Some prefer to do the initial investigation of every case falling in their territory. If the report is not up to office standards it is turned back for re-investigation.

A "convenience list of neighborhood resources" has been compiled for each district, showing population, infant mortality, doctors, hospitals, nurses, dispensaries, homes, asylums, day nurses, milk stations, provision for the education and care of defectives, playgrounds, settlements, free libraries, employment bureaus, societies, police stations. Every ward head gets a list of hospitals and clinic hours; every visitor a set of instructions on the objects of the fund, ways to meet typical needs and the "five essentials of normal living" drawn from familiar charity organization texts. Every alternate month a pamphlet reaches them on such subjects as treatment, relief, what a social worker should know of her own community, office resources, etc. Some districts have specialized in such activities as clothing sales and country outings. One had a cottage for the summer and sent out soldiers' families for short periods; another weekly picnics. In order to keep the women from being lonely, the districts encourage them to form natural associations with churches and settlements in the neighborhoods or organize ward clubs.

Altogether, the auxiliary consists in addition to the heads of office departments and districts of a volunteer staff of between six and seven hundred workers. Apart from the paid force, which includes secretary, accountant and nine stenog-



*Patriotic Fund volunteers interviewing soldiers' wives.
Miss Reid in the foreground*

raphers, office and home-work alike, are entirely done by volunteers, and all administration expense is met by the interest on the bank balances on deposit.

Such a volunteer staff was not created over night. Stories are told of Lady Bountifuls, naïve, ingenuous, gullible, who pauperized the families to whom they brought relief. But that natural selection has been at work is shown by the fact that perhaps as many volunteers have dropped out in the two years and a half as make up the force that "sticks." About three hundred have gone overseas to be with sons or husbands, but some have drifted from the more difficult task of reconstructing human life to the bandage-rolling and comforts-packing for which the more conventional patriotic societies offer so many opportunities. But not a few of the most serious and efficient among the visitors were those who at the outset had no conception of family problems outside their home circles. Living apart they had known nothing of evil, and in their first untoward case or two, blamed themselves, and, as one experienced woman expressed it, "took the whole sorrow of humanity into their own generous hearts." As time has gone on several of the visitors have been advanced to ward heads, the newcomer today is "broken in" gradually, and the risk of letting inexperienced folk tamper with their fellows is no less real, but far less frequent. "I have just discarded six visitors," said one ward head in coming to headquarters recently, to express that difficult triumph in all volunteer work—the elimination of the unfit.

On the other hand, the auxiliary has not been without resources in women with definite training. There are eight former nurses among ward heads and visitors, twenty-one college women. Ten school teachers take part after school hours and during vacations. The head of the statistical bureau, with thirty-one volunteer assistants, is a retired teacher on pension.

4

To the Proud Wives and Mothers of the Men at the Front

A MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATION
... AND A NOTE OF WARNING ...

IF YOU ARE in regular receipt of Government Separation Allowance, of Assigned pay and Patriotic Fund money, you are, or should be, independent of outside help. The Fund not only gives out the money but is here to protect you and to befriend you with all counsel and advice and in this way to take the place of the soldier who has gone to the front. The Committee are proud to record the double service of most of our women who have not only given their dearest, but are now giving themselves in ways of usefulness to their Country. It is expected of our women that they establish and encourage a high standard of living in their neighborhood. To do this, all care should be directed to payment of just debts, careful spending and saving, health and cleanliness of home and children, regular attendance at church and school and a careful choice of friends and company. In this way you will add to your Country's glory and your City's fame and be a pride to the soldier upon his return from service. It will be distinctly to your disadvantage therefore, to ask or to receive such things as food, fuel, clothing, bread, tickets, money, etc., from other societies or individuals. The Fund is not a charity and you are surely above receiving such relief. Please accept this as both a congratulation and a warning, and in all emergencies appeal to your Fund Visitors or to the office and not to other agencies.

CLARENCE F. SMITH,
Chairman Relief Committee.

August 1915.

CANADIAN PATRIOTIC FUND. — MONTREAL BRANCH.

Several stenographers, now married, are giving their services; and one society girl, instead of starting in the conventional way, went to a business college, took and held down a position in a business office to see if she were fit, and only then made herself known at the Patriotic Fund. Since then she has given full time.

It would be hard, if one were to choose among examples, to say which to put first in devotion: the former-trained nurse in charge of the hospital visiting of the Patriotic Fund, who helped to get together, train and take to England and France something over seventy Canadian girls as "V. A. D.'s" (nurses' assistants) under St. John's Ambulance; the wife of a major at the front who, while running her husband's business, supporting a sister and also a brother dying of tuberculosis, puts in three afternoons a week at the Patriotic Fund; the wife of a bank manager who does her own housework before she comes to the office, spends the entire day there every day, and goes home to cook the dinner at night.

There is a stronger tie that binds these women to their work, and bridges many a social chasm between helper and helped. Of the ward heads, several are mothers of soldiers at the front; two have followed their husbands overseas, one has seen two sons off, one of them since killed; another has a husband at the front, a son at the front, and a daughter nursing in France. So it goes also among the department heads at the central office—one with her husband killed, a second

with her husband in an English hospital, a third with a brother badly injured, another in submarine work, a fifth with a son returned, a sixth with a son at the front, a daughter with the Red Cross. Of two young women at work in the budget room, one has two brothers at the front, the other a mother nursing in France. Not a few of the visitors are young widows—and in some instances they are widows of privates, who have joined in the work. There is the wife of a young Canadian soldier, whose father, an army chaplain, went out under fire and brought back his boy's body from No Man's Land.

But hard-won experience and the bonds of courage and sacrifice would not in themselves have created filing systems nor organized 700 self-controlled, largely inexperienced, women into a city-wide piece of team work which has gone on evenly and competently through zero weather and summer epidemics, in the face of misunderstanding as well as public recognition, day after day, week after week, month after month—and will go on so long as the war lasts and for a year thereafter.

The answer lies in the woman who brought experience and courage and sacrifice and more beside—a genius for organization and the unmistakable flame of leadership. This is Helen R. Y. Reid, director and convener of the Ladies' Auxiliary, and Lady of Grace of St. John of Jerusalem. Americans who know less and care little of chivalric orders may yet be interested to know that the crosses which she may wear only in the presence of royalty and the quaint prayers she can say, hark back to the Crusades, and were given a year ago in rec-

IMPORTANT!

A NOTE OF WARNING

Owing to the outbreak of *Infantile Paralysis* in the City we wish to warn you:—

1. Not to call at the office with your children.
2. Not to take the children to the *Moving picture shows, in Street cars, to Church, to School, or any place where there are other children or crowds of people.*
3. Keep their *noses and throats* clean and wash them out often during the day.
4. Keep their *bowels* open and regular.
5. If your children get sick take them at once to a Hospital or Doctor.

Be warned in time, follow our advice and save your children.

IMPORTANT!

Vu l'épidémie de la *paralyse infantile* dans la Ville, nous désirons vous avertir:—

1. Ne pas venir au bureau avec vos enfants
2. Ne pas amener vos enfants aux *Cinématographes, dans les tramways, à l'Eglise, à l'école* ou autres places où se trouvent d'autres enfants ou *beaucoup de monde*
3. Voir à ce que leur *nez* et leur *gorge* soient libres et lavés-les souvent durant la journée.
4. Tenez leurs *intestins* libres et réguliers.
5. Si vos enfants sont malades conduisez-les immédiatement à l'hôpital ou chez le médecin.

Soyez sur vos gardes, suivez nos conseils et sauvez vos enfants.

CANADIAN PATRIOTIC FUND, Montreal Branch, Relief Committee.

FORM 74-10 000-Oct.-15-16

FORM 9

CANADIAN PATRIOTIC FUND
MONTREAL BRANCH

**School Days
are Here!**

SEPTEMBER month brings with it the opening of our schools.—Be sure that your girls and boys attend regularly! Without education a child cannot make his way successfully in the world. Now is the time to give them this supreme opportunity.

¶ The Committee are pleased to announce that twenty money prizes will be offered next June to those children on the Fund who present to their Visitors the best school reports for the year for conduct, attendance and general progress.

¶ Watch your children's health and see that they take proper care of teeth, eyes, throat and skin. If they are not well, they cannot do good school work and should be taken to see a Doctor.

CLARENCE F. SMITH,

Chairman Relief Committee.

HELEN R. Y. REID,

Convener of Ladies Auxillary.

September, 1915.

NOTICE.—As the office accommodation is limited, you are requested when calling to come when possible alone — and not with friend or children

OPEN **Bank Account**

THE SAVING OF MONEY IS A HABIT

COMMENCE today by opening an account at the branch of the Bank nearest your home. It is a simple matter; go to the Manager, tell him you wish to open an account (even though your deposit be but a dollar) and he will do the rest.

You will be surprize to see how quickly the habit is acquired and how anxious you are to see your account grow. Then again it will be very comforting to your husband to know that you are handling your money in such a very careful manner, and that you are guarding against the proverbial "RAINY DAY," which sooner or later is bound to overtake some of us through sickness, unemployment, the cancellation of payments by the Patriotic Fund or some other form.

We would therefore strongly advise your commencing at an early date the SAVING OF AT LEAST A PORTION of every cheque you receive from us. You will not regret it and once you have started, a feeling of "Well if anything happens, I have my savings in the Bank to fall back upon" will soon make itself felt.

COMMENCE NOW. — TO-DAY!

Canadian Patriotic Fund

RELIEF BRANCH. — MONTREAL

MONTREAL, OCT. 1st. 1915

CANADIAN PATRIOTIC FUND
MONTREAL BRANCH

Life Insurance

PROBABLY the most valuable and important thing your husband or son left you when he enlisted for his country's service at the front was a life insurance policy.

¶ He is nobly doing his duty to his country and fellow citizens; he showed his love and thoughtfulness for you by insuring his life; and the insurance company or society has done a generous and patriotic act in not increasing the premium, although the risk is so very much greater than they figured on. Now, will you not do your share by keeping the premiums paid up—if not for your own sake do it for the sake of your absent hero, of whom we are all so proud, and of his dear little ones?

¶ Our visitors report, from time to time, cases where the Husband or Son had insurance and the wife or mother has not paid the premium when due. Surely this is only a oversight.

REMEMBER — a Life Insurance Policy is a savings fund and becomes more valuable as each premium is paid.

If the premium is overdue or if you want advice or information regarding life insurance consult us. We consider this a most important matter and will gladly assist you in every way possible.

DON'T FORGET YOUR SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNT. If you haven't started one yet do so with part of the cheque enclosed if possible

CHAIRMAN RELIEF COMMITTEE

Room 104, Drummond Building.

Office Hours: 10 to 12, and 2 to 4, Monday to Friday.

ognition of a full decade of constructive philanthropic work.

Miss Reid was a member of the class of 1888 at McGill University, the first class to include women. With fellow-members she started a kitchen on Jurors street in a factory neighborhood. This grew later into a lunch room, boarding house and girl's club on the thoroughfare known as Bleury street, and, in turn, into the present University Settlement, where four or five workers are in residence in the heart of the Jewish and Chinese quarter. Miss Reid was one of the charter members of the Charity Organization Society when it started fifteen years ago, and is chairman of its educational department. She had charge of the Relief Committee of the Victorian Order of Nurses during the great typhoid epidemic in Montreal. In other ways, too, work has fallen to her which proved an apprenticeship to the great task the war was to bring.

An amateur postoffice in the investigating department affords one index of the many strands which, under Miss Reid's handling, are gathered into an effective skein of work. It consists of a large wall map, city directories, a wire basket, a set of pigeon-holes bearing the names of the fifty-four French and English district heads. A volunteer postmistress who presides over it has resolutely refused to adopt such a new-fangled contraption as a card index and keeps her lists on long legal cap. Two hundred and fifty pieces of internal mail go through this postoffice a day—sometimes as high as 400. A day sheet, for example, comes in from the filing room, where current information from interviewers, investigations, the list desk, budget room and districts is collected. This day sheet is in turn resolved into a sheaf of memoranda for the ward pigeon-holes.

Some idea of the constant changes going forward is illustrated by these statistics for February:

Second enlistments.....	16	Wounded	9
Re-enlistment	28	Killed	11
Transferred	45	Died	3
Discharged	52	Missing	5
Deserted	23	Prisoner	2
Invalided home.....	29		

Nor are the changes all at the front, for in that same month there were twenty-seven births among the families on the fund, five infant deaths, a child and three adults. The entries in the day sheet the morning of my visit had such bits of human color as "Uptons have a new baby," "Cleary wounded," "Good news, Angus not missing," and the more prosaic notations from the cash emergency desk.

For of the women who await their turn in the reception room only a fraction are new cases. Soldiers do not lay their families away in a napkin when they go to the front; all the hopes and mishaps and struggles of every-day living go on. Four thousand checks go out every month from the accountant's office (totaling \$65,000 to \$75,000), and of these fully 500 are held up every month for one cause or another, which means a visit to the fund office. Every woman is given an identification card, which she must show at the bank. Even so, some lose their cards, or drop their money into the fire, or it goes down the drain, and a family situation results. Before the identification cards were contrived there were many cases of forgery. One woman, a soldier's wife, stole her neighbor's checks and forged them so skilfully that bank and fund both thought the neighbor lying when she protested she had not cashed them. The truth only came out in a sick-bed confession to a priest.

The identification cards are important not only at the bank, but at hospitals, dispensaries and other places because of the shifting about. In a single month last year 1,000 removals were recorded. In many instances families have changed homes four or five times during the year. "Many a butcher and grocer comes hot-foot to the fund to find out where the tenant has flown. All addresses, however, are held as confidential, but note is taken of any delinquency, the woman's story is then heard, advice is given, and if the misdemeanor is aggravated and continuous, checks are temporarily held up." The fund is thus able to protect the small butcher and grocer, to the tune of perhaps \$15 a month, while encouraging a high standard of honesty for its soldiers' families.

Delay in the receipt of separation allowance or army pay leads other women to come seeking loans and a business-like plan of repayment is arranged, with the fund protected by its control over subsequent monthly checks. In three months last summer 451 loans were made amounting to \$2,691.46, and 450 returned amounting to \$2,405.68. A considerable proportion were to advance payments on life insurance policies. Some \$200,000 worth of such policies were thus saved last year which otherwise would have lapsed. Most of the policies are on the industrial plan, running from \$20 to \$1,000, but there have been several of from \$2,000 to \$3,000, and one of \$5,000. The war rates made the premiums high, but in many cases it has been more than a question of lending money so as to spread a lump sum out over several months.

Thus one woman with three children had allowed a \$500 policy on her husband to lapse, although he was then with the Canadian troops in France. She had no conception whatever of the value and meaning of life insurance or the waiving of its rules by the company. A medical certificate from the regimental doctor and an application for renewal from the man involved weeks of correspondence, but the policy was reinstated. "We have argued with a woman for an hour," writes George W. Elliott, secretary of the Montreal Relief Committee, "over the relative value of a new skirt and a policy on the life of her husband, who at the time was actually dodging German souvenirs in Flanders." In another case a soldier's wife had an idea that insurance was a pretty good thing for rich people, but was not inclined to make any sacrifice to hold

her husband's \$1,000 policy. She finally consented to borrow \$50 and repay it in monthly instalments. Subsequently both she and her child were sick, and the money had not been fully refunded last June when the man was killed in action.

If death occurs in a family a burial allowance is given, or interment is provided in the Patriotic Fund cemetery lot. Of lesser emergencies, some of the calls for help which come to the reception room are unemployment, desertion, piano to be sacrificed, furniture not paid up, eviction, land lots to be forfeited, no food or fuel in the house, no soldier's pay received after soldier sailed, no separation allowance sent by the government, husband on picket duty, and not enough money for family to live on. Some of the applicants have no claim on the fund and are promptly referred to the regular philanthropic agencies.

In a fund case, the interviewer draws on the case records and calls in the ward head if present. If away and the need is urgent, the latter is telephoned to and immediate help may be given from the cash emergency desk upon requisition of the convener of the auxiliary. In cases of serious illness, "compassionate allowance" over and above the regular grant may be given to fund beneficiaries, and altogether perhaps \$1,000 a month is given in exceptional aid. But in general the whole pressure of the work is to prevent soldiers' families from appealing to other societies, and to meet the ordinary exigencies of life by the careful handling of their monthly income. Leaflets and educational work by the visitors led 951 families last year to take out savings books.

One interesting desk in the office is that of the volunteer who handles trust accounts. Such accounts are opened for orphans or children placed in institutions. A wife goes insane, or is immoral, or intemperate, and the soldier may request the fund to handle not only the fund grant, but his assigned pay and separation allowance. A reservist may ask this for his aged mother. A separate bank book is taken out, grants deposited and checks are drawn to the district head, guardian, institution, the Charity Organization Society, or whoever is responsible for the ward. Little Kitty's artificial-leg money is one of these individual accounts. The first case to come on the fund was that of an English reservist's family, in due time sent at their request to be with parents in England (a practice since largely discontinued because of war conditions). The soldier returned, medically unfit, to find his home "sold up," his family gone. A job on a cattle ship was found for him so that he might rejoin his family, and while he waited for the boat to sail he had the fund keep his pocket money so that he would not drink it up.

A legal aid service is maintained with fifteen English and six French lawyers giving their services. Women have applied under assumed names, passing as wives of soldiers when they had husbands alive and not "on the strength." Others have signed on as widows when a husband has been in the immediate background, while others have hastily adopted one or two children in order to draw increased allowances. But to protect the fund is only part of this legal work.

[Continued on page 705]

THE CANADIAN PATRIOTIC FUND—MONTREAL BRANCH

10301 families have applied to the fund up to January 1, 1917.

	Canadian & British Res.	French Reservists	Belgian Reservists	Italian Reservists	Total
Number of applicants to July 31, 1915..	5014	612	116	0	5742
Number of applicants to July 31, 1916..	8559	639	117	111	9426
Number of applicants to Jan. 1, 1917..	9413	653	117	118	10301

Families who have received regular monthly help from date of their application to January 1, 1917.

English Canadian	French Canadian	French Reservists	Belgian Reservists	Italian Reservists	Others	Total
1942	689	301	39	58	58	3087

Families who have received help to January 1, 1917.

English Canadian	French Canadian	French Reservists	Belgian Reservists	Italian Reservists	Others	Total
5138	2193	549	116	114	57	8167

Families who have never received help in cheques, but have been assisted in other ways—legal aid, correspondence, S. A. Emergency, Grants, etc.

English Canadian	French Canadian	French Reservists	Belgian Reservists	Italian Reservists	Total
1287	738	104	1	4	2134

Number of families receiving from fund.

	British Reservists	French Canadian	English Canadian	French Reservists	Belgian Reservists	Italian Reservists	Total
In July, 1916	3529	340	47	56	64	3972	
In Dec., 1916	780	2645	333	46	64	3868	
	\$11,230.75	\$39,215.75	\$7,053.83	\$1,438.00	\$1,367.00		

During the second year of the war 6933 families representing 23,684 dependents of soldiers received monthly allowance and friendly help.

Adults	11,243
Children under 5 years.....	5,574
Children under 14 years.....	6,867

The grant per family averaged \$16.45 to January 1, 1917, from August, 1914.

Canadians	British Reservists	French Reservists	Belgian Reservists	Italian Reservists
\$15.05	\$17.29	\$21.25	\$31.25	\$21.68

New applicants were for the second year of the war, ending July 31, 1916.

English Can. British Born	English Canadian	French Canadian	British Army	French Reservists	Belgian Reservists	Italian Reservists	Others	Total
1290	626	1317	45	27	1	111	267	3684
Protestant	1592	Roman Catholic	2057	Hebrews	29	Other Religions	6	Total
Wives	2547	Mothers	966	Fathers	73	Other Relations	97	3684



THE NEW RED CROSS BUILDING AT WASHINGTON, OCCUPIED BEFORE IT WAS COMPLETED

Mobilized on Moving Day

Red Cross Work in the Midst of Difficulties

PERHAPS the nation will never know one story of preparation that has been going on hurriedly but quietly throughout the country since the severance of diplomatic relations with Germany.

If that break threw a bomb into the circles of diplomats, it threw one also into the organization of the American Red Cross. Germany could not have chosen an unkinder time to issue her order concerning unrestricted submarine warfare. On Saturday, February 3, President Wilson broke off relations and gave Ambassador von Bernstorff his passports. By that same action he served notice upon the Red Cross that every scrap of its resources might be needed at a moment's notice to care for sick and wounded American soldiers and for their dependents at home.

Saturday was one of the coldest days Washington has known. Only twenty-four hours before, the national headquarters of the Red Cross had moved into the sumptuous new building provided after long effort by the New York State Commandery of the Loyal Legion as a memorial in honor of the loyal women of the Civil War. It was no reflection on the warm hearts of the donors that the building strongly resembled a refrigerating plant on that momentous day. Uncrated office furniture and unboxed records stood around everywhere. Everything was in confusion. Workmen brandishing paintbrushes rubbed elbows with department chiefs trying to think

what advice to give chapters hundreds of miles away in the emergency.

The Red Cross, in those chilly surroundings and half-moved condition, had to bring its full resources to the point of instant mobilization without delay. Fortunately it had been preparing for some time. The lessons of European war relief and the mobilization of our own troops on the Mexican border had taught it many things. An elaborate organization by each chapter had been well started. Indeed, so effective had been the preliminary work in many communities that when emergency orders were issued on February 3 and subsequently, all that many chapters had to do was to report: "Everything is done. We are as ready as we can be until the actual need is here."

On that first day a long telegram of instructions went from headquarters to every one of the 272 chapters then existing. One step urged was to secure immediate option on adequate space, centrally located, for office and storage room and to get this space rent free, if possible. Another was to appoint the following committees, if they were not already appointed: finance, hospital garments and surgical supplies, comfort bags, packing and shipping, publicity and information, motor service, and a committee on cooperation with outside organizations which should begin work at once. Graduate nurses volunteering for service were to be referred

to the Red Cross Bureau of Nursing Service at Washington. Doctors also were to be referred to Washington. Men wishing to give service were to be urged to take courses in first aid, and the possibility of organizing sanitary training detachments was to be taken up at once.

The responses telling what the chapters had done, what they had under way, and asking for more advice and information, began to come in immediately. Within forty-eight hours headquarters were out of all circulars and instruction blanks, of which they usually have an unlimited supply. The correspondence rose to mountainous proportions almost overnight and fourteen new stenographers were added to handle it. The let-up has not yet come.

The executive committees of many chapters met on Sunday, February 4. The telegram of instructions was gone over phrase by phrase and whatever was not attended to was then arranged for. New committees, if needed, were appointed on the spot. Whatever was required to bring the organization in each community up to plans and specifications was begun.

Elmira, N. Y., wired as follows: "We already have roomy, centrally located headquarters, rent free. Our committees for finance, hospital garments and surgical supplies and comfort bags already appointed, the latter having to their credit over 7,000 surgical dressings and 500 garments, also 2,000 comfort bags. These are already shipped for the most part to European sufferers. Twelve outside organizations are working in cooperation with us."

Glens Falls, N. Y., reported that the vice-president of a local insurance company had offered the chapter the entire fifth floor of the company's building for "as long as required." Here were being established an office, packing rooms and three work rooms. All committees were appointed and fifty people were at work on gauze dressings.

Cleveland reported that its headquarters were established in a twenty-four-room residence only a mile from the center of the city, which it occupied rent free. Here its various committees were actively at work. The committee on motor service, it said, would be appointed at once.

Chicago replied on February 6 that its Red Cross shop was open and prepared to give instruction in the making of surgical dressings and to turn out large quantities of them. The board of education, churches, settlements and women's clubs, it said, had agreed to the use of their facilities whenever it became necessary. An ambulance corps was being recruited in the University of Chicago, and sanitary service corps were being formed in connection with some of the big industrial and commercial firms.

Fond du Lac, Wis., reported that its headquarters were ready for service.

Berkeley, Cal., wired: "Will start Wednesday door to door canvass with neighborhood women in charge. Begin making supplies Wednesday. Ample store accommodations already secured. Civil and fraternal organizations through executives promise immediate and hearty cooperation. Monday papers will contain call for volunteers for different departments."

San Francisco wired that the Union Pacific Club of that city had given it an option on a fireproof building owned by the club, rent free. A committee of manufacturers was working on equipment for the plant and "will be able at a moment's notice to install this," as well as to furnish help from factories to instruct women working in the sewing classes. A large number of power sewing machines, it said, could be secured quickly, a committee of merchants was to act as a purchasing committee for materials, and the committee on packing and transportation was made up of shipping men familiar with that work.

One of the most important instructions was that concerning motor service. Each chapter was asked to compile at once a list of all motor cars and motor trucks available for volunteer service. These, if the need for action came, would be useful for transporting people and supplies, for quick messenger service and for many forms of work.

Boston's response to this instruction was typical. The president of the automobile club was made chairman of the committee on motor service at the meeting on Sunday. Monday morning he spent at his telephone, calling upon friends, acquaintances and strangers to let themselves be listed in the motor corps. The corps was made up in short order, but so much publicity was given the plan that offers of assistance are still coming in.

Boston responded also in other ways. With a view to making cooperation between the Red Cross and other organizations more effective, the chapter has included in its executive committee representatives of many of these groups. The committee on cooperation is reaching definite agreements with outside bodies. The local committee on civilian relief, under the chairmanship of John F. Moors, who had charge of relief work after the Salem fire, as well as experience in San Francisco and Chelsea, is working out plans and may even go so far as to rehearse for emergency relief.

Even before the latest instructions, Boston had shown how Red Cross organization intended for a crisis could do effective community service when no crisis is at hand. Under Mrs. F. S. Mead a corps of women drivers, consisting of women who own and are accustomed to driving their own cars, was formed last fall. Over sixty women joined the corps. Not wanting to be idle until an emergency should arise, they asked what interim service they could render. Fifteen hundred children were then being given after-care treatment at the hospitals of the city as a result of the infantile paralysis epidemic. Some of these children had to be brought in from miles outside the city. The women's motor corps organized to do this service and each member devotes stated hours during the week to bringing distant children to the hospitals and taking them back again. So far the plan has worked with great success, the women sticking to their tasks in every weather.

In such ways Red Cross chapters are preparing themselves for a larger community service. Meanwhile, the work of creating new chapters and increasing the membership has gone ahead by leaps and bounds. On February 1 the number of chapters stood at 272. In the next four weeks twenty-six new chapters sprang into being. In the first week of March fourteen more were added. Chapters are now being formed at the rate of two and three a day. Large cities and small are joining in the desire to be part of the Red Cross organization. Campaigns are just being concluded in New Orleans, Atlanta, St. Louis, Pittsburgh and many other cities. In many places, too small for chapters, auxiliaries are being formed, groups of ten or more members joining to do one or more specific things.

The individual membership, also, has responded to the stimulus of the international situation. On February 1 this stood at 299,000. Today it is probably 350,000. St. Louis began its chapter with a membership this month of between 10,000 and 15,000. Scranton, Pa., has recently pushed its membership to more than 5,000; New Haven and Bridgeport, Conn., to 10,000 and 15,000, respectively, and Ridgewood, N. J., which has a population of 7,000, to 2,100. The Bridgeport chapter was started about two weeks after the possible results of an explosion in one of the big munition plants had been discussed. In many localities large industrial plants are being canvassed and the employes are joining in large numbers.

Thus, out of a membership of 8,000 in the Lynn, Mass., chapter, 3,500 are employed by the General Electric Company.

Eliot Wadsworth, acting chairman of the Red Cross, declared the other day that "the time has come when we must seek and obtain the undivided support of patriotic Americans everywhere," and issued an appeal for 1,000,000 members. On Monday of this week the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America endorsed this appeal and declared that

the 207,000 Protestant churches in the country could alone furnish this membership if pastors would present the matter to their congregations and appoint committees to secure members from each church. "Every pastor should himself be a member of the Red Cross," read the council's appeal.

The attainment of this membership does not seem a hopeless goal if the history of the past year is a criterion of what can be done in the future.

The Machinery of Misery

Germany's Social Organization For Civilian Relief During War

By *Bruno Lasker*

OF THE SURVEY STAFF

THE news of German organization for social service during the war which has come to this country has been sporadic and incomplete. Prominent workers to whom we have looked in the past for interpretations of social movements in Germany are too busy creating and organizing to find time for descriptive accounts of what is taking place. Visitors to Germany during the war have rarely seen more than a small section of the country and have brought back with them no concise information on the social forces as a whole. The imperial government is not at present at all anxious that the world should know either what need for social aid there exists in the country or what steps have been taken to make the best of all available resources, and has published no useful statistics. Yet it is possible to piece together from isolated bits of news a general picture of the machinery for preventing distress, and aiding those suffering when it cannot be prevented, which has been built up since the outbreak of the war from the excellent material of a widely diffused community effort long previous in existence.

Even German students have been astonished to find how well the social legislation of empire and states has stood the test of war and how great a structure of voluntary service it has been possible to raise on the solid foundation of its organization. The great state insurance funds, for instance, have not only remained intact and in good working order, in spite of innumerable changes in personnel and many new problems of administration, but, through their principal officers, cooperate actively with the different relief agencies in efforts bordering their own. The most remarkable phenomenon, however, has been the rapidity and completeness with which existing voluntary social services of every kind have fallen into a general national scheme of emergency endeavor which has multiplied the usefulness of their separate efforts. We cannot, in America, adopt much of German social legislation, successful and suggestive though it is, because fundamental conditions are too different. But in this coordination of existing services for a national patriotic purpose, there are lessons of considerable practical importance for an American social preparedness program.

We are not here concerned with those sections of the social service which are in closest affiliation to the army itself or bound up with the conduct of war, the care of wounded and

disabled soldiers, of war prisoners, of the armies en route and in the trenches, though in these also the cooperation of the authorities, the Red Cross, and of voluntary agencies is a remarkably close and successful one. But we are concerned rather with the matter of civilian relief, the fitting of a nation to the task of maintaining civilized standards in the midst of calamity, of protecting the women and children for the time or permanently bereft of their breadwinner, of preventing destitution and supplementing with individual and humane care the wholesale measures of relief taken by the state.

First, and most important, of these tasks is the material provision for the dependents of soldiers in the field. It was a stupendous one from the beginning and has since increased as new mobilization orders included more and more the age groups which contain a majority of family supporters and as, with the rising cost of living, the need for additional payments to supplement the income of wage-earning families rose from point to point. In Berlin alone, 62,980 families were in receipt of war pay, amounting to about \$321,000, in August, 1914. In April, 1916, the number had increased to 228,429 families, receiving over two and a half million dollars; in December, 1916, the monthly total had increased to nearly three and a half million dollars. During the first year of the war, the total payments for the whole empire amounted to a little over twelve million dollars. By December, 1916, the cash payments to soldiers' families in Berlin alone had risen to nearly fifty-four million dollars.

It should be noted that in all but the poorest towns and cities the appropriations of the imperial treasury for this purpose represent only a fraction of these large sums. By far the greater part is raised locally by the taxpayers, either generally to supplement the regular payments to dependents of soldiers or for the support of widows and orphans, or payment of house rent, or discharge of debts incurred during the war, or food and fuel charities. For this reason there is the greatest diversity in methods of administration. The underlying principle is that each family shall be assisted in such a way and to such an extent that the soldier on his return will find its economic position changed as little as possible. The imperial and state governments repeatedly have warned the communes that they must not look upon their work as poor relief and apply to it the accustomed standards. As a result there has

been a general departure from the usual principles of dealing with such matters as unemployment or threatened eviction for non-payment of rent.

New and perplexing problems arose on every hand. They were by no means solved uniformly. Was a minimum standard of nutrition to be made the basis of family relief, or was the local relief payment to be in the form of a regular percentage supplement to the imperial war payment? Both methods have been adopted; the supplement often exceeding the original allowance by over 100 per cent. In some places all relief is given in cash; in others the greater part is provided in kind—no doubt to reduce the cost. In many small towns, having to dispose of only small revenues, no local addition at all has been voted to the war allowances from the imperial treasury, with the result that their residents are much worse off than those of the large cities.

Again, there has been much diversity in deciding whether a woman's earnings during the war were to be deducted from the amount which she would be allowed if not working, and whether grants made by employers to the families of their employes at the front should be so deducted. As regards the latter point, it seems obvious that these payments were not intended to relieve the taxpayers but to constitute a boon to the employes, and this view is taken by most of the local authorities. As to the treatment of the recipient's own earnings, no agreement has been reached by the municipalities which have conferred upon this subject. A few cities, including Mannheim and Charlottenburg, have compromised by setting up the rule that a certain minimum of earnings—usually five dollars per week—is not to be counted, and that from earnings in excess of this amount one-half is to be deducted in lieu of communal war allowance. Another question arises from the necessity of contributing towards the payment of house rent. In Germany, where house owners often are by no means wealthy men, a general moratorium would have ruined thousands of them. On the other hand, if it were generally known that the city was paying all rents due by people unable to afford them, exorbitant claims would soon be made. Ex-

tending the scope of agencies already in embryo in times of peace, some of the cities have tried to get over this difficulty by creating commissions for rent arbitration and with powers, sometimes, of fixing maximum rents for certain classes of dwellings to limit the claims which might be made on the war funds. The importance of the rent payments may be seen from the fact that in December, 1916, the city of Berlin paid over \$525,000 on rent contributions alone, out of a total payment to the families of soldiers amounting to nearly three and a half million dollars.

With all care, it is impossible for the authorities spending from public funds sufficiently to differentiate relief payments in accordance with the accustomed standard of living of the different classes, other than is partially indicated by the military rank of the father. It is obvious, on the other hand, that without such differentiation much hardship is inflicted not only on those of higher social standing but also on those who, by their own exertions, have got a nice home together or made it possible to send their children to better schools. For this reason the patriotic fund (the *Nationalstiftung*), which since the outbreak of the war has collected approximately 150 million dollars to supplement public relief funds, has found it necessary to add to the public payment where this seems desirable in the interest of a social justice which transcends mere equality of claims upon the community.

Gifts in Kind

IN AN emergency affecting large numbers of persons, gifts in kind are bound to play an important part. They enable participation in a great humane effort on the part of large numbers of people who cannot afford appreciable cash contributions. Thus the collection of gifts of clothing, food and other material aid was made the task of a special division of the Red Cross which also acts as a central purchasing agency for other material distributed in relief of distress. This branch is quite separate from the great stores of the Red Cross for war purposes.

The scarcity of food has given rise to new problems which



VOLUNTARY WORKERS AND NURSES ON HOME LEAVE FROM THE FRONT CARE FOR THOUSANDS OF CHILDREN IN IMPROVED OPEN-AIR DAY NURSERIES



ONE OF THE DAY NURSERIES IN THE SUBURBS OF BERLIN WHICH HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED TO FREE MOTHERS FOR A PLACE IN INDUSTRY

the German municipalities have tackled with ingenuity and courage, though not always with success. Some of them, like Bielefeld, have become farmers and breeders, others have gone into the produce business, both wholesale and retail. Some have started cooperative purchasing societies, either managed entirely by the city or with the aid of private dealers. Again others have acted entirely through existing channels of trade, merely bringing about machinery for frequent conference with every branch of the food trades. The result in many places has been unsatisfactory because, with genuinely scarce supplies, the effect of mass purchases by the city has had an unfavorable rather than a favorable influence upon prices and, in some cases, has even created artificial scarcity where none was before. It is doubtful, however, whether any other measure was possible to lower prices or whether cooperative action on the part of dealers without interference of the municipalities would have succeeded better. The fact is that the imperial government, in this matter, has left the local authorities with a task which it had neither the experience nor the means of fulfilling.

An incident of special interest in connection with the scarcity of food is the alacrity with which the government is making use of the splendid system for cooperative purchase and distribution built up by the German social democratic party in spite of every discouragement and hostility on the part of this same government during the last two decades. It was the only organization equipped to handle a big task of this kind; and the German cooperative wholesale society at Hamburg, which has been its center, as well as the local branches have been taken over with all their premises, supplies and personnel and been given practically official status.

More and more the public kitchen has become an established part of the machinery for reducing the cost of living. In Berlin alone, twenty-three committees of the National Women's Service, with 1,400 voluntary workers, are running charitable kitchens where tens of thousands regularly receive their daily bread. Since July, 1916, the city of Berlin itself has opened "central kitchens," and practically all the suburbs of

the capital have such institutions where meals are served and cooked food is sold for home consumption at cost price. The purchasing department of the united relief agencies in Berlin itself has established a "war kitchen" for its own employes where 1,500 of them daily dine or sup. The Red Cross has opened a number of "cocoa rooms" on the lines of similar commercial establishments, but with this difference that a cup of this nutritious beverage with bread and butter can be had for half a cent.

The Red Cross

AMONG the relief organizations, the Red Cross takes the leading place. For ten years it had prepared and perfected a plan which enabled it, when the war broke out, to clear its deck for action with the same rapidity which characterized the mobilization of the German army. The Red Cross work originally was divided into five main sections under the general control of a central committee of which General von Pfuell is now the president. General welfare work devoted to the combat of sickness and destitution in the civil population formed one of the divisions in the original scheme. Now, however, there are twenty-three divisions, and the welfare work, with which alone we are here concerned, assumed such importance during the progress of the war that it has been subdivided into three groups, the first of which is engaged in fighting tuberculosis and contagious disease, the second has for its task the protection of infancy and motherhood, the third is responsible for family welfare work in the narrower meaning of the term. In all these branches, the organization of the Red Cross has provided a framework within which the numerous national, state and local social activities of the country could group themselves naturally in accordance with their separate functions. The Red Cross itself, during the first half of the war, cared for about 30,000 persons in Berlin; during the whole period of the war up to date well over 100,000.

Shortly after the war broke out, a new division had to be added to the civilian work of the Red Cross, to aid the German refugees who had fled from hostile countries and invaded

territories. With those from Belgium and France, in the first months of the war, streams of impoverished East Prussians rushing towards Berlin from the Russian invasion soon joined. In April, 1915, between 70,000 and 80,000 of them were in Berlin. For many weeks, relief stations were maintained at the railway depots, where nurses and health officers received those arriving, many of them in a pitiable condition, and distributed them to the various homes. Under a ministerial decree of January, 1915, this division of the Red Cross was given the duty of caring for all German fugitives from foreign countries. Receiving stations were opened in Singen (Baden), Goch (Rhine Province) and Sassnitz (on the Isle of Rügen), and distributing centers in Duesseldorf, Cologne, Dortmund, Frankfurt, Cassel, Hannover, Breslau.

These thousands had not only to be provided with immediate necessities and shelter, but as far as possible permanent homes were found for them and the means of earning a living. From one collecting center with 800 beds, in the Criminal Court building of Berlin, the great majority were distributed either into more or less permanent residences of their own or into smaller family shelters. In this connection, the collection and distribution of clothes, already referred to, played a prominent part, since many of the fugitives had saved almost none of their belongings. In addition to gifts received in kind, this branch had spent, by April, 1915, about \$2,000 in linen and woolen goods, about \$10,000 in shoes, and about \$3,500 in garments for confirmation. A special service was established, with the aid of other agencies, to care for the children and youths of these refugees, many of whom were distributed to institutions or boarded out in families. By April, 1915, an employment department established in this division, had found work for over 1,000 girls in domestic service, for 2,000 persons in agriculture, for 3,000 men and 1,000 women in public employment.

Jugendfuersorge, the care of adolescents, in the course of the war, has assumed such importance as to make necessary the formation of yet another separate division. As in England and France, the removal of the father often led to a lack of home control and an increase in juvenile delinquency which threatened to become serious. Under the leadership of the wife of the Prussian minister, Trott zu Solz, this department endeavored, first of all, to disburden mothers thrown by the war into the necessity of going out to earn their living. Agencies for supervising home work and recreation—a form of social service which for long has enjoyed much popularity in Germany—were extended and multiplied. In addition, funds were collected and administered to pay scholarships and provide clothes and shoes for children kept away from school because of inability, owing to the greatly increased cost of living, of their otherwise self-supporting mothers to keep them in these necessities. With the high wages paid for male workers, there was a tendency for boys to escape school attendance and go to work; this also has been corrected as far as possible by a joint effort of the child-caring agencies.

The Children's Bit

THE services of these older children themselves to the fatherland have also been organized. There has been a great increase in the membership of the boy scout corps and in the patriotic duties assumed by them. The collection of metal to be used in the manufacture of munitions was one of their jobs. In one suburb of Berlin, ten carloads full of fruit stones were collected by the juvenile population for oil extraction. In all these matters there has been maintained a close cooperation between the voluntary agencies and the school and city authorities.

One field where this cooperation has been especially fruitful has been the cultivation of vacant plots, though few details of this so far have become known. In most of the large cities the practice of letting large unused plots of city land to philanthropic or cooperative societies at a nominal rent, to have them converted into small lots for workingmen, has borne excellent results for some time past. During the war, the acreage of these *Schrebergaerten* has been greatly increased, and the school authorities have taken a hand in training the older boys and girls in the best methods of cultivation.

The juvenile division of the Red Cross further helps in the selection of suitable guardians for fatherless children, takes steps to apprentice those in their care, and to send sick children to forest and seaside resorts and hospitals. In all these matters, previously existing institutions and services have, under the pressure of war, been extended and made financially secure.

The Day Nurseries

THE infant welfare division of the Red Cross has increased the number and the efficiency, through cooperation, of all the different hospitals, homes and institutions engaged in this branch of social service. Here again the necessity that mothers go into industrial occupations has vastly increased the normal need for communal provision. The accompanying illustrations show typical scenes from one of the day nurseries established since the outbreak of the war, where such mothers may leave their children during the day. It is situated in one of the suburbs of Berlin and has fifty voluntary workers, headed by the Princess Eitel Friedrich, who take care of 230 inmates, ranging in age from a few days to five and six years. Salt water treatment is provided for scrofulous children, and doctors regularly visit and occasionally attend individual cases in the mother's home. Much attention is given to the training of these little ones in good habits. In summer practically all the time is spent in the open. A sewing-room is attached to this nursery, where sixteen voluntary workers sew linen and clothing for the children and their mothers. Some of these workers are Red Cross nurses on home leave to whom this occupation with children, though strenuous, offers a welcome relief from the nerve-racking duties at the front.

In this connection, more especially, a wonderful opportunity has been created for voluntary service. It is typical of German thoroughness that hundreds, perhaps thousands, of girls in comfortable circumstances have already taken a complete year's course in kindergarten training to equip themselves for this patriotic work which, indirectly, of course, increases the fighting strength of the country by releasing for industry and good earnings married women who otherwise would have been kept at home to care for their children. The Infant Welfare division also made itself responsible for home nursing and obstetric care. It has a fund from which to supplement the income of families during varying periods before and after child birth. At such times, special endeavors are made to board the older children in suitable homes.

Another division is for legal advice, under the presidency of the ducal minister of state, Dr. von Richter. The average German woman, at normal times, is inexperienced in public matters. If confronted with extortion on the part of her husband's creditors, or her own, with rent, insurance, inheritance and mortgage questions, with family quarrels, or school requirements concerning her children, she is apt to get confused and do the wrong thing. Sometimes there are perplexing questions concerning her claim on the authorities for war payment or a widow's pension. In all these matters, the existence of a public office of counsel which, if necessary, is prepared to take her case to court, is an inestimable boon.

A Reveille to American Industry

Some Social Consequences of the Stock-taking of Men and Machines

By *John A. Fitch*

OF THE SURVEY STAFF

“NO conscientious reporter can yet say,” writes William Hard in a recent magazine article, discussing social changes due to the war in Europe, “whether it is the greatest war of history by reason of being the most destructive and desolating, or the greatest war of history by reason of being the most creative and fruitful.” This is a new view to take of war. Is it possible that there can be liberalizing influences at work that take their inspiration from a condition in itself the very antithesis of tolerance and liberalism? That is a question worth keeping before us in any consideration of the relation of this country to the struggle in Europe.

That the last Congress passed a conscription bill, and that the President signed it is not generally understood. But that very thing happened. Not the bill to conscript men into military service—that didn’t pass—but a bill to conscript property. Section 120 of the army reorganization bill, approved June 3, 1916 (public document No. 85, sixty-fourth Congress), gives the President power in time of war or “when war is imminent” to place orders for munitions with any firm capable of producing them and compliance with the order “shall be obligatory” on the firm. Compensation is to be fixed by the secretary of war and must be “fair and just.” If the firm in question refuses to fill the order the President is “authorized to take immediate possession” of the plant and to operate it, and the “responsible heads” of the firm thus refusing to serve the government “shall be deemed guilty of a felony” and shall be imprisoned for not more than three years and fined not more than \$50,000.

Such a law would not have been thought of a few years ago. A later indication that individualistic theories may have to give way still further to government control is the creation of the Council of National Defense.

To Mobilize American Industry

IT ALL began with the Industrial Preparedness Committee of the Naval Consulting Board, the latter a semi-official body, the former wholly private in character and voluntary. The chairman of the committee, Howard E. Coffin, vice-president of the Hudson Motor Car Company, was fired with the idea of mobilizing American industry to back up the army and navy. English experience in the early days of the war, when private concerns were not equipped to manufacture munitions, and when the skilled labor force necessary to turn out arms was dissipated by enlistment and departure for the front, was not unnoted by Mr. Coffin and his associates. Accordingly they set out to do what they could to promote industrial preparedness in America.

The cooperation of the five great engineering societies was secured, committees were appointed from their membership to supervise the work in each state in the Union, and a survey of American industry was begun. There are 30,000 odd firms, partnerships and corporations engaged in manufacturing in the United States, doing a business amounting to \$100,000 or more a year each. A searching questionnaire was distributed

among these concerns and fairly complete returns were received from 27,000. The chief information desired was the extent to which these establishments were prepared to manufacture munitions and supplies for the army and navy, and whether they would be willing to receive from the government small annual “educational” orders.

This is Mr. Coffin’s pet scheme. If each manufacturing establishment each year were to make even a small quantity of munitions for the government the factory organization would learn just how to do the work, what raw materials are essential, what tools are required, what tests must be met, and would be prepared to manufacture munitions on a large scale when called upon to do so. Thus, at a blow, as the officers of the council like to tell you, “the ghost of a munitions trust would be laid.”

About 60 per cent of the firms replying to the questionnaire expressed a willingness to accept such educational orders and Congress has authorized the placing of them.

The Council of National Defense

THE Council of National Defense was created by an act of Congress approved August 29, 1916. Its membership consists of the secretaries of war, navy, interior, agriculture, commerce and labor, with a director and an advisory commission of seven civilians, nominated by the council and appointed by the President. These include Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad; Howard E. Coffin, vice-president of the Hudson Motor Car Company; Dr. Hollis Godfrey, president of Drexel Institute, Philadelphia; Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor; Julius Rosenwald, president of Sears-Roebuck and Company; Dr. Franklin H. Martin, of Chicago, and Bernard M. Baruch, of New York. The council has opened headquarters in a Washington office building and is planning a campaign of industrial preparedness of broadest scope.

Its duty is to advise the government with respect to three matters of great present importance: The best and quickest methods of mobilizing troops, the kind of supplies needed for national defense, and the quickest and most efficient methods of producing those supplies. As outlined in the law and duties of the council the aims are:

“To supervise and direct investigations and make recommendations to the President and the heads of executive departments as to the location of railroads with reference to the frontier of the United States so as to render possible expeditious concentration of troops and supplies to points of defense; the coordination of military, industrial and commercial purposes in the location of extensive highways and branch lines of railroad; the utilization of waterways; the mobilization of military and naval resources for defense; the increase of domestic production of articles and materials essential to the support of armies and the people during the interruption of foreign commerce; the development of sea-going transportation; the collection of data as to amounts, location, method and means of production, and availability of military supplies;

the giving of information to producers and manufacturers as to the class of supplies needed by the military and other services of the government, the requirements relating thereto, and the creation of relations which will render possible in time of need the immediate concentration and utilization of the resources of the nation."

The advisory commission has organized by appointing committees and dividing the work among them. These committees, with the chairman, are as follows:

Transportation and communication, Mr. Willard, chairman; munitions, manufacturing, including standardization and industrial relations, Mr. Coffin, chairman; supplies, including food, clothing, etc., Mr. Rosenwald, chairman; raw materials, minerals and metals, Mr. Baruch, chairman; labor, including conservation of health and welfare of workers, Mr. Gompers, chairman; medicine, including general sanitation, Dr. Martin, chairman; science and research, including engineering and education, Dr. Godfrey, chairman.

Inventories of 27,000 Plants

THE council has taken over the work of the Industrial Preparedness Committee of the Naval Consulting Board, and the 27,000 plant inventories secured by that body are in its files. In order to assist in the preparation of blue prints, and the securing of the gauges and dies necessary to enable the plants that expressed a willingness to manufacture munitions to turn to quantity production, a Munitions Standards Board has been created, consisting of six experts under the supervision of Mr. Coffin.

As to the other problems that are engaging the attention of the council, they may be summed up in the language of Walter S. Gifford, formerly statistician of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, who is director of the council. Speaking before the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce last week, Mr. Gifford said, in part:

"Some months ago the medical organizations of the country formed a committee on medical preparedness, and this committee collected records of over 20,000 physicians and surgeons, and inventoried hospitals and nurses. This work has also been transferred to the Council of National Defense and is now being carried on by the council under the supervision of Dr. Martin. The council has already caused the establishment of courses in military medicine in some fifty of the medical schools and colleges of the country, and army medical officers have been detailed to give the necessary instructions. A committee has been formed under the supervision of Dr. Martin for the standardization of surgical instruments and supplies. At present there is no one standard for these articles, with the result that the army, navy, public health, Red Cross and volunteer civilian organizations may each have a standard of its own. For efficiency in time of war it is essential that so far as possible one standard be adopted. The medical section of the council is also finding out from such medical men in this country as have been to the front in Europe what their experience has been and what lessons we might draw from it.

"On transportation, the American Railway Association has formed a committee of which Fairfax Harrison, president of the Southern Railway, is chairman, to work under the supervision of Daniel Willard and to advise and assist in carrying out the transportation duties of the Council of National Defense. This committee, which has four sub-committees, one for each of the military departments of the government, met in Washington recently at the offices of the council and commission and there learned in detail from General Kuhn, president of the War College, and Colonel Baker, of the Quartermaster's Department of the Army, something as to the probable transportation needs of the government in time of war.

"On the subject of labor, Mr. Gompers is studying in

cooperation with Mr. Coffin, whose committee is charged, among other things, with the question of industrial relations, the proper method for building up an industrial reserve in the country through the means of which skilled labor will be kept on the job and not sent to the fighting front in case of war. The experience of European countries has shown that it is fatal to allow the skilled mechanics to be sent to the front when they are needed much more in the factory. A soldier may be made in some months, while a skilled mechanic cannot be made under some years.

"As regards raw materials, minerals and metals, and supplies, including food, clothing, etc., we are finding out the approximate amount of materials that would be needed to put an assumed force of a million men in the field and the amounts needed for each ninety days of service in the field. With this as a basis it will be possible to estimate the amount of raw materials that would be needed and from this information to discover the weak spots and make recommendations as to what should be done in regard thereto.

"As to science and research, we have not only Dr. Godfrey and his committee assisting, but the National Research Council, which was formed at the invitation of the President by the American Academy of Sciences, stands ready to carry out any lines of research that may be deemed desirable in connection with national defense."

Here, then, we have in outline the plans for a movement that has a significance far transcending its immediate importance as a factor in preparedness for war. The fact that most of the program is still in the planning stage—with the brief time that has elapsed since its organization it could not be otherwise—detracts not a whit from its essential importance. Here is an official body consisting of members of the President's cabinet and an advisory body on which science, business and labor are represented, charged with the duty of advising the government respecting whatever needs to be done to eliminate weakness and to foster strength in our national economic life. The council, in addition to specific commissions with respect to defense, is to make recommendations to the government regarding "the creation of relations which will render possible in time of need *the immediate concentration and utilization of the resources of the nation.*"

The Great Opportunity Ahead

COMPOSED as they are of honest and patriotic Americans, the council and its advisory commission will find it impossible to carry out either the spirit or the letter of the requirement just quoted without subjecting to searching examination and test every phase of our national economic life. It is within the power of the council to set in motion a force for the conservation of all our national resources, material and human, on a scale that has never before been possible. Confronted by the possibility of war, real patriotism requires the sweeping away of theories and practices that do not stand the test of whatever will best conserve the national strength.

It is to be expected, therefore, that both labor and capital will be asked to yield somewhat for the common good. Careful research and just conclusions on this point will be awaited from the Council for National Defense to the end that on the one hand there shall be no special interests fattening at the expense of the nation's need, and on the other that no class in society shall be asked to carry burdens beyond its strength or beyond its just share.

We may well believe that the council will not hesitate to point out every weakness in our methods of doing business. To do less would be false to their trust. If at any point the facts indicate that direct government ownership or operation is more economical than to purchase supplies in the market or to contract for them, we may expect them to recommend

such action. For example, the government is now in possession of and is operating an oil refinery on one of the nation's great oil preserves. It was testified before a committee of the last Congress that the government is producing gasoline at this refinery at a manufacturing cost of six cents a gallon. The council will not, of course, fail to appreciate the significance of such testimony.

Already it is proposed that in the event of war and the private manufacture of munitions and supplies for the government, profits shall be strictly limited. The United States Chamber of Commerce has suggested that excess profits due to war conditions, be prohibited; that is, that they be limited to the rate prevailing in times of peace. Whether this would be a just arrangement or not is a matter that deserves careful thought. It may be said, however, that Director Gifford, of the council, is warmly sympathetic with the idea not only that war profits should be eliminated, but that, on the other hand, labor should not be penalized through a decline in real wages due to war prices. If it should be considered fair to establish a peace basis for profits, the same might be done, in the opinion of Mr. Gifford, for wages. That is, they should be so adjusted to the cost of necessities that their purchasing power should not be less in war time than they were before the outbreak of hostilities.

In the whole matter of the relation of labor to the national defense, the experience of England can no more be overlooked than can European experience in matters of strategy. Attention has frequently been directed, in this country, to England's "unpreparedness" in the matter of munitions factories, and to her grievous error in letting her skilled workmen enlist and go to the front. We have been told far less of England's serious mistakes in its treatment of labor in the factories. The government soon recognized the importance of labor as a factor in production, but it failed to consider it seriously as an integral, thinking element in the country's life, and with a stake in its future.

The government failed, in the second place, to consider the requirements of justice with respect to capital and labor in war time. It asked the unions to give up their restrictions on output, on hours of labor and to yield other safeguards that had been won only by years of struggle. It appealed to them to sink their private interests in patriotic service to their country, and it asked them not to strike. Later it passed a law which practically makes it a crime to strike. It did all this without interfering in the slightest degree with the piling up of huge war profits by the employers. It left the increase in the cost of living to take care of itself and asked the workers to be quiescent in the face of a decline in real wages. The result was an unrest and a revolt on the part of the workers

that has been freely denounced in editorial comment in this country as "unpatriotic."

But England learned. She recognized that the workers are a part of the thought and life of the country instead of mere instruments of production, and she invited labor representatives to sit in her reconstructed cabinet. She saw the unfairness of unrestricted profits on the one hand and a declining purchasing power of wages on the other—so she put a limit on profits and raised wages. Most important of all, perhaps, she saw that maximum production is possible only when the workers are healthy and not overworked. She investigated the health of her munition workers and made studies of fatigue with the result that sanitary conditions have been improved, hours have been reduced, and holidays restored.

It may be assumed that Samuel Gompers, who is a member of the advisory commission of the council, knows this bit of history well. In the conference that is being held this week in Washington of the presidents of the national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the executive council of that body, a policy will doubtless be agreed upon and submitted to the Council of National Defense.

With this information at hand the council will, of course, recommend a wiser and juster course than that followed by England in the early days of the war. It will not, however, overlook the fact that in one respect no change has been made in England from the policy adopted in the beginning. The restrictions on output have not been restored. English unions had gone further in this respect than is the practice of American unions, but without doubt the question of the adoption of whatever is sound and socially desirable in scientific management must now be considered in this country as never before. The unions must make concessions in the interest of efficiency, and the scientific management men must give up their blind and narrow opposition to the participation of labor in the determining of standards.

In all of these matters the Council for National Defense has such an opportunity to contribute to a better industrialism and to a sounder national economic policy as seldom has come to a group of men in the history of the country. In a recent statement given out by the council the duty of the council was said to be "to mobilize good will within our borders, to forestall bitter dissension of race or of individuals arising from acts of passion, and in every way to conserve the national unity."

Here is a policy which, if carried out in sincerity and good faith, will result in lasting good to the nation even if the occasion for its inauguration should be the lamentable one of war.

WANDERING

By Hortense Flexner

VAGUE winds of sorrow blow
Across the night's wide lake,
There is a road I know,
But may not take.

There is a house of vines,
Where friendly shadows lie,
The window-candle shines,
But I pass by.

Afar my pilgrim load
I bear—yet ever-more,
My feet are on that road,
My hand is at the door.



COMMON WELFARE

CHURCH CRUSADE ON THE BARBARY COAST

AN "open town" for forty-nine years, San Francisco has ceased officially to tolerate prostitution. In February the police department dramatically closed more than 200 houses in the segregated district, a belated aftermath of the red light abatement law which was passed in 1913 but unenforced by District Attorney Fickert. Even in the present clean-up the district attorney's office has insisted that procedure be under the penal code directed against the women and not under the abatement law attacking property. Where laws and lawmakers failed the achievement may be credited largely to the vice campaign of the Church Federation of San Francisco under the leadership of the Rev. Paul Smith, pastor of the Central Methodist Church.

Challenged by Theodore F. Roche, president of the Police Commission, to prove that San Francisco was not the cleanest city, morally, in the world, Dr. Smith with a friend, a reporter and a private detective made a round of the supposedly non-existent houses in the up-town tenderloin, the beach resorts, the road-houses, cafés, and the prominent houses in the choice residential section which harbor clandestine vice. They had at their disposal evidence collected by the Law Enforcement League in a thorough survey of conditions a few months before. They also had unlimited use of the columns of two leading newspapers which had offered publicity for any statements for which legal proof could be furnished.

On Sunday night, January 14, armed with affidavits and first-hand material, Dr. Smith preached a sermon which literally roused San Francisco. It was printed in full in the newspapers, and as a result the minister attended one or two meetings daily, presenting fresh evidence of law violation and immorality. Public interest was so stirred that a community mass meeting was planned for January 25.

Then early on the morning of January 25 Dr. Smith received a telephone message from a friend who worked in

the segregated district, saying that on the previous night a special policeman in the employ of the madams of the houses had passed around an order saying that on penalty of losing their rooms all the girls must be in Central Church at eleven o'clock next morning to present their case to the public. Repeated rumors have connected this plan with an opposition evening paper, although the managing editor has denied it. Likewise underworld reports have arisen again and again implicating certain city officials and politicians with the move.

At any rate, about nine o'clock Dr. Smith was asked to see a number of the women who wished to seek his advice. He readily agreed, and opened the doors of his church to some 300 prostitutes. Outside were a considerable number of their men, who were refused admission by the police.

A woman reputed to have been the mistress of a prominent city official acted as spokesman. Apparently she had been coached, for she immediately entered into an address calculated to arouse public sympathy. She said the women gathered in the church were children of the poor, that with shoes at twelve dollars a pair they could not possibly live on the wages open to women. She denounced the heartlessness of society and the men who made victims of these women. She concluded with a dramatic appeal: "What will you do with us? What ship will you charter to send us away?"

Mildly protesting that neither his own nor his wife's shoes cost twelve dollars, Dr. Smith asked the women a number of questions. How many were mothers? About two-thirds raised their hands. How many were native daughters of San Francisco? About thirty responded. How many had entered the life because they could not make a living wage? Most of the women agreed on this reason. How many would be willing to do honest work at eight to ten dollars a week, guaranteeing that the community would provide work at standard rates? A derisive storm of laughter greeted this question. The consensus of opinion seemed to be that they could not get along on less than twenty to twenty-five dollars a week.

The leader of the women asked what would have been Christ's attitude toward these magdalenes. The minister replied that Christ had always forgiven, but he also had always preached, "Go and sin no more." Women who wanted to live straight would be welcomed in his church, Dr. Smith said, but he added that neither the church nor society could recognize their profession as legitimate. He invited any girl who was genuinely penitent to join the church, and a social worker, addressing the meeting, offered to see those who wanted employment.

The upshot of the meeting was that the women demanded to be left alone. The reaction upon the community did not rouse the sympathy anticipated nor did it befog the issue. The admission of the women that they would not take work at eight or ten dollars turned people against them. Instead of heckling the minister or ending the campaign, the incident only doomed the segregated district in San Francisco.

The mass meeting on the same night, attended by 7,000 people and from which some 20,000 persons were turned away, marked a new moral and political epoch for the city. Two resolutions were unanimously adopted, one asking for the appointment of a vice commission, the other demanding the granting of ten requests petitioned to the mayor.

The next day the mayor agreed to appoint the vice commission, and on the following Monday night the police commissioner issued orders covering most of the requests. He would not, however, separate the combination of public drinking and public dancing, nor require the serving of bona fide meals with drinks in cafés nor regulate the vicious French restaurants.

Finally, although the question of segregation in San Francisco had not been raised, criticism of the district attorney's record in failing to enforce the abatement law, led to the capitulation of his office. After negotiations District Attorney Fickert agreed to order the closing of every open and tolerated house of prostitution in San Francisco at the end of fifteen days, reluctantly conceding that under the law segregation must be ended.

The struggle is as yet half won. Already it is reported that prostitution flourishes, apparently with the connivance of the police, in scattered hotels and apartment houses; that the women are instructed not to leave the city as yet; that another district will be established. But the whole question has assumed important political aspects. For the first time, Dr. Smith reports, politicians are considering the possibility of reward and punishment by the church vote and are in a chastened mood. Meanwhile immediate efforts are bent toward pushing through the legislature a bill to provide care and treatment for the ousted prostitutes in a state rehabilitation farm for women, modeled after the institution at Bedford Hills, N. Y.

HEALTH INSURANCE PRO AND CON

THAT the agitation for health insurance in New York may result in the appointment of a commission to study the subject was indicated at the hearing on the Mills bill at Albany on March 7. The suggestion came from opponents of the bill and from more friendly witnesses as well, and was accepted by those actively favoring it. A bill for the creation of such a commission was introduced last week.

Just as was the case last year, the hearing revealed a sharp division. There were physicians in opposition and appearing for the bill were other physicians, including a former and the present health commissioner of New York city. Hugh Frayne, of the American Federation of Labor, spoke in opposition, while Pauline Newman, of the Woman's Trade Union League, supported it. James M. Lynch, of the State Industrial Commission, formerly head of the International Typographical Union, said that there is a sharp difference of opinion in labor circles and that organized labor as a whole has not yet taken a definite position; he and many other union men favor health insurance, but there is strong opposition also among labor men. It was the sentiment of the State Federation of Labor, said Mr. Lynch, that so important a matter should not be passed on by the legislature without further investigation and that it favored a commission to investigate.

Representatives of the National Association of Manufacturers and of the State Chamber of Commerce spoke against the Mills bill.

In Massachusetts a large state committee has been formed to advance the study of health insurance and promote health insurance legislation. For some months a small group, including physicians, social workers, an employer and a representative of organized labor has been working quietly further to develop interest in the subject. Members of this group are responsible for the introduc-

MEXICO'S CONSTITUTION ON LABOR

From a translation of the new constitution of Mexico, promulgated February 5, by H. N. Branch, in the Mexican Review for March.

EIGHT hours shall be the maximum limit of a day's work. The maximum limit of night work shall be seven hours. The maximum limit of a day's work for children over twelve and under sixteen years of age shall be six hours.

The minimum wage to be received by a workman shall be that considered sufficient, according to the conditions prevailing in the respective region of the country, to satisfy the normal needs of the life of the workman, his education, and his lawful pleasures, considering him as the head of a family. In all agricultural, commercial, manufacturing or mining enterprises the workman shall have the right to participate in the profits. The same compensation shall be paid for the same work without regard to sex or nationality. The minimum wage shall be exempt from attachment, set-off or discount. The determination of the minimum wage and of the rate of profit-sharing shall be made by special commissions to be appointed in each municipality and to be subordinated to the Central Board of Conciliation to be established in each state.

When, owing to special circumstances, it becomes necessary to increase the working hours there shall be paid as wages for the overtime 100 per cent more than those fixed for regular time. In no case shall the overtime exceed three hours nor continue for more than three consecutive days; and no women of whatever age nor boys under sixteen . . . may engage in overtime work.

In every agricultural, industrial, mining or similar class of work, employers are bound to furnish their workmen comfortable and sanitary dwelling places for which they may charge rents not exceeding one-half of 1 per cent per month of the assessed value of the properties. They shall likewise establish schools, dispensaries and other services necessary to the community. Furthermore, there shall be set aside in these labor centers, whenever their population exceeds 200 inhabitants, a space of land not less than 5,000 square meters for the establishment of public markets and the construction of buildings designed for municipal services and places of amusement. No saloons or gambling houses shall be permitted in such labor centers.

Institutions of popular insurance established for old age, sickness, life, unemployment, accident and others of a similar character, are considered of social utility; the federal and state governments shall, therefore, encourage the organization of institutions of this character in order to instill and inculcate popular habits of thrift. Cooperative associations for the construction of cheap and sanitary dwelling houses for workmen shall likewise be considered of social utility whenever these properties are designed to be acquired in ownership by the workmen within specified periods.

tion of the health insurance bill now before the Massachusetts legislature. This bill follows the general lines of the tentative draft of an act prepared by the National Committee on Social Insurance of the American Association for Labor Legislation, but has been modified in various details with the view of adapting it to Massachusetts conditions.

The small body, however, felt it inadequate to cope with the demand for educational and practical work in connection with health insurance in Massachusetts and have hence proceeded to form a large representative committee drawn from various parts of the Bay State. Dr. David L. Edsall, professor of medicine at the Harvard Medical School, and chief of the East Medical Service at the Massachusetts General Hospital, has taken the chairmanship. Among more than seventy members are included employers, men and women connected with the organized labor movement, twenty-four physicians, and many men prominent in public life or as students of the subject. Some of those on the committee are ready to urge the health insurance bill now before the legislature, others are merely in favor of the general principles of health insurance, but are not yet committed to any specific legislative proposal. An active campaign of educational work by the committee may be anticipated.

NEW ALLIES—FLOODS AND THE BOLL WEEVIL

ONLY within the past few weeks have other parts of the country learned of the serious need that has existed for months among the Negro farmers of Lowndes county, Alabama, and nearby counties as a result of heavy floods last summer and the ravages of the boll weevil. Accounts coming from the stricken region have pictured hundreds of "hungry, half-naked, barefooted, poor Negroes huddled on the frozen ground, waiting their turn to get a little ration of meat and a peck of meal." The thermometer, on the day this particular description was written, is declared to have stood at five degrees above zero, and men, women and children are asserted to have been suffering severely from sickness due to exposure.

Letohatchie, a straggling village of fifty buildings, is in the midst of this suffering region. Most of the accounts of wretchedness have been written by A. W. Jenkins, ticket agent and telegraph operator in Letohatchie, justice of the peace and owner of the local store.

Congress was informed of this distress last fall and made an appropriation to relieve it. This appropriation was expended for the most part in giving employment on roads to those in need. The money lasted only until mid-winter and left the families of the sufferers in much the same condition that it found them.

The plight of the district was first called to the attention of the Red Cross in January. W. M. McGrath, general secretary of the Associated Charities of Birmingham, went to Lowndes county for the Red Cross and found 129 families in need. He issued rations the first day of his visit, and these have been issued weekly by the Red Cross ever since. Taking into consideration the early spring in that section, Mr. McGrath estimated that the rations would have to be continued only until March 1. Relief was administered also in nearby counties, which suffered less severely.

Rains, however, put off the season and the reports of continued suffering became so persistent that Ernest P. Bicknell, director general of civilian relief of the Red Cross, went to Lowndes county early in March. As a result of his visit the weekly rations have been continued, though at a reduced rate, for another month at least, and no definite time has been set for their discontinuance. This plan has the approval of the local relief committee of citizens. Mr. Jenkins, author of the accounts of distress, is chairman of this committee.

PHILADELPHIA'S SUGAR STRIKE

ON February 7, 2,000 unorganized men, sugar workers in the refineries of Philadelphia, declared themselves dissatisfied with their working conditions and struck. They are foreigners, Poles and Lithuanians for the most part, with a sprinkling of Russians, Germans and Italians. Few of them are able to carry on a conversation in English.

Shortly after the strike was called the workers accepted the offered assistance of the Industrial Workers of the World and formed the Sugar Workers' Union in connection with that organization. At once 2,000 I. W. W. longshoremen, who work upon the sugar docks, declared themselves on strike in sympathy with the sugar workers. They made no demands for themselves, but simply refused to unload the sugar that was to be worked by strike-breakers at the three sugar refineries affected—the Franklin Sugar Refining Co. (controlling Spreckles'), a constituent of the American Sugar Refining Co., the W. J. McCahan Refining Co., and the Pennsylvania Refining Co.

The demands of the strikers were five-fold: That their day be cut from twelve to ten hours; that they be paid time and a half for overtime work and double time for work on Sundays and holidays; that they be given a general raise of 5 cents an hour instead of the bonus offered by the companies, and that the companies should recognize their right to organize.

These demands the companies flatly refused to consider. They pointed out that it would be impossible for them to

work their men in ten-hour shifts, as that would leave the sugar in the vats unworked for four hours a day while the shifts were changing. Three shifts of eight hours they likewise were unwilling to grant.

The Sugar Workers' Union conceded that the ten-hour shift would not be practicable, and declared that the workers were ready to return on the same hour scale as formerly. However, it still held to the other four demands. In a large mass meeting the workers elected a strike committee of seventeen men to present their demands to the employers. This committee the representatives of the companies refused to meet.

On February 15, Patrick Gilday, of the State Bureau of Mediation and Arbitration; Joseph A. Steace, of the State Department of Labor and Industry, and Clifton Reeves, of the United States Department of Labor, offered their services as a committee of arbitration. They secured from the strikers a statement of their demands, but returned to report that the representatives of the companies refused to consider them and that nothing could be done.

Following a serious riot which took place on February 22, George H. Frazier, president of the Franklin Sugar Refining Co., issued a statement in the form of a large advertisement in the *Evening Bulletin* of February 23. In this it was stated that on December 1, 1915, the "unskilled" labor of the company had received only 18 cents an hour, or \$2.16 per day; this had been gradually increased to the present scale of 25 cents an hour, or \$3 a day. It was stated that the company had a liberal pension system, and that on February 7, 1917, it had offered a bonus of 8 per cent on the January wages of each employe. It was further pointed out that on December 25, 1916, a Christmas gift of \$5 had been given to each worker.

Mr. Frazier refused to grant a personal interview to the writer of this report, nor could C. R. Hoodless, of the Pennsylvania Refining Co., be reached, but Mr. Peterson, the general manager, outlined the position of the Franklin company at some length. He stated that the company absolutely refused to come to terms. They did not consider that the strikers had a case, and no committee of strikers had been received. If any men returned to work they must come back seeking their positions as new men; if their places had been filled meanwhile they would not be taken back; the leaders in the strike would never be reemployed under any conditions.

Mr. Peterson stated that the companies were competent to handle their own affairs. They asked no one for advice or suggestions, and arbitration would not be considered. The I. W. W.

would never be recognized, and were looked upon merely as agitators. Unionization of any sort, even the best, he considered very dangerous for the foreigners—"Anybody knows that you can't let a Lithuanian organize," he declared.

He denied that the strike-breakers were being paid more than the former employes, but admitted that they were being lodged and fed at the company's expense. When asked how often the men were worked overtime, Mr. Peterson replied, "Not often," but he stated that "when the factory was running at full speed there would be twelve hours' work seven days per week for a large percentage of the employes." In answer to the charge of the strikers that before the strike was contemplated a few of the laborers had joined the I. W. W. and had been discharged, Mr. Peterson said: "The company never discharged anybody for belonging to the I. W. W. That would be bad business. But," Mr. Peterson winked jovially, "when we discovered that a man belonged to the I. W. W. he was invariably fired for other reasons."

At the present time the strike is at a deadlock. The companies are holding fast to their position, and only a few of the strikers have returned to work, in spite of the fact that no strike benefits have been paid. Many of them were questioned and all stated that they were able to find temporary jobs and were tiding over the strike period without much hardship. At strike headquarters it was stated that not one case of actual destitution had been reported.

GERMAN LABOR'S PLEA FOR PEACE

ORGANIZED labor in Washington is much exercised over the developing results of a message cabled to Karl Legien, president of the German Federation of Trade Unions, by Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, on the day following the dismissal of the German ambassador. The message read: "Can you not bring influence to bear on your government so that a breach with the United States may be avoided?"

In American newspapers of February 20 there was published what was represented as a Copenhagen dispatch to the Exchange Telegraph Company in London, stating that the Berlin *Vorwaerts* had published this inquiry and the following reply from Legien:

"Since the war broke out the German laboring classes have worked for peace, and they are against every extension of the war. The refusal of the enemy to consider the sincere German peace offer, the continuation of the dreadful war of starvation directed against our women and children and old people, and the open confession of our enemies that their war aim is the annihilation of Germany

—all that has caused a sharpened submarine war. Influence on our side on the government is only possible if America can persuade England to give up her war of starvation."

The text of the message sent by wireless on February 11 and later received by Mr. Gompers without intervention of the British censor read as follows: "German labor has striven for peace since the outbreak of the war. Eighteen are opposed to extension of the conflict. Rejection of Germany's sincere offer of immediate peace negotiations, continuation of the cruel war of starvation on our women, children and aged, and the enemy's frankly avowed aim of destruction of Germany have provoked the aggravation of the war. No intervention with the government on my part has any chance of success unless America prevails upon England to discontinue the war of starvation as being contrary to the law of nations. *I appeal to American labor not to allow themselves to be made catspaws of the war-mongers by sailing through the war zone and thus contributing to extension of the conflict. International labor must unflinchingly work for immediate peace.*"

THE PHILADELPHIA PLAN OF EMERGENCY AID

SO far as is known, the only attempt in the United States to organize the efforts of a state-group to help the war sufferers of Europe is being made in Pennsylvania. In October, 1914, eight women, well-known in Philadelphia society, met and resolved "that a Philadelphia women's committee be formed to meet the terrible emergencies resulting from the war in Europe, and to devise such relief as may be deemed wise and effective." From this nucleus there has grown up an organization known as the Emergency Aid of Pennsylvania, which now is counted to have 4,000 active members and all of the club women of the state as associated members. Its principal aim is "to bring together a great body of volunteers" and "to serve as a clearing house for their activities." Willingness to serve constitutes the qualification for membership. There are no formal dues.

Its organization partakes of the nature of a federation. It has a chairman, seven vice-chairmen, a secretary, a corresponding secretary, a treasurer and an executive committee which now has twenty-five members. These members fall into four classes: (1) chairmen of committees on raising money for special nationalities, French, British, Belgian, Serbian, Armenian, Italian, Polish, Russian, British American and Montenegrin; (2) representatives of analogous organizations, Red Cross, Philadelphia Chapter of Pennsylvania Women's Division for National Pre-

paredness, American Ambulance Hospital in Paris, British, French, Belgian Permanent Blind Relief War Fund, the State Federation of Pennsylvania Women (membership, approximately 50,000), the eastern division of the federation, the Pennsylvania state branch of the National Surgical Dressings Committee, the Allied Arts, and the main line branch of the Emergency Aid; (3) chairmen of certain committees which perform executive duties for the central organization, House, Ways and Means, Organizing Branches, Entertainment; and (4) the chairman of the Home Relief Division, to be described more fully below.

Each one of these women has a committee and in some cases several sub-committees under her. There are, for instance, numerous sub-committees of the committees on French and Belgian relief. It is the plan of the national committees to cooperate with and assist, so far as they are able, all the reliable relief organizations of the country in which they are especially interested. Lately a professional organizer has been employed to bring together the efforts of individual volunteers throughout the state.

The committees appeal very largely for materials—surgical dressings, and hospital supplies, clothing, shoes, even certain kinds of food. They also appeal for funds. In doing this they have left to the ways and means committee all the money raising for the organization's own expenses, so that other committees may take pains to assure prospective contributors that whatever they give will be sent on *in toto* to the beneficiaries in Europe.

By May 1, 1916, the American Ambulance Committee had sent over \$195,000 in money and nearly \$79,000 in supplies, the Belgian \$60,000 in money and \$740,000 in supplies, the British nearly \$9,000 in money and over \$188,000 in supplies, the French nearly \$258,000 in money and over \$1,000,000 in supplies, the Italian nearly \$8,000 in money and \$137,000 in supplies, the Polish \$52,000 in money and \$2,000 in supplies, the Serbian \$20,000 in money and \$6,000 in supplies. The Surgical Dressings and the Red Cross Committee have sent nearly \$26,000 in money and upward of half a million dollars' worth of supplies. Altogether there has gone to Europe from the Emergency Aid nearly a million in money and three million in supplies.

Office and storage space which occupies four large dwelling houses in the central part of Philadelphia is donated directly and, as has been said, the ways and means committee looks after the other overhead charges. The committee enjoys an especially good fortune in finding people who are willing to give to the prosaic but necessary indirect expense.

All services are, for the most part, volunteer. Some twenty women devote their entire time to looking after the affairs of the organization.

Just at the time that the Emergency Aid was being organized, Philadelphia was in the midst of the industrial depression which followed the outbreak of the war. As suffering at home, due to unemployment, seemed imminent, a Home Relief Division was included in the scheme. "The situation was literally unprecedented," says the committee in a report of its work. "No time, therefore, was wasted on elaborate organization. It was an army of volunteers to meet an unforeseen crisis, and, like a force of minute men, it had to be organized 'on the march' and to pitch in where and when it could."

Somewhat incidentally, the committee on supplies, which was then working on garments destined mainly for Belgium, began employing women whose husbands were out of work. Thus was the "municipal" workshop begun.

In spite of efforts to exclude the "unworthy," the committee's initial funds were soon exhausted. Accordingly Councils were persuaded, in the face of considerable opposition, in which Mayor Blankenburg shared, to appropriate on December 10, 1914, and March 4, 1915, a total of \$100,000 "toward the relief of the unemployed poor . . . to be expended for such purposes by the Department of Public Health and Charities through the Emergency Aid Committee." To this was added from November, 1914, to December 30, 1915, \$165,442.27, raised by private subscription. Of the total \$265,442.27, exactly \$163,661.58 was paid out as wages to those in need of employment.

The committee reports that from February to July, 1915, 2,046 men had been employed for a total of 41,384 days at \$1.20 per day. Positions in private employment were found for 3,131 men. Women numbering 5,373 were given temporary direct employment—plain sewing—and positions were found for 1,792. Thus it was that this volunteer body sought to help Philadelphia's estimated 250,000 unemployed.

At the return of normal industrial conditions the Division on Home Relief ceased its active employment and relief work, but it did not disband. It now acts as an advisory committee of the State Employment Bureau, and in 1916 was entrusted with the care of the families of the national guardsmen sent to the Mexican border. It constitutes an auxiliary committee to the Director of Public Health and Charities. Its special interests have been the after-care of cases of infant paralysis and the formulation of recommendations to improve the city institutions under the direction of the Department of Public Health and Charities.

FAMILY TREES FOR NEW YORK FOUNDLINGS

HEREAFTER stray babies abandoned to New York foundling asylums must prove their claim to board and shelter from the city of New York. Beginning March 1 the Department of Public Charities will enforce the rules of the State Board of Charities providing that a child under the age of sixteen years not committed for juvenile delinquency, shall not be retained in any institution as a public charge unless accepted in writing as such by the appropriate poor law authorities after an investigation into the circumstances of the applicant.

This rule has been a dead letter in the cases of some 1,500 babies a year who have been received "with no questions asked" by certain foundling asylums in the city. Many of these children, it is alleged, come from various parts of New York state as well as from other states.

With this change occurs another revocation of a rule of long standing. For years it has been the practice of the department to have foundlings baptized alternately Catholic and Protestant when the religion of the parents was unknown. Complaints, particularly from Jewish circles, have led to a new rule that every effort will be made to ascertain the religion of foundlings' parents and that the infants themselves will be baptized in accordance with that religion.

The new procedure relating to acceptance as public charges will give the department a record of whether the child is a proper public charge. Likewise it will furnish a history of each child that will to some extent determine treatment.

The present method of disposing of infants encourages the separation of mother and child and this admittedly contributes to the high mortality rate among children under two years of age in asylums. The report of Commissioner Charles H. Strong [see the SURVEY for November 25, 1916] gives figures showing that in the state at large the death-rate of babies from 1909 to 1913 was 87.4 per thousand and that in eleven large infant asylums in the state it was 422.5 per thousand, or approximately five times as large.

In one institution the state board found that during the twenty years, 1895-1914, out of 36,625 infants received, 18,999 died, a rate of 516 per thousand. Although allowance must be made for the poor condition of the babies upon admission to the institution, this cannot account, it is held, for all the discrepancy between this figure and the rate in the population at large. In 1916 the latter was only 61.2 per thousand in New York city.

The single institution referred to in the state board's figures has received practically all its funds from New York city, which pays 55 cents a day for the maintenance of each baby. The city has, therefore, been in an anomalous situation. With one hand it has been spending about \$225,000 a year for infant welfare work throughout the entire city; with the other it has been spending over \$300,000 a year to one institution alone to perpetuate a system that facilitates the separation of infants and mothers and results in extreme infant mortality.

With information obtained through the new order, the Department of Public Charities is convinced that its investigators can persuade many mothers to retain their infants. Its policy is in line with the recommendations of the Strong report, which declared that it had "a great duty to perform in this field," and with the steps which the department has already taken the establishment of its Children's Home Bureau to place young children in families instead of committing them to institutions, however admirable. It is in line also with the act of the Maryland legislature last year, following revelations of high infant mortality in Baltimore foundling asylums, which made it a misdemeanor to separate a mother from a child under six months of age for the purpose of placing the child in a foster home or institution.

The department's course of action has caused an expression of fear among Catholics, notably in a letter by Cardinal Farley to Catholic priests, that Catholic children transferred from institutions will not be placed in homes of the same faith and that the orphanages with their elaborate buildings and equipment will be rendered useless. In answer, Commissioner of Charities John A. Kingsbury has replied that there has been no dearth of good Catholic homes available and that no Catholic child has been or will be placed in a non-Catholic home.

Regarding the possibility of disuse of charitable institutions now in existence, Mr. Kingsbury, in a letter to the Cardinal made public, outlined a plan for opening these institutions to children slightly subnormal physically and mentally, who are living at home where they are handicapped and handicapping their hard-working mothers. If the Children's Home Bureau continues for the next three years to find homes for all children under eight years, the commissioner points out that at the end of that time there will be about 10,000 vacancies in child-caring institutions. This coincides with the requirement of the city for some 10,000 beds for its feeble-minded in need of institutional care. By diverting part of the asylums for normal dependent children to homes for

the feeble-minded the city would save millions of dollars' outlay and at the same time protect society against a potentially dangerous element in the population.

COMPENSATION LAWS UPHOLD BY SUPREME COURT

WORKMEN'S compensation in the United States was finally placed upon an assured and permanent basis when, on March 6, the United States Supreme Court handed down decisions upholding the constitutionality of the laws of Iowa, New York and Washington. At a single blow the court has not only removed all doubt as to the power of states to enact such legislation but it has given approval to all three of the leading types of compensation legislation in the United States.

The Iowa law represented the cautious method employed by a majority of the states, dictated by a fear that if the matter were attacked directly the legislation would be held unconstitutional. The law, therefore, is elective and not compulsory. It gives both employer and employe the option of coming under the compensation statute or continuing with the common law of liability. But it attempts to induce both to elect the compensation principle, by removing the employers' so-called "defenses" under the common law—contributory negligence, assumption of risk and the fellow-servant doctrine. It attempts to induce the employe to elect compensation, offering him the certainty of a fixed schedule of benefits in place of the uncertainty of an appeal to the courts. This is the type of legislation that has been enacted in a majority of the states.

The New York law is compulsory. It was enacted in 1914, after the state constitution had been amended on account of the decision of the Court of Appeals in the Ives case, which held invalid the original compulsory law of 1910. This law was also taken before the Court of Appeals, and was held to be in accordance with the amended constitution. It provides for compulsory compensation in certain hazardous trades and permits the employer to insure his risk, in private insurance companies, in a state fund, or, if approved by the Industrial Commission, to carry his own insurance.

The Washington law is much more drastic. It covers all employments, except agriculture and domestic service, and it excludes private casualty companies altogether. All employers are required to insure their risk in a state fund. This law was sustained by the narrow margin of one vote; four of the members of the court, Chief Justice White and Justices McKenna, Van Devanter and McReynolds, dissenting.

It is apparent from these decisions that the way is now open for extensions

of the workmen's compensation principle far beyond anything that has been attempted heretofore in most of the states. The decision in the Washington case, especially, seems to lay a broad basis for social insurance legislation of an advanced type.

ONE UNION IMPROVES THE SHINING HOURS

THE 30,000 members of Local 25 of the Waist and Dressmakers' Union of New York city, having gained since the big strike of 1913 a shorter working day and higher wages, are turning their organizing genius toward filling more richly their leisure hours.

From seven o'clock until ten every evening several hundred girls fill all four floors of Public School number 40 at 314 East Twentieth street. They go to the school direct from work. On the first floor they get sandwiches and coffee for five cents; upstairs some attend their shop meetings and settle their shop problems; take courses in American history, the labor movement here and abroad, labor legislation, literature, the English language, dancing or gymnasium work. A nurse and a doctor from the staff of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control are there to give medical examinations, and Dr. George M. Price, director of the board, gives health talks.

The girls cooperated with the People's Institute, and so gained the public school building. Juliet Stuart Poyntz was engaged to head the organization and education department and the Board of Education is expected to give help. They call this meeting place a "unity center."

"It is not welfare work," writes Pauline Newman, investigator for the Joint Board of Sanitary Control and at one time organizer for the union, "it is not charity. It is done by the girls for the girls. To secure better wages and shorter hours is indeed the chief object of a union. For those who have no vision, who can get along without the spiritual, this is sufficient. To those who expect from a union a 'fair day's wage for a fair day's work' the material is enough. But not for those who look upon a union as a means to readjust the age-long grievances between master and servant. These need not only food for the body, but food also for the soul and for the mind."

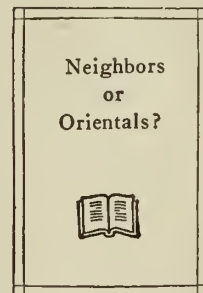
If the unity center succeeds, other schools will perhaps be opened to them; negotiations for one on the East Side are already in progress. This opening of the public school completely to union-labor groups gives it a new significance as a community center. A week-end camp for the coming summer is arranged for, and it is hoped that in time cheap cooperative apartment houses may be built for the independent women among the dressmakers.

Book Reviews

CONTEMPORARY POLITICS IN THE FAR EAST
By Stanley K. Hornbeck. D. Appleton & Company. 466 pp. Price, \$3; by mail of the SURVEY, \$3.18.

OUR EASTERN QUESTION
By Thomas E. Millard. The Century Company. 543 pp. Price, \$3; by mail of the SURVEY, \$3.16.

THE JAPANESE CONQUEST OF AMERICAN OPINION
By Montaville Flowers. Geo. H. Doran Company. 272 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.



our enemies? The explicit rather than implicit answer is furnished. They are arming against us. By both military armament and aggression and by insidious advance in "the conquest of American opinion," these Asiatics are endangering "our" civilization.

We propose in this review to ignore, in the main, the politics of China and Japan and to notice rather the influence of their social systems upon the American people. The East and the West have joined.

Is it not almost time to drop the term "Oriental"—representing chiefly a literary myth—and "Occidental,"—a sectional concept—and deal with real humanity? The scholar of international mind knows no East nor West. The American with a social conscience, who follows the universal man, knowing the solidarity of human nature, prefers to speak of Asiatics as our western neighbors. In these days, when electricity and steel have annihilated—for thought, at least—all space and time, and when war bursts out over night, we should be accurate. It is absolutely necessary for an author writing on China and Japan to have both the social conscience and the international mind; else he interprets only one side of the shield and becomes too jealous and belligerent to be trusted.

Dr. Hornbeck's book is a most sane and admirably written account of politics in the trans-Pacific lands. Although history is now made there as rapidly as in Europe, Dr. Hornbeck's long residence among the people makes fresh to us the past. Especially is this true in showing the awful mistake which the United States government is making in ignoring the protest of Japan against the procedure of one state, in virtually nullifying the treaty which promised treatment of Japanese people in the United States equal to that granted those of any nation. That was Russia's way in 1904. What a dangerous defect in our federal system of government—that what is done in a state capital can override the provisions of a treaty made between the governments at Tokio and Washington! In style, arrangement of matter, self-restraint, judicial temper, and with

a full index, Dr. Hornbeck's book is shown to be the work of a scholar.

The editor, Mr. Millard, who has lived in the seaports of China and knows well the talk of the Hongs and clubs, besides having traveled in Korea, believes that Japan is arming against us. His book, unindexed and bearing many of the earmarks of ephemeral journalism, is replete with facts and assertions that are almost always interpreted with a sinister glance at Japan. The reviewer having known the Japanese, high and low, honorable and contemptible, since 1866, would, in the majority of cases, give a favorable contrariwise interpretation of these same facts, because of his experience. He has heard the same doleful prophecies since, in 1870, he began examining the incessant stream of criticism of the Japanese, finding no more cunning treachery or "orientalisms" in the human nature of Dai Nippon than he sees daily all around him. With Europe's record of conquest, fraud, secret diplomacy and over-reaching in Asia for a century past, and with the "preparedness" and vast naval armament of the United States, how can Japan divine our real intentions? Mr. Millard's chapters on the Philippines are illuminating and informing.

We have heard much of Mr. Flowers and his diatribes against the Japanese and his dreadful arraignment of such men as Sidney L. Gulick, Hamilton Holt, the late H. W. Mabie, the present reviewer and others; his challenges to debate and, despite Brooke's assertion, his fiery indictment of the Japanese nation as well as individuals.

"Do you want your daughter to marry a nigger?" was the standard argument to uphold and justify slavery a half a century or more ago. The pith of Mr. Flowers' argument is in an outcry against amalgamation. His peculiar ideas as to philosophy, history and ethnology are largely his own. If it be the Japanese who have "conquered America's opinion," all honor to them! We Americans began that business under President Fillmore and his peaceful armada of 1853, which was forbidden to fire a shot unless first attacked. Since 1870, over 5,000 invited foreign specialists, advisers and helpers, not including a thousand or so American missionaries, began changing Japanese opinion. The religious teachers commenced their work in 1859. Are not the Japanese turning the other cheek? Mr. Flowers should have furnished an index for students of his closely printed and rather bulky work, so rich in fallacies.

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS.

A SOCIAL STUDY OF THE RUSSIAN GERMAN
By Hattie Plum Williams. University of Nebraska Studies. 101 pp. Price, \$.75; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.82.

The subject of this excellent little work, which is both sympathetic and scholarly, is the members of the German colonies, settled on the Volga by Catherine II, who have emigrated to Lincoln, Neb. It appears that, on the whole, they are a thoroughly desirable class of immigrants, frugal, industrious, prolific, preferring the prairies of the West to the cities of the East, and, withal, extremely anxious to be the owners of their own homes. We read with much shame that the worst houses among them are owned by Lincoln capitalists, that the city government has been slack in improvements in their part of the

city and that the local authorities have given them indifferent example in the matter of enforcing the law.

Mrs. Williams has done an extremely useful piece of work; one of the best things of the kind we have seen. If the Russian government, after the war, should prove nasty to its German subjects, these will be welcome here.

IAN C. HANNAH.

WITH THE TURKS IN PALESTINE

By Alexander Aaronsohn. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 85 pp. Price, \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.33.

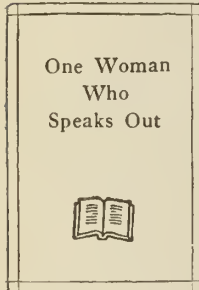
Two articles which recently appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* by Alexander Aaronsohn have been issued in book form with illustrations. The book is very well written and affords an interesting narrative of the author's first-hand experience and observations in Palestine. There he was born of parents who migrated from Rumania thirty-five years ago under the impulse which has since given rise to the Zionist movement.

The book is valuable for the trustworthy light it throws upon the pathetic efforts and aspirations of the Jews, who, with all other races in that land, are cursed by the inefficiency, corruption and cruelty of the Turkish government, of which the author gives many illustrations. Significant are his references to German propaganda in Turkey for the past twenty years. As Turkey was being dragged into the war, "the whole country became Germanized as if by magic," says the author. "In all the mosques Friday prayers were ended with an invocation for the welfare of the Sultan and 'Hadji Wilhelm.'"

FREDERICK D. GREENE.

A WOMAN AND THE WAR

By the Countess of Warwick. George H. Doran Company. 270 pp. Price \$2; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.12.



"The problem that faces a state when it sends its best and most virile men to kill and be killed has certain aspects that few have the courage to handle." In her book *A Woman and the War*, Lady Warwick proves herself to be one of the few. She has written this series of papers in a succinct,

readable manner, and while they vary in interest, all bear the stamp of courageous and independent thought.

There is unmistakable warmth of appreciation of the high endeavors of her countrymen and women, combined with considerable clearness of critical insight into the sources of the present catastrophe and its attendant retrogression from the paths of progress.

Fearlessly she points to the plain truths that mark with folly and worse the social, industrial, educational and moral courses pursued before the war and but little changed today. There is the ardor of the revolutionary in her blows upon the conscription that does not demand capital as freely as it demands life; upon kingship that sends "millions of men who have no real quarrel to slaughter one another under conditions of horror that make description inadequate;" upon false economists who grudge pensions and allowances, and who pare educational grants and permit child labor on the land.

An interesting chapter deals with the prospects for women in agriculture. Lady Warwick speaks with personal authority here; for in 1898 she established the Hostel at Reading, near the Agricultural College there, and later, the Studley Training College, and has long been an advocate of land-work for

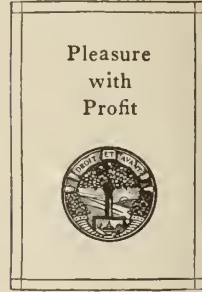
women. The successes of today have justified her pioneer faith.

The book is stimulating with its spirit of critical optimism. One may not agree that, by 1934, women will have suffered the change of heart necessary to unite internationally and prevent such a war as that of 1914; one may not be able to hope so greatly from the victory of feminism in Germany. But it is heartening to find such faith in democracy, in freedom and in the future in one who has had great opportunities to study the current of events.

NANNIE YOUNG.

KEEP-WELL STORIES FOR LITTLE FOLKS

By May Farinholt Jones. J. B. Lippincott Co. 140 pp. Price, \$.75; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.83.



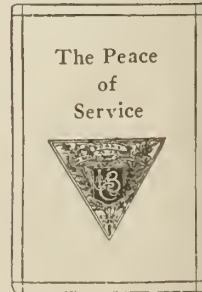
A remarkably successful attempt to do something very difficult and very well worth doing—to put the essential facts of physiology and hygiene before children in story form—has been made in this book. A few lapses from rigid scientific fact force themselves upon one's attention.

The baby fly, whose wings grew stronger each day so that at last he could fly away, and the mosquito grub, who took refuge from an oiling brigade in the mud at the bottom of the pool and stayed there till next day, may be considered as somewhat aberrant insects. The covering of the body is not full of little holes through which air and sunlight get into the body; and above all, Pasteur was not paid "immense sums of money" for his work on the silkworm disease and the diseases of wine and beer. This last is almost sacrilege!

Such slips are exceedingly rare, however. Dr. Jones' book is in the main accurate in detail, the topics are judiciously selected, and the style altogether charming. Pauline Wright's quaint illustrations are quite in character. Children (and some grown-ups, too) will find pleasure and profit in reading *The Wonderful Engine (the body)*, *The Story of the Rain Barrel*, *Jack Frost*, who gives old folks a bit of his youth as they feel his frolicsome touch, *Two Little Windows (the eyes)*, *A Wonderful Stream (the blood with its red freight carrying oxygen from lung station to muscle country and its white dreadnoughts fighting the hostile microbe navy)*, and the rest. C.-E. A. WINSLOW.

THE WORN DOORSTEP

By Margaret Sherwood. Little, Brown & Company. 196 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.33.



An Oxford soldier fell somewhere in France. And the woman who had bidden him go fled from friends and sympathy. Deep in country England, where the land was radiant with drift of appleblossoms and clear, still sunshine, she found refuge in a little red house. Madge, a motherly

soul, and Peter, skeptical about the reality of war, anyway, were in charge, but otherwise out of work, since the master of the hall had gone away with his regiment. And the circle widened presently to include Don and Puck, William the Conqueror and his queens, and the wee, furry Atom—dear dog and pony, fowls and kitten, as quaint and sensible and individual as the friendly vil-

large folk, whose shyness slowly wore away. And surely here was peace.

But war loomed nearer, surer. Peter went to Dover, heard real guns afar, wrathfully donned his khaki and departed. Village youth were transformed into recruits. And the tenant discovered that her soldier, departing, had left the gates of life ajar, and the world and its sorrows entered in.

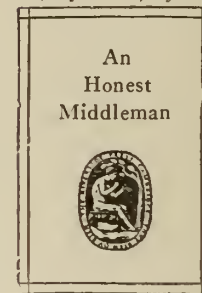
A pathetic procession it was. The village folk finding that she, too, knew the horror of waiting, came for the sympathy that has no words. Then strangers came that way. Belgian Marie, separated from friends and lover in the wild flight; the aged unknown woman whom shock and exhaustion had stricken dumb, but whose dying eyes could look her content at being among friends. Later, directed by the alert agencies in London, Marie's Belgian lover found her here. Later, still, Peter returned carrying in his remaining arm the dainty French child who was to find in the little red house shelter and a new home. And then the tenant found in serving these, sharers with her in a common grief, even more desolate than herself, a strange comfort and an un hoped-for peace.

Most poignant among "war books" is this little volume of velvet lines. No crash of guns is heard in its pages; no gas-choked, bleeding soldiers are carried upon its pastoral scene. But the meaning of it all to those who stay behind is here; and the realities of anxiety, homelessness and sorrow beyond words, are incarnated in the simple folk of its *dramatis personae*.

G. S.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CAVOUR (Volumes 1 and II)

By William Roscoe Thayer. Houghton Mifflin Company. 604 and 562 pp. Price, \$3 per set; by mail of the SURVEY, \$3.25.



Cavour, the man of "reason and disciplined emotion," came from a long line of aristocrats. Yet from a precocious boyhood, throughout his life, he was a liberal who held steadfast the ideal of a united Italy, and, though the biographer is not clear on this point, we may believe that Cavour's

relatives in Switzerland played an important part in so shaping his career. "An honest middleman" holding to the golden mean, so Cavour describes himself. He writes as follows to an old friend: "I feel sure that, having danced round the Liberty Tree and caressed the Jesuits, you will rest on ground where are truth and moderation." Bolstering up the wavering king of Piedmont in the fight for the separation of church and state, Cavour played the diplomatic game of Europe and lived to see Italy well on the way to a constitutional monarchy and a throwing off of the temporal power of the church.

With his hatred of conspiracies, Cavour was led to call Mazzini, the revolutionist, the "chief of assassins" and most heartily to wish him hanged. Garibaldi was more suited to his purposes. Yet Cavour finally drew upon himself the bitter hatred of this great soldier-hero of the common people.

Mr. Thayer's book is of especial interest in the present great international crisis. American pacifists will find cold comfort, however, in the author's account of Cavour's "entangling alliance" with the western powers of Europe in the Crimean war. Certainly the author has shown to his own satisfaction at least the supreme value of such an alliance as regarded Italy's future. For did not Cavour as prime minister of the little kingdom of Piedmont deliberately enter the

Crimean war on the side of western Europe and against Russia, and by so doing did he not make a place for himself in the councils of Europe? And did he not by this means secure later on the aid and sympathy of France and England and successfully oppose Austria, the arch enemy of a united Italy? To make the situation more pertinent in the present great crisis, we learn that the Nationalists with Mazzini and the Reds opposed quite unsuccessfully the sending an army from Piedmont to the Crimea.

The author has the highest praise for Cavour throughout his political career, comparing him in his statesman-like qualities with Lincoln. Mazzini, however, is given but scant praise and is pictured for the most part as a fanatic who dreamed of an impossible Italian republic and whose unsuccessful followers met their end at the scaffold. Surely the great Mazzini deserves a far better fate than this at the hands of the historian, and most of all from one who professes, as does the writer of these volumes, such an undying faith in the cause of liberty and the sacredness of human rights.

FRED A. KING.

TALES OF THE LABRADOR

By Wilfred T. Grenfell. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 240 pp. Price \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.35.

Dr. Grenfell's work among the Labrador fishermen is one of the stories of the generation. The courage and unselfishness of this self-devoted missionary have quickened pulses and stirred spirits the world over. His life is his most thrilling tale. But he has also written stories of his experiences which have been published in a volume called *Tales of the Labrador*. These stories picture the lives of simple, hardy fishermen and their Esquimo neighbors, their hard fight with an always hostile nature, and the traits of sturdiness, honesty and self-sacrifice which their stern life develops.

As a picture of life in a little-known part of the world the book is interesting; as it reveals the author's love for and loyalty to the people, it commands sympathy. It lacks the deep insight essential to great literature. Neither in style nor language does it denote the writer of mark. It is, however, so very readable and human that it cannot fail to find a hearty welcome among Dr. Grenfell's many admirers.

FLORENCE CLARKE

BOOKS RECEIVED

- STUDIES OF CONTEMPORARY POETS. By Mary C. Sturgeon. Dodd Mead & Co. 331 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.60.
- SANITATION AND HYGIENE FOR THE TROPICS. By John Woodside Richie and Margaret Anna Purcell. World Book Co. 434 pp. Price \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.16.
- THE AMATEUR PHILOSOPHER. By Carl H. Grabo. Chas. Scribner's Sons. 290 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.
- GETTING TOGETHER. By Ian Hay. Doubleday Page & Co. 91 pp. Price, \$.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.55.
- THREE SHORT PLAYS. By Mary S. Watts. Macmillan Co. 197 pp. Price, \$1.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.35.
- JOAN. By Amelia E. Barr. D. Appleton & Co. 325 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.
- ONLY A DOG. By Bertha Whitridge Smith. E. P. Dutton & Co. 111 pp. Price, \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.08.
- PRELIMINARIES D'ART CIVIQUE. By Louis Van Der Swaelman. Brentano, agts. 298 pp. Price, \$2; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.16.
- A STUDENT IN ARMS. By Donald Hankey. E. P. Dutton & Co. 290 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.
- WHY MEN FIGHT. By Bertrand Russell. Century Co. 272 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.60.
- MOHAMMED AND ISLAM. By Ignaz Goldziher. Yale University Press. 360 pp. Price, \$3; by mail of the SURVEY, \$3.16.
- NATURAL PAINLESS CHILD-BIRTH AND THE DETERMINATION OF SEX. By Dr. Filip Sylvan. E. P. Dutton & Co. 160 pp. Price, \$.75; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.80.
- ENGLISH BIOGRAPHY. By Waldo H. Dunn. E. P.

- Dutton & Co. 323 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.
- THE SPIRITUAL INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY. By Shailer Mathews. Harvard University Press. 227 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.58.
- SHORT RATIONS. By Madeleine Z. Doty. Century Co. 274 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.
- SCHOOL AND COLLEGE CREDIT FOR OUTSIDE BIBLE STUDY. By Clarence Ashton Wood. World Book Co. 317 pp. Price, \$1.50; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.62.
- INTERNATIONAL REALITIES. By Philip Marshall Brown. Chas. Scribner's Sons. 233 pp. Price, \$1.40; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.50.
- PSALMS OF THE SOCIAL LIFE. By Cleland B. McAfee. Association Press. 187 pp. Price, \$.60; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.64.

- THE JUDGMENT OF THE ORIENT. By Ambrose Pratt. E. P. Dutton & Co. 72 pp. Price, \$.60; by mail of the SURVEY, \$.64.
- BUSINESS COMPETITION AND THE LAW. By Gilbert H. Montague. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 318 pp. Price, \$1.75; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.85.
- THE WIDOWED EARTH. By Harry A. Brandt. Richard G. Badger. 43 pp. Price, \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.05.
- THE WHITE QUEEN OF OKOYONG. By W. P. Livingstone. Geo. H. Doran Co. 208 pp. Price, \$1; by mail of the SURVEY, \$1.10.
- AMERICAN WORLD POLICIES. By Walter E. Weyl. Macmillan Co. 307 pp. Price, \$2.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.37.
- STATE GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. By Arthur N. Holcombe. Macmillan Co. 498 pp. Price, \$2.25; by mail of the SURVEY, \$2.49.

Communications

POLISH SOCIAL WORKERS

TO THE EDITOR: It is a part of our job as social workers to interpret our work to the public. However, there are in every community groups of people who, though forming a considerable part of our field of activity, remain uninfluenced by our efforts. I refer to the immigrant groups who are usually not touched by the social worker, except as the individuals become "cases" of social agencies. We come into contact, to some extent, with the second generation through the clubs and classes at social settlements and recreation centers. But few of these people have as yet become vitally interested in social problems, as is evidenced by the lack of well-trained social workers speaking a foreign language.

As an illustration of the gap between the social worker and the foreigner, I shall refer to an incident which took place at the first conference of Polish Social Workers at Indianapolis, May, 1916. At one of the sessions a young Polish woman, who was a resident of Indianapolis, after listening patiently for some time to our discussion, interrupted with the suggestion that the committee hold a meeting for the Polish people who did not have a sufficient knowledge of the English language to derive any benefit from the regular sessions of the conference. Pursuant to this idea, a meeting was held in a parochial school of an outlying district. Among those present was a scrubwoman whom we afterward met working in the corridors of the headquarters' hotel.

The interest manifested and the appreciation shown at this meeting has encouraged us to prepare a program for a similar meeting at the second conference of Polish Social Workers at Pittsburgh, June 9-11, at which we hope to interpret the message of the N. C. of C. and C. to some of the Polish people of that city.

THADDEUS SLESZYNSKI.

[Secretary, American Committee of Polish Social Workers.]
Chicago, Ill.

LINCOLN AND LLOYD GEORGE

TO THE EDITOR: The English premier in his message on Lincoln day, has read into the character and life of our martyred president some things which we cannot endorse. Lincoln was primarily an apostle of peace. He tried hard to avoid war, and went even so far as to propose compensation to the slave-owners for their then property. His offer was spurned by the slave oligarchy. Only after an overt act had been committed by the firing on Fort Sumter did he take up the gauntlet thrown down to him.

Like you, I do not pretend to be versed in

international law. But in deciding whether or no to be drawn into the vortex of the European struggle, I want to use common sense. And this tells me "hands off."

Lloyd George says "we today are fighting not a war of conquest, but a war of liberation." The coalition ministry evidently is at outs. Mr. Long, colonial minister, declares that the African possessions, wrested from Germany, will not, upon conclusion of peace, be restored to her. France proclaims openly she wants Alsace-Lorraine. Ex-Premier Trepoff, of Russia, let the cat out of the bag in the Duma by declaring that the Entente powers promised Constantinople to Russia. What was the Dardanelles campaign undertaken for? Italy makes no secret of wanting Italia *irredenta*. Rumania, the open violator of a treaty as far as her Jewish subjects are concerned, could not want a war of "liberation." Rather, let us assume, she wanted a slice of Austria, if not more. Japan took Kiow-Chow and the Caroline Islands. And lastly Portugal. She, in all likelihood, seeks to pick up some crumbs from the African spread.

In these troublous times it is a hard task to be prime minister of a warring nation. But can Lloyd George's vision be so dimmed that he can no longer discern between conquest and liberation? High-sounding phrases can becloud facts, but cannot alter them.

Chicago.

HENRY L. FRANK.

WANTED—A NAME

TO THE EDITOR: When a change is proposed of the forty-four-year-old name of the National Conference of Charities and Correction all readers of the SURVEY should sit up and take notice. The symposium in the February *Bulletin* of the conference should be continued, if the SURVEY will give space, so that the final vote at Pittsburgh in June may be wise. The tentative vote in the *Bulletin* shows 123 votes for National Conference of Social Workers, with not over fifty-one votes for any other of the thirty names proposed, and only forty-seven protests against giving up the present name.

William T. Cross writes unofficially that to him the favorite name proposed "runs shallow, and even suggests fatigue," and Robert A. Woods says, "The phrase social worker is getting badly frayed." Personally, I am glad, however, that the name favored is National Conference of Social Workers, rather than "on Social Service," for service, like welfare and betterment, has a patronizing, uplift flavor. In Missouri last November, a state Sunday school worker told me that he could not interest churches in social service, but could if he called it community work.

Words have the meaning we put into

them, as is shown by the difference between the associations connected with Fifth avenue and Sixth avenue, New York city; and Boston people know how much more aristocratic Barnstable sounds than barn stable. Even socialism may lose its long hair and become a respectable word. The real way to remove the stigma from charity is to lift it above alms. The word, however, does repel from the national conference many whose work is preventive or educational but thoroughly social, and for that reason many of us favor a change.

May I invite discussion also of the valuable report in the same *Bulletin* of the Committee on Kindred Groups, of which Roger N. Baldwin is chairman? This committee of twenty has a strong membership, and has given much thought to its report. It aims to lessen the secession of important groups from the conference, to bring back some which have separated from it, and to regulate the numerous collateral groups which meet before, after, or during the conference. To many of us the recommendations of this committee seem vital.

In place of nine sections as now, some of which are not permanent, the report proposes nine permanent divisions, and each division can have an indefinite number of sections. Each division is entitled to one general session without competition, but there might be a dozen section meetings at the same hour competing with each other. In this way subjects like social insurance, housing, the church and charity, sex hygiene, etc., which cannot have permanent sections under the present plan, could be carried as more or less permanent sections, according to the interest shown.

The conference has no organ except its quarterly *Bulletin*, but no other conference represents more nearly the interests of the SURVEY and its readers, so that perhaps you can give us space.

And may I add that at the opening meeting on June 6 in Pittsburgh, the exercises will be considerably changed from what has been customary. By authority of the executive committee, the usual addresses of welcome and response will be omitted and the program will begin with an address by the president, Frederic Almy, of Buffalo, on *The End of Poverty, an Impossible Goal which We Can Approach*. This will be followed by an address on *Poverty and Woman*, by Charlotte Perkins Gilman, of New York city, and an address on *The Challenge of a Changing Social Order*, by Raymond Robins, Chicago. Between the addresses there may perhaps be singing by the audience, in accordance with a suggestion from a former president, Alexander Johnson.

FREDERIC ALMY.

[President, the 1917 Conference]
Buffalo.

THE KENT BILL

TO THE EDITOR: I don't like to rush into print in a controversy, and if it were merely a question of my own reputation I should not write you. However, in the SURVEY of February 10 I am quoted in the discussion on the Kent bill and commented on, it seems to me, rather cavalierly, and I wish to take this opportunity to reiterate what I said to Miss Vaile.

1. The Kent bill, by providing a subsidy for the care of the indigent tuberculous away from his home, is a direct inducement for the patient to stay from his home, if not actually to leave it.

2. The bill provides no additional method for returning the tuberculous to his home. All the authority there is for this purpose resides in county officials, and it is a confusion of thinking to read into the law added facilities for the return of the patient to his home

on account of bringing in the federal authorities. They cannot secure one particle more force to the return than is now in the procedure.

My objection to the bill is based on its violation of the fundamental principle of poor relief, *i. e.*, that the community responsible is the community in which the dependent lives. And also upon its violation of an almost as well-established principle of the care of the tuberculous, *i. e.*, that ordinarily the most permanent cure for the tuberculous is to be found in the climate to which the patient is accustomed and to which he must return to earn his living.

I think the tragedy of the states to which the tuberculous go for their health consists in the stream of hopeless invalids who, ignorantly advised, pour into those states as a last resort in the stage of their disease, when any treatment either in their new state or home state isn't of much value. If we are to make headway in this problem of tuberculosis, it must be in our effort to persuade people to take the cure early enough to insure some measure of success. This bill makes no effort to create a healthy public opinion on this line.

F. J. BRUNO.

[General Secretary Associated Charities.]
Minneapolis.

TO THE EDITOR: Mr. Newton's affirmative answer to the question, Will the Kent Bill Help? is exceedingly interesting. There is a certain point, however, on which it seems to be very difficult to reach a common understanding as to the facts. Mr. Newton says, and Dr. Brown said, and it has been repeatedly said, in this discussion, that "citizenship is largely a question of intention. . . . Consumptives may return to their homes after an absence of years, and if indigent, still receive assistance." In my experience that is not the case.

The people who argue thus seem to be unaware that laws of citizenship determining the right of suffrage, and laws of settlement determining the right to receive relief, are totally different matters. It is perfectly true that government employes may remain any length of time in Washington and acquire property there and still keep their legal residence elsewhere. It is true that a man of means may travel the country over and hold his residence where he will and return when he chooses to vote. But if he happen to be penniless and in need of assistance he is not permitted to return. That right has been taken from him by statute in a large number of states.

Permit me to cite a current case. Mr. H. came to Denver from Chicago in the last stage of consumption, bringing with him his wife and two children. Five months after arrival they became dependent. Relief was not given at that time by the public authorities, but was given by organized private charity. Ten months after arrival, the man died. When they had been here a year and a half the widow applied for a mother's pension, having never been more than a few weeks free from the need of relief. I took up with the Cook county agent the question of returning the family to Chicago, where the man had lived all his life until he was about to die, where he was born and married and his children were born. I quote from the answer of Mr. Wilson, the deportation agent, under date of January 25:

"You say the family fell dependent before they had been in Denver a year and are now dependent from a cause which existed before they came. We are caring for not a few such families, as we have been unable to get the city or county from which the family came to accept them on account of their being away a year or more." Evidently the expe-

rience of the Cook county relief authorities is like our own and not as Mr. Newton thinks it would be.

Quoting again from the letter: "Were Mrs. H. able to pay her own transportation and desired to return and did return to Chicago, she would not be eligible for a widow's pension for three years, as her residence here would date from the time of her last return to this county, and *should she ask for assistance within a year we should feel it our duty to return her to Denver*. I trust, Miss Vaile, that you will see the justice of our decision." I do at least see the legality of it, and I am exceedingly grateful to Mr. Wilson for expressing the issue so clearly.

Mr. Newton suggests that the new community to which the patient goes might, in order to protect itself, "require the patient to state that it is not his intention to relinquish his residence in his home state." I would remind Mr. Newton that I have already tried that expedient and it did not work.

In the present condition of settlement laws—and they are in no way affected by the proposed legislation—I can find no way by which a patient who goes away from home for his health can secure the right to return home after a year and receive relief, no matter how desperately he may desire to do so, nor how temporary he may all the time have considered his sojourn. I have diligently sought to find a way. If Mr. Newton can make clear how that can be accomplished it will be a big contribution to the cause and a daily help to me.

GERTRUDE VAILE.

[Executive Secretary, County Bureau of
Charity and Correction]
Denver.

THE SPIGOT

TO THE EDITOR: I have just read the last article by Elizabeth Tilton, *Turning Off the Spigot*. While, in my opinion, there has never been any real basis for argument on the part of the liquor interests against prohibition, such facts as she has set forth in these articles are the strongest possible ammunition for the prohibition party to use. She makes a slight mention here in regard to the habit-forming drug evil as a factor in this prohibition movement, and I hope before she is through with the subject that she will take up that phase of it. As a matter of fact her work in this direction will be incomplete without it. I want to compliment you on being able to publish such able articles on this alcoholic subject at this time. They are bound to do much good.

CHARLES B. TOWNS.

[Charles B. Towns Hospital.]
New York.

TO THE EDITOR: Allow me to congratulate you upon the series of articles by Elizabeth Tilton and especially upon the article in the issue of February 10. It is a most magnificent and telling array of facts and one which will be of widespread educational value.

We have received a number of letters in the past complaining about the attitude of social experts toward prohibition and some very bitter ones recently with respect to a certain report from a certain local welfare organization. I am sure your articles on *Turning Off the Spigot* will be most helpful to social work and social workers in general by the extent to which it will set those workers and their cause right with the growing mass of the public who believe in the closing of the saloon.

ROLLIN O. EVERHART.

[Editor the *American Issue*, New York edition.]
New York.

SAID OF THE SURVEY

TO THE EDITOR: I don't feel that I will ever be able to get along without the SURVEY.
RALPH C. SCOTT.

[Staff of the Y. M. C. A.]
Montevideo, Uruguay.

TO THE EDITOR: I find the SURVEY almost indispensable for such a course as the one I am offering in social problems.

E. T. TOWNE.
[Department of Economics, Carleton College.]
Northfield, Minn.

TO THE EDITOR: I appreciate the SURVEY very much indeed, especially out here in Japan where social work is in so very primitive a stage. I am very closely in touch with a number of social problems here—the prison problems among the number—and so look forward to the SURVEY and what it brings of help in many directions.

MRS. C. A. MACDONALD.
Tokyo, Japan.



JOTTINGS

PRELIMINARY announcements of the New York City Conference of Charities and Correction have been printed and may be had of the secretary, John B. Prest, 287 Fourth avenue, New York city.

APPLICATIONS for the three paid fellowships in social-economic research offered annually by the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston, 264 Boylston street, must be filed before May 1. Candidates must be college graduates.

THE *Loan Gazette* has been launched as the official organ of the American Association of Small Loan Brokers, the men who, themselves in the money-lending business, have united to fight the loan sharks. The editor is George W. Kehr, 204 Chestnut street, Harrisburg, Pa.

"KINGSLEY want ads," the very latest thing in advertising, appear in the *Kingsley Record*, published monthly by the Pittsburgh settlement of that name. In the current issue the "wants" include carpets for clubrooms, a good dictionary, bathing suits of assorted sizes and sexes, and Victrola records.

JUST preceding the National Conference of Charities and Correction at Pittsburgh, the National Children's Home Society will meet June 4-6 with headquarters at the Fort Pitt hotel. Programs and information may be had of Marcus C. Fagg, St. James building, Jacksonville, Fla.

DETROIT'S school board system has been a by-word among educators for years. The board is elected by wards. It is soon to die, however, for the city has ordered that in April its place shall be taken by a board of seven members at large. They are to be nominated upon a partisan ballot, although their election is to be by non-partisan vote.

FIFTY policemen have signified their intention of taking the course in law for policemen announced by Columbia University. The course will require sixteen weeks—two hours a week—and will cover criminal law, criminal procedure, police procedure, evidence, criminology, municipal government and free-hand drawing.

CHICAGO'S Morals Commission, supported by the Department of Health, has submitted to the City Council an ordinance requiring every physician to report each month the number of cases of venereal diseases he has treated, and to give to every venereal patient a pamphlet prepared by the Department of Health and the Chicago Medical Society. The first step in this direction was taken by the New York Department of Health in 1911.

THE Day Before You Die is the title of a new circular with which the committee on tuberculosis of the New York Charity Organization Society begins a campaign to interest citizens in medical examination. Preparatory to the campaign the committee investigated eighty-four firms in New York city, employing 326,000 persons, of whom only twenty-four were found to have medical or social welfare work.

TEACHERS' COLLEGE of Columbia University has accepted an offer from Cleveland H. Dodge and Francis Phelps Dodge to maintain a provisional professorship in scouting and recreation leadership to train boy scoutmasters. An official statement by the Boy Scouts of America denies once more that in case of war the scouts will perform any military service; they will, however, "serve our country well" in other ways.

BY AN amendment adopted March 5, working boys as well as schoolboys are included in the New York measures enacted last year to require compulsory military training not exceeding three hours a week. The amendment passed with only the two voices of the Socialist members dissenting. It requires military training for all able-bodied male citizens between the ages of eighteen and twenty-three in a military camp of instruction for a period not exceeding four weeks in one year.

EDGAR CHAMBLESS, inventor of a new kind of city stretched along a single road with one street underground and another over the roofs, has persuaded a number of architects, builders, sociologists and others that his plan justifies an experiment, and a Roadtown Association has been formed with offices at 110 East 23 street, New York. The underlying idea is that of cooperative home-building and cooperative housekeeping that will combine economy with efficiency and yet maintain the privacy of home life.

HEADQUARTERS of the Southern Sociological Congress have been moved from

Nashville to Washington, D. C., where its fifth birthday was celebrated in new offices in the McLachlen building. The congress' extension campaign, with elaborate staff, exhibit, motion-picture outfit and its own traveling car, will reach thirty-five cities this year with the deliberate intention of reducing the death rate one-fifth in each of the cities visited.

AMONG the new magazines is *Social Progress*, which has as its aim "to make such contribution as it may to the enhancement of family life and to the strengthening of it for the adequate carrying forward of its historic task," as the editor puts it, while the publisher is going a step further "to produce the home atmosphere which we aim that our readers shall always find in *Social Progress*." The name of the editor is not given. The publisher is the Howard-Severance Co., 205 West Monroe street, Chicago. (Monthly, \$2.50 a year.)

INFANT street traders, truck garden workers of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Colorado and Maryland; cotton pickers of Mississippi, Oklahoma and Texas; 90,000 domestic servants under sixteen years in American homes; cash girls and errand boys in department stores—in short, 1,850,000 working children still need protection, according to the twelfth annual report of Owen R. Lovejoy, general secretary of the National Child Labor Committee. The federal law will immediately affect at least 150,000 children, but "the principal value of the act," says the report, "will be in its tendency to standardize the laws of our forty-eight commonwealths by laying a minimum foundation on which state laws may build and also in standardizing the machinery and methods of enforcements."

GERMAN trade guilds have been informed that the Turkish government has applied through the German foreign office for an arrangement to apprentice about 10,000 Turkish youths, between twelve and eighteen years of age, with German master artisans. Other recent social by-products of the war are an appropriation of one million kronen (\$200,000) by the city of Vienna for the erection of a tuberculosis hospital in connection with the city hospital and the establishment of a colony for blinded soldiers on the estate of Emperor William at Cadinen near Elbing, West Prussia.

INVESTIGATION by the Detroit public schools to determine what had become of 100 of its special class children (sixty-one

Four Fellowships of \$600 Each

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One Fellowship of \$800

For college graduates with subsequent experience, out of college at least five years. Preference will be given to those not over thirty years of age. A report, form for which will be supplied on application, will be required.

Applications should be filed
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A REAL BARGAIN

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You, as a Survey subscriber, may have, in behalf of your friend, the special rate of two dollars for a year's subscription to the weekly Survey—if sent now and with this offer attached.

THE SURVEY, 112 East 19 Street - - New York City

To Survey Readers

A few months ago the SURVEY announced a new class of subscribers who want to help along the campaign for extension of social information in some definite way. We suggested that such subscribers who sent in a certain number of new subscriptions could, by enrolling as Survey Circulators, qualify for voting membership in Survey Associates.

We figured that four new subscriptions to the weekly SURVEY at \$3, or eight to the monthly issues only, at \$2, would offer enough margin of profit, over actual costs of production, to admit the sender to membership along with the associate members who had sent in a direct payment of \$10 or more.

A brisk band of Circulators is already at work, but we want more—a hundred by the first of June.

Why June? Because the next ten weeks will be crisis weeks when all who have to do with social movements should carefully watch the news of social developments as it appears in the SURVEY.

Will you lend a hand by joining the Circulator group? The coupon is just below. Send it back to us as soon as you have filled it in with your name.

CIRCULATOR COUPON

FILL THIS OUT AND RETURN TO US

Please enroll me as a Circulator in the SURVEY's campaign for wider use of social information.

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boys, thirty-nine girls) who had left school at the age of sixteen, none being out for more than five years, revealed that 33 per cent had become delinquent. Commenting on this, the *Journal of Delinquency* says: "It would be interesting to put down in hard, cold figures how much the community would have been saved if these children, now grown up, would have been diagnosed as pre-delinquent when in the special class and measures for their adequate treatment instituted then."

THE 1916 report of the Juvenile Court of Seattle attempts a classification by "dominant individual traits" of children brought to court during the year. The advantage of such a classification over one showing specific offenses, says Lilburn Merrill, diagnostician of the court, lies in the fact that it is "a more reliable index of forms of wrongdoing in which children, by nature, are most prone to engage." The classification deals with 617 children and shows: dishonesty, boys 270, girls 6; adventurousness, boys 113, girls 66; disorderliness, boys, 123, girls 6; truancy, boys 30, girls 3.

ONE HUNDRED women representing leading women's organizations in New York city, will form a committee under the direction of the Woman's Municipal League, to press for social reforms and to work for the reelection of a fusion administration for the city of New York, as the type of government most effective for translating law into terms of service. A detailed platform, looking toward better living and working conditions, public health education, reduced fire hazard, more playgrounds and parks, and greater protection to children has been drawn.

FOR just one year the Board of Protocol Standards, an agency created by the manufacturers' association and the union in the dress and waist industry in New York city [the SURVEY, March 11, 1916] was able to last. On March 10, the board, consisting of representatives of the union, the employers, and the public, was dissolved by common consent. Its purpose had been by means of a test shop to standardize piece-work prices and to minimize seasonal fluctuations of employment. The late Robert G. Valentine had been director until his death on November 13, 1916.

THE PLAY'S THE THING is the title of a leaflet issued by the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, New York city, telling how to use plays in public health education. It gives the title and a brief description of each of the fifteen plays already issued by the association—Miss Fresh-Air, Visiting Nurse; Don't-Care, Daughter of Mrs. Don't-Know; Health and his Enemies, are only a few. Using these plays to advantage, says the leaflet, does not mean so much elaborate costumes and scenery as wisely assigning the parts, getting a good leader and advertising; and it tells you how to do these things.

MENTAL hygiene societies are now organized in sixteen states—Indiana and Ohio are the most recent—and are being planned in several others, it was announced at the ninth annual meeting of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene. Officers of the National Committee elected for the coming year are: Dr. Lewellys F. Barker, president; Pres. Charles W. Eliot, Dr. William H. Welch, vice-presidents; Otto T. Bannard, treasurer; Dr. Thomas W. Salmon, medical director; Dr. Frankwood E. Williams, associate medical director; Clifford W. Beers, secretary. The president of the Indiana society is Prof. E. H. Lindley of Indiana University, and the secretary Frank B. Loomis of the Indianapolis Children's Aid Society.

Classified Advertisements

Advertising rates are: Hotels and Resorts, Apartments, Tours and Travel, Real Estate, twenty cents per line.
 "Want" advertisements under the various headings "Situations Wanted," "Help Wanted," etc., five cents each word or initial, including the address, for each insertion. Address Advertising Department, The Survey, 112 East 19 St., New York City.

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YOUNG MAN, experienced social worker and public speaker desires change of position. Executive ability. Present salary, \$2,900. Address 2477, SURVEY.

GRADUATE NURSE with twelve years' unusual experience in secretarial capacity, an expert stenographer and accountant, has also traveled extensively, seeks permanent engagement where she will be able to assist along medical, educational, philanthropic or social service lines. Address 2478, SURVEY.

OLD, young teacher, mind, body, craft revolutionizing manual training. Address 2479, SURVEY.

SOCIAL WORKER, graduate of School for Social Workers, and with a nurse's training, who has had experience in medical, social and associated charity work seeks position with child-placing society or social service in hospital in or very near Boston, summer or early fall. Employed at present. Address 2480 SURVEY.

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GRADUATE NURSES for Public Health Nursing. Several positions now vacant. Apply to CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING, 612 St. Clair Avenue E., Cleveland, O.

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BOOKS

Sufferers from Diabetes should understand their cases thoroughly in order that they may cooperate with their physicians. Dr. J. H. Kellogg gives full instructions in his new book. Send for free pamphlet to **GOOD HEALTH**, 2603 Maln St., Battle Creek, Mich.

Diabetes

A new book—**AMONG THE IMMORTALS**. What they are doing in the "Many Mansions." How souls work out their salvation after death. Christ preached to the spirits in Prison—1 Peter 3-19. \$1.50, postpaid. The Author, Box 740, Tenafly, N. J.

COMPULSORY health insurance as proposed in the Mills bill before the New York state legislature will be actively opposed by the National Civic Federation through its Social Insurance Department. It is supported by the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, by action of its board of managers. Sickness causes a large percentage of the work of a relief organization and "the association believes it is far better to provide for the care of such sickness by insurance rather than to provide for it by relief measures." The association has also endorsed the Perlman bill increasing the number of those eligible under the widows' pension law.

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB, of Elgin, Ill., has issued a report on the plan of that city, prepared by E. H. Bennett, which shows how far we have traveled from the spurious "city beautiful" type of plan. Like other recent plans for smaller cities, it starts out from the topographical needs of industrial development, wholesome housing, sanitation, safe and flexible transit facilities, commercial expansion, recreation, and on these builds up a synthetic subdivision, street and traffic system, and districting. Conceived in a broad and generous spirit, it gives a genuine interpretation to the life and aspirations of the community.

A CANADIAN CITY IN WAR TIME

[Continued from page 684]

The other and greater part has been to serve families in their relations with tenants and landlords, in advising dependents as to their rights under the Quebec and dominion laws, and in seeking new rulings from the government which, on the basis of fund experience, will make for justice. For while it is the exceptional case, which for better or worse, strikes public attention, fully two-thirds of the families are the unexceptional cases—the families in which, as Miss Reid says, the "women are making a huge, big, beautiful fight."

Besides investigating and reinvestigating the ten thousand cases in its files, the fund has done continuous work for the Imperial Pension Office, the Militia and Defence Department and the Pensions and Claims Office in Ottawa, and has often extended its inquiries beyond the island of Montreal. The table of figures up to January 1 last, as compiled by the statistical committee [see page 684], reveal the size of the major task of the Woman's Auxiliary of the Relief Committee of the Montreal Branch of the Canadian Patriotic Fund.

Some of the human problems embedded in these statistics will be brought out in the next instalment of this series. Before turning to them let me quote the estimate placed on the work as a whole by an American social worker of experience, J. Prentice Murphy, general secretary of the Boston Children's Aid Society, who visited Montreal in February:

"The thing that engrossed me most was that such a big job involving such an enormous expenditure of money could be done by volunteers. I have too keen an appreciation of the shortcomings of trained social workers, for my own shortcomings are such, to fail to say that the Montreal office represents a bit of volunteer efficiency that no social worker can afford to ignore. It will never be possible to pay for all the social service needed, and this is especially true when war conditions prevail, and it should be an encouragement to us to know that under intelligent direction volunteers can do the work that the Patriotic Fund staff is doing in Montreal."

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 History of the World, 3 vols. \$12.00; My price, \$2.85.
 Memory: How to Develop. 85c.
 Century Book of Health. \$5.50; My price, \$1.
 New Americanized Encyclopedia, 15 vols., 3-4 Leather. Publisher's price, \$16.00. My price, \$14.75.
 Century Dictionary and Cyclopedic, 12 vols., 3-4 Leather. Publisher's price, \$120.00. My price, \$39.50.
 New American Encyclopedic Dictionary, 5 vols., 3-4 Leather. Publisher's price, \$21.00. My price, \$4.
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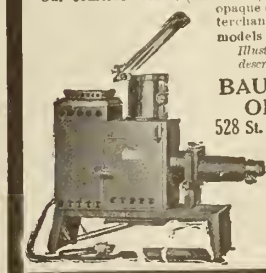
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MISCELLANEOUS

SOCIAL WORKERS' EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE: The Department for Social Workers of the Intercollegiate Bureau of Occupations registers men and women for positions in social and civic work, the qualifications for registration being a degree from an accredited college, a year's course in a professional school training for social or civic work, or experience which has given at least equivalent preparation. Needs of organizations seeking workers are given careful and prompt attention. EMELYN PECK, MANAGER, 130 East 22d St., New York City.

A MESSAGE

FROM THE

Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in America

To Our Fellow Citizens:

In this time of crisis when our country's highest good is the common aim of all, we voice this deep conviction of patriotic duty.

We rejoice that even at this time, when the world is crazed by war, so many men are judging war by moral and spiritual standards, and by ideals of sacrifice. The causes for which men fight—liberty, justice and peace—are noble Christian causes. But the method of war is unchristian and immoral. War itself violates law, justice, liberty and peace, the very ends for which alone its tragic cost might be justified.

Further, the method of war is ineffective to these ends. Might does not decide the right, ideals cannot be maintained by force, nor can evil overcome evil. True national honor is a nation's own integrity and unselfish service. Only unswerving honesty and self-control maintain it. Rights, the rights of all, are securely defended between nations as between individuals, by mutual confidence, not suspicion; by universal co-operation and law, not by private armed defence.

The alternative to war is not inactivity and cowardice. It is the irresistible and constructive power of good-will. True patriotism at this time calls not for a resort to the futile methods of war, but for the invention and practice on a gigantic scale of new methods of conciliation and altruistic service. The present intolerable situation among nations demands an unprecedented expression of organized national good-will.

Unpractical though such ideals may seem, experience has taught that ideals can be realized if we have faith to practice now what all men hope for in the future. The American Nation, as a more perfect union of States, as a melting pot of races, as a repeated victor through peace, has proved practical the methods of generosity and patience. Throughout many years of an adventurous belief in the Christian principle of human brotherhood, the Society of Friends has seen the triumph of good-will in all forms of human crisis.

The peoples of every land are longing for the time when love shall conquer hate, when co-operation shall replace conflict, when war shall be no more. This time will come only when the people of some great nation dare to abandon the outworn tradition of international dealing and to stake all upon persistent good-will.

We are the nation and now is the time. This is America's supreme opportunity.

Unflinching good-will, no less than war, demands courage, patriotism, and self-sacrifice. To such a victory over itself, to such a leadership of the world, to such an embodiment of the matchless, invincible power of good-will, this otherwise tragic hour challenges our country.

Friends National Peace Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

THE SURVEY



*From a
Patriotic Fund
Poster*

*Drawing by Racey,
Montreal "Star"*

Families of Soldiers Overseas

By Paul U. Kellogg

Will American Labor Fight?

By John A. Fitch

Bridling the Mississippi

By Morris Knowles

The Adamson Law Constitutional
The Open Shop in San Francisco
Russia's Coalition Revolution

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YES, is the answer—American labor will come to the scratch if we have war. But it has very definite ideals it will fight for and it does not propose to throw up its cap for any old war. Page 707.

WHEN a man's married his trouble begins. But when he goes overseas in khaki the needles and pins are for the women of the Canadian Patriotic Fund. The best of soldiers may be informal in his domestic affairs, with a wife each side the ocean or the altar. The great majority of the families cared for, of course, are of a very different sort—some of them have formed an organization of their own to help in the relief work. But there's a feeling that inebriety and other signs of breakdown among the wives will increase as the dreary war months drag on with hope deferred and fear quickened. Page 709.

LAW and order is what they are after, says Vice-President Lynch, of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, replying to Mr. Grady's article on the Open Shop in San Francisco. Good enough, says Grady, but how much more telling to do it by example as well as precept. Page 716.

NOT a workingmen's revolt nor a peasant uprising, without bombs or the classical tools of terrorism, the Russian revolution was an accomplished and orderly fact before the world heard of it. Noble and peasant, prince and pauper, socialist and soldier joined hands like a gang of young fellows who suddenly realize they are boys no longer, put on long breeches and, with the eager seriousness of youth, start out on their own. And at 73, Madame Breshkovsky finds her Siberian prison door open, the Finns are free, the Jews are men. An interview with Dr. Simkhovitch of the political science department, Columbia University, a Russian and a liberal, for many years a resident of Greenwich House. Page 718.

THE new flood law sweeps aside the old conventions of navigability and the pork barrel and proposes to domesticate the Mississippi. Page 721.

*CONGRESS has full power to establish compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes, by the Supreme Court decision upholding the Adamson law. The railroad strike threatens no more and, it may be, a basis has been laid for sustaining minimum-wage and maximum-hour laws. Page 722.

ALEXANDER JOHNSON has always delighted in telling that for all the years he was superintendent of a home for the feeble-minded, he tried out his public addresses on the "children," and found the effective ones were those the "children" approved. This winter he is up to a new trick of wheedling institutional appropriations out of state legislators by pictures and stories of those same "children" with an occasional argument thrown in for the benefit of the reporters. Page 725.

CLEVELAND'S school board has issued a statement to other boards defining the relations of the public schools to the national crisis. Page 723.

AN Indiana tornado makes a Zeppelin look like a raw amateur and furnishes field practice for the Red Cross. Page 724.

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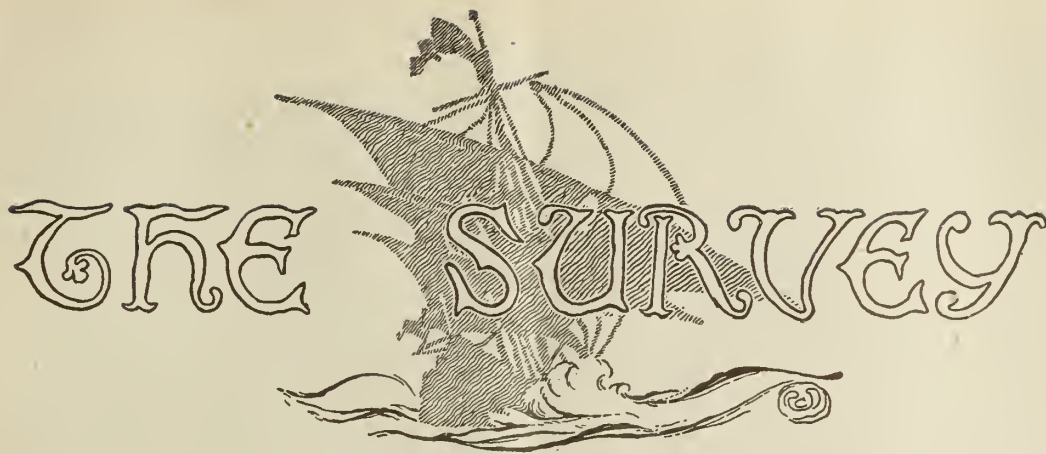
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New Kind of Prohibition

The railway strike is off, but the impetus it gave to plans for prohibiting or preventing strikes is still felt. Bills to hold up a break for 30 days or more pending an investigation, are before the legislatures of a half dozen states. That's the principle of the Canadian industrial disputes act. Ben. M. Selekman of the Russell Sage Foundation went to Canada to find out how the act works. Comment on the subject is contributed by Charles W. Eliot, John R. Commons, James O'Connell of the American Federation of Labor, James C. Watters of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, J. E. Williams, Wm. O. Thompson and a number of others in

The Survey Next Week



Will American Labor Fight?

By John A. Fitch

OF THE SURVEY STAFF

"We speak for millions of Americans. We are not a sect. We are not a party. We represent the organizations held together by the pressure of our common needs. We represent the part of the nation closest to the fundamentals of life. Those we represent wield the nation's tools and grapple with the forces that are brought under control in our material civilization. The power and use of industrial tools is greater than the tools of war and will in time supersede agencies of destruction."

IN this manner begins the announcement by representatives of American labor of their attitude and their policy toward war. It was an important and deeply significant occasion—that gathering in Washington on March 12, of one hundred presidents and officers of national and international unions, at the call of Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor. They came, sobered by a sense of responsibility in a time of crisis in the affairs of the nation and of the world.

"The whole world is afire," read the call for the meeting, "and there is imminent danger that at any time we may become part of the conflagration. . . . General policies are now in the making, and can be directed either in accord with the interests of humanity or against them. But organized labor cannot delay in expressing itself upon the present and impending critical situation. Now is the time for labor to speak."

So labor did speak, in a voice that left no uncertainty. With fine idealism and with careful discrimination an answer was given to the question, what will labor do in case of war? And the answer is that labor hates war, but that it loves so well those "ideals of democracy which the masses of the people received from our forefathers" that it will fight, if necessary, to defend them; but, if called upon to fight, labor must be convinced that it is these "ideals of democracy" and none other that it is called upon to defend.

The temper in which this gathering entered upon its work is indicated by a paragraph near the beginning of the statement, a statement which was adopted by a unanimous vote of the conference.

"Whether we approve it or not, we must recognize that war is a situation with which we must reckon. The present European war, involving as it does the majority of civilized nations and affecting the industry and commerce of the whole world, threatens at any moment to draw all countries, including our own, into the conflict. Our immediate problem, then,

is to bring to bear upon war conditions instructive forethought, vision, principles of human welfare and conservation that should direct our course in every eventuality of life. The way to avert war is to establish constructive agencies for justice in times of peace and thus control for peace situations and forces that might otherwise result in war."

With an impressive candor, the statement proceeds to set forth the principles for which the labor movement stands. It declares those principles to be grounded upon the basic one of economic justice. It not only insists that these principles must be recognized whether the country is at peace or at war, but it insists that their recognition is the best possible sort of preparedness. "War," these labor men declared,

"has never put a stop to the necessity for struggle to establish and maintain industrial rights. Wage-earners in war times must, as has been said, keep one eye on the exploiters at home and the other upon the enemy threatening the national government. Such exploitation made it impossible for a warring nation to mobilize effectively its full strength for outward defense.

"We maintain that it is the fundamental step in preparedness for the nation to set its own house in order and to establish at home justice in relations between men. Previous wars, for whatever purpose waged, developed new opportunities for exploiting wage-earners. Not only was there failure to recognize the necessity for protecting rights of workers that they might give that whole-hearted service to the country that can come only when every citizen enjoys rights, freedom and opportunity, but under guise of national necessity, Labor was stripped of its means of defense against enemies at home and was robbed of the advantages, the protections, the guarantees of justice that had been achieved after ages of struggle. For these reasons workers have felt that no matter what the result of war, as wage-earners they generally lost."

The labor movement stands for a different order.

"Whether in peace or in war the organized labor movement seeks to make all else subordinate to human welfare and human opportunity. The labor movement stands as the defender of this principle and undertakes to protect the wealth-producers against the exorbitant greed of special interests, against profiteering, against exploitation, against the detestable methods of irresponsible greed, against inhumanity and crime of heartless corporations and employers. . . . A nation cannot make an effective defense against an outside danger if

groups of citizens are asked to take part in a war though smarting with a sense of keen injustice inflicted by the government they are expected to and will defend. The corner-stone of national defense is justice in fundamental relations of life—economic justice.”

The Government's Part

THE word “justice” is a general term. If it is to be applied to any given situation it requires careful definition. This labor conference did not fail, therefore, to put down some specific requirements that must be met if the government is to count on them for fullest cooperation in time of war.

“Industrial justice is the right of those living within our country. With this right there is associated obligation. In war time obligation takes the form of service in defense of the Republic against enemies.

“We recognize that this service may be either military or industrial, both equally essential for national defense. We hold this to be incontrovertible that the government which demands that men and women give their labor power, their bodies or their lives to its service, should also demand the service, in the interest of these human beings, of all wealth and the products of human toil—property.

“We hold that if workers may be asked in time of national peril or emergency to give more exhausting service than the principles of human welfare warrant, that service should be asked only when accompanied by increased guarantees and safeguards, and when the profits which the employer shall secure from the industry in which they are engaged have been limited to fixed percentages.

“We declare that such determination of profits should be based on costs of processes actually needed for product. . . .

“ . . . Service in government factories and private establishments, in transportation agencies, all should conform to trade union standards.

“The guarantees of human conservation should be recognized in war as well as in peace. Wherever changes in the organization of industry are necessary upon a war basis, they should be made in accord with plans agreed upon by representatives of the government and those engaged and employed in the industry. We recognize that in war, in certain employments requiring high skill, it is necessary to retain in industrial service the workers specially fitted therefor. In any eventuality when women may be employed, we insist that equal pay for equal work shall prevail without regard to sex.

“Finally in order to safeguard all the interests of the wage-earners organized labor should have representation on all agencies determining and administering policies for national defense. It is particularly important that organized labor should have representatives on all boards authorized to control publicity during war times. The workers have suffered much injustice in war times by limitations upon their right to speak freely and to secure publicity for their just grievances.”

This statement of labor's demands is put forth in no apologetic spirit, or one of hesitant doubt.

“Organized labor has earned the right to make these demands. It is the agency that, in all countries, stands for human rights and is the defender of the welfare and interests of the masses of the people. It is an agency that has international recognition which is not seeking to rob, exploit or corrupt foreign governments, but instead seeks to maintain human rights and interests the world over, nor does it have to dispel suspicion nor prove its motives either at home or abroad.”

So much for labor's demands. Suppose they are granted—what then? Is labor loyal? Will the working men of Amer-

ica fight to defend their country? Let their representatives answer:

“Workers have no delusions regarding the policy which property owners and exploiting employers pursue in peace or in war, and they also recognize that wrapped up with the safety of this Republic are ideals of democracy, a heritage which the masses of the people received from our forefathers, who fought that liberty might live in this country—a heritage that is to be maintained and handed down to each generation with undiminished power and usefulness.

“The labor movement recognizes the value of freedom and it knows that freedom and rights can be maintained only by those willing to assert their claims and to defend their rights. The American labor movement has always opposed unnecessary conflicts and all wars for aggrandizement, exploitation and enslavement, and yet it has done its part in the world's revolutions, in the struggles to establish greater freedom, democratic institutions and ideals of human justice.”

There was no evidence, however, of a desire to rush madly to the defense of those ideals without careful consideration of just what that would involve.

“Our labor movement distrusts and protests against militarism, because it knows that militarism represents privilege and is the tool of special interests, exploiters and despots. But while it opposes militarism, it holds that it is the duty of a nation to defend itself against injustice and invasion. . . .

“The present war discloses the struggle between the institutions of democracy and those of autocracy. As a nation we should profit from the experiences of other nations. Democracy cannot be established by patches upon an autocratic system. The foundations of civilized intercourse between individuals must be organized upon principles of democracy and scientific principles of human welfare. Then a national structure can be perfected in harmony with humanitarian idealism—a structure that will stand the tests of the necessities of peace or war.”

“Labor, Justice, Freedom, Humanity”

WITH this setting forth of labor's demands, its suspicion of militarism, its insistence on justice as the basis for national strength both in war and in peace; in other words, with the understanding that the America that these men are ready to fight for must be an America just to her people, whether at war or at peace, we come to the final statement of labor's position:

“We, the officers of the national and international trade unions of America in national conference assembled in the capital of our nation, hereby pledge ourselves in peace or in war, in stress or in storm, to stand unreservedly by the standards of liberty and the safety and preservation of the institutions and ideals of our Republic.

“In this solemn hour of our nation's life, it is our earnest hope that our Republic may be safeguarded in its unswerving desire for peace; that our people may be spared the horrors and the burdens of war; that they may have the opportunity to cultivate and develop the arts of peace, human brotherhood and a higher civilization.

“But, despite all our endeavors and hopes, should our country be drawn into the maelstrom of the European conflict, we, *with these ideals of liberty and justice herein declared, as the indispensable basis for national policies* [italics mine], offer our services to our country in every field of activity to defend, safeguard and preserve the Republic of the United States of America against its enemies whomsoever they may be, and we call upon our fellow workers and fellow citizens in the holy name of Labor, Justice, Freedom and Humanity to devotedly and patriotically give like service.”



SOLDIERS' FAMILIES WAITING THEIR TURN AT PATRIOTIC FUND HEADQUARTERS

A Canadian City in War Time

II. Families of Soldiers Overseas

By Paul U. Kellogg

DURING the second war year, 58,000 visits were made to the homes of soldiers' families in Montreal by the volunteers of the Patriotic Fund. How this work was organized was described in my first article (see the SURVEY, March 17). That strategy of war which has overcome barriers of language, creed and race and brought together the fighting men of many nations has had an echo in the *entente cordiale* of these Canadian women. French-speaking women visit French-speaking families; English-speaking women, English-speaking families; Franco-Belgian, Franco-Belgian; Catholic, Catholic; Protestant, Protestant; Hebrew, Hebrew. Through two-fold committee organizations in each of the twenty-seven districts, two-fold district heads, two-fold secretaries, English and French, with a common headquarters staff for record-keeping, filing, budget-making and general oversight, all this work among different races and religions has been coordinated and standardized. More than that, it has been transfused with new, revolutionary conceptions of help and family rehabilitation.

"It's not only the money, it's the living money we have learned to give," said a ward head, a French-Canadian volunteer who confessed to sitting up until two o'clock that morning, writing case-records in order to turn them in on time.

I thought she had come to realize what the cost of living meant to families of the least well-to-do, for in February, on the basis of reports from the districts as to the rise in the price of provisions and other necessities, the Montreal Relief Committee recommended an increase of 10 per cent in all family budgets. But, no; she meant more than that. She meant things of the spirit—counsel, understanding, appreciation, sympathy, encouragement between visitor and visited—"living money."

Every ward committee has one member known as recorder who works under the Social Statistics Department at headquarters in analyzing cases and drawing up monthly reports. The main sheet for each ward has a line for every family and is divided vertically into two parts. In one part are twenty-five columns labeled "disabilities"; in the other eighteen labeled "opportunities." Whatever the statistical limitations of the sheet (obviously a case of tuberculosis in a family is both a disability and an opportunity for treatment and cure), this division is psychologically a stroke of genius. For in every investigation slip, every monthly report by ward and city, every outgiving of the fund as a whole, the challenge is repeated over and over again, that a family in need is a budget of opportunities no less than a bundle of ills. Its reaction upon the 712 visitors and volunteers is at the very bottom of that revolutionary

**AIDEZ LA
CROIX ROUGE**



**ON A BESOIN D'ARGENT POUR
LES HOPITAUX ET POUR LES PRISONNIERS
DE GUERRE CANADIENS**

TRES HON DE LA CAMPAGNE CONJOINTE EN FAVORI DE LA CROIX ROUGE
CHAMBRE 303, EDIFICE D'ORUMOND MONTREAL.



At the outset of the war Canada was suffering from a severe depression. Of the British reservist and Canadian families which came on the fund the first year, 5,014 in all, only 1,183 of the men were known to be employed at the time of enlistment; 1,874 were known to be unemployed. Presumably a large share of the remainder were out of work. This situation continued into the second year, although not to such an extent; 1,425 of 3,445 breadwinners being without employment at the time of joining the colors. These figures indicate that when a woman came on to the fund she was often handicapped by debts. Further, in the early days, two or three months might pass before her income from the government was satisfactorily regulated. But with the systematization of military pay and separation allowances, the establishment of war industries (munitions and supplies) and the scarcity of labor similar to that experienced in the manufacturing centers of our eastern states, the entire situation shifted.

Taking the Place of Provider

IN MANY cases the war has been an actual stabilizer and promoter of family incomes, to say nothing of domestic serenity. "Now I get money reg'lar, you see, and don't 'ave 'im," said one Englishwoman. And, youngish mother of eight that she was, her auditor was left to infer that she was relishing sort of a bank holiday from perennial child-bearing.

One little girl of fourteen, the eldest of ten children of a British laborer, was sent to a summer camp. She had been sort of assistant mother to the younger children and was white and drawn. The world seemed to owe her a bit of gaiety on

conception of family help which sets off the program of the Patriotic Fund in Montreal—both from the routine fund grants made to soldiers' families in many other Canadian cities and from the dole-giving which characterizes not only some of the older relief agencies of Montreal but some of the war societies.

Here is a summary drawn up by the Social Statistics Department for the second war year. In a way it serves as an index to some of the problems in social case-work which have come to the fund:

SOCIAL STATISTICS

(Second year of war, August, 1915-August, 1916)

Number of families.....	6933
Number of households.....	26684
Number of children under 5 years.....	5574
Number of children, 5-14 years.....	6867

OPPORTUNITIES AFFORDED FAMILIES BY FUND

Medical aid.....	2090
Dental aid.....	78
Optical aid.....	94
Hospitals.....	901
Sanatoria.....	48
Temporary homes.....	237
Permanent homes.....	107
Temporary employment.....	42
Permanent employment.....	90
Bank account.....	981
Insurance.....	6024
Legal aid.....	70

EMERGENCY RELIEF

Loans.....	1421
Medicine.....	45
Clothing.....	835
Sympathetic allowance.....	2530

TRANSPORTATION

Overseas (families).....	324
By land (families).....	20

DISABILITIES UNDER WHICH FAMILIES WERE LABORING

Birth.....	604
Death.....	347
Accident.....	99
Intemperance.....	404
Immorality.....	246
Bigamy.....	20
Desertion.....	182
Fraud.....	93
Debts (families).....	2566
Illiteracy.....	579
Out of work: Soldier.....	2643
Out of work: Family head.....	654
Chronic diseases.....	1622
Acute diseases.....	1008

INFECTIOUS DISEASES

Typhoid fever.....	57
Tuberculosis.....	331
Scarlet fever.....	54
Measles.....	82
Chicken-pox.....	93
Diphtheria.....	119
Whooping cough.....	184
Meningitis.....	18

MENTAL DISABILITIES

Insanity.....	41
Epilepsy.....	38
Mental defect.....	68



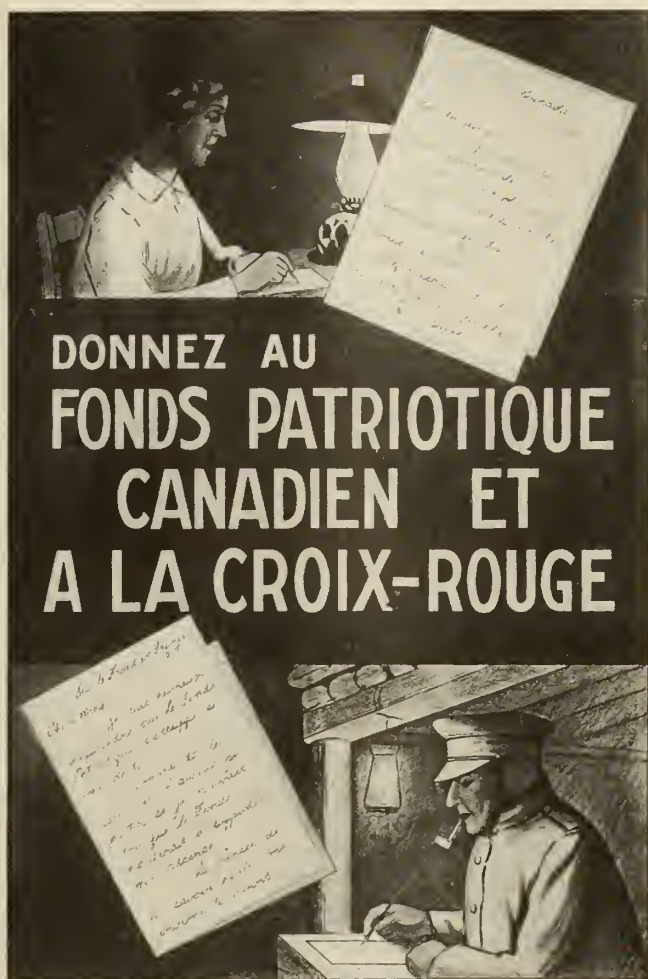
In Montreal, the Patriotic Fund must do all of its work in two languages, English and French, and have two ward heads and two sets of interviewers and visitors

her own; but she scarcely knew how to use her leisure. She thought the other children of her own age a "well-behaved lot," and the first night she asked if there wasn't a baby she could take care of. Sure enough, she found one at the next farm, and spent most of her vacation tending it.

Hers was an exceptional case, however, as was well proved when the ladies' committee of a Montreal day nursery descended on the Patriotic Fund in a body to protest that it had robbed them of their charges. Women who formerly put their babies in the nursery and went out to day's work, with the man perhaps at home drunk, had come to find that on half pay, subsistence allowance and fund money they themselves could stay at home and tend their children. And the fund management is courageous enough to encourage them to be spendthrift in just that old-fashioned way—for the sake of Canada and the empire, and the generation coming on, which must take up its load.

A visiting housekeeper is assigned to a district for four months. Taking the families in groups of forty she teaches cooking, sewing, millinery and household management, chiefly the latter. Educational work, carried on by leaflets and visitors, to encourage savings and insurance, was explained in the first article. Altogether, on all subjects, 100,000 leaflets were distributed among the families last year.

An adaptation of the stamp-savings scheme of the Penny Provident Fund was advocated by the Ladies' Auxiliary, but was not taken up by the Relief Committee; and, curiously enough, the old-age pension system of the Canadian postoffice



**DONNEZ AU
FONDS PATRIOTIQUE
CANADIEN ET
A LA CROIX-ROUGE**

has not as yet been promoted as a form of saving. In several instances women have been encouraged to take out war certificates (\$25 each), thus doing their bit toward carrying the war loan.

Although mothers of young families have been encouraged to stay at home, the fund has listed all women who have recorded their wish for work, and even during the earlier hard times was able to secure employment for many. Childless wives have had small inducement to remain in idleness, in the childless wives' rate of the Patriotic Fund. This is only \$5 a month over and above their soldier pay and separation allowance from Ottawa. When other women have taken up regular work of their own accord, their budget allowances have been cut accordingly. In all cases the theory of the fund has been neither to see women bearing the double responsibilities of mother and father, forced to go out to earn the living while the man fights overseas; nor, on the other hand, to see the grant go as a surplus to women who, from choice or fortune, gain an ample income elsewhere.

Wage-Earning Women

SOME soldiers' wives in Montreal are earning as high as \$80 a month in munitions factories, besides half pay assigned by their husbands and separation allowance from the Canadian government. Should the fund continue to pay these women anything in addition? The answer seems simple enough, yet within a week protests showing the most diverse points of view reached the fund from two vice-presidents of one of the largest industrial establishments in Canada. One man said that his workmen, who had contributed four days' pay each to the Patriotic Fund, felt it unfair for soldiers' wives who

**SOUTENEZ
L'HONNEUR DU DRAPEAU**



AIDEZ CEUX QUI VOUS AIDENT

Donnez une journée
de votre salaire



Not only because of language, but because of religion is the two-fold organization necessary, for French-Speaking Canada is devoutly Roman Catholic

had come into the shop and were earning as good wages as themselves, to draw from a fund to which they and not the women had contributed. The other man wrote that his company had contributed a quarter of a million dollars to the fund and that a woman shouldn't be penalized by striking her name from the list if she were decent enough to work and help the country out!

The encouragement given mothers to invest their labor in their children has its counterpart in encouragement given them to keep their children at school. When it is remembered that Montreal is the largest city in the New World without compulsory education, this is no small matter. The continuance of grants to older children at the higher rates (\$6 to \$7.50 a month from ten to fifteen years) is the chief leverage in this policy. A school campaign has been carried on both years, in which teachers and principals, French and English, Roman Catholic and Protestant, have cooperated. Prizes have been offered to fund families showing the best records in conduct, attendance and general progress.

The Youth of the Soldiers' Families

A SCHOOL investigation was undertaken in each district covering especially the reasons given for non-attendance—paternal indifference, work, illness, poverty, etc. This census also recorded the number of saloons, moving-picture shows and other neighborhood influences. Last year's report expressed gratification at the small percentage of fund children that were found at child labor. It expressed surprise on "finding two-thirds of our children under school age, indicating the youth of our soldiers' families." The need of social vigilance was borne out by the extent of illiteracy among the parents. Four hundred and four, or over 11.39 per cent, of the men whose families came onto the fund the past year in Montreal could not write.

This campaign for education has been matched by one for health. Health leaflets are distributed to every mother on the fund. For a while a trained English health inspector, a soldier's wife, was employed in St. Denis ward, but her husband was wounded and she was called to England. Eight or ten nurses are working in the different wards as volunteers, ready to attend any case of sickness. In the summer good health rules are demonstrated in churches and schools, where a nurse bathes and dresses a baby before a group of soldiers' wives. Again, many mothers are induced to send or take their children to milk stations, dispensary or hospital, oculist or dentist. Some inroads last summer on the heavy infant mortality rate in Montreal are attributed to this work, in which city hall doctors, members of the Victorian Order of Nurses and nurses from the Foundling Hospital and the Gardes Malades de Ville Marie cooperated.

Over 300 physicians are on the honor list of the fund, including all members of the medical faculty of Laval University and of the Medico-Chirurgical Society. They stand ready to give free medical attention; but since the earlier months fund families have been urged to meet sickness expenses out of their regular budgets.

Extreme cases, of course, demand exceptional care, as, for example, the mother and four children, all tubercular, who were sent to a sanatorium through the gift of a regimental fund. Another case was that of the family of a railroad laborer, the woman just recovering from pneumonia, a baby two months old and four small children. They were burned out near the railroad shops and housed over night in some cars, along with twenty other families, victims of the same fire. After many vicissitudes the man was invalided

home because of flat-foot and found his family ready to receive him in a comfortable apartment, the wife (who had been tubercular) much improved by her new experience with good food and comfort. Incidentally, the woman was in debt to the fund for five dollars at the time of her husband's discharge and since has come in to pay it off a dollar at a time.

The mother of a British reservist, a competent woman, is sent regularly to families in which the women are ill, and makes her own arrangements with them as to what they shall pay her. In one case she is known to have refused any pay and to have taken down her own mattress and bed to make the patient more comfortable. At present she is caring for two children, the father at the front, the mother dead.

Then take the case of a mechanic overseas in the Army Service Corps, the wife and three children in Montreal. The wife developed cancer and was placed in a hospital, the three children were sent to a home. When a well-to-do Chicago friend of a ward-head wrote that she wanted to adopt a child, she was sent to this sick mother in the hospital. She was attracted to the oldest daughter—an eight-year-old girl—and was eager to take the child into her home. The fund was able to get the father two months' leave so that it could be arranged, and the wife died happy in the thought that the little girl would be provided for.

After the death of the wife of a young Finnish soldier, the fund reached out even further in its ministrations. When the wife came on the fund she had said that her husband had a child (by a first wife) living with grandparents in the old country. Correspondence with the man at the front and with the Finnish priest in New York in whose parish the child had been born and the first wife died brought power of attorney, birth certificate and the other legal documents necessary. Today allowance is going from Canada to the soldier's child in Finland.

The first year 273 births and 140 expectant mothers were on the fund's maternity lists. The second year the births ran up to 604. Ward heads and visitors give "friendly, helpful attention to these lonely women at this time."

Besides maternity allowance from the fund in case of need, the mothers of war babies receive baby trousseaus provided by the Daughters of the Empire and other friends. Baby "Kitchens" and "Patricias" without number in the early stages of the war have given way before a later infant calculated in good time to man a "tank" single-handed. He was christened George Albert Nicholas Victor Poincare Stewart.

It is well that there are military names to turn to, for some of the war babies can scarcely bear the names of soldiers at the front. The plan when illegitimate children are born into families on the fund is to find the man responsible and to hold him for confinement expenses at least; to notify the military authorities at Ottawa and get separation allowance and half pay put in the hands of the fund as leverage for rehabilitating the household. If the woman continues in her mode of life, her Patriotic Fund grant is cut down to the motherless rate, but the allotment to the children is maintained. If she is clearly confirmed in promiscuous living, steps are taken to separate mother and children.

Tangled Family Relationships

SUCH a household was that of a French-Canadian mother living with her daughter and a granddaughter of five. The daughter was the wife of a soldier, but both women were kept by other men. Again, through a veteran of the Russo-Japanese war, the fund learned of the maltreatment of four immigrant children whose mother was receiving assigned pay

and separate allowance from a Russian soldier at the front—one of five husbands. Two other husbands and a boarder were living with her in a joint where she sold liquor, stole from her drunken visitors and took a hand with club or bottle in the frequent free-for-all fights. The case was taken up at Ottawa, government money stopped and the children placed under the protection of the Juvenile Court.

And there was the English-born woman, the mother of four children, who wrote her soldier husband that she would be a wife to him no more. She had met a "perfect gentleman." The letter reached the soldier when he lay wounded in a French hospital and he turned it over to his colonel's wife, who asked the fund to help. The woman and children had disappeared, but through a milkman they were traced to a suburb, where they were found living an apparently normal family life. The new man, who had not yet tired of his adopted family, was earning large pay in a munitions factory. The fund money was cut off, Ottawa warned and the father told how he could take legal steps if he desired. The information never reached him, and now the fund has a pitiful letter from him, asking what has become of his children.

Altogether, ward heads and experienced visitors had to deal last year with 246 cases in which immorality and 404 cases in which intemperance were factors; many of them, of course, in the same households. And entering into the complexity of these family problems is the fact that, while isolation, loneliness and the man's absence may be unraveling the fabric of family life at home, the same process may be going on for the man in barracks and camp, where monotony and loss of identity are coupled with unrestraint of men on leave, too far away to get back to their families. The high percentage of venereal-disease cases treated in the military hospitals is an index of this situation.

When, to begin with, the husband is a heavy drinker, his enlistment may prove a temporary gain to the family—like the reservist's wife who was found in one room, without enough to eat and half clothed, but who, with war income and sympathetic counsel from the fund, is now living in a cheerful flat. There is a different situation when the woman is the drinker. With the man gone overseas, the fund visitors face in such cases one of their most baffling problems. Recently a visitor found the door of the house she sought locked. A child who finally answered said that her mother had forbidden her to open it. Five younger children and the intoxicated mother were behind that locked door. The husband, a skilled mechanic, was at the front, as well as the two oldest boys.

Making a Dry Law Help

SOMEWHAT similar circumstances caused word to come from a police station one evening that two children were being cared for there over night. At first their mother could not be found, but later she was discovered at her mother's—the woman drunk in bed with a ten-days'-old baby in her arms; the grandmother stone drunk, a four-year-old child on the floor, tipsy with the liquor that had been given him; and three men drinking in the house. Drunk, foully dirty and in jail was the woman when the visitor began a slow process of rehabilitation. The baby died. Two older children were placed temporarily in a home. Then the woman was settled in a "dry" suburb, pains being taken to conceal her whereabouts from the grandmother, who was the bell-wether of the family's habits. All seemed to be going well when who should open the door for the visitor on her next call but the old woman herself! It looked as though the jig were up, but living together six miles out from the nearest saloon, mother and daughter have both kept straight for a year past.

There is another class of cases around which a spirited controversy is going on at the present time—those in which two wives have come to light, the first often living in England. Last October the Privy Council voted that in case a woman had been supported regularly by a soldier on a "bona fide permanent domestic basis, for at least two years prior to his enlistment," the separation allowance (\$20 a month) should go to her and not to the legal wife. Similar rules were adopted by the Canadian Patriotic Fund. The practice is defended by the military on the ground that the purpose of the grants is to encourage enlistment, and that men will not enlist if the women for whom they care are to be left stranded. This rule, however, was not enacted till last fall. A more probable reason is the feeling that in a province like Quebec, where there is no means for getting a divorce short of going to Parliament, various informal but self-respecting substitutes are resorted to among the poor, and that when a man enlists to go overseas it is not the time to interfere forcibly with his domestic life.

Legal Wives and Military Wives

HOWEVER this may be, the ruling is one which has been vigorously challenged by the women of the Patriotic Fund in Montreal, on the basis of its injustice to deserted and neglected families. Specifically, the Montreal branch urges that the "claim of the legal wife be always given precedence, provided that no cause of unworthiness or misconduct on her part be proven," and that, in the latter event, the "claim should extend to the first wife's children, for whom, through an appointed guardian, the separation allowance and assigned pay be administered."

An Englishwoman, deserted and so destitute that her five children were in the poorhouse, wrote to ask help in tracing her husband. He was in a Canadian regiment, and the files in the Montreal office showed that a second wife and three illegitimate children were drawing the assigned pay, separation allowance and fund grant. After investigation and much correspondence, which produced birth and marriage certificates and references extolling the excellent character of the English wife, the fund was able to have an exception made in this case. Work was obtained for the second wife, who had known nothing of the deserted family, and fund grants were continued to her three children, the youngest being placed out and the two older ones put under the supervision of a district visitor. Meanwhile assigned pay and separation allowance were diverted to the lawful wife, who was able to take her children from the poorhouse, and was so impressed with the Montreal fund as a domestic mediator that she wrote "since they had been so kind," would they now "get her husband to go back to her"!

Two further cases can be cited to illustrate the involved relationships which the fund is called upon to disentangle. The first is a case of a husband overseas, whose wife died, leaving one boy. He was claimed by her relations, but investigation led to the belief that they were unfit. The soldier wrote asking that his former employer, a Protestant, be made the boy's guardian. The wife's relatives refused to give the child up, basing their claim on religious grounds. A volunteer lawyer secured a writ of habeas corpus. Thereupon, the wife's relations held a family council, appointing the boy's uncle as tutor. The case was up in the Practice Court for three days, the fund taking the ground that the soldier's wish should be respected, the former employer be made the guardian and the boy sent to a Catholic school under direction of the court.

The second case is that of a seemingly inoffensive woman sued by the fund for obtaining money under false pretenses. Her husband was killed in action and she obtained advances from the fund on three different occasions on the ground that her pension had not come. It developed, also, that she had gone to Ottawa, impersonating another woman, giving the correct name, regiment and number of the woman's husband and falsely drawing separation allowance and assigned pay checks. These she cashed, after making her mark, claiming she could not write. Meanwhile the woman had received a year's pension money and remarried within three months of her husband's death.

The "Trouble" Cases

So the cases might be multiplied: the imposter with forged letters from the front in her pocket; the girl of the street who marries just as the troops leave; the canny woman from a neighboring township who wrote that, as she had heard so much good of the fund, she was coming to Montreal with her four children and would they please find her a house; the veteran of Boer and Matabele wars, whose wife, to entice him home for Christmas dinner, wrote of a sumptuous repast to be provided by the Patriotic Fund and who without warning brought five soldiers home from the barracks to share it—to their common discomfiture and the veteran's rage; the mothers and fathers with other sources of support, who feel themselves entitled to a grant, even if their assigned pay is more than their soldier son formerly turned into the family expenses; the invalided soldier who took unto himself a widow and children, and went to the newspapers with his grievance when the government failed to underwrite his new entourage.

There has been a running fire of complaint, not only from those who have wanted the fund to do more than its charter and sense of stewardship permitted, but from those who have wanted it to do less. To these latter a dignified answer was made by the Montreal branch in its last report:

"There are people with little or no social conscience who would feel hurt if any aspersion were made on their so-called patriotism, but who say, 'all this welfare work has nothing to do with the Patriotic Fund.' Can there be anything more short-sighted and less patriotic? Our men are dying for the ideals of liberty and justice as expressed in our free institutions and free people. If our country is worth dying for, it is surely worth living for, and the opportunity to give service to our soldiers' families for development into a higher citizenship of better men and women is certainly the greatest service the women who stay at home can render their country. Love for Canada and our country does not really seem to have been awakened until this war began, and there are still many Canadians who place their safety, comfort and ease before their service for their country. The immortal fruits of life are not material well-being and physical comfort, but integrity, courage, reverence and willingness to serve and to sacrifice, and true patriotism means unselfish public service. The volunteers in the fund are working for the Canada of tomorrow as well as for our city of today, because they are trying to minimize the fearful waste of infant and child life, and because they are affording opportunity—not charity—to the soldiers' families for the fruitful development of the five essentials of normal life—health, education, recreation, employment and spiritual development."

But the best evidence of the worth of this work with families—as well as the best corrective for any tendency to let the exceptional cases of fraud or frailty throw out of perspective the great body of self-respecting households—lies in the testimony of the soldiers' wives themselves. Last week a woman wrote a letter to a Montreal newspaper to thank the

men and women of the Patriotic Fund. That they "never tired of listening to our troubles" bulked large in her bill of indebtedness for "living money." She explained:

"My husband was wounded last year. With the help of the fund I have been able to save what will give us a fresh start. I especially thank the men who have given a day's pay. I have a small family and realize what a sacrifice they have made. My children are too young to go to school. I cannot go to work. I give my thanks to all who have helped our soldiers' little ones."

Perhaps the best testimony of all is to be drawn from the minutes of the Soldiers' Wives' Guild organized by the St. Denis ward committee. Its 192 members subscribe to the following, duly framed and adopted:

"Resolved that we, as members of the St. Denis Soldiers' Wives' Guild, be a mutual benefit society to cheer and comfort one another, and always maintain and keep a high standard of morals, worthy of the wife, mother, sister or sweetheart of the gallant men defending our empire, and to do cheerfully our little bit to keep the home fires burning and the old flag flying."

Thereafter it was moved to engage in Red Cross work, and in the succeeding twelve months 6,000 shirts, socks, convalescent jackets, pajamas, sheets, pillow-cases, bandages, towels and other pieces of sewing were turned out by these soldiers' wives. A monthly social was a natural sequence, and a Christmas entertainment was attended by eighty mothers and 100 children. The guild supplies any member who may be ill in a hospital with "fruit, flowers and good reading," and has appointed a visitor to go "among the sick of our society." Here are four paragraphs from the secretary's report:

"Our president, though perhaps one of the youngest members of the guild, has adjusted accounts and shown the inexperienced a better way of managing; and today we can boast of the ward with least immorality, most bank accounts and most insurance policies in this city.

"Many of our women walk great distances to come to our meeting with a large bundle of Red Cross work in one arm and a baby in the other and sometimes another tugging at mother's skirts.

"We have had beautiful bronze pins made with a red cross center, around which is the motto 'We also serve' and the name of our guild surmounting this. Who has a better right to this motto than faithful women who, in order to do this extra work, have to rise earlier to find time in an already crowded day?

"We are now preparing a parcel of socks from money earned by the guild to send to each man overseas in St. Denis ward, and have a balance of forty dollars still on hand to carry on this work, which we feel, from the numerous letters of congratulation received, has not been in vain."

Things of the Spirit

THE women as a whole are keyed up. "They feel they are doing a bit of the world's work in letting their men go," says Miss Reid. "A certain amount of suffering burns away the crude things in all of us. While the war wastage is horrible, the birth of many things of the spirit that would perhaps otherwise have forever remained dormant has brought our workers and families compensation for the great sacrifice. Doing our part here, 3,000 miles away from the front, we have felt it not only our greatest opportunity for service to all mankind, but also our greatest opportunity for the 'honorable advancement of our own souls,' to use the beautiful expression of a Californian in the British army who was killed

in action last August. When one feels this way one naturally becomes part of a group, and the group grows larger. That's what the war is doing for Canada."

So it is that the Montreal charwoman with a drunken husband and with assigned pay coming from but one of the three sons who went overseas—for the first died of his wounds and the second has been missing these six months—shares in the common psychology that is cementing the nation and feeds her spirit by poring over the letters from chaplain and nurses, who wrote "you must have brought up your boys well."

The impression gathered in looking into this relief work in Montreal is something different, I fancy, from what would be true of similar work in an epidemic or catastrophe. Something deeper perhaps. Those emergencies would bring out courage and fortitude and sympathy. As the pains of childbirth, more than ordinary sickness or injury, elicit the nascent forces of motherhood, so, suffused with a spirit of heroic courage and renunciation, is the suffering of these Canadian women, partners in a great cause with their men overseas, while black tabs and dark red tabs, white, blue and green tabs add up week after week in the filing-case of the Patriotic Fund—tabs which stand for missing men, and men died of their wounds, men killed in action, men invalided home.

Yet, unlike the pains of childbirth, the immediate human issue of this travail and exaltation is not life, but death and broken bodies, broken homes. And the workers tell you another year of war might be hurtful, might even sap the spirit which has uplifted humble women. They tell you of wives who have gone insane because of the lonesomeness and dread of it all. They tell of three women dead of alcoholism whose strength was not enough to stand alone. They fear more and not less of that recoil which makes for immorality.

Here are two cases of what homecoming itself has meant in Montreal. An invalided man, who had been gassed and not altogether right in his head, suddenly broke loose with a long knife, cut down pictures, lamps, furniture and cried out that he had slashed Germans, their heads and arms and bodies and knew what the feel of flesh was. He drove his wife and children out of doors. But he stopped there, shaking, in his senses once more.

Another Montreal man returned who had never actually seen a German, gassed and with one eye gone. He found his wife in jail, sent there for drunkenness and soliciting, and his child in the hands of a hag whose place was an evil resort for young boys and girls.

These are extreme cases, but by infinitesimal grades they

shade off into all manner of dislocated relationships—thwarted hopes, lessened strength, dulled initiative; anxieties, tensions, griefs and the household embodiments of these things. Our modern life which has given war new machineries, planes and U-boats, gas and bombs, has also brought new instruments for gauging the social consequences of war—even if it has not brought new insight into its stern measure of sacrifice, or added anything but bulk to the body of evidence as to its intolerable crudeness as a method for settling human affairs. Only in its convincing purpose, with its re-birth of the spirit, and then only if that purpose can be achieved in no other tenable way, does war find its sanction in the face of such misery as these volunteers are endeavoring so bravely and, after all, so inadequately, to assuage.

Three battalions of Canadian woodsmen have been taken overseas to turn into bridge and trench timbers the noble trees of Epping and Windsor forests which have been spared for centuries, symbols of England's sacrifice. "Lords of lumber, ladrones of logs, looters of limits were they," writes an enthusiastic Canadian of the hardy men mustered to the task from the great woods of the New World. But it is not only Old World timber that is going down. It is the humus and root-holds of countless family groups, which obscurely, and without any blazoning or imagery, are being torn loose from these North American communities.

One rare compensation to Montreal lies in the work of the Patriotic Fund, through which in the thirty months of war the devotion and craftsmanship of a thousand volunteers has found united expression. The "disability" of the fund—to use the terminology of its record sheet—lies in the fact that its case work with families stops short with the point of discharge. Its "opportunity" lies in projecting its ideals and competent method as a social force, dominion wide, in the formative years ahead.

If the United States enters the conflict and forces are recruited for overseas, household emergency and distress will come to our cities as they have come to Montreal. We will have this Canadian experience before us. We have in the Red Cross a dynamic national organization. We have in our cities large bodies of men and women who have engaged in systematic civic and professional activities, and we have trained social workers who can form a nucleus for such war work. But if we fail to elicit such reserves of spirited volunteer effort as Montreal has elicited, then to the other sacrifices of war we will have added the waste of very real social and patriotic resources.

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The Open Shop in San Francisco

By *Robert Newton Lynch*

VICE-PRESIDENT THE SAN FRANCISCO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

THE San Francisco Chamber of Commerce must earnestly protest against the complete misstatement of its law and order program as presented in the SURVEY of November 25 under the signature of Harry F. Grady. Mr. Grady has chosen to interpret the present notable movement of this organization in the light of his own theory stated in the concluding sentence of his article: That the principle of the open shop "destroys the basic principle upon which trade unionism is organized—the power of collective bargaining." Mr. Grady not only assumes that the Chamber of Commerce is fighting trade unionism, but grossly misstates vital facts in connection with the movement. The Chamber of Commerce desires officially to correct these misstatements, to make a clear, categorical statement of the character of its program, the limit of its activities and the settled policies which govern its committee. The following has been prepared not as the personal views of the writer, nor as an interpretation of the facts, but as an official statement of the Chamber of Commerce's position, and as such expressing the attitude of the commercial community of San Francisco.

There is only one plank in our platform, viz: obedience to the law under a free government. Our stand for the open shop is simply that and nothing more. The Chamber of Commerce not only concedes the right of labor to organize and to make its lawful bargains, but would regard it as a serious and irreparable calamity should unions become disorganized or lose their strength. It does not believe that unions should be above the law or that they should be permitted to have a monopoly of labor as long as any workman desires voluntarily to stay outside their ranks. This states the position of the Chamber of Commerce on this subject in its entirety, and the whole law-abiding community of San Francisco supports its program.

The Chamber of Commerce has always been optimistic as to the industrial development of San Francisco. While it recognizes special evils and tyrannies associated with a certain type of labor leadership, an intensive survey of industrial conditions has been conducted for the past two years, based largely upon the theory that labor difficulties were only a part of the problem, and probably a much smaller factor than our reputation as a union-dominated city would warrant. This organization was indeed pledged to meet any handicap which prevented the industrial good of the city, but only to act on full and complete information.

In June, 1916, the strike on the water front of San Francisco was precipitated by the Riggers' and Stevedores' Union. The union broke their solemn contract with the shipowners, sought to enforce a secondary boycott, and by a reign of terror and intimidation, completely tied up the port. No true friend of labor, nor any law-abiding union, could support such a stand. President Murphy, of the Stevedores' Union, granted permits to specially favored firms to get goods from the wharves, and by official certificate issued to the sub-treasurer, a special privilege of hauling bullion from a ship to the sub-treasury was issued. These permits protected the drivers from violence.

This intolerable situation was the immediate cause of the Chamber's law and order movement. It was a community

movement, and a mass meeting of several thousand people authorized the Chamber of Commerce to raise a fund of one million dollars and to appoint a committee to deal with the situation in case the authorities were either powerless or unwilling to enforce the law. The indignation of the entire community was so aroused that the committee which was appointed had little difficulty in stopping the reign of violence. The committee did not concern itself, nor has it at any time concerned itself with the merits of strikes, nor as to the union or non-union character of the workers. It demanded that the law should be obeyed, nothing else, and is still implacable in that demand. The fact is that this strike was ultimately settled, largely to the satisfaction of the strikers, but they were not permitted to tie up the commerce of San Francisco nor to commit violence in furtherance of their settlement. Practically no violence has occurred in connection with strikes in San Francisco since that date.

The chamber has made permanent its position upon this question. If the authorities will enforce the law without distinction the activities of its Law and Order Committee will be entirely unnecessary. But its committee will remain alert and vigilant, and with the backing of its entire resources arouse the entire community whenever criminal violence threatens individual liberty.

On July 22 a bomb outrage was committed during a public parade in San Francisco, killing over a dozen people. Notorious dynamiters, some of whom had had official connection with organized labor, were indicted for this crime, two of whom have already been convicted. The Chamber of Commerce made no effort to connect this crime with labor troubles or leaders, and the persons arrested were ferreted out by city officials sympathetic with labor organizations. Inasmuch as the authorities were doing their duty, the Chamber of Commerce interfered at no point in the proceedings. It recognized that the throwing of a dynamite bomb was no different in principle than the violence on the waterfront, which disgraced the Riggers' and Stevedores' Union, but the chamber had no theory as to the persons responsible for this particular outrage. It was not due to the zeal of the enemies of organized labor, as Mr. Grady states, that the first suspect, Warren K. Billings, was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment. It was the zeal of an outraged law which did not need, in this instance, the support of a law and order committee.

A culinary strike was precipitated in San Francisco. The Restaurant Owners' Association declared itself for the open shop. The Chamber of Commerce consistently supported the Restaurant Owners' Association in the lawful conduct of its business. The committee did not concern itself with hours or wages or working conditions, but confined its attention to the defense of such restaurants which were being illegally picketed. The Law and Order Committee secured scores of injunctions against the pickets, and finally secured, by popular vote, a city ordinance making all sorts of picketing illegal.

The Law and Order Committee has no quarrel with any man or set of men who obey the law. If organized labor interprets a demand for law obedience to be a drive at their sacred rights and privileges, so much the worse for a leader-

ship which makes a criminal and tyrannous program against constituted authority.

The Chamber of Commerce is against violence, coercion and the boycott. It is against these things by whomsoever employed. Mr. Grady in his article states that the Chamber of Commerce itself is using these same weapons. This statement is resented and categorically denied. Neither the chamber nor its committee nor its agents have encouraged or permitted any violence. It has coerced no business and would regard it as essentially impertinent and wrong to interfere in the slightest degree with the method which any man may desire to take in the lawful conduct of his business or in the character of the people employed. The chamber stands for the right to employ union or non-union men in whole or in part.

Mr. Grady states that the Chamber of Commerce has mobilized the economic, credit and publicity forces of the city against organized labor. This statement is absolutely false. The chamber recognizes that the unions are entitled to use every lawful method to secure and persuade people to join their forces. It likewise grants to the Restaurant Men's Association every legal right to secure members for their economic fights. It does not object to the lumbermen's association organizing a stevedores' company to run their business on an open shop basis, but it refuses to use the entire community to be a recruiting organization for such movements. The chamber did indeed secure from the business houses of San Francisco powers of attorney to make or cancel draying contracts, but it did this in order to secure the movement of freight from the terrorized waterfront, when the draymen and teamsters were unwilling or powerless to act. Not the slightest effort has been made to make the teaming business of San Francisco non-union, and these powers of attorney have never been exercised, as the goods were promptly moved.

It is charged by Mr. Grady that the Chamber of Commerce controls the entire press of San Francisco and has secured this control by the threatened withdrawal of advertising, particularly by department stores. This charge is absolutely false. The press of San Francisco has at no time, nor in any instance, come out definitely in favor of the law and order movement. No pressure has been brought upon any paper, and the press throughout the entire movement has reported the news events for both sides without editorial comment. When the Law and Order Committee has desired to draw the attention of the people to the significance of special tyrannies, or when it has desired to put significant facts before the public, it has purchased advertising space for that purpose and paid full rates for the same.

It is a pity that Mr. Grady made such a partisan report of the conditions in San Francisco as to entirely mislead the readers of the SURVEY. He states that "a splendid opportunity exists for the Chamber of Commerce to recognize the legitimate claims of labor, to further these claims by aiding necessary legislation and to work for the correction of abuses by whole-hearted cooperation with the best leaders; in a word, to adopt a policy that the most enlightened business men are putting into practice in their individual plants." Mr. Grady has thus stated the spirit and actions of this law and order movement. We do recognize the legitimate claims of labor, and under the finest type of constructive leadership are seeking to bring about the best possible condition for the worker.

The committee is composed of men who are distinguished for their fair and generous treatment of employes. The committee will not use the movement or the resources that are back of it for exploitation of labor, the increase of hours or the lessening of wages. It will not fight labor, but it will fight criminal violence and unlawful tyranny.

The Chamber of Commerce is not against collective bargaining. It believes that unions have every lawful right, and should be encouraged to secure through peaceable means an organization and membership which will enable them to bargain effectively with employers or groups of employers. We are well aware that trade unionism regards collective bargaining as absolutely essential and jealously guards every advance which it is possible to make along this line. Unionism is also suspicious of any movement which threatens this power. There is evidently a concensus of opinion among social thinkers that the open shop would destroy the power of collective bargaining. This would certainly be so if the open shop is defined as a shop closed to unions. The San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, however, is not contending for a shop closed against unions.

We do not believe that intimidation and violence are necessary weapons to effective collective bargaining, and we regard the advocates of such a doctrine as arch enemies of the laboring man, of the employers and of a free government. It would be a dangerous and impossible concession to any cause that its interests should be so sacred as to be above the law. No plea that evasion of law has been practiced by other classes with impunity, or that the economic forces seem to be in the hands of employers, can possibly justify the exercise of a law-breaking privilege.

We believe that unions have the fullest opportunity to establish collective bargaining without resort to violence.

In conclusion, in order that the policies and methods of the committee may be fully understood, the following statement of policy is officially made:

(1) A frank declaration of the right of any employer of labor to employ union men and to make such contracts with them or with their organizations and in such manner as he voluntarily desires. This, of course, implies the right of any employer to employ non-union men.

(2) Not the slightest interference on the part of the chamber with the lawful policies or methods of an individual business.

(3) Absolute abstinence from concern or activity in the merits of controversies between employer and employe.

(4) No use of the committee or the chamber as an arbitration or conciliatory board in labor disputes, notwithstanding belief in arbitration, but on the principle that special arbitration boards technically qualified for each controversy should be created and utilized.

(5) The encouragement at all times of the best possible conditions and wages for the worker and sympathy with reasonable legislation in his behalf.

(6) The absolute, unalterable, continuous insistence on the elimination of violence from labor disputes and the support of sworn and constituted authority in the preservation of the rights of every citizen as guaranteed by our government.

A Rejoinder

By *Harry F. Grady*

TO show the essential accuracy of my charge that the San Francisco "law and order" campaign is not bona fide, but is actually directed against organized labor, a brief analysis of Mr. Lynch's article is sufficient. He states that there is "only one plank in our platform, viz., obedience to law under a free government." But what is his next sentence? "Our stand for the open shop is simply that and nothing more"! No one can deny the right of the Chamber of Commerce to oppose the closed shop. I have not done so. But the closed

shop is just as legal as the open shop and a law-and-order campaign has no relevancy whatsoever to such an issue. At the outset Mr. Lynch contradicts his own statement and furnishes the evidence for my charge that the fight is against the lawful activities of the unions.

He furnishes more evidence of the same sort when he says that the Chamber of Commerce opposed picketing in the culinary strike and got an ordinance passed making picketing of all kinds illegal. Picketing was perfectly legal when the Chamber of Commerce began its work. Does the Law and Order Committee exist for the purpose of upholding existing laws, or for getting new laws passed in order that it may uphold them? If the latter, any political group, even the anarchists, could call themselves law and order advocates.

More evidence appears in his admission that "the chamber did indeed secure from the business houses of San Francisco powers of attorney to make or cancel draying contracts. . . ." It would have been better if Mr. Lynch had ended his sentence right there; but he continues, "it did this to secure the movement of freight from the terrorized waterfront when the draymen and teamsters were unwilling or powerless to act." The waterfront strike was adjusted in the middle of July and after that there was no interference with draymen or teamsters. The fact is, nevertheless, that two months after the strike had ended such powers of attorney for a three-year period were being sought by the Chamber of Commerce. I have in my possession an appeal for such powers, signed by the president of the Chamber of Commerce and sent to a San Francisco business man. It is dated September 18, 1916.

Mr. Lynch says of the bomb outrage that the Chamber of Commerce "made no effort to connect this crime with labor

troubles or leaders." Yet in a statement published in the San Francisco *Call* of August 25, President Koster, of the Chamber of Commerce, linked together the waterfront strike and the bomb explosion as evidence of the need of the open shop. It was during the course of the trial of Billings, who was convicted of complicity in the bomb throwing, that I interviewed Mr. Koster on the subject of the open-shop fight. It happened to be on a day when a recess had been allowed in the trial. I had to wait half an hour because Mr. Koster was engaged with a caller. When I did go in I met the district attorney, in charge of the prosecution, coming out. He had utilized the first recess in the trial by seeking a conference with the president of the organization which Mr. Lynch says "interfered at no point in the proceedings."

It is rather curious that, in denying my charge that the newspapers of San Francisco are controlled by the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Lynch should say: "The press of San Francisco has at no time nor in any instance come out definitely in favor of the law and order movement. . . . The press . . . has reported the news events for both sides without editorial comment." That is precisely the fact. Not a single paper has discussed on its editorial page this movement that has enlisted the interest of the whole country. One of the papers refused to publish a letter that I offered and the editor explained to me personally that he could not do it "without the approval of the Chamber of Commerce," who, he said, were determining the policy of his paper.

Need I say more? No one who is seriously concerned about the future of democratic institutions can view without deep apprehension the "law and order" program of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce.

A Coalition Revolution

An Interview with Prof. Vladimir G. Simkhovitch

By Ruth Pickering

NOBILITY, working men, peasants and soldiers—all classes apparently are united in the present Russian revolution. In that fact, believes Prof. Vladimir G. Simkhovitch, who has been a student of the Russian revolutionary movement for the last twenty years, lies its peculiar power. A patriotic, national, anti-German sentiment binds the people together against the inefficiency of autocracy made blatant by the privations of both army and civil populace during the three years of war.

For the continuation of this civil balance, Professor Simkhovitch shows some apprehension. "I am like an anxious father," he says, "because I lived through the last revolution with all its high hopes and deep disappointments." He fears that each ultra-radical revolutionist may look now for the immediate achievement of all his dreams, for the complete establishment of the millennium. This would mean ten thousand schemes of government competing; it would lead only to clashes of opinion and interest, a tower of babel with a confusion of tongues, and ruin the result.

As one means of avoiding civil war Professor Simkhovitch rather hopes that a semblance of former rule in the shape of a figurehead monarch may remain; a utilization of an old tradition as in Great Britain together with a thoroughly responsible and democratic government. In the strength of the present council in control Professor Simkhovitch believes im-

licitly—a group of competent, proven executives, liberal and popular. Since power is held by them, whether it be a monarchy or a republic under which they will work is merely a matter of expediency. Doctrinaire discussion and factional enmity would impede their expulsion of the invader and their establishment of government by the people.

Professor Simkhovitch recalls the revolution of 1905 which resulted so disastrously. And, he points out, the land reforms over which the liberals and the ultra-radicals split at that time is a problem which must be faced and settled once more. Much of the poverty and oppression of the Russian peasant has been due to unequal land distribution. In that great and bloody revolution of 1905, after the Russo-Japanese war, which resulted in the creation of the Duma by the October manifesto, the bureaucracy succeeded in organizing the counter-revolution with its fearful massacres. And, in this crisis, radicals of the first Duma contributed unwittingly to the reactionaries. They wanted immediate expropriation by the government of landed estates without compensation to be allotted to the peasants. This meant the confiscation of the property of the entire country gentry, a large and in the main fairly progressive class.

"The Russian nobility and gentry," Professor Simkhovitch continues, "while it furnishes the bulk of the bureaucracy and army officers, is, nevertheless, far more liberal than the landed



THE PEASANT'S BURDEN OF BUREAUCRATIC MISRULE

This cartoon and the two on the next page are from papers, in the possession of Dr. Simkhovitch, which were published during the revolution of 1905-6 and immediately suppressed

aristocracy of Germany, Austria or any other country. It is, in fact, this very gentry that is responsible for much of the good work of the rural county councils called zemstvos, which represent the progressive opinion of Russia. And it was this class which was in the main favorable to the revolution of 1905, desirous of a legal and constitutional order in Russia.

"When the radicals advocated expropriation without compensation, a change very quickly took place in the minds of the nobility. In so far as the peasantry was in need of additional land, it might have been purchased from the owners of estates by the government, subdivided among the peasantry, and the transaction financed by bond issue. Fiscally, it might have been so engineered that financial burdens might have been carried by the rich rather than the poor; and without confiscating property.

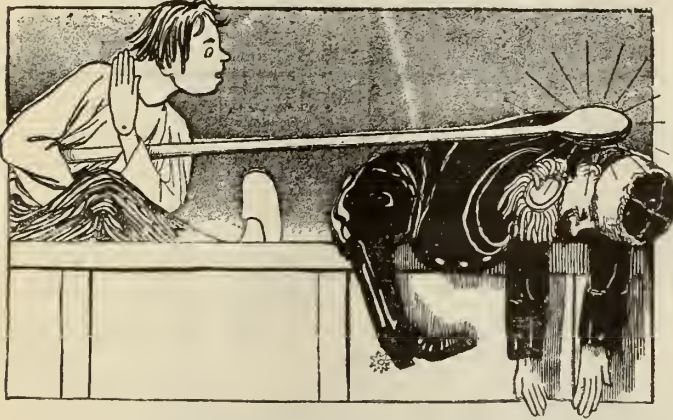
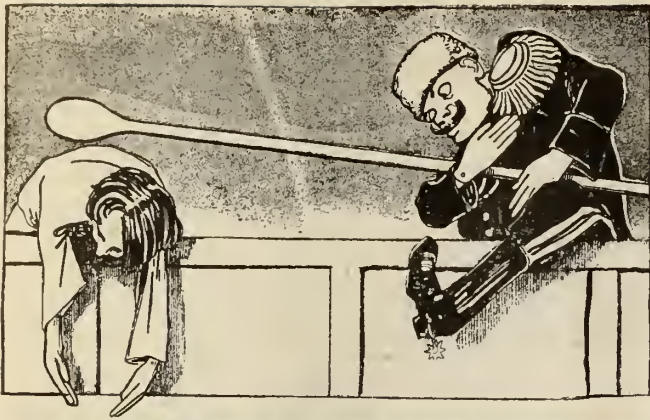
"At the proposal of confiscation from the radicals, the government turned the tables. It firmly opposed expropriation, expressed a willingness to buy estates and subdivide them among the peasantry; offering as a matter of fact exorbitant prices.

"The gentry had the alternative of complete ruin on the one hand, and the assurance of either the status quo or the sale of their lands at inflated values. The vivid memory of the recent agrarian revolution that devastated twenty-seven and one-half million dollars' worth of gentry property was sufficient to turn the overwhelming majority of nobility to the support of the reactionary government.

"The reaction thus stimulated by government and extremists alike left Russia far from a parliamentary government. The bureaucratic misrule continued, until it has now again been called to trial for inefficiency by the terrific stress of the present war. Today all classes, including the nobility, support the revolution.

"We must esteem the revolutionary spirit of the workingman, the revolutionary spirit of members of oppressed races," continued Professor Simkhovitch, "but we must not fail to recognize that same spirit of the upper classes, well aware that they have little to gain, and much to lose."

Perhaps more than any one other thing, according to the professor, the zemstvos are responsible for this welding together of classes. They have worked with the soldier and the



TIT FOR TAT

Petrouchka, the Russian Punch and Judy

peasant; they have brought the noble and the revolutionist together.

Because the Duma did not in any way control government policy, people have relied more and more on the zemstvos during this present war. Since the extra-legal unionizing of these county councils the growth of their work and responsibilities has become such that they are today the constructive and at the same time liberalizing influence of the country.

For forty years past they have been extending this influence. Previous to the war the zemstvos promoted education,

built roads, improved the public health and ministered to the people in time of distress. They gave help to settlers in Siberia and to that part of the population suffering from scanty harvest. In the great famine of 1907 they organized most of the relief work. They have, however, been constantly hampered by the government. Their meetings have been held always under the surveillance of police, and the convention of various zemstvos has been very often forbidden.

But their work during the last war has assumed special significance, and in the face of governmental inefficiency has become absolutely essential to soldiers and people. Almost the whole task of interior relief has been in their hands. Not only have they erected hospitals for both soldiers and refugees, but they have supervised the digging of trenches, organized the economic forces of the country to a large extent, transported food, built roads, furnished cars for the wounded. They have, what is more, taken over the manufacture of munitions, commissary supplies, shoe factories, tanneries, clothing factories. By them the coming elections will undoubtedly be to a large extent controlled; and into their hands will be placed now more than ever the responsibility for the distribution of food and ammunition, so neglected by the previous government. Prince Lvoff, chief executive of the zemstvos, is now prime minister of the new government, and the press dispatches seem to indicate that he may be the people's choice for president if the republic is the accepted regime.

Of the specific reforms that the provisional government promises, Dr. Simkhovitch believes all will be carried into effect. Universal suffrage will bring into the Duma more adequate representation of the working classes. He doubts that suffrage will include women, for the time being, though it may easily come in the near future. Trade unionism which has had a precarious foothold in Russia because of government persecution will have hereafter, as in other countries, only the opposition of the employer to reckon with. Whether Russia is to be a monarchy or a republic, it is committed to the principles of democracy without racial or religious discrimination. The emancipation of the Jews is an assured fact. Prison doors in and about the cities where soldiers are



“SIC TRANSIT—”

in control are thrown open wide, and in Siberia political exiles may prepare to return to a new and happier country, whose freedom they suffered to prepare. For the great peasant class the revolution will mean more equitable taxation; better schooling; legislative and fiscal assistance; and wider representation in the Duma.

"It is difficult, of course, to prophesy specific reforms," said Professor Simkhovitch in conclusion. "The main thing

now in Russia is a more concentrated effort to push the war to a decisive conclusion. But Russian revolutionary methods are contagious. Syndicalism and the general strike, emulating the example of Russia's general strike in 1905, were prevalent in France for years following. Perhaps further warfare may lead to a triumph of democracy among the Central Powers, with the possible overthrow of the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns."

Bridling the Mississippi

By Morris Knowles

IN the midst of the dramatic debates on the armed neutrality bill, but little public attention was attracted to the signing by the President of the Ransdell-Humphreys flood bill. And yet it is not too much to say that few pieces of legislation in recent years have marked a more important development in national internal policy. For in this bill the federal government has committed itself for the first time to an interest in the control and prevention of floods—to stream regulation in its largest sense—and has provided, under the "welfare clause" of the constitution, the foundation for a legislative and administrative system that is certain to become one of the important national governmental activities of the United States. The possibilities of benefits to the social and living conditions of some millions of people, living within the flood plains of our great river systems, are almost unlimited.

It is true, of course, that vast sums have been spent upon the improvement of the rivers of the country, and that a portion of these expenditures have been for works that have contributed to the protection of some portions of the country from the destructive effect of floods. The theory of all of the rivers and harbors legislation, however, has been that the federal government could interest itself in river improvements only to the extent that the improvement of navigation was accomplished thereby; and that Congress drew its authority therefor solely from the interstate commerce clause of the constitution. Only projects that could be brought under the head of navigation improvement, therefore, received congressional attention; and, although Congress at times stretched the commerce clause close to the breaking point to include some of the expenditures authorized, nevertheless a vast field of public works, including projects of undoubted national interest, remained closed to the federal government.

Even so late as December 4, 1912, President Taft was hailed as radical in his views, when in an address before the Rivers and Harbors Congress at Washington, D. C., he said, referring to the devastation in the Mississippi valley:

"Under the welfare clause of the constitution, shall we spend for that great section of the country \$40,000,000 or \$50,000,000, in order to make the levees of that river a system which will prevent destruction? . . . Under the constitution we can expend money from the treasury of the United States for the general welfare, and that would seem to include the avoidance of danger if it affects so large a part of the country that it may be said to affect the whole country."

It was, therefore, an event of first importance when both houses of Congress passed and the President approved a bill appropriating \$45,000,000 "for controlling the floods of the

Mississippi river, and continuing its improvement from the head of the passes to the mouth of the Ohio river"; together with \$5,000,000 for "controlling the floods, removing the debris, and continuing the improvement of the Sacramento river."

The absence of any reference to the improvement of navigation in legislation appropriating such large sums is sufficiently striking testimony to the advance represented by this bill, now the law of the land. And the provisions for cooperation of representatives of other national departments with the secretary of war, also with the Mississippi River Commission and the California Debris Commission, a state organization, are suggestive of the still broader cooperation between states, cities, counties, towns and private interests that may prove necessary to carry out some of the future projects of this sort.

Even more promising for the future, however, are the provisions for federal investigation of flood control projects, under the direction of a permanent Congressional Flood Committee.

"All examinations and reports," it is provided, "which may now be made by the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors upon request of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors relating to works or projects of navigation shall in like manner be made upon request of the Committee on Flood Control on all works and projects relating to flood control." In another section, it is provided: "All examinations and surveys of projects relating to flood control shall include a comprehensive study of the watershed or watersheds, and the report thereon in addition to any other matter upon which a report is required shall give such data as it may be practicable to secure in regard to (a) the extent and character of the area to be affected by the proposed improvement; (b) the probable effect upon any navigable water or waterway; (c) the possible economical development and utilization of water power; and (d) such other uses as may be properly related to or coordinated with the project."

Here we have the framework of a system of federal investigation conforming admirably to the doctrines that have been preached for years by the water conservationists—treatment of each stream as a whole from source to mouth; and consideration of all the possible uses of water, so as to secure by development the greatest possible good for the greatest number. If the result is the conservation of but a fraction of the value in water which now runs off each year unchecked to the sea, causing great devastation at times of flood; if it leads us but a step nearer to the dream of completely regulated stream flow, then we are fully justified in referring to this bill as one of the most important legislative events of recent years.

COMMON WELFARE



EIGHT-HOUR LAW UPHELD BY THE SUPREME COURT

ON March 19 the United States Supreme Court sustained the Adamson eight-hour law for railroad employes. The agreement entered into in the early morning of the same day between the railway managers and the chiefs of the four railway brotherhoods terminated a controversy which, in addition to its long duration, was in other respects as well unique in American industrial history.

The threat of a nation-wide railroad strike last week, that brought hurrying to New York two members of the President's cabinet and two members of the advisory commission of the Council of National Defense, to mediate between managers and men, was the third since the eight-hour agitation began. The first one, when a strike was called to take place last September 4, Labor Day, was averted by the passage of the Adamson law.

The situation grew threatening once more when on January 1, the day that the law was to go into effect, dawned to find it held up on account of an appeal to the courts. The brotherhoods wanted the railroads to put the terms of the law into effect without waiting for the Supreme Court. The latter, however, had entered into an agreement with the attorney general to keep a record of hours and mileage from January 1 and to give the men the back pay due them if the court should uphold the law. The brotherhood chiefs pointed out that the strike order of last summer was still in effect, and they issued a circular to the membership of their organizations outlining the situation, evidently with a view to preparing them for eventualities. No strike order materialized at this time, however.

The argument on the Adamson law was made before the Supreme Court on January 8. The brotherhoods expected a decision early in February. None was forthcoming, and as each successive "decision day" has passed by with no opinion on the Adamson law, they have grown increasingly restive.

When no decision was rendered on March 12, the brotherhood chiefs agreed among themselves that their patience had

been exhausted, and they planned to strike on March 17.

Then came intervention from Washington. Secretaries Lane and Wilson, and two members of the advisory commission of the Council for National Defense, Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, and Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, came to New York to effect an agreement, if possible. As a result of their intervention the brotherhood chiefs agreed to postpone the strike until March 19, for the purpose of giving the Supreme Court one more of its regular decision days for the Adamson act. It was announced that if the decision should be favorable the strike would be called off; if it should be unfavorable, or if there should be no decision at all, the strike would be put into effect despite the offer of the railroads to leave the adjustment of the controversy to any board of arbitration whom the President might name.

This was the situation when word came early Monday morning of the sinking of three American ships by German submarines. An appeal to patriotism was made and the managers yielded to the demands of the men that the terms of the Adamson law—ten hours' pay for

eight hours' work—should be put into effect regardless of the decision of the court. Thus one of the most interesting situations in the history of industrial controversy was prevented from developing.

The decision of the court on the Adamson law has started some speculation as to the relation of this decision to other cases now before the court. There is the Oregon ten-hour case, involving the constitutionality of a law limiting hours of labor for grown men. There is the minimum wage case, also from Oregon, but vitally affecting legislation in a half dozen states. The Adamson law, according to Chief Justice White, is both an hour-law and a wage-law. It would seem, therefore, that the reasoning in this case must have some relation to one or the other of these Oregon cases, possibly to both.

The full text of the decision of the majority of the court is not yet at hand. Extracts published in the newspapers, however, indicate some very interesting points of view. One of the arguments employed by attorneys for the railroads in attacking the law was based upon the alleged inequality in the law, because it was limited in its application to employes engaged in moving trains. "But," said the court, "such employes were those concerning whom the dispute in which wages existed, growing out of which the threat of interruption of interstate commerce arose—a consideration which establishes an adequate basis for the statutory classification." This might seem to be a suggestion from the Supreme Court that the way to interest the government in conditions of labor, and induce it to take action for the improvement of those conditions, is for employes to threaten to strike.

The majority of the court, moreover, seems clearly to hold a compulsory arbitration law constitutional. "We are of the opinion that . . . the act which is before us was clearly within the legislative power of Congress to adopt, and that in substance and effect it amounted to an exertion of its authority, under the circumstances disclosed, to compulsorily arbitrate the dispute between the parties. . . ."



From a poster in the thrift campaign of the industrial department, International Committee of the Y. M. C. A.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE NATIONAL CRISIS

At a meeting of the Cleveland Board of Education on March 12, on motion of E. M. Williams, a declaration of principles in the present national crisis was adopted, which had been forwarded to the board of education in the largest city in each county of Ohio and the largest city in each state with the request that they take similar action.

The board bases its action on social considerations. To quote:

"The first duty of a people is to protect from assault of every kind, from within or without, its life as a people and the principles and ideals upon which its national existence as a people is founded.

"Crime, poverty, riot, oppression of the weak by the strong, disease, shirking of duty and ignorance are some of the things from within, from the results of which society must protect itself.

"Unjustified attack by another nation, open or insidious, by armed force or otherwise, denial of our rights, ruthless and wilful disregard by one nation of those common rights of humanity which one nation enjoys with its fellows and which it has a common obligation to defend are some of the assaults from without, against which a people must as a nation take action if that people cares to exist as a nation.

"By means of its courts, police and fire departments, health boards, quarantine and many other agencies, we protect ourselves from the dangers from within. To secure this protection we limit and rightly so the liberty of the individual in so far as it is necessary to insure the welfare of us all.

"As to dangers from without, we must be prepared to combat not the average but the lowest standard of international morality existing in nations strong enough to cause us trouble.

"Until then, the spirit of aggression is definitely removed from the last strong nation, it is necessary for us to be able to resist any possible aggression on its part. The greater we become in our prosperity under high and noble principles and ideals, the greater will be the necessity of our being prepared to defend them.

"A citizenry trained to arms and adequately equipped is the essential of the safe protection of national life from assaults from without. Here, as in the other case, the liberty of the individual must be circumscribed so far as is necessary for the common good.

"In a nation whose government is 'of the people, by the people, and for the people,' the prerequisite for both kinds of defense is education.

There must be a mental and moral equipment in each individual that will enable him on the one hand to care for

himself to his best advantage, and on the other hand will cause him, even to the ultimate degree of sacrifice, to assume his share in the common defense, whether the assaults are from within or without.

"Our state has established *free* education in order that every child might have the opportunity of growing into a useful *man* or *woman*. It has made this education *compulsory* as the most potent means of causing every child to grow into a useful *citizen*.

THE RESOLUTIONS

Resolved, by the Board of Education of the City School District of Cleveland

That, in view of the existing conditions in our country, there can be no loyalty in silence, and that this board can be no longer silent or neutral,

That we express our faith in the essential loyalty and unity of our citizens in this city of over 700,000, of whom more than 75 per cent are said to be of foreign birth or parentage.

That this board recognize that the country is now in a situation of assault from without.

That in the present war the questions that have arisen between the United States and the allies are questions of property and convenience only, questions that can be settled judicially after the war.

That Germany has wantonly attacked the lives of our citizens, that the lives of many more are endangered unless Germany can be induced or compelled to cease the interference with their lawful rights.

That we must safeguard against or redress the worst wrongs first and therefore could not take sides against both groups of combatants any more than we could side with both.

That aside from ourselves, we must stand for the rights of humanity against the lawless and ruthless assaults of a power that seeks no justification other than its own will.

That propaganda of many peace societies and others is undermining national morality and national security and must be combatted.

That clear thinking leading to courageous performance of duty individually and as a people is the need of the hour.

That lessons to this end by lectures, talks or other available means is not only a permissive activity, but an imperative duty on those entrusted with our educational affairs.

"We are now in the United States facing a situation that compels us to a decision that those entrusted with the direction of education must, if true to the obligations of their office, see to it that this now all important side of education be attended to; that the duty of our country in this hour be made plain, not alone to the child, but wherever necessary to the parent who conjointly with the teacher is influencing the child's educational progress.

"Voices and influences making for cowardice and national immorality and consequent destruction are abroad in the land which must be combated and killed at whatever cost, if this generation is to hand on to the next the priceless heritage we are all too prone to forget came to us by virtue of the sacrifice and blood of our fathers.

"We, ourselves and our children, must be taught and again taught and yet again taught that wrong, injustice, oppression, unjust assault must be *fought* and must come to know the utter silliness of declining war if war be necessary to overcome evil and hold up high principles and ideals.

"No nation can rightfully omit to use its schools for this purpose."

The resolutions based on this preamble are published in the adjoining panel.

The president, the superintendent and one member of the board were authorized to arrange for a series of meetings in the schools on the "general subject of duties of citizenship considered especially from the national standpoint." The meetings are to be for scholars or parents or as neighborhood meetings, and either during or after school hours as the committee may decide best in each case. The resolutions direct that the meetings "shall avowedly admit these principles and facts as their motive;" that the speakers be chosen "with the knowledge that their views coincide with the spirit of these resolutions," and that "at such meetings there shall be no debate."

WHERE WAR AND "HYPHENS" TOUCH THE SCHOOLS

AMERICANIZATION and military training in the public schools were prominent themes of discussion before the school superintendents of the country at the annual session of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association in Kansas City. Opinions regarding military training were widely divided. Superintendent Snyder, of Jersey City, led the group opposed, while Superintendent Davidson, of Pittsburgh, was the chief spokesman for those who favored it. There was unanimous agreement, of course, that the schools should do everything possible to improve the physical welfare of the children. And whatever one's attitude toward formal military training, an observer could only feel that for these superintendents the national situation has dramatically emphasized the need of supplementing, if not supplanting, the training of the schools with physical exercise and with practical activities from the earliest years that aim to prepare children to live efficiently under modern social and economic conditions.

The great emphasis given in the past

to the discussion of formal methods of teaching was absent this year, marked increase of attention being given to such topics as the meaning and scope of vocational and physical training and the place of play and hygiene in the educational program. The Gary plan, for instance, which was discussed furtively in the lobbies of the Detroit hotels last year, was given an important place on the programs of three of the most important meetings. It was also the topic for the round table discussion of superintendents of the largest cities of the country. This alone indicates the changing attitude of school men toward modern social demands upon education and the recognition of the popular wish that the schools shall be made a more flexible instrument for fitting children for life.

This point was further emphasized in the meeting at which experiments in education were discussed. The conclusion was inevitable that at last the movement to change school systems from factories into laboratories has attained an irresistible momentum and that the time is not far distant when the school will in a real sense become a living, socializing institution.

In the conference on Americanization, Superintendent Jenkins, in speaking of the evening schools in New York city, said that the old plan of offering mere academic courses to foreigners, with strict adherence to the traditional methods of instruction used in the day schools

for children, had failed. The night schools, he maintained, would have to be built upon the community-center basis. The school will become a real Americanizing influence, not, he believed, through emphasis alone upon the form of subject matter taught, but through the socializing influence of group meetings, with due respect to racial and national cleavages. These furnish motives for the teaching of English and for the learning of American customs without sacrificing appreciation of the customs of the old countries.

THE RED CROSS IN THE WAKE OF A TORNADO

PIERCING for one brief day the news of absorbing developments at home and abroad, the tornado that killed twenty-two persons in Newcastle, Ind., and laid waste a large section of the city on March 11, lapsed into a forgotten incident within twenty-four hours. Meanwhile Newcastle, her neighboring towns and territory, and the resources of the American Red Cross, have been bringing order out of devastation and have organized the work of permanent relief.

The storm did not remain in the clouds after striking Newcastle. It touched earth again in Montgomery county, Ohio, and demolished buildings and killed live stock belonging to fifty farmers, causing damage estimated at the time at \$100,000. The damage in Newcastle is estimated at a million.

In Newcastle nineteen people were killed outright and three more died before the end of the week. It was thought that two or three others might die. Ten of the dead were children. One whole family was wiped out. Two orphans, one widow and four widowers were left by the tornado. Forty persons were seriously injured and sixty slightly.

Three hundred twenty-three houses were struck, 200 of these being totally demolished. The majority were workmen's homes. A heavy sleet fell as soon as the storm abated and damaged the furniture and other contents of houses exposed by the cyclone. The plant of a rolling mill employing 200 men was destroyed. Flower-growing is one of the chief industries of Newcastle and many greenhouses were ruined.

The tornado occurred at sundown and news of its destruction was sent abroad that evening. Though the rest of the country did not learn of the disaster until morning, J. J. O'Connor, representative of the Red Cross in Chicago, was in telegraphic communication with Mayor Watkins, of Newcastle, by midnight. At 2 A. M. he had the mayor's report of damage. Early Monday he received instruction from headquarters in Washington to go at once to Newcastle, and he arrived there at three o'clock that afternoon.

Meanwhile Newcastle and her neighbors had come to the rescue. Memories of the 1913 floods were still fresh. Nobody in that part of the country needed



STUDENTS in Central High School, Newark, N. J., gathered around D. C. Knozelton, head of the Department of History, for the weekly distribution of the SURVEY in class use. College classes in applied economics, social economy and related subjects have for years used the SURVEY as required or supplemental reading. Of late it has increasingly proved its value for the younger students in high schools and seminaries

THE SURVEY FOR SCHOOLS

A supplementary text in American history, civics and economics.



to be told what a disaster meant. Houses were opened to the homeless and food and shelter for the sufferers provided by individual families. Governor Goodrich ordered two companies of state militia to the scene on Sunday night. Early Monday the devastated area was under patrol and looting was thus from the start almost entirely prevented. Physicians and nurses hurried to Newcastle from Muncie, Indianapolis and other neighboring towns. The three local ambulances were supplemented within a few hours by three from Muncie, which brought doctors and medical supplies.

The mayor closed all saloons. Workmen from the factories were organized into gangs to clean the streets. Carpenters and masons were advertised for in nearby towns, and fifty carpenters from Muncie were quickly on the scene, stripping away the shattered portions of buildings and getting ready for rebuilding. A strict house quarantine was set up. Moving permits were granted to owners wanting to convey property out of the devastated district. Though a nation-wide railroad strike was threatening, dealers in coal and building supplies did their utmost to provision the city at once.

Mr. O'Connor found few emergency relief measures necessary. No public sleeping quarters had been required, and after Monday night no public feeding was necessary. Local hospital facilities not being sufficient, the Red Cross called twelve Red Cross nurses from neighboring cities and established an emergency hospital. This will be continued as long as necessary. The main task, however, was to make an accurate canvass of the losses and to begin rebuilding and refurnishing houses. For this, money and organization were the chief requisites. At a large mass meeting Monday night the community voted to adopt the Red Cross policies in this work, and their approval was endorsed the next day by the mayor and the city council.

Mr. O'Connor joined hands with the local relief committee. It was agreed not to attempt to restore losses in full or to make a *pro rata* distribution of relief funds; the former would be impossible and the latter would not secure the community against the ultimate dependence of some of the sufferers. The basis of relief, it was decided, should be the actual need of the victims.

On Tuesday the trained relief agents requisitioned by the Red Cross began to arrive—three from Chicago, two from Cleveland and several from Indianapolis, among them a number of nurses to care for the injured. These agents immediately took charge of the registration and visiting of those applying for aid. Three executives of charitable organizations in Indianapolis arrived to superintend the work: Mr. Foster, of the Associated



TAUGHT BY EXPERIENCE

Houses and living quarters for 1,000 of its employes erected some years ago by the Brunswick-Balke-Collender Company at its plant in Big Bay, Mich., proved so successful that it is following suit in the extension of its Muskegon plant. There are to be 48 double houses, shown above in process of construction, each of different pattern but all with hardwood trim and modern improvements

Charities; Mr. Kauffman, of the Jewish Aid Society, and Mr. Loomis, of the Children's Aid Society.

By the end of the week it was clear that assistance in rebuilding and refurnishing homes would be required for 150 families. For this work Newcastle herself is raising \$25,000. Estimates vary, but it is probable that \$50,000 will be sufficient for the purpose. Neighboring cities have offered financial assistance and individuals have made large donations. It is not likely that there will be any lack of money. Meanwhile hammers have already begun to resound, and Newcastle is busy rebuilding her devastated area.

PICTURES THE CURE FOR LEGISLATIVE SLOTH

A STORY current in one of our states recites that a recalcitrant legislator was once won over to a belief in provision for the feeble-minded by having to witness an imbecile boy, planted on his own front steps by the advocates of such provision, throw an epileptic fit while there were distinguished guests in the house. Whether such an event ever occurred or not, much of the argument that has most impressed legislators this year has been given to them in the form of pictures and stereopticon slides showing concretely why the feeble-minded need to be segregated and what can be done for them in good custodial institutions. To it may be credited much of the legislative progress which promises that the winter of 1916-17 will go down in history as a banner year in provision for the feeble-minded.

Legislators have been presented with pictures of comely individuals, who would pass for normal to any but the

most experienced observers, and then they have been told that these people are feeble-minded and that their children stand a strong chance of perpetuating the taint. Family charts have been put before them, showing the vitiating spread of mental defectiveness throughout a whole stock, and they have been made to see as never before what a continuous and costly menace feeble-mindedness is.

In Arkansas an aggressive fight for a first state institution for the feeble-minded, conducted largely by the State Board of Charities, has just been won. Both houses of the legislature have passed the bill and the governor is committed to it. It not only provides 4,000 acres for the new school but also one-fourth of the proceeds from the sale of other land estimated to be worth \$200,000. Four hundred and fifty feeble-minded inmates of the State Hospital for the Insane, the state penitentiary and other institutions, may be "requisitioned" by the superintendent of the school. These institutions must continue to pay for the maintenance of inmates so transferred.

The lower branch of the legislature passed this bill by a vote of 64 to 1. It passed the Senate five days later by a vote of 20 to 3. A fortnight before both houses had been addressed in joint session by Alexander Johnson, field secretary of the National Committee on Provision for the Feeble-minded, who was introduced by the governor and who used stereopticon slides to drive home the modern arguments for segregation. Local advocates of the bill attribute its passage, in large measure, to this method of presentation.

In South Carolina, which also has yet to establish its first institution for the feeble-minded, the impression made

upon the law-makers by the same graphic mode of argument goes back to 1915. At the State Conference of Charities and Corrections that year both the governor and the speaker of the House heard, and saw, the lecture. They invited Mr. Johnson to address a joint session of House and Senate in January, 1916, and this lecture was repeated to the present legislature. Meanwhile some intensive field work had been done in the state and the newly created Board of State Charities had urged action. Last month the House passed a measure providing facilities for segregation and the bill was favorably reported in the Senate. It was crowded out in the final rush of legislation and goes over to 1918, as on second reading, so that it will not have to return to the House unless amended.

In Delaware, where a bill is still pending, the law-makers themselves have not come under the influence of the stereopticon lecture but much of the general demand for the measure has come from audiences that have heard it. Several of these have consisted exclusively of men. The measure has already passed the house unanimously and those interested are confident of its adoption. A canvass of Newcastle county by the federal Children's Bureau showed the percentage of feeble-mindedness to be quite up to the usual estimate of one in 300 of the general population.

A comprehensive bill is now pending in the Arizona legislature. Though the legislation proposed by a Utah commission that has been studying the subject failed of passage, the commission will continue its work during the coming year. Seldom have so many states showed in any one session so vigorous a sense of the desirability of fending off this racial taint.

THROWING LABOR LAWS ON THE SCRAP HEAP

WHILE England is now reducing hours of work and raising wages to remedy her mistake of repealing women's labor laws at the beginning of war, patriotic fervor in the United States has led to a first attempt to break down safeguards protecting women workers.

In the New York Assembly Louis Johnson, of Seneca Falls, has introduced a bill amending the labor law so as to permit night work, a seven-day week and unrestricted working day for "persons sixteen years of age and upward engaged in the manufacture of supplies of any sort for the military and naval forces of the United States or of any state." Although the bill is called an emergency measure, no time limit is set for its applications to the labor law. Its applications, too, are endless. It includes women employed in the manufacture of

buttons, shoes, canned goods and all the innumerable paraphernalia for military equipment, as well as in the making of guns and gunpowder.

The bill has been referred to the Committee on Labor and Industries before whom a hearing will be held in the near future. The New York City Consumer's League is leading the opposition to its enactment.

AN OLD VILLAGE ON A NEW MODEL

WHAT is claimed to be "the first complete community survey in Ohio" is hailed by Bellville as the starting point of its race to become "the model village of the United States." Its initiative had an interesting social source.

Twenty-four years ago a young man, Rollin H. Cockley by name, became one of its citizens and ventured upon the hazardous undertaking of establishing a bank after two others had failed. In token of gratitude for his success, he desired that all the property he had accumulated in Bellville be devoted to the promotion of the highest welfare of that community. His widow, who survived him only one month, carried out this desire by bequeathing \$20,000 to his brother, Prof. William B. Cockley, of the Ohio State University Department of Law, leaving him to decide how the fund could best promote the interests of Bellville.

After conference with some of its citizens and with some of his university colleagues, a village survey and program were undertaken. Prof. James E. Haggerty, dean of the College of Commerce and Journalism at the university, undertook to direct the work, with the assistance of Prof. E. W. Burgess, then one of his associates, who recently moved to the University of Chicago. A local executive committee cooperated effectively throughout.

Experts investigated the village wells and drainage, applied physical and educational tests to the school children, gathered and analyzed its vital statistics and took accurate inventories of the economic, educational, social and religious assets and liabilities of the village. It was found to be losing population, especially the young men and women educated in its high school. To fit its young people for efficient life in the village, a domestic science laboratory, agricultural courses, a gymnasium and a large assembly hall were shown to be necessary. Recreational facilities were to be sought through the cooperation of the village and the county. Protection against undesirable outside influences undermining the work of the schools was deemed necessary. A large number of aged couples and widows living alone disclosed the field for a state system of old-age insurance or pensions.

The churches were brought to realize

the need of cooperation by learning that they had 1,675 seats for a population of 913, a membership of 534 comprising not more than half the men and two-thirds of the women, and yet an average attendance of only 245 on public worship and 357 at Sunday school. With an investment of over \$28,000 in five separate establishments, they so split up the \$4,500 contributed to all that no one of them had an adequate support.

The survey and recommended program, within the few months since the findings were submitted to the village, have resulted, according to the *Mansfield News*, in a new civic spirit which has already expressed itself in the organization of the Bellville Community Welfare Association, with a trained community secretary, the cooperation of the merchants to improve the commercial service of the village, the rally of Boy Scouts' and Campfire Girls' interests to increase recreational facilities and the appointment of a permanent church organization, which it is said will use the information gathered by the survey to advance the religious and moral life of the entire community.

MODERN METHODS FOR A COUNTY PENITENTIARY

THE appointment of Calvin Derrick as first warden of the new Westchester county penitentiary, and the creation of a new department of prevention and cooperation under the charge of John R. Shillady, were announced recently by V. Everit Macy, commissioner of charities and corrections of Westchester county, New York.

The penitentiary is one of three institutions consolidated under Mr. Macy's management by the new law that went into effect January 1. The other two are the general county hospital and the almshouse. An appropriation of \$650,000, in addition to the \$300,000 already authorized, has just been made for the hospital. This brings the total money spent by the county on these institutions up to \$2,400,000. The hospital will have 500 beds, 200 of which will be for tuberculous patients.

Mr. Derrick, who went to Sing Sing last August to take charge of the self-government activities there and left because he believed his work was not being given a fair trial by the state prison administration, will become warden March 15. The appointment is provisional, since the office is a civil service one. One hundred twenty county prisoners will shortly be transferred to the new penitentiary from Blackwell's Island, New York city, where they are now being boarded, and Westchester county will begin for the first time to care for its own law-breakers. It is expected that Mr. Derrick will inaugurate methods of self-government and that prisoners will be paid

for their work. The new warden is still superintendent of the state reformatory at Ione, Cal., but an effort will be made to secure another year's leave of absence for him. He is now acting as expert adviser to the New York city Department of Corrections.

Dr. Bernard Glueck, psychiatrist at Sing Sing, will spend three half days a week at the Westchester penitentiary starting a psychiatric clinic there.

The work of the new department of prevention and cooperation will be done without expense to the county, following the precedent of others of Mr. Macy's innovations. It will study the charitable and correctional problems of Westchester county, the causes of dependency and delinquency, and collect information regarding the best methods practiced elsewhere to deal with similar evils.

"The department will aim," said Mr. Macy, "to coordinate our work in a very definite way with medical and school clinics, with probation officers and truant officers, with courts and judges, with agencies working for social betterment, and with physicians and teachers.

"We plan, through the department, to utilize every available means of making sure when our sick are discharged to their homes that they return to conditions favorable for continuance in good health. We intend, if a proper hospital is erected, that Westchester county shall be fully abreast of the best type of hospital social service work, as it is called, now being done by other public hospitals, such as Bellevue and Allied Hospitals in New York and the Massachusetts General in Boston.

"Within a few weeks we will be ready to receive inmates in our new penitentiary. We have approximately 180 short-term prisoners, mostly young fellows, now 'farmed out' to New York city and incarcerated on Blackwell's Island. Why should we not try to find out why these young fellows become petty criminals and do something about it before they land in Sing Sing as hardened criminals? In the penitentiary the men will be trained to habits of industry, in the best methods of efficient workmanship, and in self-control through the self-governing system. An employment bureau to secure suitable work for these men when discharged will be organized."

Mr. Shillady has been secretary of the New York Mayor's Committee on Unemployment since the winter of 1914-15.

CHURCH FEDERATION MAKING GOOD LOCALLY

MOVEMENTS for the federation of Protestant church agencies and resources have succeeded in formulating ideals and standards to which denominational bodies subscribe and which their



GRADUATE NURSES OF GUAM

THIS year seven native girls will receive from the United States Navy Medical Department diplomas as trained nurses. Already there is a waiting list for future classes. The increased staff of American surgeons and nurses to conduct these classes in addition to the hospital work, is already felt in Samoa [the SURVEY, August 1, 1914]. The girls are graduates of a mission school. Their nurses' course includes ordinary nursing, obstetrics, sanitation, personal hygiene and dietetics. After graduation they go into the country districts and return later to the hospital for review and supervision.

foreign and home missionary agencies accept. But locally in cities and suburbs, in towns and villages, with a few notable exceptions, the disastrous competition or non-cooperative deadlock prevails. To meet this real emergency in the federation movement the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America has organized its Commission on Federated Movements, with Fred B. Smith as chairman and Roy B. Guild as executive secretary, at whose initiative this commission was suggested as the follow-up agency of the Men and Religion Forward Movement. The latter was also headed by these men.

On his return from a country-wide tour, Dr. Guild reports church federations so well organized in the following fourteen cities as to have employed executive secretaries: Cleveland, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Chicago, New York, Atlanta, Louisville, Buffalo, Sacramento, Toledo, Erie, Dayton, Kansas City and Pittsburgh. Committees were appointed in Minneapolis, St. Paul, Seattle, Spokane, Portland, San Diego and Denver, to organize city federations so strongly that executive secretaries might be employed. Federations to depend upon volunteer leadership were initiated at Fargo, Grand Forks, Billings, Butte, Great Falls, Spokane and Tacoma. Duluth and Superior are considering the feasibility of uniting to employ one man, to be known as "head of the lakes secretary."

The little newspapers which are be-

ing started by some of these city federations attest their grappling with fundamental local problems. The *Federated Churches* of Cleveland reports the completion of a survey of 287 Protestant churches and missions in Greater Cleveland, having a combined membership of 105,207. To keep pace with the growth of population 11,000 accessions are demanded this year. A campaign including district visitation of the unchurched with the vigorous prosecution of both personal and social evangelism is now in progress. The *Men's Federation News* of Louisville contains such evidence of aggressive civic action as a frontal attack on race track gambling, a report of an investigation of the segregated vice district during the week of the state fair, a list of the violations of the Sunday closing law, which escaped legal penalty, and an endorsement of the reelection of members of the board of education whose services to the school had been found highly valuable.

BRITISH PENSIONS AND MEDICAL FEES

THE British are facing a serious problem in the care of some 50,000 disabled soldiers who apparently are being discharged from military hospitals and sent home where there is no real provision for their care. Most of them are insured under the health insurance act and automatically come back to the care of their panel physician. But he is already overburdened with patients,

since he has had to take on part of the practice of physicians who have gone to the front; he is not a specialist and cannot give the sort of care that is needed. Moreover, most of the specialists are in military hospitals; they are not to be had by the men returned home, even if payment of their fees were possible.

A new Pensions Board has been instituted and finds itself faced with the task of perfecting a pension scheme which will provide adequately for these men for whom the whole nation feels the liveliest concern and sense of obligation. Here the medical profession becomes involved because it foresees undue demands for inadequate pay and is inclined to insist that for the period of the war the army hospitals, with their corps of specialists and their ample equipment, be forced to keep and care for these disabled soldiers till they are able to return to civil life.

COUNCIL OR COMMISSION CONTROL OF HEALTH?

WHETHER the control of the centralization of all municipal health activities in Minneapolis shall rest in the hands of the mayor or of the City Council has brought a sharp clash between the Legislative Committee of the council and a Citizens' Committee which was appointed through the council several months ago to make a scientific study of the health system of the city and to draw up a bill embodying the results of its study.

The bill proposed by the Citizens' Committee provides for the creation of a board of public welfare consisting of seven members, two of whom shall be the mayor and the president of the City Council ex-officio, and five others to be appointed by the mayor, one each year for a term of five years. This board, it was proposed, should have entire charge of the protection and preservation of health, the care and management of hospitals, relief of the poor, and the management of all penal and correctional institutions. Only the medical inspection and promotion of health as now carried on by the Board of Education in the public schools was to be exempt.

At a hearing before the Legislative Committee of the council, marked by the acrid exchange of personalities and a generous heckling of speakers, the members of the council declared the report of the Citizens' Committee "entirely unfit." A substitute bill drawn by members of the council was unanimously adopted. This substitute bill places all the health work of the city, with the exception of that being done in the schools, entirely under council control. Provision is also made for the appointment of a general superintendent of health by the council, together with

"such other officers and employes as it shall deem necessary," the latter to be under civil service.

When members of the Citizens' Committee and others, including Dr. H. W. Cook, chairman of the Health Committee of the Central Council of Social Agencies, C. F. Keyes, a prominent attorney, Mrs. W. J. Marcle of the Woman's Club, remonstrated, stating that this substitute bill would perpetuate the medieval health system now in vogue with all its attendant political intrigue, a bitter debate ensued.

This debate brought out that Minneapolis has one of the least efficient health systems of any city in the country with a per capita expenditure for the Health Department of about thirteen cents. The department, which at the present time is under council control, does no educational work, there being no funds available for that purpose. Its nursing service is inadequate, the nurses of the tuberculosis division being so crowded with work that they give no bedside care; there are no nurses available for infant welfare or contagious disease service.

The whole system itself was shown to be antediluvian, consisting of three distinct departments, each responsible to independent boards. First, there is the Health Department with an under-paid commissioner, and an annual budget of less than \$65,000, the whole department being under the control of the Health and Hospitals Committee of the City Council. Since, during 1916, the council could not agree upon a commissioner, the city was without one, having only an acting officer. Second, the hospitals, workhouse and relief department are under the Board of Charities and Corrections, a board appointed by the mayor. Third, the health work done in the schools is under a third distinct head, the Board of Education. Thus, like all Gaul, the health work is divided into three parts.

However, with the support of Mayor Van Lear—who, by the way, is the first Socialist mayor that the city has had—and the backing of progressive citizens, it is hoped that the citizens' bill can be passed through the legislature, a necessary procedure, since Minneapolis has no home-rule charter.

SPENDING THE WINTER IN THE SOUTH

THE Children's National Tuberculosis Society is still doing business, it appears, though not at the same old stand. Its agents are in North Carolina now, according to the latest bulletin of the State Board of Health.

At the pressing invitation of the Bureau of Soliciting Schemes of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, the society withdrew its activities from that city

and gave up collecting dimes from people "who would never miss them" for a "children's sanatorium" somewhere in New Mexico which, it was reported after local investigation, had few if any children there. The society folded its tents and stole away from Indianapolis, and also from Milwaukee, and from the entire state of Illinois, as chambers of commerce, merchants' associations, district attorneys and Curran committees proved inquisitive about the society's books (which were not always forthcoming) rather than hospitable to its pleas.

The *Journal of the American Medical Association* published some remarks about the National Children's Tuberculosis Society and its promoters which were really almost libelous, but there was no threat of suit. The Wisconsin Anti-tuberculosis Association issued a warning about the scheme and was promptly threatened with suit. The National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis expressed its opinion of the methods of the society and also was threatened with suit. The SURVEY had the same experience because of a note in the issue for October 9, 1915. But nothing has happened yet.

FROM PONCE DE LEON'S TIMES TO OURS

FROM the time that the quest for the fabulous Fountain of Youth was definitely given up until a few years ago, Florida did little for her children. The state shared, to be sure, in the general American advance of four centuries, though in a leisurely southern way. She shared, too, in the common poverty following the civil war. And the first years of mending tended chiefly to offer her children a place in industry rather than a school seat—a chance to shuck oysters, solder tin cans, strip tobacco or caddy for the winter tourists.

In five years there has been a great change, backed by a growing body of public opinion led on by the Children's Home Society of Florida and other progressive social agencies. It was just five years ago that the first juvenile court was established and the state's policy definitely turned from punishment to correction and prevention. Later followed a child-labor law which Marcus C. Fagg, state superintendent of the Children's Home Society, ranks as the best in the South. It had taken 1,400 children out of trades, partly through the efforts of J. C. Privett, state factory inspector, and put many of them in school four years before the federal law could reach them and shame the state. And this in turn has been supplemented by an education law which makes novel application of the local option principle by providing that any county which wishes it may adopt compulsory education—a half loaf, but generally held to be tending toward required schooling

throughout the state. Schoolhouses are building and rebuilding in many parts—Jacksonville is spending a million and a half dollars on them—and teachers' salaries are rising.

Supplementing the juvenile courts, the old reform school, which was no more than a prison, has been replaced by modern industrial schools, one each for boys and girls. Medical inspection has been made legally possible for every community. The orphanages are following the lead of Mr. Fagg's society in placing out their children young.

Of other social measures, the notorious convict lease system is being abolished and a state prison farm has been established, wife desertion has been made a felony, tuberculosis and visiting nurses are employed by private societies and cities, and twelve of them by the state, the physical condition and administration of jails and almshouses are being modernized, associated charities are ministering in the smaller cities in addition to those long established in larger centers, a state conference of charities has held four annual meetings, Y. M. C. A. buildings are springing up, the churches and colleges have become interested in social service.

For the session of the legislature which opens in April the program includes further displacement of local lock-ups by district workhouses, where wife deserters and their like may be sent and employed, their wages, above actual cost of keep, to be paid to their families; an amendment authorizing juvenile courts to deal with adults who contribute to the delinquency of children; an increase in the number of juvenile probation officers; a school for feeble-minded youth and an institution for adults, both black and white; a law forbidding the marriage of insane, feeble-minded and epileptic persons; an enlargement of the girls' and more trades for the boys' industrial school. The Widows' Pension Commission will ask for more time before making its report.

Altogether it is a picture of a state going ahead by leaps and bounds, which Mr. Fagg draws in a recent review. Many individuals and societies have shared in Florida's social advance, but, says Mr. Fagg, chief credit is due the Federation of Women's Clubs.

A STATE PROGRAM FOR THE FEEBLEMINDED

AS a result of the recent conference of the Massachusetts Society for Mental Hygiene, a comprehensive plan for the care of feeble-minded in the state is being developed, based on conclusions of studies presented at the conference. These studies were summarized at the closing session by Dr. F. E. Williams, executive secretary, thus:

That feeble-mindedness represented an arrested mental development which showed itself in either quantitative or

qualitative brain differences; that the social difficulties which arose incident to feeble-mindedness were due to the fact that adult standards of conduct were required of individuals who were not equipped with adult mental ability; that, in general, the social potentiality of these individuals was either for good or for bad; that those who became a social menace became so because of social neglect.

Further custodial care of all of the feeble-minded was deemed neither practicable nor necessary; many, early trained in either the special classes in the public schools or in special schools for the feeble-minded, and later paroled, could, under proper and standardized supervision, live in the community without becoming a menace; and feeble-minded children, after a period of special training, should be given an opportunity to live in the community under supervision. It was believed that on exhibiting a-social traits, such individuals should be removed from the community

and committed to an institution for permanent custodial care.

The conference considered that the commonwealth should have a commissioner on feeble-mindedness whose duty it would be to standardize methods of examination, education, care and supervision of the feeble-minded. Also, that all cases of feeble-mindedness coming to the attention of the public schools, the courts, penal institutions or persons be, by law, registered with the commissioner who would keep a complete mental, physical and social history of each case; that on parole or discharge from class, school or institution, all feeble-minded come under the supervision of the commissioner and his agents to remain in the community or to be removed therefrom as might become indicated.

Papers were presented by Dr. W. E. Fernald, Dr. E. E. Southard, Dr. R. M. Yerkes, F. B. Dyer, superintendent of public schools, Boston; Ada McFitts, supervisor of special classes, Boston public schools, and many others.

Communications

"THE FIGHTING ISSUES"

TO THE EDITOR: I renewed my subscription to the SURVEY last fall most reluctantly, because at about that time a few numbers appeared, so excellent and so confined to the legitimate field of the magazine that I hoped it had seen a light. This hope was disappointed.

The heartless inhumanity of the SURVEY, earlier in the war; its clamor for swift peace that should leave Belgium and Serbia in a living death; its tiresome iteration of descriptions of the trip of the Ford pilgrims, who, in their silly self-conceit, and their ignorance of history and of the international situation made such a cruel spectacle at the cost of American repute for intelligence, honor and humanity, disgusted me from the beginning, as it must have disgusted most of your better-informed readers.

It was as if a child had thrown its soft arm over the neck of a citizen desperately struggling with a robber that had sand-bagged him by surprise, and was crying out: "Stop fighting the robber this instant! You will stop, won't you, Mr. Robber?"

The robber: "Yep. I'll stop. I've got his watch and money."

Fortunately the citizen was so keen in the fight, fortunately the would-be restraining arm was so extremely feeble, that the highwayman's victim scarcely felt the attack of the robber's pal; was rather vexed by it than really impeded.

We had hoped, many of your readers, that this was a passing obsession; that the essential cruelty and falseness of your position would presently dawn upon you; possibly that it had already dawned.

Now comes a six-page explanation of the mental processes of the editor during the world crisis. These processes in themselves are not of the slightest consequence; they are not worth six pages or six lines; but it is of consequence to know whether a hitherto

useful publication supposed to be devoted to humane purposes is going on from inhumanity in the German cause to actual treason in aid of an enemy now engaged in and proclaiming open warfare upon the United States.

I, for one, find my curiosity satisfied. Please cancel my subscription.

JOHN L. HEATON.

[Editorial rooms, the *World*.]
New York.

PACIFISM

TO THE EDITOR: We, the undersigned, engaged in various forms of social work and allied activities in Baltimore, and readers of the SURVEY, have been surprised at the chill spirit of "pacifism," so called, which of late seems to have pervaded every nook and corner of your publication. We dislike to use this word "pacifism" to describe what we have in mind, for we are all essentially pacifists in the true sense of the word, differing only in opinion as to the means necessary to achieve the end in view.

Whatever feelings we may have as individuals in respect to your personal viewpoint in this time of national crisis is beside the question here. We do feel, however, that it is closely akin to fact, if not fact itself, that the present editorial policy and news tone of the SURVEY in respect to events of national importance, create abroad generally the impression that the larger portion of social workers of the country are advocates of, or at least are in sympathy with, the doctrine of non-resistance, as the proper national policy to follow in our present foreign difficulties.

We desire, therefore, to go on record publicly, as social workers who do not agree with and who will not sustain such a policy and to express our desire to support, to the limit of mental and physical endurance, the means deemed necessary by our President to

uphold the common-sense laws of humanity and the country's honor.

(Signed) ROBERT C. POWELL, GEORGE L. JONES, WILLIAM H. DAVENPORT, W. PERRY BRADLEY, THEO JACOBS, PETER M. SIEWIERSKI, CHARLOTTE BELLE MANN, GEORGE E. BARNETT, J. W. MAGRUDER, EMMET W. WHITE, ALDA L. ARMSTRONG, ROSCOE C. EDLUND, WILLIAM BURDICK, H. WIRT STEELE, HORACE E. FLACK, WILLIAM E. STRAUS, B. M. BERNHEIM, M. D., ARTHUR E. HUNGERFORD, LESTER W. FEEZER.

Baltimore.

[The sole article along non-resistance lines we have published recently was a sermon in the same issue which carried Lloyd George's Lincoln Day address to America, upholding war for democracy's sake. Surely socially-minded ministers who believe in applying in an hour of stress what to them are the social tenets of Christianity should be given a hearing in the SURVEY—especially when the general run of periodicals practically bar them out.

I stated my own positions in the issue of February 17, and have no inclination to engross the space of the magazine. That every social worker should think these issues through for himself, was the distinct challenge of my statement which at the outset brought out the fact—a fact of which many a nook and corner and central page of the SURVEY has borne evidence—that there are deep cleavages of opinion among social workers, just as there are among churchmen and lawyers and physicians. It is but natural that the more ardent, either for or against war, should be most vocal. And it is healthy that those slower to express themselves, for or against, are now so expressing themselves, and basing their positions on social grounds.

Incidentally, in welcoming this statement, I can only ask these Baltimore friends and subscribers to judge the SURVEY not by what somebody says of it—on the basis, perhaps, of reading a single contribution—but on what they actually find there.

Before the policy had been broached in any other journal, Professor Hayes in the SURVEY for February 10, and the editor of the SURVEY in the issue for February 17, advocated the principle of armed neutrality. This principle underlies what the President on February 26 asked Congress for authority to carry into effect, what, in spite of the Senate filibuster, he carried into effect. To advocate it was not to advocate non-resistance, and to urge it in advance was the reverse of going back on the President. I should like to join these Baltimore social workers in a pledge to "support him to the limit of mental and physical endurance," for that can only mean thinking as well as acting.—PAUL U. KELLOGG.]

NATIONAL SERVICE

TO THE EDITOR: I am a man thirty-four years old, intensely desirous of serving in war if I know that this country is also serving by war, if the attitude is to be intelligent zeal for justice, not expediency or being forced into war.

I know that the Great War was brought about by government and not by democracy. I know that war is usually stupid and yet a result of machinations of the few—but not always. I know that peace is not an end in itself, but a condition rising from understanding and spiritual efficiency. I know that killing and maiming of bodies is not so bad as killing of souls by fatness and cant and indifference. And I am sure that lack of informed stirred quality with material welfare for the upper half is the basic cause of our neutrality more than noble ideals or feeling. The inherent hypocrisy of civilization, naïve or clever, is the root. Our real ideal is the survival of the fittest,

meaning the cleverest, strongest, most expedient.

I have felt keenly the social program of the President; and I have as keenly felt the insidious attitude of that continuing compromise which is the foundation of our essential faith. I have seen the delay in even eventually standing out bravely for Belgium and France and Serbia (as years ago we should have stood for Armenia), though the nation had scoffed; we have been true to type in failing to rectify that delay. Instead, the "last straw," a question of rights in trade routes and freedom of the seas, is all that brings us diffidently into the first step to war. Not affirmative defense that is positive advancing of those ideals we mouth so easily, but negative defense, the absolute necessity alone makes us think of war. Even then we wait for the event to push us in—never a decisive gesture that would prove our fitness of spirit. We shall not allow Germany, it appears, to stop our ships from crossing the ocean, and meanwhile evade anything more than the threat by refusing to try the issue our mere words brought upon us. At bottom there is still the matter of blockade, and rather technical, too, when the average fair mind endeavors to see the difference between England and Germany, since both warned us off, and we have in both cases so far "behaved ourselves" as the phrase goes. What England would have done is another matter. But the blockade by England we did obey, and talked of benevolent neutrality—another evasion of risk and service for the sake of that peace we will have.

I have no doubt as to which side is the more impelling to my sense of right and justice. Germany must be stopped, and this in full consideration of England's imperialism and complacent cant. I suspect the duality of Belgium's need and England's need—of trade routes and Asiatic opportunity. Hypocrisy and good taste, religion and permitted poverty, power and culture, these and the other old paradoxes of life are the troubles—and yet we strive so hard for dramatic solutions like leagues to enforce peace. We expect to change the motives evidently, since only such change could stop wars—wars are made by rulers, not by peoples. We want "results." We are indeed efficient, since a new word must be coined to express the thought of spiritual efficiency.

Now, in this crisis, I am sure that unless I am informed by my government in non-diplomatic language just what we are intending to do in case of war with Germany, just what our attitude and purposes are, I have no intention of helping, save only in case of urgent necessity of real defense against an enemy. We may do some good, of course, in our safe helping of England, but I see no chance of essential service, aside from actual defense against an aggressor, if we are to take the attitude that has been followed by the President all through our international relations since his inauguration. We have stood utterly for that calmness and expediency which are cloaked in noble words and a basic ideal of safety and quiet, applauded by lovers of tranquillity, specious Christlikeness, and pacifists deluded or serene. One can excuse only one attitude if the ideals of Mr. Wilson, espoused so calmly and divorced so innocently, are followed—and that attitude is intelligent ardor, stirred emotion. It is hypocrisy we must fear, naïve or knowing, hypocrisy in garments of safety called peace, evasion called calmness.

What have we understood by "life more abundant," and "thy neighbor as thyself"? I say a leader is not a man who follows but who leads, who expresses the great hopes and needs of the deeper heart beneath the fears and meannesses, the gropings of the people. He must be weighed, not tolerantly, but justly. The President has but expressed

the indifferent and safety-first attitude of perhaps most of us. His social program simply can not deceive us as to the essence of his quality, if we are not stupid. He has lacked the heart of the matter, that quality which in spite of generations of cant and under-creed interpretation was in Christ and all real leaders—stir and brave defiance and intelligent sincerity. A president is not to be judged leniently, but justly—and first of all if he shall lead well he must be brave and sincere, surely not to be praised if his calmness is inertness of spirit rather than controlled fire. This is not time for excuses, when a leader fails to strike out a path, acting on the motives which alone can make us respond and do good works. He seems to follow great ideals, and he says so. It is the same old story—negations and evasions gloriously appareled in noble sentiments, indecisiveness and fear masking as patience and plan.

Yet always the event decides, not the man. Our patriots are as stupid as our inert ones, for they condemn Mr. Wilson, and offer the old brave stupidity far more than any decent visioned path for the fulfilment of our wasted millions. Both alike fail to see that the vacuum is our spiritual poverty, our stupidity that fights at old calls of honor unanalyzed, our calmness and evasiveness that calls neutrality and failure to respond to visions something fine and considerate of humanity. Yet the vision is before our eyes. We will not see that stirred love (not meek and patient) and service mean happiness, that personality is wasted for safety and comfort, and that egoism revels in self-righteousness and coercions of others.

And so when I think of phrases like "watchful waiting," "too proud to fight," "neutral in thought and act," and those words of Mr. Wilson's to the Senate, "we purpose nothing more than the reasonable defense of the undoubted rights of our people," I wonder just what we may be going to war for. I resent injustice to us as to others, but what of these careful unringing words, words consistently the same since Mr. Wilson's elevation to captaincy. I remember no strong, great-hearted words, unselfish and stirred, to Germany or anyone else, in any defense but our own, save in safe and legally justifiable measures. I remember only cautious desire to stay at peace with the State-godly German government, intent on mere peace, not good will or justice. I remember no spiritualized anger against an immorality that would crush all in its way, calling itself idealism as surely as Mr. Wilson calls his method moral. I remember that now if we go to war, the President has said "we wish to serve no selfish ends." We shall serve little else it appears to me. I cannot find where the Christian devotion and love come into all this. I do not find myself a-quiver with anything but resentment that when this last straw was laid on our backs (we, the camels) we could not have atoned for our remissness toward Belgium and France and all the others we have left to themselves while we fought for peace. But no, we shall only go to war if we are forced into it—never to serve as readily as to defend our rights.

So I want to fight for real matters only, and I want to know what I shall fight for. I want to have a direct expression from our government as to the attitude behind possible war. I could help if we go to war to help the abused, to advance something, or to defend real rights, but I will not fight for a fearful, safety-first, unstirred government unless the country is invaded. That is my idea of waste—to follow leaders unstirred, evasive, full of social sympathy without will to make or do. I will not be wasted if I can help it. And I do want to help.

L. J. EDDY.

Honesdale, Pa.

JOTTINGS

AMERICA'S Relation to the World Conflict and the Coming Peace will be the subject of the twenty-first annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, April 20-21.

HAVING as its purpose the providing of a common meeting place for social workers of every stripe and the arousing of the entire city to a sense of social responsibility, the Sociological Club of Sioux City, Iowa, has been formed with Rabbi Emanuel Sternheim as president.

TRAINING for teachers of Children's Gardens, hitherto carried on in New York city by the International Children's School Farm League, has been taken over by the New York Botanical Gardens, which offers courses beginning May 7 and July 5.

A PRACTICAL course in scouting and recreational leadership, to be given in co-operation with the Department of Education of the Boy Scouts of America, is announced by the Community Service and Research Department of the Division of Public Affairs of New York University.

EVERY type of religious and civic activity in Sacramento was represented among the 400 guests present at the dinner given to Governor Johnson, his successor, Lieutenant-Governor Stephens and the members of the California legislature by California State Church Federation and the local federation. With Governor Johnson and Raymond Robins, of Chicago, as the principal speakers, the evening took a strong social turn.

INSISTENT requests to the Board of Education of Washington, D. C., that all "alien" teachers be dismissed from the public schools have been firmly denied and the board forwards to those making them copies of the "oath of allegiance" that all teachers must take: "I, _____, having been duly appointed by the Board of Education of the District of Columbia a teacher in the public schools of the District of Columbia, do solemnly swear that I will support the constitution of the United States and faithfully discharge the duties of the aforesaid office."

IT IS planned to organize a national women's employment managers' conference in Philadelphia the week of April 2-5, when the National Vocational Guidance Association and the National Conference of Employment Managers will meet in the first joint session these two bodies have ever held. Meyer Bloomfield, director of the Vocational Bureau of Boston, is president of both associations. One of the features of the program will be a discussion of the findings of a vocational guidance survey just made in Philadelphia.

SOCIAL workers from forty-five Detroit social agencies using the Confidential Exchange and Registration Bureau have organized a joint committee to promote closer cooperation and to standardize their case work. The committee grew out of a study of "trouble cases," which had been registered by five or more different organizations. The organizer was Thomas E. Dolan, superintendent of the Poor Commission. Frances Knight, of the Children's Aid Society, is chairman, and Leon W. Frost, of the Juvenile Court, secretary.

WOMAN'S position in reconstructed Germany after the war is perhaps hinted at in a news item in the United States Commerce Reports. The Woman's Cooperative Dwelling Association of Frankfort-on-Main has drawn plans for apartment buildings in attractive residential districts for unmarried women engaged in business or professions. Capital is to be subscribed by the members of the organization, which is a registered cooperative society. Shares of 200 marks (\$47.60) each are to be sold on weekly instalments of three marks (\$.71). Each building will contain sixteen apartments, of one and two rooms with bath and kitchen or kitchenette at rentals of from \$143 to \$190 a year.

HOW the "child world" of the Gary, Ind., public schools replaces the traditional routine of the public school system is vividly shown in a series of motion pictures that were displayed for the first time in New York city last month. The pictures are in four reels and were made at the expense of the Gary schools, the children themselves helping in the production. The pictures were pre-

sented by the Gary School League, affiliated with the Public Education Association of New York city, and requests for their use have been received from a number of states. William Wirt, superintendent of the Gary schools, is now spending part of his time in New York city adapting his plans to schools there.

PETITIONS showing the effect of the high cost of living upon family budgets were presented at a recent meeting of the Boston School Committee. Janitors, declaring that they could not now live without distress upon their salaries, asked for an increase in pay of from 15 to 25 per cent. The Boston School Physicians' Association asked for an increase in the salary of school physicians, now \$504 a year, to \$1,200, and those who assist in the employment certificate office, who now get \$900, to the same sum. The Boston Public School Nurses' Association asked that the minimum salary of school nurses be increased \$96 a year, to \$804, and then raised \$96 a year until \$1,176, the maximum salary of an elementary teacher, is reached. Women

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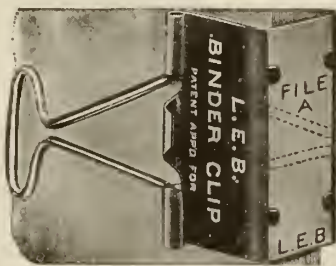
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teachers in normal and high schools asked that they be paid on an equality with men. All these requests were taken under advisement.

ABOLITION of the city workhouse and the immediate establishment of a municipal farm for petty offenders is recommended by the St. Louis Municipal Commission on Misdemeanants, which was appointed last summer under an ordinance secured through the efforts of social workers. St. Louis still has an old-fashioned workhouse with its stone-quarry and guarded walls within the city limits. The commission recommends the purchase of a farm of 2,000 acres. As the present periods of commitment are too short for effective treatment, it also recommends the indeterminate sentence, for which a bill has been drafted. The commission was aided by investigations of court cases and commitments made by the Missouri School of Social Economy, under the direction of George B. Mangold.

THE rapid growth of educational research during the past few years was signalized at the second annual meeting of the National Association of Directors of Educational Research, by the appointment of a committee to prepare a summary of such research up to the present time. The association itself came into existence, writes Walter S. Monroe, director of the Bureau of Educational Measurements and Standards at the Kansas State Normal School, to the SURVEY, "to promote the type of educational research which is beginning to be carried on in public schools. A number of school systems have created the position of director of educational research, notably Boston, New York city, Detroit, Oakland, Cal., and Kansas City. In addition, there have been established in a number of states organizations which direct and furnish a clearing house for similar work in smaller cities."

A FEW weeks ago State Commissioner of Insurance Olson was murdered in Olympia, Wash., by a workman who had applied for compensation and had been refused. The man was reported to be feeble-minded. He committed the murder within a block and a half of the building in which the state legislature was sitting, and immediately a bill was introduced providing for the reintroduction of the death penalty for murder in the first degree, with an option of the jury to make the penalty life imprisonment. Washington abolished the death penalty in 1913. The upper house has already defeated a measure to bring the question before the people on a referendum, and Governor Lister is thought to be opposed to the legislation. The National Society on Prisons and Prison Labor reports that the Central Labor Council, women's clubs and educators throughout the state are opposed to it. No proof is said to have been offered in the upper house that the abolition of the death penalty results in an increase of crime.

WHAT is said to be the first war hospital in France to be officially conducted by the American Red Cross will be opened in another month with Dr. Joseph A. Blake, an American surgeon, in charge. This is the hospital built and conducted by Dr. Eugene Doven, the famous French surgeon who died two months ago, now being re-equipped as a war hospital. While the American Ambulance at Neuilly is an American undertaking, it is organized solely under American doctors who practiced in Paris before the war. The invitation to Dr. Blake to become head of the new hospital was issued by the French government and is said to be the greatest honor that could be conferred upon an American surgeon. Dr. Blake's work at the British hospital in Ris-Orangis has won the admiration of French surgeons. The new

name of the hospital will be the American Red Cross Hospital of Paris, and it will take only the most badly wounded cases. The Robert Walton Goelet Research Laboratories have been incorporated as part of the hospital, with Dr. Kenneth Taylor, the American bacteriologist, in charge.

IT ISN'T often that the chairman of a legislative finance committee calls economy a "mistaken policy," yet that is what Henry M. Sage, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee in the New York legislature, did recently in addressing the City Club in New York city. Senator Sage declared that the public and legislature must be more willing to spend money. In New York he said that the state institutions especially had been handicapped during the past ten years by severe and ill-advised cuts of sums urgently needed for new construction of hospitals, charitable institutions and prisons. "The talk of decreasing the budget is either ignorant or dishonest," he said, and added that a "budget of a hundred million dollars looms in the near future," as compared with the budget of seventy or eighty millions this year.

PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL

JOSEPH LEE has been elected chairman of the Boston School Committee to succeed David D. Scannell.

WILLIAM B. BUCK has returned to the charities service of New York city as director of Sea View Hospital and City Farm Colony at West New Brighton, Staten Island.

ARTHUR D. DEAN, chief of the division of vocational schools of the New York State Education Department, has been appointed professor of education at Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York city. Mr. Dean's new work begins during the summer session.

JOHN YATES, secretary of the Associated Charities of Harrisburg, will succeed J. Byron Deacon as secretary of the Associated Charities of Pittsburgh. Before going to Harrisburg he was for a time with the Pittsburgh society following his graduation from Princeton and a divinity course.

JEROME D. GREENE, whose retirement as secretary of the Rockefeller Foundation was announced some time ago, has become associated with the New York office of the banking firm of Lee, Higginson and Company. Mr. Greene remains a trustee of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research and the General Education Board, and a director of the American Social Hygiene Association.

MAY ALLINSON, formerly head of the research department of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, Boston, has become assistant secretary of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education. She will devote her time principally to the industrial work of women and girls and the educational problems arising from it.

HEINRICH HERKNER, one of the most progressive of German economists, whose work on The Labor Problem has been printed in six editions, and perhaps the most eloquent social reformer in the Reichstag, has been called to the chair of political economy, finance and economic history at the Univer-

sity of Munich, vacated by the emeritation of Prof. Lujo Brentano.

DR. H. L. ROCKWOOD, superintendent of the tuberculosis sanitarium conducted at Warrensville, Ohio, by the Cleveland Division of Health, has been appointed chief of the Bureau of Tuberculosis, succeeding Dr. R. H. Bishop, Jr., now commissioner of health. Dr. Carl Mulky, formerly Dr. Rockwood's assistant, has been appointed to the superintendency of the sanitarium.

GEORGE W. GUTHRIE, ambassador to Japan, who died at his post on March 8, had been a leader in many civic reforms in Pittsburgh. An independent in local politics, he was the reform mayor of the city at the time of the Pittsburgh Survey in 1907-8 and he was one of three men in Pittsburgh who had the vision and courage to give the use of their names to the new enterprise—the first of the social surveys—which local public opinion in general attacked as an outside muckraking expedition.

DR. J. T. GILMOUR, for twenty-one years warden of the Central Prison, Toronto, Canada, and latterly of the famous Guelph Industrial Prison Farm as well, and one of the best-known prison administrators on this continent, has recently been appointed inspector of paroled prisoners for the province of Ontario. This office has been created to keep the Provincial Parole Board more closely in touch with paroled prisoners, who heretofore have reported to the local police. He is succeeded at Guelph by Supt. C. F. Neelands, of the Burwash Prison Farm, Northern Ontario.

AFFILIATION of all Protestant denominations in a common endeavor for the public welfare is the purpose behind the announcement that the Rev. Worth M. Tippy had resigned from the pastorate of the Madison Avenue Methodist Church, of New York city, to become associate secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, in charge of social service. Dr. Tippy's program includes an effort for the short workday and one day of rest in seven; efforts to bring employer and employe together; the seven-day-a-week use of the church plant for community purposes; cooperation of the churches in the social movements of communities; socialization of religious education; arousing the churches in behalf of a better social order. Dr. Tippy was for ten years pastor of Epworth Memorial Methodist Church in Cleveland, which had the reputation of being one of the most highly socialized churches in Methodism.

LEONARD G. ROBINSON, general manager of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society in New York city, has been appointed president of the federal land bank for the eastern district, established at Springfield, Mass., under the farm loan act of 1916. This "district No. 1," one of twelve, includes the six New England states, New York and New Jersey. Mr. Robinson has been the first to accomplish successfully the permanent settlement of Jewish farmers on American soil, the principle underlying his methods being cooperative self-help. For some years his counsel has been sought and valued on many difficult problems of rural economy in a much wider field. It will be applied henceforth to a problem of rural regeneration consisting largely of wisely directing and aiding the settlement of immigrant farmers as well as of getting up a progressive spirit among those long settled who have not followed the westward trend. Mr. Robinson's place in the Jewish society has not yet been filled. Gabriel Davidson, assistant manager, will be in charge for the present.

FOOD FOR THE WORKER

By FRANCES STERN
and
GERTRUDE T. SPITZ

With a Foreword
By Professor Lafayette B. Mendel

Price, \$1.00 net

The authors have prepared menus for seven weeks with tested recipes giving food values and costs for the dishes included in the menus. The daily cost of food, at the prices of 1914, is twenty cents per day per person. In the supply sheet, prices up to July, 1916, have been given. All weights of the component food principles are figured and also the values in calories of each serving. The cost in cents is given for each serving.

Whatever may be the variation in prices this attempt to solve the problem of an adequate, *varied* diet on an inadequate wage is one that must be of great service not only to all social workers, but to any intelligent housekeeper of moderate means who wishes a proper foundation on which to build a family's diet.

Experience has fitted the authors for this work. As visiting housekeeper in Boston for the Association for the Relief and Control of Tuberculosis and later for the Boston Provident Association Miss Stern learned home conditions, and as inspector for the Massachusetts State Board of Labor and Industry learned the economic causes for those conditions. Miss Spitz, as secretary to Dr. Edwin A. Locke, assisted in the preparation of his well-known book "Food Values."

Ready in April

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Boston, Mass.

THE selection of Frank E. Spaulding, of Minneapolis, to be superintendent of public schools of Cleveland is being widely attributed to the liberalizing influence of the recent school survey of that city conducted by the Cleveland Foundation. Mr. Spaulding has been given a four-year contract at an annual salary of \$12,000, the largest salary paid to a school superintendent in the United States. One of the most significant features of the affair is the resolution passed by the Cleveland Board of Education before they chose the new superintendent, defining the relation that they would try to cultivate with that official. The resolution is: "Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting that educational policies should not be imposed upon the new superintendent by the Board of Education, but that he should be looked to to inaugurate such educational policies by and with the approval of the board as he deems advisable; and to maintain them without interference by the board, unless and until the lack of wisdom of any such policy be shown by experience; subject always, however, to financial exigencies which face the board."

CALENDAR OF CONFERENCES

Items for the next calendar should reach THE SURVEY before April 12.

APRIL CONFERENCES

- CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, Connecticut State Conference of, Meriden, April 29-May 1. Sec'y, John D. Strain, Meriden, Ct.
- CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, New Jersey Conference of, Montclair, N. J., April 29-May 1. Sec'y, Ernest D. Easton, 45 Clinton street, Newark, N. J.
- CHILD WELFARE CONFERENCE. Under auspices of the National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations. Washington, D. C., April 24-May 1. Sec'y, Mrs. A. A. Birney, 910 Loan and Trust bldg., Washington, D. C.
- COMMUNITY CENTERS, National Conference on, Chicago, Ill., April 18-22. Sec'y, John Collier, 70 Fifth avenue, New York city.
- NURSING EDUCATION, National League of, Philadelphia, Pa., April 22-May 2. Sec'y, Isabel M. Stewart, Teachers' College, New York city.
- PHYSICAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, American. Pittsburgh, April 5-7. Sec'y, Dr. J. H. McCurdy, 93 Westford avenue, Springfield, Mass.
- POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE, American Academy of, Philadelphia, April 20-21. Sec'y, J. P. Lichtenberger, Philadelphia.
- PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION, Virginia. Lynchburg, Va., April 16-18. Sec'y, Dr. W. Brownley Foster, Roanoke, Va.
- PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING, National Organization for, Philadelphia, Pa., April 26-May 2. Exec.-sec'y, Ella P. Crandall, 600 Lexington avenue, New York city.
- SOCIAL AGENCIES, California State Conference of, Oakland, Cal., April 23-27. Sec'y, Stuart A. Queen, 411 Call bldg., San Francisco.
- COUNCIL OF THE WOMEN'S CLUBS, General Federation of, New Orleans, La., April 10-12. Sec'y, Elizabeth H. Everett, Highland Park, Ill.

LATER MEETINGS

INTERNATIONAL

- KINDERGARTEN UNION, International. Boston, Mass., May 7-11. Sec'y, May Murray, Springfield, Mass.
- POLICEWOMEN, International Association of, Pittsburgh, Pa., June 6-13. Sec'y, Mrs. G. Sharrot, 40 Court House, Minneapolis, Minn.

NATIONAL

- BOYS' WORK CONFERENCE. Buffalo, N. Y., May 22-24. Sec'y, C. J. Atkinson, 1 Madison avenue, New York city.
- CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, National Conference of, Pittsburgh, Pa., June 6-13. Sec'y, W. T. Cross, 315 Plymouth court, Chicago.
- CHILDREN'S HOME SOCIETY, National, Pittsburgh, June 4-6. Sec'y, Wilfred S. Reynolds, 209 South State street, Chicago.
- CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSIONS, National Assembly of, Boston, Mass., June, 1917. Sec'y, John T. Doyle, 1724 F street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
- FIRE PROTECTION ASSOCIATION, National. Washington, D. C., May 8-10. Sec'y, Franklin H. Wentworth, 87 Milk street, Boston.

[Continued on page 735, last column]

INFORMATION DESK

The following national bodies will gladly and freely supply information and advise reading on the subjects named by each and on related subjects. Members are kept closely in touch with the work which each organization is doing, but membership is not required of those seeking information. Correspondence is invited. Nominal charges are sometimes made for publications and pamphlets. Always enclose postage for reply.

Health

SEX EDUCATION—New York Social Hygiene Society, Formerly Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis, 105 West 40th Street, New York City. Maurice A. Bigelow, Secretary. Seven educational pamphlets, 10c. each. Four reprints, 5c each. Dues—Active \$2.00; Contributing \$5.00; Sustaining \$10.00. Membership includes current and subsequent literature; selected bibliographies. Maintains lecture bureau and health exhibit.

CANCER—American Society for the Control of Cancer, 25 West 45th St., New York City. Curtis E. Lakeman, Exec. Sec'y. To disseminate knowledge concerning symptoms, diagnosis, treatment and prevention. Publications free on request. Annual membership dues \$5.

COMMITTEE ON PROVISION FOR THE FEEBLE-MINDED—Objects: To disseminate knowledge concerning the extent and menace of feeble-mindedness and to suggest and initiate methods for its control and ultimate eradication from the American people. General Offices, Empire Bldg., Phila., Pa. For information, literature, etc., address Joseph P. Byers, Exec. Sec'y.

MENTAL HYGIENE—National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 50 Union Square, New York City, Clifford W. Beers, Sec'y. Write for pamphlets on mental hygiene, prevention of insanity and mental deficiency, care of insane and feeble-minded, surveys, social service in mental hygiene, State Societies for Mental Hygiene.

NATIONAL HEALTH—Committee of One Hundred on National Health. E. F. Robbins, Exec. Sec'y., 203 E. 27th St., New York. To unite all government health agencies into a National Department of Health to inform the people how to prevent disease.

TUBERCULOSIS—National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, 105 East 22nd St., New York. Charles J. Hatfield, M. D., Exec. Sec'y. Reports, pamphlets, etc., sent upon request. Annual transactions and other publications free to members.

SOCIAL HYGIENE—The American Social Hygiene Assoc. Inc., 105 West 40th St., N. Y.; Branch Offices: 122 South Michigan Ave., Chicago; Phelan Bldg., San Francisco. To promote sound sex education, the reduction of venereal diseases, and the suppression of commercialized vice. Quarterly magazine "Social Hygiene." Monthly Bulletin. Membership, \$5; sustaining, \$10. Information upon request. Pres., Abram W. Harris; Gen. Sec'y, William F. Snow, M.D.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR PUBLIC HEALTH NURSING. Object: to stimulate the extension of public health nursing; to develop standards of technique; to maintain a central bureau of information. Publications: Public Health Nurse Quarterly, \$1.00 per year; bulletins sent to members. Address Ella Phillips Crandall, R. N., Executive Secretary, 600 Lexington Ave., New York City.

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS—Through its Town and Country Nursing Service, maintains a staff of specially prepared visiting nurses for appointment to small towns and rural districts. Pamphlets supplied on organization and administration of visiting nurse associations; personal assistance and exhibits available for local use. Apply to Superintendent, Red Cross Town and Country Nursing Service, Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEALTH—American Public Health Assn. Pres., William A. Evans, M.D., Chicago; Sec'y, Prof. S. M. Gunn, Boston. Object "To protect and promote public and personal health." Seven Sections: Laboratory, Sanitary Engineering, Vital Statistics, Sociological, Public Health Administration, Industrial Hygiene, Food and Drugs. Official monthly organ, *American Journal of Public Health*; \$3.00 per year. 3 mos. trial subscription (to Survey readers 4 mos.) 50c. Address 126 Mass. Ave., Boston, Mass.

EUGENICS REGISTRY—Board of Directors, Chancellor David Starr Jordan, President; Prof. Irving Fisher, Dr. C. B. Davenport, Luther Burbank, Dr. J. H. Kellogg, Secretary. A bureau for the encouragement of interest in eugenics as a means of Race Betterment, established and maintained for the Race Betterment Foundation in co-operation with the Eugenics Record Office. Address, Eugenics Registry Board, Battle Creek, Mich.

PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS—National Committee for. Objects: To furnish information for Associations, Commissions and persons working to conserve vision; to publish literature of movement; to furnish exhibits, lantern slides, lectures. Printed matter: samples free; quantities at cost. Invites membership. Field, United States. Includes N. Y. State Com. Edward M. Van Cleve, Managing Director; Gordon L. Berry, Field Secretary; Mrs. Winifred Hathaway, Secretary. Address, 130 E. 22d St., N. Y. C.

Racial Problems

NEGRO YEAR BOOK—Meets the demand for concise information concerning the condition and progress of the Negro Race. Extended bibliographies. Full index. Price, 25c. By mail, 35c. Negro Year Book Company, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

In addition to information in Negro Year Book, Tuskegee Institute will furnish other data on the conditions and progress of the Negro race.

HAMPTON INSTITUTE, HAMPTON, VA.—Trains Negro and Indian youth. "Great educational experiment station." Neither a State nor a Government school. Supported by voluntary contributions. H. B. Frissell, Principal; F. K. Rogers, Treasurer; W. H. Scoville, Secretary. Free literature on race adjustment, Hampton aims and methods. *Southern Workman*, illustrated monthly, \$1 a year; free to donors.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE. 70 Fifth Ave., New York. Proposes to make 10,000,000 Americans physically free from penance, mentally free from ignorance, politically free from disfranchisement, and socially free from insult. Membership 8,600, with 70 branches. Official organ, *The Crisis*, 38,000 monthly. Pres., Moorfield Storey; Chairman, Board of Directors, Dr. J. E. Spingarn; Treas., Oswald Garrison Villard; Director of Publications and Research, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois; Sec'y, Roy Nash.

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY—A quarterly publication concerned with facts, not with opinions. The organ of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. To popularize the movement of unearthing the Negro and his contribution to civilization that he may not become a negligible factor in the thought of the world. Carter G. Woodson, Director of Research and Editor. Subscription \$1.00 a year. Foreign subscription 25 cents extra. Address, 1216 You St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Libraries

AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION—Furnishes information about organizing libraries, planning library buildings, training librarians, cataloging libraries, etc. *A. L. A. Booklist*, a monthly annotated magazine on book selection, is a valuable guide to the best new books. List of publications on request. George B. Utley, Executive Secretary, 78 E. Washington St., Chicago.

Recreation

RECREATION—Are you interested in the growth of the playground movement? If so, you will want to know what cities and small communities throughout the country are doing to provide wholesome recreation. The Year Book telling how people "played" during 1916 in over 400 communities may be secured for 50c at the office of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, 1 Madison Avenue, New York city.

Children

CHILD LABOR—National Child Labor Committee, 105 East 22d St., New York. Owen R. Lovejoy, Sec'y. 25 State Branches. Where does your state stand? How can you help? List of pamphlets and reports, free. Membership fee nominal.

CONSERVATION OF INFANT LIFE—American Assoc. for Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality, 1211 Cathedral St., Baltimore. Gertrude B. Knipp, Exec. Sec'y. Literature on request. Traveling Exhibit. Urges prenatal instruction; adequate obstetrical care; birth registration; maternal nursing; infant welfare consultations.

EDUCATIONAL HEALTH POSTERS COVERING CARE OF BABIES AND CHILDREN—Second edition of Parcel Post Exhibit. Photogravure reproductions in color with simple, easily understood legends, attractively illustrated from original paintings; 25 posters (18" x 28") in set. Further information regarding these and other exhibits on request. Illustrated booklets on Baby and Child Care. Lantern slides. National Child Welfare Exhibit Association, Inc., 70 Fifth Ave., New York City.

NATIONAL KINDERGARTEN ASSOCIATION—250 Madison Ave., New York. Object: To have the kindergarten established in every public school. Four million children in the United States are now without this training. Furnishes Bulletins, Exhibits, Lecturers, Advice and Information. Works for adequate legislation and for a wider interest in this method of increasing intelligence and reducing crime. Supported by voluntary contributions.

Women

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY—National Consumers' League, 289 Fourth Ave., New York. Mrs. Florence Kelley, Gen'l Sec'y. 87 branch leagues. Reports, pamphlets sent on request. Minimum membership fee \$2.00, includes current pamphlets. Minimum wages boards, protection of women workers, sweat-shops, etc.

WORKING WOMEN—National Women's Trade Union League stands for self-government in the work shop through organization and also for the enactment of protective legislation. Information given. "Life and Labor," working women's monthly magazine, 5c. a copy. Mrs. Raymond Robins, Pres.; Mrs. Amy Walker Field, Editor, 166 West Washington St., Chicago.

EVENING CLUBS FOR GIRLS—National League of Women Workers, 35 East 30th St., New York. Organizing Sec'y, Jean Hamilton. Recreation and instruction in self-governing and self-supporting groups for girls over working age. Monthly magazine, "The Club Worker," Twenty-five cents, 1 year.

HOME AND INSTITUTIONAL ECONOMICS—American Home Economics Association, for Home, Institution, and School. Publishes Journal of Home Economics. 12 issues a year, \$2.00. Next meeting: University of Minnesota, August 22-28, 1917. Address 1211 Cathedral St., Baltimore, Md.

Organized Charity

CHARITIES AND CORRECTION—National Conference of Charities and Correction, 315 Plymouth Ct., Chicago. Frederic Almy, Buffalo, N. Y., President; W. T. Cross, Gen. Sec. Proceedings carefully indexed comprehend all fields social work. Bulletins and misc. publications. Conducts information bureau. Forty-fourth annual meeting, Pittsburg, June 6-13, 1917. Membership, \$3.00.

ORGANIZED CHARITY AND CO-ORDINATED SOCIAL WORK—American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity. Mrs. W. H. Lothrop, chairman Executive Committee; Francis H. McLean, gen'l sec'y, 130 East 22d St., New York City. To promote the extension and development of Associated Charities and to further the proper co-ordinations and alignments in the social work of communities, including the making of community plans.

Settlements

SETTLEMENTS—National Federation of Settlements. Develops broad forms of comparative study and concerted action in city, state, and nation, for meeting the fundamental problems disclosed by settlement work; seeks the higher and more democratic organization of neighborhood life. Robert A. Woods, Sec'y, 20 Union Park, Boston Mass.

Work With Boys

BOYS CLUB FEDERATION—National Headquarters, 1 Madison Ave., New York City. Federation includes Boys' Clubs, Boys' Depts. of Recreation Centers, Settlements and Community Houses. A clearing house for information on subjects relating to work with boys. Printed matter distributed; workers furnished; assistance given in organizing. Wm. E. Hall, President; C. J. Atkinson, Executive Secretary.

Civic Problems

MUNICIPAL PROBLEMS—National Municipal League, North American Bldg., Philadelphia. Lawson Purdy, Pres.; Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Sec'y. Charters, commission government, taxation, police, liquor, electoral reform, finances, accounting, efficiency, civic education, franchises, school extension. Publishes *National Municipal Review*.

SHORT BALLOT AND COMMISSION GOVERNMENT—The Short Ballot Organization, 383 Fourth Ave., N. Y. City. Woodrow Wilson, Pres.; Richard S. Childs, Sec'y. National clearing house for information on these subjects. Pamphlets free. Publish *Beard's Loose-Leaf Digest of Short Ballot Charters*.

ALCOHOL QUESTION—The Scientific Temperance Federation, 36 Bromfield St., Boston. Mass. Cora F. Stoddard, Exec. Sec'y. Has a strong special library on the alcohol question, including hygienic, industrial, economic, and sociological relations. Publishes results of reliable researches in the Scientific Temperance Journal and other literature. Has models, posters, and lantern slides for exhibits. Dues—Active, \$5.00; Associate, \$2.00; Sustaining, \$10.00. List of publications free.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION—Adoption of which by Ashtabula, O., 1915, promises new era in civic development—Headquarters for information, American P. R. League. Pres., Wm. Dudley Foulke; Gen. Sec.-Treas., C. G. Hoag, 802 Franklin Bank Bldg., Philadelphia. *Proportional Representation Review* (quarterly), 40c a year. A subscription of \$1 gives membership in League and entitles to all publications for year. Larger subscriptions much needed.

Church and Community

THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL SERVICE—The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America operates through its Commission on the Church and Social Service. "A Year Book of the Church and Social Service." (Paper, 30c.; Cloth, 50c.), gives full information regarding social movements in all the churches. For literature and service address the Secretary, Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, 105 E. 22nd St., New York.

EPISCOPAL SOCIAL SERVICE—The Joint Commission on Social Service of the Protestant Episcopal Church. For literature and other information, address the Executive Secretary, Rev. F. M. Crouch, Church Missions House, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

UNITARIAN SOCIAL ADVANCE—The American Unitarian Association through its Department of Social and Public Service. Reports and Bulletins free. Lecture Bureau. Social Service Committees. Elmer S. Forbes, Secretary of the Department, 25 Beacon St., Boston.

Aid for Travelers

AID FOR TRAVELERS—The Travelers' Aid Society provides advice, guidance and protection to travelers, especially women and girls, who need assistance. It is non-sectarian and its services are free irrespective of race, creed, class or sex. For literature, address Orin C. Baker, Gen. Sec'y, 465 Lexington Ave., New York City.

Immigration

NATIONAL LIBERAL IMMIGRATION LEAGUE—Advocates selection, distribution and Americanization and opposes indiscriminate restriction. Summarized arguments and catalog of publications on request. Minimum membership (\$1) includes all available pamphlets desired, and current publications. Address Educational Dept., National Liberal Immigration League, Sun Bldg., N. Y.

IMMIGRANT GIRLS—Council of Jewish Women (National), Department of Immigrant Aid, with headquarters at 242 E. Broadway, New York City—Miss Helen Winkler, chairman—gives friendly aid to immigrant girls; meets, visits, advises, guides; has international system of safeguarding. Invites membership.

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION—Department of Recreation announces a cloth-bound handbook "Community Center Activities" giving information about 183 activities suitable for school and recreation centers, settlements, Y. M. C. A.'s and church houses. 127 pages. Price, 35 cents. 130 East 22d Street, New York City.

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FLORENCE CRITTENTON CONFERENCE, National. Cleveland, O., June 3-5. Sec'y, Mrs. Emma L. Robertson, 307 C street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

HOME ECONOMICS ASSOCIATION, American. Minneapolis, Minn., August 22-29. Sec'y, Mrs. Alice P. Norton, 1326 East 58 street, Chicago.

HYGIENE AND PUBLIC BATHS, American Association for Promoting, Pittsburgh, Pa., May 8-9. Sec'y, H. M. Dermitt, 608 Keenan bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.

INTERCHURCH FEDERATIONS, The Purpose and Methods of. Called by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Pittsburgh, October 1-4. Sec'y, Rev. Roy B. Guild, 105 East 22 street, New York City.

JEWISH SOCIAL WORKERS, National Association of. Pittsburgh, Pa., June 3-6. Sec'y, M. M. Goldstein, 356 Second avenue, New York City.

LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, American. Louisville, Ky., June 21-27. Sec'y, George B. Utley, 78 East Washington street, Chicago.

MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, American. New York City, June 4-8. Sec'y, Dr. Frederick R. Green, 535 North Dearborn street, Chicago.

MEDICAL MILK COMMISSIONS, American Association of. Brooklyn, N. Y., June 1-4. Sec'y, Dr. Otto F. Geier, Ortiz bldg., Cincinnati, O.

MEDICINE, American Academy of. New York City, June 4-5. Sec'y, Dr. Thomas W. Grayson, 1101 Westinghouse bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.

OFFICIALS OF CHARITY AND CORRECTION, American Association of. Pittsburgh, June 6-13. Sec'y, James F. Bagley, Augusta, Me.

POLISH SOCIAL WORKERS, American Committee of. Pittsburgh, Pa., June 9-11. Sec'y, Thaddeus Sleszynski, 2026 Haddon avenue, Chicago.

PROBATION ASSOCIATION, National. Pittsburgh, Pa., June 5-6. Sec'y, Charles L. Chute, Albany, N. Y.

RECREATION CONGRESS OF THE PLAYGROUND AND RECREATION ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA. Milwaukee, Wis., November 20-23. Sec'y, H. S. Braucher, 1 Madison avenue, New York City.

REMEDIAL LOAN ASSOCIATIONS, National Federation of. Cincinnati, O., May 10-12. Sec'y, George E. Upson, 107 Paul bldg., Utica, N. Y.

SCHOOL HYGIENE ASSOCIATION, American. Albany, N. Y., June 7-9. Sec'y, Dr. Wm. A. Howe, State Education bldg., Albany, N. Y.

SETTLEMENTS, National Federation of. Pittsburgh, Pa., June 2-5. Sec'y, Robert A. Woods, South End House, Boston.

SOCIETIES FOR ORGANIZING CHARITY, American Association of. Pittsburgh, Pa., June 6-13. Gen. sec'y, Francis H. McLean, 130 East 22 street, New York City.

TRUANT, BACKWARD, DEPENDENT AND DELINQUENT CHILDREN, National Conference on the Education of. Pittsburgh, June 4-6. Sec'y, W. L. Kuser, Eldora, Iowa.

TUBERCULOSIS, National Association for the Study and Prevention of. Cincinnati, O., May 9-11. Sec'y, Dr. Charles J. Hatfield, 105 East 22 street, New York City.

TUBERCULOSIS SECRETARIES, National Conference of. Cincinnati, O., May 11. Sec'y, Robert G. Patterson, Columbus, Ohio.

WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE, National. Kansas City, Mo., June 4. Sec'y, Emma Steghagen, 139 North Clark street, Chicago.

WORKERS FOR THE BLIND, American Association of. Peaks Island, Portland, Me., June 18-23. Sec'y, Charles F. F. Campbell, Ohio State School for the Blind, Columbus, O.

STATE AND LOCAL

CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, Canadian Conference of. Ottawa, September 23-25. Sec'y, Arthur H. Burnett, City Hall, Toronto, Canada.

CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, New York City Conference of. Brooklyn, Manhattan and Dobbs Ferry, May 22-24. Sec'y, John B. Prest, 287 Fourth avenue, New York City.

MAYORS AND OTHER CITY OFFICIALS, Conference of. Buffalo, N. Y., June 11. Sec'y, William P. Capes, 25 Washington avenue, Albany, N. Y.

MOTHERS, California Congress of. Sacramento, Calif., May, 1917. Sec'y, Mrs. W. F. Eschbacher, 1 Greenbank avenue, Piedmont, Cal.

NURSES' ASSOCIATION, California State. San Diego, Calif., July 5-7. Sec'y, Mrs. B. Taylor, 126 Ramsell street, San Francisco.

SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS, Southern. Blue Ridge, N. C., July 30-August 3. Sec'y, J. E. McCulloch, 503 McLachlen bldg., Washington, D. C.

SUPERINTENDENTS OF TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR NURSES, Canadian Society of. Montreal, Canada, June 12-13. Sec'y, Miss E. Flaws, Wellesley Hospital, Toronto.

TRAINED NURSES, Canadian National Association of. Montreal, Canada, June 14-15. Sec'y, Miss Jean Gunn, Toronto General Hospital, Toronto.

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THE SURVEY

The Supreme Court on Strikes

By John A. Fitch

OF THE SURVEY STAFF

THE fact that it settled a strike is the reason why the Adamson eight-hour law is constitutional. That isn't exactly what the United States Supreme Court said, but that is what it meant in the decision handed down last week in the case of *Wilson vs. New*—the test case that was brought up in record time from the United States Circuit Court in Kansas City. The decision is based on a theory of compulsory arbitration rather than upon the social justification for laws regulating hours and wages. In fact, the latter was not considered at all, and we are as much in the dark as ever as to the probable fate of the ten-hour and the minimum-wage laws now before the court.

After reviewing the circumstances that brought the case before the court, the question to be decided is stated as follows: "Did Congress have power *under the circumstances stated*, that is, in dealing with the dispute . . . to provide a permanent eight-hour standard and to create by legislative action a standard of wages . . .? Or, in other words, did it have the power *in order to prevent the interruption of interstate commerce* to exert its will to supply the absence of a wage scale resulting from the disagreement as to wages between the employers and employes and to make its will on that subject controlling for the limited period provided for?" (Italics mine.)

The court points out that "the business of common carriers by rail is in a sense a public business." This is so "because of the interest of society in the *continued operation* and rightful conduct of such business." That the public interest "begets a public right of regulation to the full extent necessary to secure and protect it" is settled by many decisions.

There exists also, the court declared, a "private right" of the railroads and their employes to agree on a standard of wages and put it into effect. But this was exactly what they had failed to do. As a result there was grave danger that there would be an interruption in that "continued operation" in which the public is so deeply interested. It was to meet this emergency that Congress passed the Adamson law. Was this an exercise of its legitimate power to regulate commerce? Said the court:

"Taking all these propositions as undoubted [*i. e.*, the power

of Congress to regulate interstate commerce, the public interest in continued operation and the private right to make a bargain] if the situation which we have described and with which the act of Congress dealt be taken into view, that is, the dispute between the employers and employes as to a standard of wages, their failure to agree, the resulting absence of such standard, the entire interruption of interstate commerce which was threatened, and the infinite injury to the public interest which was imminent, it would seem inevitably to result that the power to regulate necessarily obtained, and was subject to be applied to the extent necessary to provide a remedy for the situation, which included the power to deal with the dispute. . . ."

The decision points to previous decisions of the court on the power of Congress to regulate commerce. These decisions have established its right to fix reasonable rates to be charged by the railroads, to control the contract power of the carrier in the public interest, to regulate the relation of employes with their employers and with each other. Beyond all this it is clear "that an obligation rests upon a carrier to carry on its business, and . . . that government possesses the full regulatory power to compel performance of such duty."

In view of all these powers, the court held that the power of Congress to settle a wage dispute follows logically. It declared that if it could not do so, all these powers that have just been enumerated "would be rendered unavailing or their enactment inexplicable."

"What would be the value of the right to a reasonable rate," inquired the court, "if all movement in interstate commerce could be stopped as a result of a mere dispute . . .? Again, what purpose would be subserved by all the regulations established to secure the enjoyment by the public of an efficient and reasonable service, if there was no power in government to prevent all service from being destroyed? Further yet, what benefits would flow to society by recognizing the right, because of the public interest, to regulate the relation of employer and employe and of the employes among themselves . . . if there was no power to remedy a situation created by a dispute between employers and employes as to rate of wages, which if not remedied would leave the public helpless, the whole people ruined and all the homes of the land submitted to a danger of the most serious character? And finally, to

what derision would it not reduce the proposition that government had power to enforce the duty of operation, if that power did not extend to doing that which was essential to prevent operation from being completely stopped . . . ?”

Then comes the final and definite affirmation of the right of Congress to act—not because the health of the employes or the welfare of the public demand it, but because “under the circumstances,” it was necessary for Congress to act.

“We are of opinion that the reasons stated conclusively establish that from the point of view of inherent power the act which is before us was clearly within the legislative power of Congress to adopt, and that in substance and effect it amounted to an exertion of its authority under the circumstances disclosed to compulsorily arbitrate the dispute between the parties by establishing as to the subject matter of that dispute a legislative standard of wages operative and binding as a matter of law upon the parties—a power none the less efficaciously exerted because exercised by direct legislative act instead of by the enactment of other and appropriate means providing for the bringing about of such result.”

So much for the decision. The Adamson law is upheld. In the reasoning that leads to that result something altogether new has been injected into the field of social legislation, something that may not have been foreseen or desired by any of the parties in interest.

There is promise, to be sure, in one lone passage in the decision that stands out from the rest and breathes a conviction and a purpose that must be welcomed by all democratically-minded people. The court intimated that the attorneys for the railroads, instead of basing their arguments on fundamental legal grounds, attacked the law as an unwise exertion of legislative power due to “some misconception or some mistaken economic view.”

“To state such considerations,” said the court, “is to state also the entire want of judicial power to consider them—a view which therefore has excluded them absolutely from our minds and which impels us as a duty to say that we have not in the slightest degree passed upon them. While it is a truism to say that the duty to enforce the constitution is paramount and abiding, it is also true that the very highest of judicial duties is to give effect to the legislative will and in doing so to scrupulously abstain from permitting subjects which are exclusively within the field of legislative discretion to influence our opinion or to control judgment.”

Nevertheless, from the standpoint of social advance through legislation, the decision must be distinctly disappointing. It establishes no precedent that can be depended on to justify legislation carefully and thoughtfully drafted for the purpose of destroying industrial evils or promoting social progress. It merely establishes the right of Congress to act in an emergency and for no social purpose except to save the public from inconvenience. Whatever precedents are established may prove disquieting, not only to the unions and their friends, but to employing corporations as well.

The fact that it was the emergency and no consideration of social policy beyond the prevention of inconvenience that led to the sustaining of the law is repeatedly insisted upon throughout the decision. It appears, therefore, that a threat of the interruption of traffic is sufficient to justify Congress in regulating conditions of work if that will avert the impending calamity.

A second proposition grows directly out of it. The way for employes engaged in any public service to induce the government to enact legislation in their interest is to threaten to

strike unless the desired standards are put into effect. Not only can this be inferred from the general grounds on which the decision of the court was based, but it appears with startling clearness in the reply to the argument that the Adamson law denied to some of the employes equal protection of the laws, in that it established a wage and hour standard for the train employes alone. Said the court, “but such employes were those concerning whom the dispute as to wages existed, growing out of which the threat of interruption of interstate commerce arose—a consideration which established an adequate basis for the statutory classification.”

Could there be a stronger suggestion than that to the employes who were not included that they may get the same benefits by threatening to go on strike?

Whether this decision affirming the right of Congress to interfere in the contractual relations between employer and employe will prove, in the long run, any more pleasing to the railway managers than to the employes is open to question. There are no limits expressed as to the power of Congress in this regard. It seems clear that if the power of compulsion extends to the wages of the employes, it may extend also to the salaries of the managers. If Congress is to enter upon the program of regulating conditions of employment, in order to secure such contentment among the employes as will prevent the interruption of traffic, it seems not at all improbable that it may be called upon to fix a maximum salary as well as a minimum wage.

It is already apparent from the public utterances of representatives of the brotherhoods and of the president of the American Federation of Labor that the affirmation of the right to compulsory arbitration is not relished by organized labor. Curiously enough the only grains of comfort for labor on this point appear in the dissenting opinions. “I am not prepared to admit,” said Mr. Justice Day, “that Congress may when deemed necessary for the public interest coerce employes against their will to continue in service in interstate commerce. Nor do I think it necessary to decide, as declared in the majority opinion, that in matters of this kind Congress can enact a compulsory arbitration law.” And Mr. Justice Pitney said, “I am unable to find in the constitution any authority on the part of Congress to commandeer the railroads or the service of the trainmen.”

Of course, the statement by the majority of the court that the action of Congress in passing the Adamson law was valid as an act of compulsory arbitration, does not foist upon the country a compulsory arbitration law, nor does it make it absolutely inevitable that if Congress should enact such a law the court would sustain it. As Mr. Justice Day said, “These questions [the coercion of employes and the enactment of a compulsory arbitration law] are not involved in this case, and their decision need not be anticipated until they actually arise.” It is doubtless a fact, however, that this opinion will give strength to the movement for a compulsory investigation law, with a limitation on the right to strike.

The Adamson law is constitutional and the country breathes more freely. A strike has been averted. By next week there may be a decision affirming the Oregon ten-hour law, or the minimum-wage law. At the present moment, however, there is no judicial sanction for the limitation by law of the working hours of a man in private employment, however long they may be, unless he is an underground miner or has recently threatened the peace and comfort of the whole country. And judicial sanction for the legislative raising of wages, however low they may be, is limited at present to the second of the two classes named.



"QUI DOIT GAGNER: LA CROIX DE FER OU LA CROIX-ROUGE?"

A Canadian City in War Time

III. Way-Marks in Organized Giving

By Paul U. Kellogg

BACK of the relief work carried on among soldiers' families by the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Patriotic Fund in Montreal, back of similar work attempted by six or seven hundred branches of this Canadian fund throughout the dominion, lies a continent-wide scheme of giving which is perhaps without duplicate in the history of American philanthropy.

Certain it is that as a single incident in it, the "victory campaign" in Montreal early in February raised the largest sum of money from voluntary contributions ever drawn from a single American city in a week's time. The famous Y. M. C. A. campaign fund in New York was brought up to four million dollars by some eleventh-hour gifts of the largest donors. When the Montreal campaign closed on February 12, \$4,344,839 was paid or pledged, and when all returns are in an even four and one-half million may be in hand.

Set off against this wholesale loosening of Canadian purse-strings in the largest city are stories of generosity from every corner of the dominion. There was the Russian farmer who in December came down to the town of Burdette on the border between Alberta and Saskatchewan. He had been pioneering away from any railroad and did not know that there was a war! When he heard Canada and Russia were allies he wanted to help, and said he would give ten dollars a month for as long as the war had gone on. When they told him thirty months, he promptly produced \$310 (one month to go on), turned it in, and went back into the wilderness. The Servian who traveled many miles from his settlement to a Western town to give three \$20 bills to the Patriotic Fund is

another example of the response of immigrant settlers throughout the country.

Thousands of dollars have been turned in by the Indian bands, one estimate placing the total above \$10,000. A poster used by the Patriotic Fund in the western provinces reproduces a letter received by the fund in monosyllabic Cree. No one at headquarters could make out the letter, but the \$2.50 which came with it was plain. Translated the note proved to be from an Indian who was sending twenty-five cents apiece from his wife, himself and his five children. One of the most whimsical stories comes from the banks of the Fraser river. An old Chinaman applied to the mayor of a British Columbia town: "Mr. Mayor, you give job, me help soldier's wife." The mayor answered, "Sorry, John, but I haven't any job for you." The Chinaman went away. Next week he came back. "You catchee me job; me give to soldier's wife." Again the mayor said no. Once more in due time the Chinaman came back: "Me no catchee job," he said. "You give me names five soldiers' wife; me cut chop wood for them," and he has cut and chopped wood at their back doors every Monday morning since. That is the way he has helped in the war. Another hard-earned contribution mentioned in the bulletin of the Patriotic Fund was from an old lighthouse keeper at the end of Prospect Park, Vancouver. Last summer when the local fund for returned soldiers was opened there the old guardian had no money to spare from his meager salary. He spaded up the little plot of land around his lighthouse and sold bouquets to motor parties and passers-by. In the fall he turned in \$1,035 to the soldiers' fund.

In a sense, this is all part of a scheme of voluntary income taxation, laid from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the United States border to the Arctic Circle, to supplement government aid to the families of soldiers overseas. In recruiting her quota of 500,000 men the dominion has urged skilled and unskilled alike to enlist, youths and heads of families; but, at the same time, the government pays every man in the ranks the same—\$30 a month, with ten cents a day field allowance. Only as a private goes up in the scale of army organization does he get more. This army system, which Canada inherited from Europe, is modified by a subsistence allowance to the dependents of married recruits far in excess of anything paid abroad; that is, it distinguishes between a single man and a married man. It stops there, however, the flat rate of \$20 subsistence allowance a month being the same whatever the size of the family.

In the early days of the war, various relief organizations

the absence of any national organization, as broad of scope as the American Red Cross (the Canadian Red Cross is limited by its charter to the care of the sick) was a civil body, auxiliary to the government and its militia department, which first of all would come at the problem from the point of view of the home rather than of the armory. It must break away from the cast iron army regulations which treated the childless wife of a young recruit on the same footing as the family next door with half a dozen children to clothe and house, to feed and send to school. The general scale of the Patriotic Fund's family budgets, not unlike those of our workmen's compensation laws, was described in the first of these articles on the ladies' auxiliary of the fund in Montreal. These basic rates are modified in different parts of the dominion. The average grant to the families on Prince Edward Island, living in an agricultural community, is \$10 per month. In Nova Scotia the average is \$12.50; in New Brunswick \$14; in



**Help to Man the
"Victory Tank"
PATRIOTIC FUND
AND
RED CROSS**

At least \$13,500,000 needed from Canada for 1917
At least \$2,500,000 needed from Montreal for 1917

WHAT WILL YOU GIVE

This Campaign Provides:

1. Comfort for the Soldiers' Families.
2. Hospital Supplies for the Wounded.
3. Food for Canadian Prisoners of War

*The boys left for the front trusting to YOU
Don't fail them now that their needs are greater*


Renew and Increase your Subscription

Each bill you give is as a shell
Shot at the German's Heart;
Shoot, shoot, and shoot until that Hell
is shot and rent apart.

The authorized canvassers carry an identification card. If they miss you, send your cheque to

**The Hon. Treasurer
Patriotic Fund and Red Cross Joint Campaign
303 DRUMMOND BUILDING, MONTREAL**

**PATRIOTIC FUND AND
RED CROSS**



**ANSWER THE CALL
OF THE BLOOD**

Canadian Wounded Soldiers
Canadian Prisoners of War
Canadian Patriotic Fund for
Soldiers' Families

THESE need your help and need a NOW Montreal must subscribe at least \$2,500,000 this week for necessary expenses in 1917

REMEMBER: Every cent of every dollar subscribed to the Montreal Branch of the Patriotic Fund since the beginning of the war has gone to those for whom it was intended.

TO MEN: Dig down deep into your Bank Balance
The larger your cheque the lighter your conscience
Renew and increase your old Subscriptions


TO WOMEN: The Ladies Societies of Montreal have unanimously declared that Women's Self-Denial Week "Save what you can and

GIVE UNTIL IT HURTS

The authorized canvassers carry an identification card. If they miss you, send your cheque to the Hon. Treasurer, 303 Drummond Building, Montreal.

**PATRIOTIC FUND
AND RED CROSS**

**PATRIOTIC FUND
& RED CROSS**



**WOMEN'S
SELF DENIAL WEEK**

FOR THE

**Patriotic Fund and
Red Cross Campaign**

Our men are offering their lives for us.
Let us make some offering of Self Denial, to help our Wounded Soldiers and our Soldier's Families.

Every Dollar relieves One Soldier's Sufferings.
Sixteen Dollars a Month provides Decent Comfort for a Soldier's Family.
\$2,500,000 needed from Montreal this week for the year 1917.

GIVE UNTIL IT HURTS

M. R. DRUMMOND,
Chairman, Women's Executive,
303 Drummond Building.

EVERY DAY HAD ITS OWN KEYNOTE IN THE VICTORY CAMPAIGN

sprang up all over Canada to remedy this shortcoming; but many of them, to quote one of the organizers of the Patriotic Fund, were "without form or comeliness" and there was no coordination among them. A conference was called at Ottawa of representative men from all parts of the dominion, to "beat out" a working scheme which would be nation-wide and non-partisan; which would be flexible, quick-acting and sympathetic; which would take into consideration both the size of the family and the cost of living in every locality; which would be even-handed so that the poor district sending many men would be as well able to do for its soldiers' families as the centers of wealth; a scheme which would have a sound accounting basis so that it could not easily be raided; one which would have so real an appeal that it could be adequately financed. All this, in remarkable degree, the Canadian Patriotic Fund has realized.

To take these factors up in order: What was needed, in

Quebec and Ontario it rises to between \$15 and \$16, and in the mining camps of northern Ontario where provisions are high it goes to \$18. Further west it reaches still higher—\$18 in Manitoba, \$19.50 in British Columbia, \$20 in Alberta, \$21 in Saskatchewan, and even more in the Yukon. These averages reflect careful estimates of the prices of necessities in the different provinces. Moreover as the cost of living has gone up this past winter in the manufacturing centers, budget estimates have been increased 10 per cent.

The fund is not a delegated body nor an official one. It is vested in fifty men of standing scattered from one end of Canada to another, and forming a national executive which meets once in six weeks. An expert advisory committee of six or eight men, volunteers who are giving a large part of their time to the actual administration of the grants in different localities, meets in advance of this executive, acts as a "strainer" for practical problems and recommends rules.

Each local branch has two bank accounts, a disbursing account and a collecting account into which all money raised locally goes and thence automatically comes under control of the national treasurer, Sir Thomas White. Altogether \$15,500,000 has gone through the central treasury to date, and by an arrangement with the banks by which 4 per cent interest is paid on the fund's balances, the interest has very nearly met the administrative expenses. All of the committee work is volunteer so that out of every \$100 received in cash to date \$99.25 has reached the soldiers' families.

The fundamental financial principle is that each community is asked to "raise all it can and spend all it needs." For example, Montreal with its 4,000 cases has raised perhaps double what has been distributed locally; Toronto with 12,000 cases has three-fourths Montreal's population, but treble the family need. For recruiting has been very uneven in Canada—one man out of fifty has joined the forces in

The checking up of these disbursement sheets is the key to the system. It is based upon the army records of families of soldiers at the front receiving separation allowances under the Canadian law. These records have been transcribed for the head office of the fund at Ottawa and arranged in an alphabetical file of 105,000 cards. Every day the fund receives from army sources overseas and at home, from the Military Hospitals Commission, the recruiting officers and employers, all discharges, desertions, enlistments and changes which would add to or cancel these cards or affect the status of soldiers' families. The cards are marked to show through what local branch the families represented are getting their grants. Every day 150 letters go out from headquarters to the branches, notifying them of changes in eligibility. Every month the disbursement sheet from the branches is checked off against the cards—a swift and precise audit, which is quick to catch such matters as a woman moving from one town to an-

Patriotic Fund



& Red Cross

Deal Square with those in the Trenches!

The Larger the Cheque, the Lighter your Conscience.
Renew and Increase your Subscription.

\$13,500,000 needed from Canada for 1917
\$2,500,000 needed from Montreal for 1917

To Provide: Comfort for the Soldiers' Families
Hospital Supplies for the Wounded
Food for Canadian Prisoners of War

**THEY LEFT FOR THE FRONT TRUSTING TO YOU
DON'T FAIL THEM NOW**

Give your subscription to the authorized team committee, each of whom carries identification card; or send your cheque to:

The Hon. Treasurer,
Patriotic Fund and Red Cross Joint Campaign,
303 Drummond Building, MONTREAL



Are you for the RED CROSS
or
Are you for the IRON CROSS ?

**ARE YOU FOR THE PATRIOTIC FUND
OR ARE YOU A SUNSHINE PATRIOT**

Ready to wave the flag
But not to pay the cost?

Everybody who is not fighting in this, the third year of the war, must do his share of paying. Your sacrifice of cash is tantamount to the sacrifice of those in the trenches.

ABSOLUTE NECESSITY OF INCREASED SUBSCRIPTIONS TO COVER THE WORK OF
Soldiers' Families
Canadian Hospital Service
Canadian Prisoners of War

Means that Montreal must subscribe this week at least **\$2,500,000** Authorized canvassers carry identification card. If they mislead you, send your cheque to

The Hon. Treasurer, Patriotic Fund and Red Cross Joint Campaign
303 Drummond Building, Montreal

Patriotic Fund



& Red Cross

SHOW TORONTO THE WAY

Show that MONTREAL IS
The First City in Canada
The Most PATRIOTIC and
The Most Generous OF ALL

Toronto last month set out for **\$2,500,000**
AND GOT
\$3,260,000 with the ASSISTANCE OF PAID ADVERTISING

Montreal Newspapers both English and French, in spite of increased cost of paper and production, in addition to substantial cash contributions, have donated their space to this Great Victory Campaign **ABSOLUTELY FREE**

Protest, Engraving and Letter has been donated in the name Splendid Spirit
Follow the magnificent example of generous giving

Some women have given their men!
Some men have given their lives!
WHAT ARE YOU GIVING!

Whatever you intended to give **GIVE MORE**
Whatever you have already given **GIVE MORE**
GIVE HEAVEN! YOU ARE GLAD TO GIVE
GIVE UNTIL IT HURTS!

J. W. ROSS, Hon. Treasurer,
Patriotic Fund and Red Cross Joint Campaign,
303, Drummond Building, MONTREAL

REDUCTIONS OF DISPLAY ADVERTISING IN MONTREAL PAPERS

Quebec, one out of sixteen in Ontario, and one out of twelve in British Columbia and other of the western provinces.

While the basis of the fund's appeal for contributions, therefore, is a community's ability to give, the basis of the credit of any community—that is, of the money it can draw from the central treasury—is proven need.

Each branch of the fund fills out a requisition signed by two responsible officers, affirming the amount it will require the coming month. If the branch is in good standing, as 99 per cent of them are, a check is at once sent from Ottawa. At the end of the month the branch supplies the national headquarters with a disbursement sheet giving the name and make up of every family under its care, the name and battalion of the soldier in the case, the amount the committee considers the family's requirement for subsistence, the known revenues of the family from all other sources, and the difference made up by the fund grant.

other and enjoying fund money from both; a man raised from the ranks to a sergeant's pay with resulting reduction in fund grant; a recruit dropped from the payroll of some large employer after being carried for six months, thus calling for fund money to make up the gap in his household's budget.

Branches and sub-branches are worked out on the political unit system. Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick are near enough Ottawa so that their 150 local offices report direct. But outside the area where a letter mailed one day will reach headquarters the next, provincial clearing houses have been created, as in Prince Edward Island and the West.

American readers will be interested to know that fifteen auxiliaries have been established by the Patriotic Fund at different centers in the United States. A year ago something like 1,200 names of families dependent upon American men who had enlisted in Canadian regiments were on the records at Ottawa. These families were resident in every state in the

union. The charter of the fund restricted its grants to families living in Canada or Newfoundland. If a soldier's wife lived in Morrisburg, Ont., she could benefit by the fund, but not if she lived in Ogdensburg, N. Y., across the river.

Many pitiful letters were received and there was, moreover, an epidemic of desertions on the part of American soldiers who found that their wives could not get along on half pay and separation allowance. The fund, therefore, established auxiliaries in Boston, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Minneapolis, Seattle, Spokane, Portland and San Francisco. There is a chief auxiliary in New York which looks out for all parts of the country not covered from the smaller centers. These auxiliaries are made up of Canadian-born, British subjects and American sympathizers, who have raised the necessary money from among themselves and local sources to make up fund grants so that every family in the United States with a breadwinner in the Canadian forces is cared for by the same method and at the same rates as soldiers' families within the dominion. Notifications of discharges, changes, etc., go to these auxiliaries just as they go to the local branches in Canada.

In Canada itself, since the outbreak of the war, Sir Herbert Ames, M. P., of Montreal, honorary secretary of the fund, has visited every town of any size. For the first two or three months it was a matter of negotiating with all manner of local war relief bodies to come into the central fund, and with four or five minor exceptions they have done so. After that came general agitation and organization.

A great deal of care was taken to keep the local branches from getting into the hands of small political or personal cliques. The effort was to make them non-partisan and non-sectarian, to approach the strong men of the community, and to have the whole plan publicly known and talked over before the organization meeting so that the fund would draw on all representative elements in the community. Of course, this didn't happen in every case. In the course of the last two years one of the delicate undertakings from headquarters has been to break up ineffective local committees. For example, in one town a thousand dollars in relief money was being distributed regularly while the community, prosperous though it was, turned in less than \$3,000 a year. A representative from the Ottawa headquarters paid a visit which proved successfully irritating to the local committee, led to their resignation and the organization of a new committee. Subscriptions of upward of \$25,000 in a single week were the result of public confidence in the new organization.

The first year, when the Duke of Connaught, governor-general of Canada, issued an appeal for five million dollars 85 per cent of this came in without stimulation. The cities which contributed most generously this first year pledged themselves to meet the heavier load of a second year, if they had assurance that the amount which they were expected to raise was a fair allotment, and that every part of the dominion was doing its bit. This necessitated re-organizing the financial work on a truly national scale. By means of a rough and ready inventory of every area in Canada, the number of British- and Canadian-born living in it, its prosperity, wealth and previous record in giving, something like an index figure was arrived at for every province, county, town—almost every village.

"Laying the Tax"

TO ILLUSTRATE the method of "laying the tax": The province of Alberta falls naturally into two parts, with Edmonton as the chief city of the north and Calgary to the south; these dis-

tricts are about equally well off and the provincial allotment of \$500,000 in 1916 was split in half. Next, at Edmonton, a conference was held of representative men from the city's twenty-six constituencies north of the Red Deer river. A whole day was given up to a canvass of resources, constituency by constituency, taking into account the social composition of each, for some are peopled largely by foreigners, and some by French-speaking farmers. Roughly \$130,000 was allotted to the city of Edmonton, leaving \$120,000 for the twenty rural constituencies. Each of these was asked to take six, seven or eight thousand dollars as its share, according to wealth and make up. This disposed of all but about six thousand dollars, which was spread out by a sort of inverted auction at the close of the day.

In inaugurating the third financial campaign, which has just been completed, the figure set for the whole dominion was \$13,500,000 and the allotments were as follows:

British Columbia	\$1,000,000
Alberta	750,000
Saskatchewan	1,000,000
Manitoba	1,500,000
Ontario	6,000,000
Quebec	3,000,000
Nova Scotia	750,000
New Brunswick	500,000
Prince Edward Island	50,000

There is "give" of about a million dollars in this table, yet not only will every province reach the figure set but half of them will exceed their allotments.

This preliminary program completed, local branches in many regions have shouldered their load of money-raising without further stimulation. Five paid money-raisers were sent out to assist in certain districts. In the province of Quebec, where even church and benevolent funds are raised through taxation, an exception was made and a provincial grant of a million dollars made good the allotment.

Among the large cities of the dominion, Toronto beat all records the first week in February by setting out to raise \$2,500,000, and reaching no less a mark than \$3,260,000. Here was competition for Montreal, with its long history of successful money campaigns, where fifteen years ago \$300,000 was raised for the local Y. M. C. A. in fifteen days, and where in succeeding years other large sums have been gotten together by the familiar Y. M. C. A. method—for the General Hospital, McGill University and the Theological Colleges. Montreal raised \$1,600,000 in the first Patriotic Fund campaign, that of September, 1914; \$2,500,000 in the second, that of January, 1916. So that the city was on its mettle for the third.

The Montreal Campaign

MONEY-RAISING, as these Montreal experts view it, is a "scientific problem psychologically applied." Given certain preparations, they say, within reason you can achieve what you want. It is a question of knowing how much machinery is needed to bring about results, and this depends, of course, on the breadth of the appealing power. The Y. M. C. A. campaign only appealed to the Protestant population; the general hospital to the English speaking, but here in the Patriotic Fund they had an appeal to the whole city and laid their plans accordingly. John W. Ross, one of the leading public accountants of Canada, honorary treasurer of the Montreal fund, and the man who has been at the center of all the local money-raising campaigns, shut up his desk for two months and went at it.

The campaign was limited to five days in the belief that the attention of the public can be held for a short period, and only for a short period. "A man can give as much in five days

as he can in five months," says Mr. Ross. In the early days a big meeting was held with much talk before we started in to make preparations, with the result that enthusiasm dwindled and left the job to a faithful few. This mistake is no longer made, and although preparations go on for two or three months with compilations of lists and printing of blanks and the like, even the captains of the teams were not approached this year until ten days before the campaign was actually on.

Each captain was limited to a team of fifteen, built up around a nucleus of his close friends and from lists supplied by the committee. Fifteen English-speaking teams, ten French-speaking and two women's teams, one English and the other French, made up the campaign organization. In addition, there were four special committees whose gleanings were thrown into a pool and divided equally among all teams. Back of this team organization was a general executive committee of one hundred leading men, a smaller finance committee, and a finance executive which ran the campaign under the chairmanship of W. M. Birks. The campaign opened with a meeting addressed by the governor general of Canada, who also spoke at a mass meeting of French Canadians in the evening—thus ushering in a new stage of inter-racial giving and civic cooperation in Montreal, which the promoters of the Patriotic Fund campaign hail as an augury of new municipal unanimity in the future.

The customary luncheon meetings were held for five days, with reports from teams and the reading off of the names of the larger donors—French day, bankers day, khaki day (with forty invalid officers at the speaker's table), Red Cross day (for this was a joint collection, and the Red Cross received one-eighth of all moneys), and a final banquet on Friday evening, with Lord Shaughnessy, president of the Canadian Pacific, in the chair.

Of the special committees, one cleared around \$112,000 from firms in munition trade. The chief banks of Montreal doubled this sum, and the two railways, the Canadian Pacific and the Grand Trunk, trebled it. Montreal appropriated a million dollars, and the little suburban municipalities small sums each.

Four Days' Pay

THE most startling haul of all was \$849,000 raised among the workers of the city by the contribution of four days' pay each, or in the case of salaried men, 1 per cent of their earnings, to be paid monthly throughout the year. Posters, slips, noonday meetings, shop committees, speeches by foremen, all were resorted to. The plan was not one of individual collection, but practically a "check-off" system by which a workman authorized his employer to send in one day's pay a quarter direct from the pay department. Some companies went to the extreme of notifying their men that unless individual men instructed them to the contrary they would include all as contributors in the quarterly check. The house employes of one club got together and voted that any man who didn't make a contribution should be barred out of next year's Christmas gratuities. Complaints were heard that some clerks felt they were under compulsion to give, but if this were done it was without the sanction of the committee.

The "ladies' campaign" took the form of a self-denial week, and just as the wage-earners of the community were asked to give four days' pay, housewives, house servants and schoolgirls were reached by box collections from door to door. Doctors, dentists, and small shops in the residential districts, schools, churches, the railway stations and the hotels fell to the women canvassers.

Twenty-five thousand statements of fact about the fund and the Red Cross in French and English were posted at the beginning of the campaign to those whose names had been placed in the hands of these different teams. Not only were society, club, board of trade, fraternal and other lists systematically classified, but every merchant in Montreal able to afford a telephone became a prospect. Banners went up on the street cars, boy scouts tacked posters all over the town, and something like \$60,000 worth of advertising and reading space was given up by the Montreal newspapers to a publicity campaign organized by J. M. Gibbon, publicity manager of the Canadian Pacific. This, as every other part of the campaign, was volunteer work; stereos and engravings were free, cartoons, posters and leaflets free, billboard paintings free; and in addition to the straight news of the luncheon meetings and all manner of feature stories, a carefully conceived plan of free display advertising was worked out with all the care of an experiment in a psychological laboratory.

The Advertising Campaign

THOUSANDS of people had already subscribed to the Patriotic Fund in the earlier campaigns. The general objects were known and carried conviction. As the publicity manager expresses it, there was no necessity for the "sob stuff" used in the earlier campaigns and no justification for it, for the fund was there to see that neglect did not happen. What had to be shown was that the money subscribed had been economically administered and that more was needed. The history of the fund, the facts that interest on its bank balances had more than paid its cost in Montreal, and that the work was practically all volunteer, were crystallized into a general slogan,

"EVERY CENT OF EVERY DOLLAR HAS GONE
TO THOSE FOR WHOM IT WAS INTENDED."

It was an appeal to one of the oldest and most naïve prejudices in public giving; for, of course, the outstanding achievement of the relief work in Montreal had been not so much that every dollar turned in went into some family budget, but that with every dollar that went to a family there went, at a low estimate, at least a dollar's worth of volunteer service, which in many cases meant far more than money value in family rehabilitation and succor. But in this instance the appeal was in keeping with the spirit of the financial campaign itself, an appeal to business men by business men, who donated the "overhead," dropped everything else for five days, and raised more than \$4,000,000 at an actual net outlay of \$4,180, or one-tenth of 1 per cent.

Taking its title from some of the successful war loans, this was a "victory campaign." But along with the economy note there was another of sacrifice which raised the cry,

"GIVE UNTIL IT HURTS."

There were two preliminary days of advertising, Friday's a straight war appeal with a "tank" at the top, and a rather brutal verse at the bottom; Saturday's, with a sentimental turn, an appeal to old subscribers to renew and increase their subscriptions.

Monday's advertising, the beginning of the actual campaign, head-lined self-denial week entered upon by the women of Montreal. Tuesday's stressed patriotism with the flags of France and England and the phrase

"THEY LEFT FOR THE FRONT TRUSTING TO YOU:
DON'T FAIL THEM NOW."

By Wednesday the campaign had been going on for three days, and those who would give readily were already in. From

an advertising point of view, the teams were up against the "tight-wads," the people who were hesitating. So the publicity department put out "a stinger":

"ARE YOU FOR THE PATRIOTIC FUND, OR ARE YOU
A SUNSHINE PATRIOT?"

READY TO WAVE THE FLAG, BUT NOT TO PAY THE COST?"

By Thursday the canvassers were so excited that, to quote one of them, they had forgotten what it was all about. They merely knew that they were to beat the other teams, and especially that Montreal must beat Toronto. For had not Toronto, with its paid fund raisers and advertising men, scooped some \$60,000 worth of contributions from American firms who the year before had given to Montreal? These firms had "fallen" for ten thousand telegrams which the hustling Ontario city had sent out the week before, so ingeniously worded, it is alleged, as to raise no qualms in the donor's mind that he was not putting his money into the same collection plate as the year before! Friday saw the round-up, and as a last whip the morning advertising carried the old Scotch saying,

"TO-NIGHT IS THE NIGHT IF THE LADS ARE THE LADS."

A regular banking department with a dozen experts, volunteers drawn from banks and insurance companies, collated the returns every noon. Lists were made out and rushed to the afternoon papers. Books, ledgers and thousands of receipts printed in advance were ready to hand. Within twenty-four hours a receipt was mailed to every cash giver as a check upon fraud and imposture in a city-wide campaign in which 2,000 people were bearing a hand. At hotel headquarters, given free, were free telephones, free safes, free office furniture, even free detectives who rounded up two bona fide workers sent out without identification cards by an enthusiastic captain for house to house collection. Not counting the money received through the donation of day's pay, collections or pledges were secured from ten thousand people and over one million dollars was given in cash, all of which within a month was listed, receipted, banked and balanced off to a cent.

Big and Little Motives

THIS is not the place to discuss the social and ethical questions bound up in such wholesale schemes of public solicitation and subscriptions. These volunteer managers were practical people, well aware that mixed motives enter into large giving and playing on those motives with precision; the committee discussed such canny questions as whether or not it's more productive to publish only the names of \$1,000 givers in the papers (in the hope of bringing up some \$500 men through publicity), or to put in \$25 givers and above (in the exception that a lot of ordinary \$25 and \$50 people would be glad to see themselves listed at \$100 in the public prints). Such bald considerations do not mean that the promoters were unconscious of the real moving spirit of their cause, or unmindful of the heart searchings which moved hundreds and thousands of givers.

At the opening luncheon in Montreal, Sir Herbert Ames told the story of an old couple in Nova Scotia. Their son was sailing for the front, and they had saved \$40 to go to port and see him off. They thought it over and came to believe that the sacrifice they could make was not to see their son off, however much their hearts ached, but to send the money to the Patriotic Fund.

Another story he told was of Indians in Saskatchewan who were given a contract for road building. It was hard work. It took three weeks, and the Indians in those regions are very poor. But they poured all their earnings for the three weeks

into the fund for the families of soldiers overseas. The next morning one of the Montreal committee men had a telephone message from an insurance canvasser, a French Canadian. He said he had heard the stories of sacrifice. Since he was a boy he had saved \$2,000 and he gave half.

Moreover, some promoters of the "victory campaign" have a constructive civic philosophy about it. "There are men who wouldn't subscribe a dollar to anything before the first campaign in Montreal," said the quiet-spoken man who is credited with being the mainspring of the work. "Perhaps they gave grudgingly in the second, when they were chaffed about it at the clubs or saw their friends' names in the paper.

Later they gave gladly; still later they have gone out and induced others to give. Now their interest goes with the giving. So the circle has widened. Money comes easier. Once a man has given \$1,000 he gives again. People realize that after all it doesn't make them poorer.

"The cost of war, like the casualties of war, always falls unequally. People in Canada don't know what it means until they go over to England. There is sacrifice for you. They come back and wonder how people can go on living their ordinary life as they do here. But the newsboy who turned over all he had earned at midday, the little corner grocer who discussed the Patriotic Fund with his wife after they were abed, and came down with \$50 in the morning; the Chinaman who couldn't speak English, but came in with a bill, and the millionaire who doubled and trebled what he had given a year ago, each made in his way a remarkable gift. And as I look back over twenty years of money-raising I feel that this campaign, with the patriotic appeal which was bound up in its fellowship and success, will mean a great deal to the future of Montreal."

In the Northwest

BUT however compelling these great city campaigns, they are relatively outclassed by the unselfishness in some of the new communities of the great Northwest, which not only have sent a far larger proportion of men to the front, four and five times as many as the province of Quebec, for example, but have given unstintedly. There are towns in British Columbia where every man without exception pledges a day's pay a month. Here the giving to the Patriotic Fund runs as high as \$20 per capita; that is, with 600 people in a town, \$12,000 is turned in in the course of a year.

In Trail and Rossland, for example, all the miners and smelters give one day's pay a month. They get high wages, and their earnings represent the purchasing power in these towns. The miners and smelters came to the conclusion that the storekeepers were not doing as much as they should, so they got out a highly decorative window card reading,

"WE ARE GIVING OUR SHARE EACH MONTH TO THE
PATRIOTIC FUND."

A committee visited every storekeeper in town, who had to satisfy the members that he was giving the equivalent of a day's pay for a miner, or 3 per cent of his gross earnings. If he did, the card went up in his window and the miners' wives spent their money there. The card comes down any month that a storekeeper neglects to keep up his payments. The result is that Trail and Rossland, with a population at most of 10,000 inhabitants, turn in a total of \$75,000 a year.

Open-handed as these western towns are, their giving, spontaneous and compulsory alike, is perhaps less surprising than that which has characterized some of the older agricultural districts. The work of the Patriotic Fund in rural Ontario, for example, is built up on the county council unit. Each municipality has its reeve (like an alderman) who

knows every man, woman and child in the neighborhood. He is the advisory correspondent who gives information about families to the secretary of the county branch.

The Farmers Respond

AT THE county center is a small committee of men known throughout the county, whose judgment carries conviction—so much so that every county council in Ontario makes a monthly grant to the fund from the public treasury. Meeting in open parliament, as it were, they tax themselves on a scale which has no duplicate in the history of Canadian development.

Sir Herbert Ames tells of sitting for an hour while the members of a rural county council argued pro and con over appropriating \$125 for a bridge; and then, when the need of the Patriotic Fund and the soldiers' families has been put before them, of watching an appropriation of \$50,000 go through by unanimous vote. Some counties give as high as \$10,000 a month. Two million dollars comes in annually to the national treasurer of the Patriotic Fund at Ottawa from the county councils of Ontario alone.

With such a spirit in giving, such devoted work by hundreds of folk throughout the dominion, with such ingenuity for raising money and such deft organization for its even-handed distribution across a continent, it is perhaps ungracious to point out, in closing, one serious limitation of the work. But that limitation is so clear and so remediable that any other course would be a dis-service. The soldier's pay is based on the rigid military unit, a man in the ranks. The subsistence allowance made by the dominion government broadens the conception. It recognizes that some men have families, but the allowance is a flat rate to each. The Patriotic Fund breaks up the rigid conception that all families are alike in size and need, and works out a sliding budget. But what the subsistence allowance is to the soldier's pay, what the Patriotic Fund family budget is to the subsistence allowance, the social case work carried out by the women volunteers under the Montreal Relief Committee is to the ordinary patriotic fund grant. The Montreal volunteers recognize a family as made up of living human beings and comprehend the ever-changing household needs in which sickness, death, birth, insanity, all the emergencies of ordinary living enter—needs which are, in many cases, to be met not by money, but by counsel, education, neighborly help; needs upon which the family itself has spiritual resources to bring to bear if they can be organized.

The scope of this work for families in Montreal has been interpreted in the two earlier articles¹ in this series. Other Canadian city branches, set down for the excellence of their social case work by those who have had an opportunity to observe administration of patriotic relief throughout the dominion, are Hamilton, Brantford and Kingston, in Ontario; St. John, in New Brunswick, and Victoria, in British Columbia. Such social case work is perhaps less necessary in the rural districts where families are in close touch with the reeves, but in other of the cities there is a tendency toward routine disbursement. Such routine handling of grants may unconsciously be an element in a family's undoing; more often it fails to elicit family or community resources to help tide over mishap or misadventure; and in general it fails to use the fund as a leverage for permanently rehabilitating a household ill-equipped by habits, health or competence to meet the emergency caused by the man's absence.

While the Canadian Patriotic Fund has sent volunteer and paid experts throughout the provinces to help organize branches and to show the way to raise money, it has still to send out equally experienced missionaries to build up standards and technique in the conserving use of that money—in the social case work, family by family, and community by community, which would make the patriotic fund not only an unexampled scheme of relief to tide over war time, but, in all localities as it is in some, a great enterprise in human conservation, paralleling, if by no means counterbalancing, the social wastage of war.

An American Opportunity

FLAG-STATIONS and cities of the first class, seaports and smelter towns, county-seats and wilderness—giving, giving until it hurts! The visitor turns from this dominion-wide watershed and its countless springs of succor with a feeling of humbleness. For, large as have been the gifts of the people of the United States to war relief, they have not been proportionate to this.

Would any people give and give, when fear and enmity and the sense of being in the fight are not present? Could they see a great patriotic achievement in spending themselves unstintedly not only for the sake of the families of their own soldiers, but for the help of those uncounted families whose men and homes and communities have gone down in the European war?

We cannot say "no" to these questions, for individually we know men and women who have answered "yes." But we cannot answer "yes," for nationally we have not tried it.

Is it not possible that here has lain, unused, an affirmative course of action which would have made the American people feel that they too were not sitting with folded hands? Is it not possible that such outstanding, all-inclusive, semi-governmental giving, not in thousands nor in millions, but in billions if need be, for relief and reconstruction abroad, now and in the years ahead, would have carried conviction as nothing else that the United States was not merely sitting back, spiritually unstirred, growing rich out of the war? Would it not have gotten "across" to the people of every warring nation as something they could tie to in the midst of their travail—a signal that the reserves of human feeling were not all closed to them; that in dealing with the United States, their governments were not only dealing with a champion of sea-rights, but unmistakably with a friendly people?

Perhaps the spread of such intelligence would not have swerved the German government in its war-zone program; but, like the news of the Russian revolution itself, it would at least have given the civil and democratic elements in Germany another leverage.

Whatever the means we take for protection against the German government's specific acts, whatever funds we raise to look after our own—and in that the Canadian Patriotic Fund affords compelling example—even now, as heretofore, the opportunity lies before us for united, unselfish sharing, without regard to race or creed, with the great masses of common folk in Europe who did not will the great war, and have suffered as few generations have known suffering.

Such a program, nationally entered upon for two or three years, under the lead of the President, would prove an unmatched force for national cohesion at home. It would establish an approach to the people of all Europe which, as nothing else, would win support for the liberal principles we stand for in the day of settlement.

¹ March 17, I. The Patriotic Fund and the Women of Montreal. March 24, II. Families of Soldiers Overseas.

Nine Years of the Canadian Act

The Experience with Compulsory Investigation and its Application to the United States

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COMMENT in the United States on the Canadian industrial disputes investigation act within the last six months has been at once abundant and diverse. "The wisest and most successful labor legislation anywhere adopted," Charles W. Eliot wrote of it. "A false step, reactionary, un-American," is the verdict of Samuel Gompers on its application to this country. These two remarks typify the discussion that has been going on since President Wilson first recommended to Congress that it pass an act similar in principle to the Canadian law.

The administration bill, modeled on the Canadian law was outlined by John A. Fitch in the *SURVEY* for January 27. The object of this article is to analyze the Canadian law and examine the claim made for it and the facts about its operation. The material is based on a study of official reports, and interviews with labor men, employers, public officials and interested citizens in eastern Canada.

Under the law in question, which was enacted in 1907, it is illegal to declare a strike or lockout in mines or other public utilities until a full investigation into the merits of the dispute has been completed. Thirty days' notice must be given of any intention on the part of either employer or workers to secure a change in wages or working conditions. If at the end of this period no agreement has been reached, application must be made for a board of investigation and conciliation. The minister of labor then arranges for the creation of such a board, one member of which is nominated by the employers, one by the employes and a third by joint recommendation of the other two members.

This board considers the facts of the case in dispute and makes its report to the minister of labor. After that, employers and employes are free to accept or reject the recommendations and to resort to strike or lockout. Penalties are provided, ranging from \$10 to \$50 a day for each man, if employes strike, and from \$100 to \$1000 a day if employers lock out their workers, without asking for a board or without waiting for its decision.

For nine years this law has been operating in Canada. What is thought of it there is more significant, therefore, than what people say about it in the United States. Does the law force men into "compulsory servitude"? Has it established industrial peace?

Canadian Opinion

IN THE dominion, as in the United States, opinion is divided. As in this country, public officials and employers are lined up in favor of the act; but, contrary to the status of opinion in this country, organized labor is not unanimous in condemning it; nor do those groups of workers in Canada who criticize the act, follow the same line of argument as their fellow workers in this country.

Interested citizens with hardly any exception approve the law. "The act has not been a panacea," said an editor of a large Canadian newspaper, "but it is a pretty good thing. It

postpones the occurrence of a strike and gives sober-minded people a chance to exert moral influence in bringing the two parties to an amicable settlement." "The act is based on the principle of arbitration," declared a prominent prelate, "and, therefore, is a very fine thing. It tries to do away with the strike altogether, because it brings the employer and employe together and in this way helps toward an understanding between them before a strike may occur."

The degree of public approval accorded the act can be measured effectively by the attitude of political parties. The Liberal Party is responsible for its existence, but the Conservative Party, now in power, has declared, through the minister of labor, that it will not repeal the law in spite of some objection from organized labor. It intends, rather, to amend and perfect it in order to insure more equitable and effective operation.

Executives of public utility companies reinforce the general argument of public men with their own first-hand experiences. "The act is all right," declared a representative of the Shipping Federation of Canada, "because it prevents hasty action," and he went on to explain how it has helped to maintain a peaceful relationship between longshoremen and shippers in Montreal.

"Now, suppose two or three labor leaders come in here," said an executive of a large railroad, illustrating the benefits of the act, "and they have a thousand men behind them. They put certain demands up to us and say: 'Here, you, give these to us or we'll strike by such and such a time.' Well, we can say to them: 'There is a disputes act on the statutes; you'll have to apply for a board or violate the law,' and thus they are prevented from taking precipitate action against us.

"We had a recent case," he continued by way of concrete illustration. "The men demanded certain increases in their wages, and we informed them that we could not grant the rates desired. They then applied for a board and the report of the board was in their favor. For a time we hesitated to accept the report. But after considering everything—the condition of the labor market, etc., we decided to accept the award, because we knew that if the men struck, they would win. That's the beauty of the act. It gives us a chance to think over and consider all these things."

Mining operators, on the other hand, while commending its principle, complain that the act does not work equitably for them, because the penal clauses cannot be enforced against their employes when the latter violate the law.

So far as labor is concerned, the Canadian Federation of Labour has gone definitely on record as not only approving the law but favoring an extension of its provisions. At its last convention a resolution was adopted favoring compulsory awards. This body is, however, a small organization; its membership consists of about 7,000. The international unions, on the other hand—those affiliated with labor organizations in this country—number over 100,000 wage-earners. We must look to the body representing these unions, the Trades and

Labour Congress, which is affiliated with and corresponds to the American Federation of Labor and to the railway unions, for a more representative body of opinion.

The maintenance-of-way employes and railroad telegraphers, who both singly and jointly have had the greatest experience with the act, are most enthusiastic proponents of it. So much are they in favor of it that, in 1912, they severed their affiliation with the Trades and Labour Congress because, in 1911, the latter went on record as desiring its repeal.

"As one who has had possibly the greatest experience with the act . . .," A. B. Low, the former president of the Order of Maintenance-of-Way Men wrote in 1914, "I do not think it would be right for me to let an opportunity go by of saying a good word for the act. . . . We have invoked [it] in nine cases . . . in which, when conferences between the officials and the representative of the employes failed to reach an agreement, a board was applied for and an award made and accepted. . . . That our organization on both sides of the line knows by practical experience the benefit of the act may be judged by the fact that, at the Atlanta convention of the American Federation of Labor, our delegates introduced a resolution asking that similar legislation be advocated . . . and passed upon by the Senate and Congress of the United States; and that, I am sure, is the opinion of our membership still."

A prominent Canadian official of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers spoke to me in the same vein:

"I feel that the act has been of distinct advantage to our organization. We have always secured favorable results by reference of disputes to boards. It has been especially helpful in case of small railroads. Last year, I negotiated twenty trade agreements. The existence of the act with its threat of publicity was a great help to me in getting these agreements. In not one case did I have to take a strike vote, while officials of my organization in the states had to take many strike votes in their efforts to get similar agreements."

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen in Canada is friendly to the principle of the act, but desires some changes in it.

"Certainly in the case of public utilities," a prominent official of the Dominion Legislative Board of this union explained, "the public interest is so vital that there ought to be an investigation before a strike or lockout shall occur and the public ought to have an opportunity to acquaint itself with the facts. I am absolutely opposed to compulsory arbitration. That robs the workers of all their strength. But compulsory investigation is different. . . . It may be that the disputes act has injured the interest of the workers. But that has nothing to do with the principle of the act. If there has been unfairness in its operation, the law ought to be amended."

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers on the other hand, is a most bitter opponent of the act. Its legislative board expressed itself in no unmistakable language last November in this resolution: "That this board do all in its power to have the industrial disputes investigation act wiped off the statute books."

"The opinion against it was practically unanimous," an official of this board explained. "While some of the men spoke of some minor benefits, yet all of them thought that there were no real benefits from the operation of the act. It simply caused a lot of delay and expense. Many times, when an adjustment committee would go to the railroad manager and say that they wanted to negotiate a new agreement, the manager would simply say: 'Go and apply for a conciliation board under the disputes act.'"

The Trades and Labour Congress, which includes within its membership the other craftsmen coming within the scope

of the act, such as miners, machinists and shopmen employed on railways, street-car employes and longshoremen, also adopted an unfavorable resolution at its convention last November: "That we go on record as opposing the Lemieux [disputes] act in its entirety." This is a change from the original attitude of this body. When the act was first introduced in Parliament, it had the endorsement of the president of the congress, who was a member of Parliament, and in the convention of that year the principle of the bill was endorsed by a vote of eighty-one to nineteen. In every year following 1907 until 1911, amendments were asked for to improve the administration of the law. In 1911, for the first time, the organization went on record as desiring its repeal, by adopting the following resolution unanimously:

Repeal Asked for by Labor

"WHILE this congress still believes in the principle of investigation and conciliation and while recognizing that benefits have accrued at times to bodies of workmen under the operation of the Lemieux [disputes] act, yet in view of decisions and rulings and delays of the Department of Labour in connection with the administration of the act, and in consequence of judicial decisions like that of Judge Townsend, in the province of Nova Scotia, determining that feeding a starving man on strike [i.e., giving strike benefits] contrary to the act, is an offence under the act: Be it resolved, that this congress ask for the repeal of the act."

In 1912 the resolution adopted in the previous year was repeated by the labor congress. In 1913, 1914 and 1915, the congress modified its position and went on record as desiring amendments, but in 1916, after long and heated discussion, they asked again for the repeal of the law.

"The principle of the act is all right," one prominent union official remarked in explaining the last action of this body, "but you can boil it all down to a question of administration. The minister of labour has refused to establish boards in one or two cases and that has made the men feel that he is not administering the law in their favor."

"The delegates were so worked up over their grievances," writes a prominent representative of organized labor, also referring to the resolution, "that they were in no mood to distinguish between the principle of the act and its administration."

The extent to which this is true can be inferred from the fact that the delegates rejected, without calm consideration or criticism, the measure drafted by their own solicitor as a substitute for the present one, in order to meet the objections previously raised by them.

Representatives of this organization, together with members of the railway labor unions, complain about the difficulty of securing a report favorable to labor.

"The very personnel of the boards are against the interests of the workers," said an official of the Machinists' Union. "The chairman casts the deciding vote on these boards. In ninety-nine out of one hundred cases, the two members appointed by the employer and the men cannot agree upon a mutually suitable person. The minister of labour has to choose him, and he usually selects a judge or some professional man whose point of view is capitalistic and who has no sympathy for the working class. As a result, from the very beginning the chances are against getting a favorable decision for the workers. The chairman almost invariably lines up with the representative of the employer."

It is interesting and significant that hardly any of the Canadian trade unionists advance the argument heard in this country against President Wilson's measure—that such a law means compulsory servitude for the wage-earners. On the

contrary, most of them approve of the principle of the law, and direct their criticism purely against administrative defects. Their objections are chiefly that the minister of labor has refused to appoint a board on one or two occasions upon the application of a local union; that delays have often characterized the appointment and the hearings of the boards; and that it is difficult for them to secure a favorable decision.

Procedure Under the Act—Conciliation

TO UNDERSTAND the objections of organized labor in Canada, we ought to know the nature of the procedure under the act. Contrary to the common conception in this country, the disputes act has operated not as a "compulsory investigation," but as a "conciliation" measure. That is, the machinery of the law is used to bring together the opposing parties under public auspices and to adjust their difficulties. The compulsory features of the act which impose a penalty for violation and the definite rules of procedure have not been emphasized in its administration. For this reason, the use of stenographers at the hearings held in the presence of the boards has always been discouraged.

"Experience in the administration of the act," says the registrar of the boards appointed under the act, in one of his reports, "has appeared to show that it is more effectively operated when freed, so far as possible, from the formal procedure suggestive of the ordinary judicial court. The taking of sworn evidence with stenographer's report has been particularly discouraged as having proved far from conducive to an amicable adjustment of difficulties. . . . The most obvious virtue of the act lies . . . in bringing the parties together before three fellow-citizens of standing and repute . . . where a free and frank discussion of the differences may take place and the dispute may be threshed out. . . . Granting that such discussion and investigation take place before a strike or lockout has been declared and that the board acts with proper discretion and tact, the chances are believed to be largely in favor of an amicable adjustment. . . ."

The minister of labor prefers to have the law operate as a flexible, conciliation measure. He has taken the position that he will not establish a board when the cause of the dispute is the desire for recognition of a union on the part of the employees. He will not grant one when the workers of several employing companies apply for one, and when these companies will not agree upon a joint representative; and in cases where two unions may be organized and struggling for supremacy, if one of these organizations objects to such procedure.

The conciliatory spirit and flexible manner in which the act has been administered has probably been responsible for the delays of which organized labor complains. The official reports of the Canadian Department of Labour indicate that at times long periods have elapsed between the application for boards, their constitution and the rendering of their reports.

Ninety per cent of the boards established have been applied for by employees, whose custom is to recommend, usually, their representative in the application. Under the law, five days are given to the employers for the nomination of their representative. Five additional days are allowed the two members so appointed to select a chairman. The board should be completely established within fifteen days after receipt of application. The minister of labor has discretionary power to extend the length of these periods and generally does so.

Thus of the 161 boards that have been constituted in the last nine years, only sixty were established within the fifteen days. It took between sixteen and thirty-one days for sixty-six and between thirty-one and forty-six days for twenty-one boards to be constituted. For six boards, between forty-six

and sixty-one days and for eight boards, more than sixty-one days elapsed.

The workers think their cause suffers also from long periods elapsing between the application for boards and the filing of their reports. For only twelve, or about 8 per cent of the disputes, was this period less than thirty-one days; for forty it was thirty-one to forty-six days; for thirty-six, between forty-six and sixty-one days; for eighteen, between sixty-one and seventy-six days. For an additional twenty-two, between seventy-six and ninety-one days; and for thirty, or about 19 per cent of the cases, more than ninety-one days, or three months, were consumed between the application for a board and the rendering of the final report. For three cases this information is not available.

In reply to the complaints of organized labor with reference to these delays, officials of the Department of Labour maintain that, considering the vast distances over which they have to operate, the boards are appointed quite promptly. If delays do occur, they are in accordance with the conciliatory spirit in which the act is administered.

Files in the department show that employers very frequently delay the procedure by asking for extensions of time. "But we don't want to ride rough-shod over a company," explained a prominent official of the department. "If they say that they will not appoint a representative, we tell them they must do so, and we try to reason with them that they should comply with the law. If they ask for an extension of time, we grant it to them and try to hurry the proceedings on as fast as possible."

How far these delays constitute a real grievance should be indicated to some extent by the character of the reports, when they are finally rendered. They should also show whether, as many trade union officials contend, it is difficult for labor to secure a favorable report because of the bias of the chairman, who, according to them, is chosen almost always by the minister of labor.

For the nine-year period ending March 31, 1916, there were altogether 161 fully established boards which conducted hearings.¹ In ninety-two of these disputes, or over one-half, the reports were unanimous. In only thirty-five cases did the employees' representative dissent from the majority report, and in twenty, the employers' representative dissented. In three cases both dissented from certain features of the reports, and in the remaining eleven either no decision was rendered or the nature of the report is not clearly indicated.

This record seems to show that the unions need to revise their claim that it has been difficult for them to secure favorable decisions.

In only twenty cases did strikes occur or continue after the dispute had come within the scope of the act. In some instances, moreover, a basis of collective bargaining has been established between employers and their men, leading to the signing of long-term agreements.

Nor is it correct to say that the representatives of employers and employees usually fail to agree on the third person to be nominated as chairman, thus leaving the choice to the minister of labor. In nearly one-half, or seventy-five, of the 161 boards which were fully established, the appointment was made on the recommendations of the two other members of the board. Although the proportion of failures to agree on the nomination of chairmen seems large, the facts do not seem to bear out the contention that the administration of the act has injured organized labor in Canada to any great extent.

¹ The total number of applications for boards has been 191. In twenty-two cases no boards were established; in eight they were partially established.

So far, however, we have been considering the success of the act on the sole basis of those disputes which have been referred to it. It is here that the greatest danger of error lies. Most comments in this country on the operation of the act are based on the reports of the registrar of the boards. But these documents contain an account mainly of those disputes which have been referred for adjustment under the act; they do not give the complete facts about the frequency and the importance of all the strikes which have occurred in those industries coming within its scope. For this information we must go to the special report on strikes and lockouts (covering the years 1901-12) and the subsequent annual reports issued by the Department of Labour.

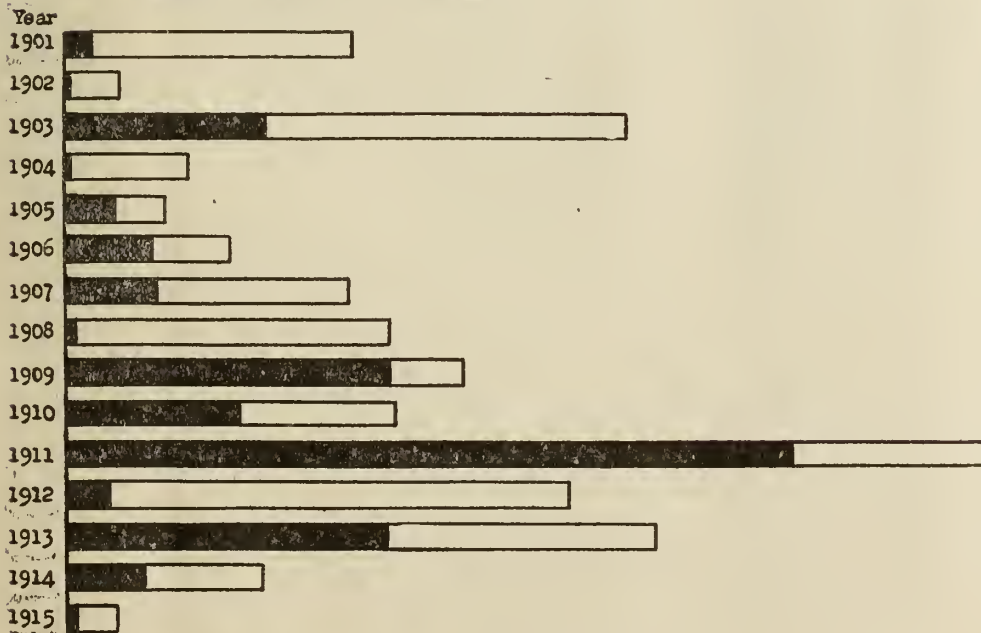
This department was established in 1900 and has kept a record of industrial disputes which have occurred from January 1, 1901, to March 22, 1916. Because of war conditions there have been few strikes in Canada in the last two years (*i.e.*, to March 31, 1916) and none of them has been serious. The disputes act became a law on March 22, 1907, and it will, therefore, be possible to compare the importance of strikes in fairly equal periods before and after its operation.

One difficulty must necessarily be encountered in using the comparative figures of the period before and after the act was passed as a measure of its success. It is all but impossible to say whether there would have been more or fewer strikes in the last nine years on public utilities were the act not in existence. Would those trade unions which have applied for boards have

declared strikes more frequently, or would the usual methods of collective bargaining have averted the occurrence of industrial disputes? Or might not more strikes have been called by these organizations if the act did not provide a simple machinery for the adjustment of difficulties? These questions must be borne in mind in judging the degree to which this law has helped to establish industrial peace in Canada.

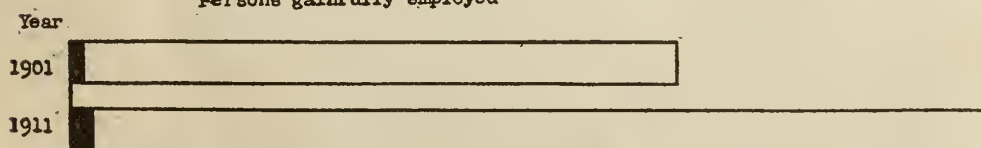
The particular problem for which the act was devised was industrial unrest in coal mines. In 1906 a prolonged strike occurred in the western coal fields threatening a fuel famine just when the usually severe winter was approaching. In the province of Saskatchewan the coal supply had been almost exhausted and the settlers scattered in the small towns and large prairies were facing the danger of freezing to death. The local authorities could do nothing to end the dispute and finally appealed for federal intervention. W. L. Mackenzie King, then deputy-minister of labor, was sent by the government and succeeded in bringing about a settlement. So much was he impressed with the suffering that a prolonged strike in this region might cause that he recommended the enactment of a law by means of which "all questions in dispute might be referred to a board empowered to conduct an investigation under oath, with the additional feature, perhaps, that such reference should not be optional, but obligatory, and pending the investigation and until the board has issued its finding the parties be restrained, on pain of penalty, from declaring a lockout or strike."

Working days lost through strikes



Working days lost in mining	
Number (in thousands of days)	As a per cent of days lost in all industries
56	9
10	8
440	36
10	4
114	53
188	52
203	33
16	2
711	82
377	53
1,593	79
89	8
703	55
169	39
17	16

Persons gainfully employed



Persons employed in mining	
Number (in thousands)	As a per cent of persons in all industries
37	2.1
64	2.4

■ All mining □ All industries other than mining

Working days lost through strikes and persons gainfully occupied, in mining and in all other industries, Canada, 1901-1915. Canadian disputes act in effect March 22, 1907

The act was thus devised with particular reference to strikes in coal mines. A very important test of its efficacy is, therefore, its success in diminishing the social cost of industrial disturbances in this industry.

The period during which the act has been in operation has been practically simultaneous with the one in which the United Mine Workers have attempted to extend their organization in the important coal fields of Canada. These coal areas are the Crowsnest Pass region, which embraces the southwestern portion of Alberta and the eastern portion of British Columbia; Vancouver Island, on the extreme western end of British Columbia; and Nova Scotia, the extreme eastern portion of the dominion. From the point of view of production the eastern and western coal fields are almost of equal importance, but from the point of view of consumption a strike in the western coal fields causes much greater suffering than does one in Nova Scotia. The winters are much colder and the per capita consumption of coal higher in the western provinces. The trans-continental railroads are largely dependent on these western mines for their fuel; without them, it would be almost impossible to move the large wheat crops, the chief asset of the dominion.

Serious Strikes in the West

It is in this western district, the Crowsnest Pass region, that the most serious coal strikes have taken place, both before and after the act was passed. The United Mine Workers of America entered Canada in 1902 and began organizing the miners in this region. In 1906 the first strike, under their auspices, the one which resulted in the passage of the disputes act, was called.

The agreement which brought this strike to an end expired on April 1, 1907. On April 9, these western miners applied for a board, and on April 16, while it was being constituted, they struck, this being the first violation to be charged against them. The board could do very little, but the deputy minister was again instrumental in bringing about a settlement. An important coal-mining strike also occurred in Nova Scotia—not under the auspices, however, of the United Mine Workers—over rates of pay. The total time losses for strikes in coal mines for the year, the first after the act was passed, amounted to 188,360 days, or 30.3 per cent of the total days lost in all strikes in Canada for the year.²

An agreement was signed in the Crowsnest Pass region for two years, but when it expired in March, 1909, a strike was again called "over the renewal of the working agreement in which were involved certain fine points of recognition relating to collection of union dues"—the check-off, in other words. Here the use of the act was not invoked until the strike had been on more than a month, and for the second time the miners violated the act. Neither party accepted the report of the board, but after being out on strike for three months, the men returned to work and an agreement extending to March 31, 1911, was signed.

In this same year, 1909, the United Mine Workers entered into a struggle to gain recognition in Nova Scotia. In this province there had been for a long time a local organization of miners known as the Provincial Workmen's Association, and it appears that the strike resulted in a fight for supremacy between the two unions, with the operators favoring the local rather than the international organization.

² It is the number of men involved and the time wasted that makes a strike costly. The Canadian Department of Labour has reached a composite and most satisfactory measurement by multiplying the number of days in which the particular industry was idle by the number of men on strike, and has thus worked out what might be called "men-days" or, as they are termed in the Canadian reports, "working days" lost.

The strike was centered in three places, Glace Bay, Springhill and Inverness. In the first two places the men applied for boards before they ceased working, but in Inverness the act was completely ignored. In the latter place the strike lasted for some months, at Glace Bay from July, 1909, to April, 1910, and at Springhill from August, 1909, to May, 1911, a period of almost two years. In all three of these places riots occurred and "troops were stationed for a considerable time at each point." The United Mine Workers were defeated in this fight for recognition, but these serious strikes conducted by them were mainly responsible in 1909 for over four-fifths, and in 1910 for over one-half, of the total time losses of each year.

On March 31, 1911, the agreement signed in 1909 between the United Mine Workers and the operators of the Crowsnest Pass region expired, and 7,000 miners went out on strike again without applying for a board until the strike had been on for some time. "The crucial point, as in 1909, was the 'check-off.'" This strike, together with the one that was prolonged from 1909 in Springhill, N. S., and a few minor ones, made the total time losses in 1911 for strikes in coal mines 1,592,800 working days, or 78.9 per cent of all the working days lost in all strikes occurring during the year.

On September 16, 1912, the disputes act was completely ignored and a struggle began between the United Mine Workers and the mine operators of Vancouver Island. The chief demand was "recognition." This strike was not called off until August 19, 1914, nearly two years later. As in Nova Scotia, the United Mine Workers appear to have been defeated, but mainly because of this strike over half a million working days were lost in 1913, or 45.7 per cent of all the working days lost in all of the strikes occurring during the year.

Thus the act does not seem to have an effective hold on the coal-mining industry of Canada. During 1916 some half-dozen strikes occurred in mines distributed practically over all of the coal fields of Canada. In only one case was the dispute referred to a board for adjustment. In the Crowsnest Pass region, in spite of the fact that the agreement signed between the miners and operators did not expire until March 1, 1917, they struck twice last year, in complete defiance of the act, for a "war bonus" because of the abnormal rise in the cost of living.

In all for the six-year period before the act was passed thirty-eight strikes are recorded in coal mines, involving an average loss per year of 121,331 days or 26.4 per cent of all the working days lost in all strikes. In the nine-year period subsequent to the passing of the act, coal miners struck thirty-seven times, involving an average loss per year of 419,223 days, or 46.9 per cent of all the working days lost in all strikes. Thus, in the latter period, in spite of the act, the average loss per year of working days in coal-mining strikes is about three and one-half times as great as before the law was passed, and the proportion of that total to all working days lost in all strikes almost doubled.

The Act a Failure in Coal-Mining

IF WE consider only the coal-mining industry, the conditions of which gave rise to the act, it has clearly failed to accomplish its purpose of averting strikes.

What proportion, it will be asked in criticism, do the miners constitute of the workers of Canada? If it is large, it should not be surprising that the mining industry is responsible for about one-half of the social cost of strikes. Unfortunately, the Canadian census does not give us this proportion each year. But it does give it for the years 1901 and 1911,

and the facts show very clearly how serious the problem of industrial unrest has been in the coal mines of Canada. In 1901, 2.1 per cent and in 1911, 2.4 per cent of the total gainfully occupied population were engaged in mining (both coal and metal). In other words, while the miners have constituted only about one-fiftieth to one-fortieth of the gainfully occupied population, and while this proportion has been nearly constant, they have been responsible for more than one-fourth of the working days lost in industrial disputes during the period 1901 to 1907, and for nearly one-half of the working days lost during the period 1907 to 1916.

The facts show that there have been strikes, and that there have been serious strikes in the coal industry in the period during which the act has been in operation. Although the act was intended primarily to prevent strikes in coal mines, it appears that it has failed to remove this sore spot from the industrial organism of Canada. But before reaching a definite conclusion on the basis of these facts, the difficulty of measuring the results of such a piece of legislation should be borne in mind. Might there not have been more strikes and more serious ones but for the act? As a partial answer there is the fact that Nova Scotia, where as much coal is mined as in the western coal area, has been comparatively free from serious strikes with the exception of the period during which the United Mine Workers were active in that province. It should also be recalled that this union conducted an extensive campaign of organization in Canada during the years 1903 to 1914. There is the additional fact that the Provincial Workmen's Association, which has about 5,000 miners in its membership, has observed the law and has worked under agreements, adopted as a result of the sitting of boards, in disputes between them and the coal operators. There is, however, also the fact that this organization always discouraged strikes even before the act was passed, and for this reason many of its members left it in 1909 to join the ranks of the United Mine Workers.

Railroads and Other Public Utilities

IN CANADA, as in this country, there have been few serious strikes on railroads. Only one may be charged to the railroad brotherhoods during the last sixteen years, and that was called in 1910, three years after the act was passed, when the trainmen and conductors on the Grand Trunk rejected the majority report signed by their own representative. The railroad telegraphers have not struck once during this period, and the maintenance-of-way employes conducted one serious strike in 1901, six years before the statute was passed.

So unimportant has been the problem of railway disputes in Canada that, when the first draft of the act was introduced in Parliament, it did not include the railroads within its scope. Since the passage of the act, it is true that there have been seventy-five applications for boards in railway disputes, and in only six of these cases have strikes occurred. The question naturally arises, would the brotherhoods have called strikes more frequently had not boards helped to adjust the difficulties ensuing between them and their employers? This is not an easy question to answer, and yet it is fundamental. It is true also that the applicants must make a statement, when asking for a board, that if the dispute is not referred to a board or adjusted by it, a strike or lockout will, to the best of their knowledge, take place. Does this mean that sixty-nine railway strikes have been averted?

It is conceivable, in the first place, that employers reluctant to grant the demands of their men would refer them to the act, without going through the complete process of collective bargaining with them. In fact this is, as we have seen, one of the

chief complaints of the strong unions. In the second place, few strikes occurred in the railroads prior to the enactment of the law. Finally, there is the fact that freight handlers and other unskilled and more or less unorganized workers employed by the Canadian railways have struck in violation of the act. Thus we find that during the last nine years [*i. e.*, 1907-1916] freight handlers have called sixteen strikes. In only three instances did they apply for boards, and that was after they had struck.

Most of the representatives of the railroad employes interviewed thought that it was not the act which was responsible for the maintenance of industrial peace on the railroads of Canada, but rather the reluctance of the brotherhoods to strike. "I know that in the annual reports," remarked a representative of the locomotive engineers, "the Department of Labour says that so many disputes and that so many strikes have been referred to boards and averted, but that isn't so. As a matter of fact, as far as I can remember, since I have been in our organization, it never had a strike, even before the act was passed. It can't be said that there would be strikes if the statute did not exist. The railroad brotherhoods will go to any limits before calling a strike. We are constantly securing new agreements without applying for boards."

Similarly most of them contended that negotiations between them and the railroad companies would result in the securing of agreements did no legislation exist. The act for them has merely offered the machinery of collective bargaining different in form, but similar in spirit, to their usual practice before it was passed.

Street-car strikes show a decrease from ten for the period 1901 to 1907 to four for the period 1907 to 1916. As there have been twenty-one disputes referred to boards from this industry, and in only two instances did strikes follow, it does seem that the act has been successful in averting this serious and disastrous type of dispute. Longshoremen called twelve strikes during the first period and fourteen during the second.

The reports of the Department of Labour show for the first period—that is, before the act was passed—that 60, or 8.4 per cent of all disputes in all industries during that time occurred in the industries grouped under the heading "general transport" (including railway employes, freight handlers, longshoremen, coal handlers, teamsters and others commonly employed in transportation). These involved an average loss of 68,684 working days per year, or 15 per cent of all the working days lost in all strikes. For the period after the act was passed, these reports give for the same industries 74 disputes, or 9.6 per cent of all occurring during the last nine years, involving an average loss of 87,776 working days, or 9.8 per cent of all working days lost in all disputes. If we should include strikes in railway construction work (a class of work to which the act has not yet been applied, but which is nevertheless a public utility) the proportion of working days lost, while remaining the same for the first period, rises in the second to 15.7 per cent of the total time losses in all strikes. Considering the fact that the proportion of Canadian workers engaged in transportation increased from 4.8 to 9 per cent between 1901 and 1911, we find that the proportion of days lost from strikes, after the act was passed, actually decreased.

Results Among Public Utilities

TO SUMMARIZE for all public utilities, 108, or 15.1 per cent, of the 716 disputes recorded between January 1, 1901, and March 22, 1907, the period before the act was passed, occurred in those industries coming within its definition. Between March 22, 1907, and March 22, 1916, the period during which the statute has been in operation, 127, or 16.5

per cent of the total of 768 disputes occurred in these industries. Not only was there a slight increase in the proportionate number of disputes, but working days lost, the best measurement of the price the public pays for strikes, show a much greater increase. For the first period the average loss of working days per year due to strikes on public utilities was 201,502, or 43.9 per cent of the total time losses in all industrial disputes. For the second period the average loss of working days per year was 581,936 (including railway construction), or 65.1 per cent of the total time losses in all disputes.

Thus even when allowance is made for an increase in the proportion of workers employed, the social cost of strikes on public utilities has not been materially reduced. The analysis of these figures shows that there has been a marked increase in loss of time through strikes on coal mines. Transportation before 1907 and since that time has been comparatively free from industrial disturbances.

Violations of the Act

As a voluntary conciliation measure, the act has been very successful, but the most serious indictment against it as a "compulsory investigation" act has been the failure to impose penalties for violations. As we have already seen, strikes were not averted or ended in twenty or about one-tenth of the total 191 applications made for boards, but the most serious and important strikes occurring in the coal industry have been illegal; that is, cessation of work took place either before applying for boards or during proceedings or without invoking the act.

The Canadian act is a compulsory one mainly because penalties are provided for the calling of such illegal strikes, and the essential test of any compulsory law is the extent to which it is enforced. Yet it is in this very important aspect that the act has failed as a compulsory measure. The railway labor organizations are the only ones who have strictly observed the law. In their efforts to organize the coal miners of Canada, the United Mine Workers have conducted their most serious and costly strikes in violation of it. Freight handlers and other unskilled workers have frequently ignored it. Altogether, approximately eighty-four strikes on public utilities may be charged up as illegal, distributed approximately as follows: coal mines thirty-four; metal mines fourteen; railroads four; freight handlers sixteen; street cars two; longshoremen fourteen. This may not be an accurate estimate, since the reports do not list strikes as illegal and the facts can only be inferred from the data in two separate documents. That the violations of the law have not been unimportant can best be seen by the fact that the legal disputes in coal mines—the industry for which the act was primarily intended—involved, on the average, about 866 employes, while the illegal strikes involved, on the average, about 890 miners.

"If either an employe or an employer violates the law by causing a strike or lockout before an investigation has been held," commented Victor S. Clark in 1910, after having made a personal inquiry into the operation of the act, "he is practically immune from prosecution unless the other party to the dispute brings action in the court to punish him. In the districts where the law has been violated or evaded in these respects, there is a demand by the party that has suffered . . . that the government assume their prosecution. . . ."

"This situation . . . raises an important question. . . . If the men can strike with impunity in disregard of the law, what is the value of the latter in preventing or postponing strikes? Will the act not fall in abeyance except in those minor and less acute disputes where there is least call for . . . intervention? Has a law any force at all that operates only by the tolerance of law-breakers? It should be recognized that ex-

pediency must constantly be consulted in administering such an act, but it would seem that the latter, though it may retain some residuary value as providing convenient machinery for public mediation, must lose its distinctive character and its interest as experimental legislation unless some way is discovered to secure the observance of the clauses deferring strikes and lockouts until an investigation is made. Unless these clauses are enforced, the law becomes an ordinary conciliation act, burdened by the discredit of its unenforced provisions."

The Department of Labour has taken the position that it will not prosecute for violation of the law. The registrar states the official position of the government in the *Canadian Law Times* for March, 1916:

"There has been also, in industries coming under the act, a considerable number of strikes in disputes which have not gone before a board for investigation. Work ceased in these cases without regard to the act. Many of the serious coal-mining strikes in western Canada during recent years have occurred in this way.

"What, it may be asked, becomes of the penalties prescribed for these apparent infringements of the statute? The reply must be that such cases have seldom gone to the courts. It has not been the policy of the successive ministers under whose authority the statute has been administered to undertake the enforcement of these provisions. The parties concerned, or the local authorities, have laid information occasionally, and there have been in all eight or ten judicial decisions. The mining industry has been the chief delinquent in the matter of infringements, and there have been occasional derelictions on the part of the lower grades of transport or shipping labour; in the higher grades of railway labour the act has been well observed."

Several prominent Canadians were asked why the United Mine Workers, who have been responsible for the most serious violations of the act, have not been prosecuted. One of them, referring to the situation in the Crowsnest Pass region, gave a typical reply.

"In a case of this kind," he said, "the act is powerless; what can you do? Here are about 6,000 men, most of them foreigners. They don't understand the act. They don't care for it. What are you going to do? Fine them? Well, they won't pay. Put them in jail—if you could? The coal won't be mined. As far as I can see, any legislation in the world wouldn't prevent a strike from occurring under these circumstances."

The records of the Department of Labour show, up to March 12, 1915, only eight prosecutions. These have been relatively unimportant ones. Three were against employes of metal mines, an industry in which a strike, under ordinary circumstances, does not cause much suffering. Two were against operators of small coal mines for illegally declaring a lockout. One case, in which three coal miners were charged with aiding in calling an illegal strike, was dismissed. In another, at Inverness, N. S., a union official was convicted for giving strike benefits to the men who had ceased working without applying for a board. In one case, four miners employed by a small coal company were each fined \$40 and costs or thirty days in jail.

Penalties Not Enforced

THE evidence does not seem to show that an extensive attempt has been made to force those responsible for the calling of the important, illegal strikes to pay the penalties provided by the act.

"The government has never laid particular stress upon the penalty end of it," W. L. Mackenzie King, the author of the law, explained in 1914 to the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, "the penalty part . . . has always been treated in much the same light as penalty for trespass. If the

party affected wishes to enter an action to recover damages they may do so. . . ."

The analogy between the penalties provided in this statute and those placed in a trespass law does not appear to be sound. A trespass law is framed to protect the individual against any infringements that may be made on his property rights. The disputes act was intended to protect, not an individual party, but the public against the suffering caused by strikes on public utilities. A violation of this law is a crime against the public. The person guilty of such a violation should be prosecuted at the instigation of the public authority charged with the administration of the act, in this case, the Department of Labour.

"In speaking of the Canadian act as a failure as a 'compulsory investigation' act," a former Canadian official writes on this aspect of its operation, "the alleged failure in compulsion is put down to the non-enforcement of penalties, whereas it was with a view to *compelling investigation* where labor wished investigation as a means of securing a redress of wrong, and not *compelling penalties*, that the act was framed. Let me explain the circumstances that led to the enactment of the compulsory investigation features of the measure. In the dispute in Alberta referred to in the article [*i. e.*, the one leading to adoption of the law], we spent nearly a week trying to get the parties together. We spent nearly another week finding out from each what they were prepared to do. Meanwhile, settlers and others were freezing in their homes. We had no powers other than that of a voluntary conciliator to fall back upon. Had we had legislation providing powers of *compulsory investigation*, we could have effected in two days what took nearly two weeks. It was this experience, and similar experiences in other strikes, which made us seek to get from Parliament powers of *compulsory investigation*, which meant *to labor, power at the expense of the state*, and with the machinery of the state back of it, to choose its own investigator, to summon witnesses, to compel the production of documents, to take evidence under oath, and to give to the public the fullest possible kind of a view of its case, including any injustices under which it might be suffering. This is *the really important compulsory investigation feature* of the act, not the penalties which relate to strikes and lockouts. Never from the time the act was passed when I had to do with it as registrar or as minister was there a *single instance*, that I can now recall, in which when this *compulsory investigation* feature was invoked on behalf of labor, that it was not enforceable and applied. As a compulsory investigation act—that is to say, investigation of a dispute under compulsion at the request of either of the parties, labor or capital—never once during the liberal administration did its provisions in this particular fail, and where investigation took place, the results were for the most part not only beneficial to the parties, but very greatly so to the public as well. I think the same has been true under the present administration."

Lessons for the United States

IN THIS country the common conception has been that the Canadian legislation has been rigidly enforced. In addition the effectiveness of the act has been appraised on the basis of the registrar's reports only and thus opinion has been based on incomplete data regarding the prevalence of strikes in Canada. And, finally, it has not been tested with reference to the particular problem for which it was devised.

The facts, on the other hand, indicate that the act has operated as a voluntary conciliation measure. If it has prevented the occurrence of strikes it has, therefore, done so not because it restrained workers from striking, but because the machinery afforded by it enabled men with personality and tact to bring employers and their men together and adjust their difficulties. In addition, serious strikes have occurred in public

utilities since the act was passed. As to the test of whether it has met the particular situation for which it was intended, strikes in coal mines have apparently been more prolonged and more serious in the last nine years than they were in the six-year period before the act was in operation.

It is largely on the basis of Canadian experience that the strike prevention measure of President Wilson is feared so much by organized labor and endorsed so heartily by most public men. But the Canadian act has not operated in the manner imagined by them, and, therefore, does not throw much light either on the fears of the former or the hopes of the latter. It certainly has not meant compulsory servitude for the workers of Canada. There the workers do not object to the principle of the act. They criticize the manner in which it has been administered; and this criticism appears to be by no means unanimous or entirely justified by the facts covering the general operations of the law.

As for our editorial writers, public officials and employers, Canadian experience hardly justifies their enthusiasm for the essential feature of the proposed measure—that no strike or lockout shall legally take place before an investigation is completed. In Canada this compulsory feature has been a dead letter so far as the miners and unskilled workers are concerned. As for the railroad brotherhoods, it is very doubtful whether it is necessary to restrain them from striking before the completion of an investigation. Most of the railroad employes stated that they observed the law not because they were afraid of being prosecuted, fined, or imprisoned but because they did not wish to appear as law breakers in the eyes of the community and thus antagonize public opinion. "The railroad brotherhoods like to have the reputation of being law-abiding, intelligent citizens and it is for this reason that we have observed the law," declared a representative of the locomotive firemen and enginemen. In other words, they are not opposed to public investigation but they are not greatly influenced by the compulsory features of the law.

Prof. Adam Shortt was chairman of eleven boards in the first two years after the act was passed. In every one of these disputes a settlement was effected and he has the reputation of having been the most successful chairman appointed under the act. In his opinion, the clauses which restrain the men from striking pending investigation are practically unnecessary.

"The only value they have," he said in substance, "is that they make the union reluctant to fly in the face of public opinion. It doesn't make them afraid to violate the law because they know that it cannot be enforced. But the same thing could be gained if you simply provided the machinery for investigation. Those unions which respect public opinion would not strike in the face of this established machinery. Another thing," he continued in substance, "if it has been found difficult to enforce the law in Canada, it means that it will be much more difficult to enforce a similar law in the United States. For in this country [Canada], under the cabinet system of government, fewer laws are passed, the whole government is held responsible for them, and they are taken much more seriously than in your country. We don't speak of laws as being 'dead letters' as you do."

Certainly the public interest in the continuous operation of the nation's railroads is so vital that the facts ought to be known before a strike or lockout occurs. Canadian experience does not show just how effective public opinion can be in preventing an interruption of services. No attempt has been made in Canada to build up a body of continuous facts regarding labor disputes on public utilities, and the data on wages, cost of living, hours of work, rates and dividends avail-

able in the different government departments have not been collected and placed at the disposal of the boards. Each one has made its report on the facts presented by the parties involved in the particular dispute which was before it for adjustment.

The Community Ought to Have the Facts

OUR recently threatened railway strike has awakened the public to the critical situation in which it might at any time be placed. The feeling is growing that the community ought to become a more powerful factor in preventing a tie-up of a public service industry. The public, on the other hand, cannot exert a very strong influence unless it has all the facts necessary to an intelligent opinion. Heretofore it has had them only as they were furnished to the press by the two partisans involved in labor disputes. They should be furnished by an impartial government tribunal on which both employers and workers may have representation.

But this does not necessarily mean that we should restrict the railway employes' right to strike. It does mean, however, that the government ought to establish the machinery both

for the continuous collection of all the facts available on the various aspects of labor controversies and for an inquiry into the merits of particular disputes that arise from time to time. With a background of information previously collected, the facts about a particular dispute become more illuminating. Thus a fully enlightened public could exert a more intelligent influence.

The nation was helpless last fall because no such machinery was available. Present legislation provides only for mediation and voluntary arbitration. The first method had failed; past experiences made the brotherhoods unwilling to submit their case to a body of arbitrators whose award would be binding. But had there been an investigating body in existence, whose duty would have been to recommend an adjustment on the basis of the facts collected by it, it is safe to say that the brotherhoods would not have struck until inquiry had been completed. Such an act on the part of any group of public service employes, unless the investigation were unfairly or unnecessarily delayed, would in itself cause loss of public confidence and respect. A strike so called would in all probability be foredoomed to defeat even before its inception.

The Canadian Disputes Act

A Symposium

John R. Commons

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

I MAKE the number of illegal strikes under the Canadian law somewhat larger than does Mr. Selekman, but with this exception his conclusions seem to me correct. On the whole, the systems of voluntary arbitration in the United States have been about as successful in preventing strikes as has the Canadian system, and they have the advantage of not adding illegality and not leading public officials into avowed non-enforcement of law.

If one looks into the reasons for the apparent breakdown of the so-called voluntary system on the railroads in this country he will find that the fault lies in the defect of the Newlands act in that it is not really a consistent voluntary system after all. The Newlands act goes on the theory that an arbitration award when once made shall be enforced by a federal court, perhaps by way of a suit for damages against the party that violates the award, or possibly by injunction. The law provides that the award shall be filed in the federal court and thenceforth it is binding on both parties. Then, if there is a dispute over its interpretation, the arbitration board is reassembled and its interpretation likewise is filed with the court and is binding.

This is plainly a theory of compulsory enforcement of the award and this is the very reason why the law broke down.

In one case the arbitration board when reconvened was not able to interpret its own award and the railway companies served notice that they would not be bound by the interpretation, which they

claimed was really a new award and not an interpretation. The brotherhoods, however, did not petition the court for a remedy, and doubtless could not have gotten it if they had.

The fact is, that, with the interpretation in the hands of the arbitration board and court, the railroad companies are the real interpreters of the awards, and it is natural that the brotherhoods should have refused to submit to that kind of one-sided, half-way compulsory system.

The trouble is that the law does not provide for the right kind of a board to interpret the awards. What is needed is a joint board of grievances, or adjustment, composed of equal numbers representing the railroads and the brotherhoods, to take up all matters of interpretation and enforcement. Such a board would be familiar with all the technical points of the business, and, instead of either an outside board ignorant of the business or a one-sided interpretation by the companies, the interpretation would be made jointly by both sides. This is the method in the anthracite coal industry and in every system of joint agreements that has lasted. It is the only truly voluntary system and the Newlands act is fatally weak in not providing it.

This joint board should be a permanent standing board, as it is in other industries, and in case of a deadlock it should provide for an umpire to be called in, as is done in the anthracite industry. Generally, nine-tenths or more of the interpretations would be made without a deadlock. When it comes to making the arbitration award itself, rather than in-

terpreting it, of course when a system has broken down and one side refuses to put any confidence in it, then something else has to be done. Certainly, if preventing strikes is what we want, the Canadian system will not do it. Strikes might be prohibited altogether, but this has also proven a failure in Australia. The other alternative is to get back to a really voluntary system based on the wisdom and experience of other voluntary systems. A half-way compulsory federal court system pieced out, when it breaks down, by the President, the Congress and the Supreme Court is certainly a menace.

If the law had provided, during the past two or three years, for a joint committee of four brotherhood officials and four railway officials, and an umpire when needed, with power to settle and power to stay on the job and interpret the settlement, we should have had a really voluntary system and one that I believe would have prevented strikes. Even yet such a system ought to come out of the present crisis.

Charles W. Eliot

PRESIDENT EMERITUS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE article by Ben W. Selekman entitled *Nine Years of the Canadian Act* is a valuable study of the good effects and the defects of the Canadian act for the investigation of industrial disputes.

The important features of the Canadian act for the investigation of industrial disputes are:

1. The fact that either party to a dispute can procure the appointment of an investigating board;

2. That a special board is appointed for each dispute;

3. That the board so appointed has no arbitral power whatever; but only power to examine thoroughly and report fully to the public, and in the meantime to conciliate and procure a settlement by mutual consent.

The objections to the act are:

1. On the part of labor, that it prevents a strike without notice, and,

2. On the part of capital, that the law provides no effective punishment for unions that disobey it.

If the Canadian act is to be considered for adoption in the United States, it should be amended in two respects:

It should include trades or employments which are concerned with fuel, foods, public lighting systems, telephones, telegraphs, and all transportation. All these are necessities of life for the entire population; and the supply of them should not be liable to interruption. The Canadian act covers only public utilities and mines:

Penalties for violation of the act should be imposed on the organizers, heads, or leaders of unions that violate the law; and it should be made the duty of the government to prosecute such offenders.

J. E. Williams

CHAIRMAN BOARD OF ARBITRATION, HART, SCHAFFNER,
& MARX TRADE AGREEMENT

INDUSTRIAL war has its strategy of time and position like military war, and the objection of the labor leader to the Canadian disputes act is that it gives an important strategic advantage to the employer. To rouse the enthusiasm of a large body of men to the striking point often requires a great deal of stimulation and effort, and it requires also, to be effective, that the accumulated dynamite be exploded at the psychological moment. If after working up the fighting spirit to high tension, the labor leader be required to keep it there during a period of investigation, he would find his task not only more difficult but in some cases impossible. This would be especially true of unorganized bodies, where the heat necessary to fuse refractory masses into some degree of cohesion could only be generated by combative action. Knowing something of the difficulty of forcing the recognition of new unions by employers as a pre-requisite of collective bargaining, I am of the opinion that enforced delay would greatly diminish the chances of success of a strike for recognition. This obvious disadvantage would probably array the labor bodies of this country solidly against the waiting policy, and make it hard to enforce.

It has not been enforced in Canada. Wherever there was opposition, as in the case of the miners, it has been a dead letter. Nor does the compulsory waiting policy seem to be necessary. A former

minister of labor of Canada informs us that the really essential feature of the act is compulsory investigation, "to give to labor power at the expense of the state to choose its own investigator, to summon witnesses, and to give the public the fullest possible kind of a view of the case."

Now there is nothing in this proposal that requires strike action to be deferred until after the investigation. The compulsory investigation could be made after as well as before the strike was begun, and, possibly, with just as good results. The essential thing is that the combatants be compelled to appear before an impartial board, to bring their controversy into a non-militant atmosphere, to purge it of its extravagances, to remove its misunderstandings, to expose it to the influence of the mediatory spirit, and to see whether warring interests are not capable of reconciliation or arbitration. This could be done by a board empowered by law to sit on labor disputes, to compel the attendance of witnesses under oath, to mediate between the parties, to recommend an adjustment in accordance with the facts presented, and to make a public report of its findings. And this it could do after the strike had been called, and while it was still in progress.

But it may be objected that such a proceeding as this would not have prevented a railroad tie-up last fall. This is quite true; but neither would the other sort of investigation, if its results were not satisfactory to the brotherhoods. There is no insurance against a national railroad strike unless the power to strike be taken away from railroad men, and this cannot be done, probably, unless they consent to it. They could only consent if they were given a better remedy than the one they were asked to give up. Such a remedy is perhaps not beyond the wisdom of men to devise. It would have to assure them that their wages, hours and labor conditions would progress relatively with the advance of labor as a whole, that their individual rights as workers, and that the interests of their organizations would be adequately protected. A wage board charged by law with the maintenance of some such standards as these, more fully defined and carefully worked out, in which the brotherhoods should have adequate representation, might be accepted as a possible substitute for the strike. It would mean a great deal for railroad men to give into other hands the power they have acquired with such devoted effort, and which, on the whole, they have so wisely used; yet it may be their patriotism would respond to the appeal of the hundred million whose interests and whose livelihoods would be jeopardized and perhaps destroyed by an industrial war which the brotherhoods might be powerless to prevent, except at a sacrifice they would be unable to make.

While it may be desirable to have an investigation, if it can be secured, preceding the declaration of a strike, I think it should be made optional and not compulsory. I do not think we should be deprived of the benefit of an impartial investigation of a strike because the combatants prefer immediate war to awaiting the slow results of a public hearing. I have known the offices of the state Arbitration Board to be rejected in Illinois because the law required the strike to be suspended before it could legally act, with the result that its influence in that case was negative, and its power in all directions seriously impaired. The compulsory feature of a strike investigation should relate to the obligation of making it, and should not depend on being made before rather than after the strike is begun.

William O. Thompson

FORMER COUNSEL UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON
INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS. REPRESENTATIVE OF LABOR,
BOARD OF ARBITRATION, HART, SCHAFFNER & MARX
TRADE AGREEMENT

MEN of today search for some panacea for our industrial ills as Ponce de Leon and men of his time searched for the spring of eternal youth. Even names have been coined in connection with labor agreements which have been supposed, in some indefinite way, to soften the bitterness of industrial strife. Following the same line of thought we have such pieces of legislation as the Canadian industrial disputes act and we somehow expect by the passage of such an act to bring about an harmonious and orderly adjustment of the conflicting interests of employer and employe.

That this shortcut, like so many others, has failed has been abundantly proved by the article of Mr. Selekman. But even if the Canadian act had had a fair record of apparent achievement in the reduction of strikes and in the reduction of working days lost by industrial conflicts, the value of the act would have been far from proven, because it is very easy to see that the tendency of such an act is to preserve the *status quo*. Consequently while it might have been claimed that it maintained a higher percentage of industrial order, this result might conceivably have been obtained at the expense of industrial justice.

It is my firm conviction that some day there will be a body of industrial law, as there is of common law. I believe that the foundations are already being laid for such development. But such a body of law is apt to grow and develop only step by step and from day to day, as the common experience of men dictates. For man is tied to the earth and moves forward only as he sees and understands, and while some of us may think we see more or less clearly the ultimate of industrial justice, this is not true of the vast body of the people. My experience,

too, has been that the prophets see no clearer.

But it is equally true that there is a general sense that things are not right industrially and that justice is not being attained. This view is entertained by many employers. The result is a very pronounced tendency to move forward and as, from point to point, the people see definitely that which makes for industrial justice, to act upon it without much ado. Some day we will undoubtedly arrive at approximate justice in the industrial world. When that time comes, out of the day by day experience of the past, a body of principles or methods of practical adjustment will undoubtedly have arisen. These will become industrial law and will receive the common acquiescence of the people. The law of the workers will have been woven of the woof and warp of their experience.

If this is so, then all purely industrial restrictive acts, such as the Canadian act, or any acts which attempt to force compulsory arbitration are wrong, first because they tend to maintain the *status quo*, and, second, because they are based on some theoretic rather than practical principles. For this reason I believe that the feeling and instinct of the body of workers of today, as voiced by Mr. Gompers, opposing all such laws is fundamentally sound and their action in desiring voluntary collective bargaining instead is correct.

It is under the collective bargaining arrangements that exist today that we are starting to build industrial law and I think that all those who have had experience with such arrangements and whose minds are free to seek justice realize how tentative and elastic even such arrangements must be. There is a natural dislike to the making of precedents which may be based upon a single case or even a series of cases, because in the present state of making decisions the view is limited to the case in hand and can not be based on broad and varied experiences and adjustments. In the instance of public utilities rights of a third party, the general public, which consists overwhelmingly of workers in other lines of industry, must be realized by both sides to the dispute.

This recognition has and will continue to be a potent influence in all disputes relating to transportation. It is the probable reason why in the past but few strikes have occurred to cripple great arteries of commerce. For the present at least I think this attitude is a much more reliable guarantee of industrial peace in the public utility field than any restrictive or coercive law. It may be reasonably said that a strike in that field is conceivable only when some great readjustment caused by the progress of the workers becomes necessary, as was in evidence in the late railway trouble.

Any laws, which go beyond this normal, natural growth, and attempt to lay down arbitrary methods, are bound to become obnoxious and in the end either become dead letters or are emasculated by common consent, so that they conform to the general opinion. This is what has occurred in the case of the Canadian act, which has become an act of conciliation.

James O'Connell

SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

FOR several years a number of well-meaning persons not members of labor organizations, have been advocating the passage of legislation looking toward compulsory investigation in labor disputes, particularly when applied to what is known as public utilities. The subject has been brought more forcibly to the attention of the public mind during the past year because of the controversy between the four railway brotherhoods and the railway companies. The advocates of compulsory investigation point out the wonderful success that has been obtained in Canada through the Canadian industrial disputes act, which law provides that no strike or lockout can take place until the government has had opportunity to investigate. Violators of the law are subject to fines and imprisonment.

To the casual reader compulsory investigation before a strike or lockout can take place seems like a fair and equitable proposition and labor seems to have nothing to lose but much to gain under such a law. But the fact is that there is no equality of opportunity while investigation of a dispute is being made.

The mere statement that a strike or lockout can not occur pending investigation would imply that the responsibility on both sides was equal—such is not the case. Labor is prevented from striking and the employer is supposedly prevented from locking out his workmen, but the employer can close down his plant for any reason sufficient to himself. He may hold that his operations are unprofitable. He may hold that it is impossible for him to secure material. He may hold that shipping facilities can not be secured. He may hold that new contracts are not available and many other reasons may be given showing the necessity of either closing his plant or materially reducing his force of workmen, thus laying off the leaders and active men whom he thinks are responsible for the agitation to improve conditions of employment.

Again, the employer enjoys an opportunity under compulsory investigation to prepare for a strike. He has thirty days or longer for that purpose, while the workmen can in no way fortify themselves, their position being practically the same at the end of an investigation as at the beginning. There is, therefore, no equality of opportunity.

Organized labor in the United States

has declared unalterably against compulsion of any kind in labor disputes. We hold that labor should have the right to quit the employer for any reason or no reason. We hold that this view is in conformity with the constitution of the United States which prohibits compulsory servitude. If a man is therefore compelled to work for any period of time against his will, it is a violation of the constitution of the United States. He could no more be punished for the violation of a law that would compel him to work against his will than the violators of the Canadian law have been punished. It is a well known fact that no attempt has been made to punish a single workman in Canada.

Thousands of workmen in Canada have violated the Canadian law, have gone on strike without notifying the government or requesting an investigation under the law. Others have struck while investigations were being made and still others totally disregarded the awards and quit work. Not one of these workmen was fined or imprisoned. If all who violated the Canadian law were to be imprisoned the penal institutions of Canada would have to be enlarged.

To compare Canada with the United States in population or in the number of its industries is either treating the matter as a joke or is an attempt to impose upon the intelligence of our people. What might work fairly well in Canada with its population of approximately seven million, all of one nationality, would not work in the United States with its one hundred million population made up of all nationalities.

New York city is equal in population to the entire Dominion of Canada. More workmen are involved in one labor dispute in Greater New York than have been involved in all the disputes and investigations that have taken place during the entire life of the Canadian compulsory investigation law. More adjustments have been reached in disputes between the employers and the employes from voluntary mediation, conciliation and arbitration in Greater New York in one year than has been accomplished during the entire period the Canadian law has been in existence.

Organized labor believes in voluntary conciliation, mediation and arbitration. If the employers will meet their workmen in a spirit of fairness, concede them the right of association and representation, then strikes will be reduced to a minimum. But the employers want compulsory investigation only because it delays strikes, thus placing themselves in a position to fortify and prepare in every way to defeat the workmen in their demands. If this were not so why do they not meet their employes before the strikes or lockouts take place without having a law to compel them to do so? We decline to be a party to the enactment of

any law that will for one moment take away from us the right to quit work for either real or imaginary causes.

The advocates of compulsory investigation say, "there is a third party interested whose rights should receive consideration and protection." This third party is the public. If the public interested itself all the time, whether strikes were on or being threatened, this claim might hold true. The fact is, however, the public as a rule is not interested in the conditions under which workmen are employed, nor does it give much thought, if any, whether or not employers deal fairly or humanely with their workmen. It gives little thought to the question of the hours of labor, wages paid labor, or the conditions under which labor is employed. It interests itself little, if at all, in the proper inspection of factories, work shops, or mines. It cares little whether or not employers properly protect their machinery so that life and limb may be spared. It is not intensely interested in whether or not children are employed or in how they are employed. It makes little or no investigation as to the employment of women in factories, work shops, or sweated industries. Its only aim is to see the trains running so that it may not be inconvenienced in traveling from one city to another. It sees only the smoke coming from factories but never looks within. It sees only products coming from the mill but never stops to think how these products are produced. It sees only the coal coming from the mines but never asks the conditions under which it is being mined. The public may be an interested party but it is an extremely selfish one.

Why should organized labor cheerfully and willingly declare for involuntary servitude if it has practically nothing to gain and on the other hand much to lose? Under compulsory investigation the employer has all the advantage: unlimited time to prepare for the strike; right to discharge an employe; right of reducing his force, thus giving him an unequal advantage over his workmen. At best compulsory investigation and awards are only a compromise. This much, organized labor has always been able to secure. The public, as indicated above, is interested only in peace and does not care whether labor secures just treatment or not. Its slogan is, non-interruption and non-interference with business, commerce, finance and industry.

James C. Watters

PRESIDENT, TRADES AND LABOUR CONGRESS, CANADA

THE article Nine Years of the Canadian Act deals both fairly and comprehensively with the operation of the industrial disputes investigation act as it affects the employers and employes coming within the provisions of the act, and the public. A clear distinction is

drawn between compulsory arbitration and compulsory investigation as well as showing clearly the impracticability and non-enforcibility of the compulsory features of the act as applied to employes.

My own knowledge of the practical operation of the act, gained from observation and experience, leads me to agree in the main with the conclusions drawn by the writer after the investigation made by him.

As it appears to me the compulsory aspect with the penalties attached, in providing against a strike or a lockout before the report of the board is submitted, constitutes its most objectionable feature. While the act has been ignored in many instances and penalties have been imposed in only a few minor cases, the fact that the law is on the statute books, nevertheless, is a menace to complete liberty of action.

On the other hand, its conciliatory features have been of the greatest value, and, in principle, are the opposite of compulsion. It would appear, then, that the measure of value attaching to the act is the machinery it provides, first, for conciliation, and second, for investigation with a view to giving the public facts on which judgment as to the merits of the dispute may be based and thus bring the pressure of public opinion to bear on each party to the dispute to accept the award or recommendation of the board.

I am of the opinion that the best purpose would be served by allowing complete liberty of action on the part both of employers and employes to declare a lockout or call a strike. But I would have machinery placed at the disposal of each to bring into being a board of conciliation and investigation either before or after a strike or lockout exists. The mere fact of a means being provided by which settlement of a dispute may be effected without resorting to a strike or lockout would prove a greater factor in maintaining industrial peace and preventing strikes than the act as it now stands, since few would care to invite public opposition and thus jeopardize their case by refusing to take advantage of the provisions made for seeking an amicable settlement.

The administration of the act has proved to be not entirely satisfactory. In support of the administration of the act as it now obtains their claim is made that it should be by a department of government under a minister elected by the people and responsible to Parliament for his actions. Other considerations arise, however, that tend to make it extremely difficult to administer the act with impartiality by a department of government presided over by a cabinet minister. Party advantage, religious bias and its effect on party vicissitudes, the power of capital in election campaigns and the disturbing influence of organized

labor to the retention of the seats by one or the other political parties, combine to make it undesirable for a department of government to be subject to such considerations in the administration of the act. An independent commissioner, therefore, beyond any influence would at least be able to administer the act with absolute impartiality.

Under the heading of Canadian Opinion a part of Mr. Selekmán's article reads "as in this country (United States) public officials and employers are lined up in favor of the act." This is not an exact statement of fact. It would be correct to say that employers are lined up in favor of that feature of the act which prevents a strike until certain formalities have been observed which are calculated to delay action. It would be correct to say, also, that they are in favor of a board bringing about a settlement of a dispute when the employes are in a position to compel agreement with their demands; but it is hardly correct to say that they are in favor of investigation since they have everything to lose and the employes nothing, by a real investigation. Nor are they in favor of the act to the extent of facilitating the formation of the board nor expediting its work. In the majority of cases they are even reluctant to have a board appointed and slow to name their representatives thereon.

As to investigation, if it is conducted in a thorough manner, there is much to commend it. I can recall that on several occasions during periods of industrial warfare in the United States an investigation into the causes responsible for, and conditions accompanying, the strike, was urged by the employes to enable the public to become familiar with the facts and to bring pressure of public opinion to bear on the employers in order that the causes of the strike might be removed. In Canada the employes coming within the jurisdiction of the act have at least the right to such an investigation by applying for a board before warfare breaks out at all, and such investigation can be as thorough and exhaustive as the representative of the employes on the board, within reason, cares to make it.

H. R. Towne

CHAIRMAN OF BOARD, YALE AND TOWNE MANUFACTURING COMPANY

THE accompanying analysis of the Canadian act relating to industrial disputes, and of its effects since its enactment in 1906 is most timely and valuable. I am most heartily in favor of the principle of arbitration, and of any well-considered plan for making it effective. The Canadian act, as pointed out in the foregoing article, is not designed to compel the arbitration of industrial disputes, but to compel investigation and publication of the facts in each case, and the

postponement of a strike or lockout until such investigation has been made. This principle, I think, is excellent, and might well be combined with the principle of arbitration. Arbitration implies investigation, and properly, investigation should precede arbitration. With adequate provision for the avoidance of undue delay, strikes and lockouts might properly be prohibited pending the results both of investigation and of arbitration.

In the case of public utilities, however, I submit that neither investigation nor arbitration is a sufficient remedy for the admitted evil which exists, because, if they fail, the original situation recurs, and the strike or the lockout may follow, with the attending injury to the community. The problem will not be solved until this contingency is eliminated, and the community is absolutely guaranteed against interruption of service of public utilities by the concerted action either of officials or of employes.

A corporation operating a public utility stands in a class apart from all other employers, whether corporate or private, for the reason that it operates under a franchise whereby it has been vested with a certain part of the sovereignty of the state, such as the right of eminent domain, the right of condemnation, and, frequently, the right of monopoly. The state grants such a franchise in order to obtain a desired service which it cannot itself perform, or which it prefers to obtain by a grant of power to a corporation willing and competent to undertake the service. Such corporation thereby becomes in effect a part of the government of the state, with the duties and responsibilities thus implied, and subject correspondingly to regulation and control by the state. The state has long exercised such control as to the public utility corporation and its officers. It is equally justified in exercising such control over the agents of the corporation, its employes, through whom only it can act. And it should exercise such control to any extent reasonably needed to protect the interests of the state, and its citizens, for whose benefit the franchise was granted and by virtue of which the employes find employment in the service of the corporation.

As to all other corporations there are only two parties directly concerned in a labor controversy, namely, the corporation and the employes. But in the case of every corporation operating a public utility there is a third party, the public, whose interest is paramount. Under present-day conditions the uninterrupted operation of public utilities has become indispensable; their complete cessation would paralyze the life of the nation, or of the states or municipalities involved. No group of citizens should be left free thus to make war on the com-

munity, and no legislation should be regarded as complete which does not eliminate this menace to the public peace.

As a supplement to measures for investigation and arbitration, I have suggested certain legislation which has been approved by the Merchants' Association of New York in the following terms:

"Resolved, that the tenure of service of employes of public service corporations, particularly of transportation corporations, should be regulated by law in such manner that each person who voluntarily elects to enter such employment, shall, as a condition of such employment, be legally obligated by contract to continue therein for a specified term, during which term he may not lawfully quit that employment nor the corporation lawfully discharge him from its service, except as provided by such contract; and that such contract shall provide adequate penalties for violation of its terms by either party."

At the instance of the Merchants' Association a bill embodying this principle has recently been introduced at Albany by the Hon. Schuyler M. Meyer, and is now pending. The Meyer bill provides that after a probationary period not exceeding six months a person desiring employment under a public utility corporation, and the corporation offering him such employment, shall enter into a reciprocal contract for the term of one, two or three years, during which the corporation may not discharge the employe, nor the employe refuse or neglect to perform the service for which employed, except under conditions specified in the bill, and to be incorporated in the contract. All previous rights of the individual are recognized and retained, including the right to membership in any lawful organization, and the right, alone or in combination with others, to request concessions in wages, hours or conditions of service.

Before entering such service the individual has no right to interfere with its continuous operation, and the present laws forbid his doing so. By entering that service he acquires no moral right to the contrary, and if at present he thereby acquires a legal right to do so that right should be cancelled. The Meyer bill would accomplish this. No surrender of personal liberty is involved, other than when an individual, in consideration of wages or salary satisfactory to himself, accepts any employment for one month, one year, or any other stated term. The act is purely voluntary. The proposed contract will deprive the individual of no previous right; it denies him any new right to seek to interrupt the service because of his acceptance of employment; it safeguards carefully all of his previous rights.

Space forbids the quotation of the bill *in extenso*, but examination of its terms

will satisfy the unprejudiced reader that it aims equally to conserve and protect the rights of all three parties, employes, corporation and public; to provide by arbitration and appeal for the prompt adjudication of all controversies, and for the redress of all grievances. It proposes at the same time to forbid resort to strikes or lockouts for the attainment of these ends and thus to insure to the public, the grantor of the franchise under which the corporation operates and by virtue of which all in its service find employment, the uninterrupted operation of all public utilities. No plan which fails to accomplish this final result will completely solve this problem, nor afford to the people the assurance, against the menace of disaster, to which they are entitled.

Harris Weinstock

FORMER MEMBER UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

IN 1908 I was commissioned by Governor Gillette of California to investigate the labor laws and labor conditions of foreign countries with a view of recommending to the California legislature measures that would tend to establish in the state a higher degree of industrial peace. I left American soil with the idea firmly in my mind that the missing link between capital and labor was compulsory arbitration, along the lines established in New Zealand, of which I had for many previous years been a student.

After an investigation in nearly every industrial country around the globe, with the fullest opportunities to exchange ideas with many of the world's greatest labor authorities, I returned to American soil convinced that compulsory arbitration would not fit into our political conditions. I became further convinced, as the results of my study and investigations on that world tour, that the nearest approach to a practicable missing link between capital and labor was a public inquiry act, along the lines adopted the preceding year by Canada, to be applied in the beginning only to public utility enterprises and later, perhaps, broadened out to take in private enterprises as well. I felt then, and I still feel today that while such a compulsory inquiry act will not prevent all strikes and is not the cure-all for labor disputes, it is a long stride in the direction of minimizing strikes and lockouts and its application will have for the common good a very potent influence in lessening hasty action on the part of both employers and workers.

I felt then and I still feel now that any measure which will have a restraining influence and will bring warring elements together under favorable conditions, quietly to discuss and to reason out their differences, makes for indus-

trial peace and diminishes the possibility of industrial war.

The other day I heard a national public speaker make the statement that he had had the opportunity of meeting many of the world's greatest labor leaders. That he had found even the sanest and fairest-minded among them, when they dealt with labor disputes, looking at the situation through one eye only and that eye the eye of labor. That furthermore he had had the opportunity of meeting many of the world's greatest employers, and that likewise he had found even the fairest-minded and sanest among them, when they dealt with labor disputes, looking also at the situation through one eye and that eye the eye of the employer. I find that my experience in this regard has been very much the same as the experience of that public speaker. Both employer and worker are made of the same common clay and as a rule find it extremely difficult to put themselves in the other fellow's place.

Their inability to do this is the cause of many needless strikes and lockouts. A public tribunal, composed of representatives from each side, with an umpire representing the public, becomes, therefore, a very valuable factor in labor disputes as an aid toward getting for each side the other's point of view, thus making it more nearly possible to reach a common ground. Such a public tribunal carries with it the further advantage that its findings and recommendations are likely to be less partisan and to present the points at issue in a fairer spirit than it is possible for either side to do when submitting only its own judgment of the dispute. The findings and recommendations of such a public tribunal are likely to command a far higher degree of public respect and public consideration. Moreover the knowledge of this fact is likely to have a powerful restraining influence on the side in the dispute which feels itself the stronger and which otherwise would perhaps unfairly to the other side make the most of such strength.

The strongest objection that organized labor has to a compulsory public inquiry act is that it robs the worker of his personal liberty because it says to him that he must keep on working, perhaps only for an hour, when he does not want to work. I think this objection will not stand the test of analysis. When a worker joins a union presumably he does so voluntarily. Having once joined, he stands obligated, in the event of a strike, to waive his personal liberty and to quit work when he does not want to quit work; to do so at times when he has no personal grievance. In a sympathetic strike the actual dispute may be between workers and employers thousands of miles away.

In like manner under the compulsory inquiry act when a worker accepts employment in a public utility company he does so voluntarily, but having once accepted the employment he would do so with the knowledge beforehand that while he would reserve to himself under the law the right for any reason or for no reason to quit, he would forego his right to quit work collectively. His loss of personal liberty in this instance would, therefore, be no greater than his loss of personal liberty when joining a union. In both instances he would be waiving his personal liberty for what in the end, presumably, would be a higher good. In the one case he would waive his personal liberty for the higher good of organized labor and in the other case he would, pending the outcome of the public inquiry, waive his personal liberty for the public good.

The worker exercises voluntary action when he enters a union and also when he enters a public utility service. In becoming a member of a union or entering public utility service, he would do so in both instances with the fullest knowledge of the conditions under which he so enters. If he is unwilling to strike at the behest of his union or unwilling to waive his right to strike pending a public inquiry, then he must refrain from joining a union and also refrain, should a public inquiry law be enacted, from entering the service of a public utility.

*Elisha Lee*¹

CHAIRMAN, CONFERENCE COMMITTEE OF RAILWAY MANAGERS

ONE of the strongest objections made against the present form of arbitration by leaders of the railway brotherhoods is that the awards are interpreted and applied by the railroads. An award when handed down by an arbitration board contains certain rates and certain general principles which must be applied on all railroads, and requires the adaptation of the schedules or agreements on the various railroads to the general principles of the award.

In some few cases the existing schedules may be easily adapted, but generally they are so complicated, varying on each road and often on different parts of the same road, that much study and discussion between the men and the managements is necessary in order that each may get whatever benefits accrue to them. It is true that the awards must be put in effect by the railroads, but this is done as quickly as an agreement can be reached.

In the event of a disagreement, the Newlands act provides that questions in dispute may be referred back to the board, and this, therefore, does not leave the final determination in the hands of

the railroads alone. It also must be borne in mind that whatever the final award, it is all retroactive to the effective date of the award—that is, the men get all their back pay in accordance with the final rulings.

Another objection to arbitration raised by the employes is the difficulty of selecting neutral and unprejudiced arbitrators capable of handling the complexities of railroad wage schedules. One of the organization leaders said some time ago that almost any arbitrators chosen to represent the public were bound to be prejudiced. Any arbitrator, he said, who owned any railway securities, would be opposed to increasing the railroad wage bill, and even workmen chosen as arbitrators would be prejudiced against the trainmen, because of the high wages they enjoyed.

We thought that we had met this objection last summer when we proposed to the President, when other forms of arbitration had been rejected, that he should himself name the members of the board of arbitration. But even this proposal was not accepted.

It did not seem to us that the criticisms of the existing machinery for arbitration were of such importance as to justify the train employes in an absolute rejection of any form of arbitration, and in choosing to resort to a trial of strength that might have brought this country to the brink of civil war. But they did make this choice.

I believe that the sober thought of the country is almost unanimous in favor of an early provision for insurance against railroad strikes and for a judicial determination of the merits of these controversies.

The mandate of the people, through acts of Congress and decisions of the courts, is that the railroads must be continuously operated in the public interest—that the public interest is greater than that of the individuals who own these properties, or of the individuals who earn their livelihood in the operation of them.

When the private rights of the railroads have come into conflict with their public duties, the public, through the courts, has declared that public duties are greater than private rights. To the railroads the public says: "You must operate continuously, under such regulations as we provide, and under such tariffs as we approve."

But to the two millions of our citizens who are actually engaged in this public service—and without whom it could not be conducted—the public has neglected to issue any instructions. It has failed to mark the difference between the private rights and the public duties of the employes.

The unfortunate controversy of last August brought vividly before the coun-

¹ From address delivered February 23 at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.



COMMON WELFARE

THE PLIGHT OF THE JEWS IN PALESTINE

A RECENT dispatch from Jerusalem states that sanitary conditions among the Jews there are exceedingly bad. Several contagious diseases have become endemic, especially typhus fever.

Mortality tables prepared by Dr. Arthur Ruppin, head of the Zionist Bureau in Jerusalem, confirm the impression that suffering among Palestinian Jews is most serious. In October and November, 1916, there was an average of 236 deaths a month among Jerusalem Jews, for a population of about 35,000, as compared with 100 a month before the war for a population of about 50,000—an increase of nearly 250 per cent.

Medical work for the Jews in Jerusalem was almost exclusively in the hands of non-Jewish missionary agencies until, a few years ago, the American Hadassah, an organization of Zionist women, established a nursing settlement with two doctors and two nurses, the latter giving most of their time to training a corps of midwives. Both the nurses, though trained in the United States, were Russian subjects and at the outbreak of the war had to leave the country—one of them taking up work among Jewish refugees in Egypt, the other returning to this country. The two doctors, fortunately, were both Austrian and, therefore, *personae gratae*.

As the war went on and misery increased, these two men found it more and more impossible to cope with their work, and at last have had to decide to give up home visits to patients unless relief is immediately received. The Hadassah is raising \$100,000 for the equipment of a medical unit of ten physicians, ten nurses and adequate medical supplies; it is ready, in fact, to send this unit now, although only \$25,000 has been collected, since the Zionist organization will underwrite the balance.

But the chief difficulty at the moment is that the State Department cannot guarantee a safe passage for doctors and nurses. It has still on its hands the two supply ships lying at Alexandria, the Cesar and the Des Moines, which are even more urgently needed for the

moment than the doctors, but dare not traverse the mine-strewn sea.

Much can be accomplished even now, however, by financial relief which it is possible to transmit by way of Constantinople. In many of the self-supporting colonies of Jews [described in the SURVEY of January 2, 1915, by Maurice Wertheim] economic dependency has increased alarmingly among families which before the war were thriving. They refused, in many instances, to emigrate because they felt it their duty in the cause of Zionism to retain a strong nucleus of Jewish settlers to lend strength to their claim when war is over and to continue the productive organizations built up with much sacrifice and devotion. Relief for these classes has not been given through individual charity, but in the shape of subsidies to self-governing unions for mutual relief.

Although the outlook for Jews in Europe is much improved politically by the overthrow of the Russian autocracy, the immediate economic need is greater than it has ever been before. The distribution of American relief funds, as most SURVEY readers know, has been centralized in the Joint Distribution Committee, of which Felix M. Warburg, of New York city, is chairman. It represents, primarily, the orthodox Central Relief Committee, which raises funds chiefly through the synagogues, the American Jewish Relief Committee, which is making a broader appeal, both among Jews and non-Jews, and the radical People's Relief Committee, collecting principally among Jewish trade unions.

It is to the American Jewish Relief Committee that Julius Rosenwald, of Chicago, made last week his conditional offer of \$100,000 for every million dollars collected from other sources until the fund of \$10,000,000 aimed at by the committee has been reached. The committee is convinced that the whole amount, of which a little over \$1,250,000 has been secured since January, will be raised. In this case Mr. Rosenwald's gift will amount to \$1,000,000, a record so far as relief contributions by an individual are concerned.

ENACTING THE CHILDREN'S CODE PIECEMEAL

OF forty-two bills introduced into the Missouri legislature by the Children's Code Commission eleven were enacted into law before the recent adjournment. But of the commission's three most important bills—state-wide juvenile court system, county boards of public welfare and revision of the child labor laws—only one, the juvenile court act, was passed. Two other important bills were also passed, one providing for pensions to mothers throughout the state, and the other making adoptions or permanent transfers of the custody of children a court proceeding instead of, as at present, a private contract. A number of bills giving the juvenile court jurisdiction over cases of children now heard in the probate or other courts were also passed. Special provision was also made for the treatment in one court of incorrigible minors over juvenile court age. The statutes relating to apprenticeship were repealed.

The children's code as a whole was the most popular piece of legislation before the Assembly. Every bill that came over from the Senate was passed unanimously by the House without debate. If the Senate had sent over more bills the House would have been willing to pass any or all of them.

The chief obstacles to the passage of the bills were the reactionary organization of the Senate, which opposed progressive legislation until the last minute, when they were forced into line, and the critical overshadowing problems of state finances. The wet and dry issue also cut a small figure, although all the dry legislation was passed. The only open opposition to any of the children's code bills was to the group of bills relating to illegitimate children and marriage. The special Senate committee on the code reported all these bills favorably, but they were beaten on the floor.

The county board of public welfare bills, creating an administrative agency in each county to enforce laws relating to children and providing for the employment of trained workers—which

was regarded by the commission as its most important group of bills—were beaten in the Senate because of the fear that they would saddle expense unnecessarily upon the counties. The subject of betterment of social conditions was not one which appealed to many of the senators, and most of them shied at the idea of employing trained workers. The complete revision of the child labor and compulsory attendance acts was a long complicated bill which the committees did not study carefully enough to act upon.

The commission has perfected a working organization throughout the state, and will doubtless continue its work in preparation for the next legislature. Probably no social legislation in Missouri has ever had the widespread enthusiasm and popular backing given the children's code bills. The educational and legislative campaign was in charge of Mrs. Maurice Lowenstein, executive secretary, and Claud E. Remick, legislative agent.

Of bills on the program of the State Committee for Social Legislation only one was passed, that permitting women to serve on school boards throughout the state. The committee's legislative representative, Louis F. Budenz, lays the defeat of most of the program to the fact that the legislature was wrestling with what was known as the "governor's program" to rehabilitate state finances and to take state institutions out of politics. Labor legislation, city planning bills and bills for reorganizing municipal government all failed.

Unexpectedly a bill abolishing capital punishment, which was not on the committee's program, was also passed, almost without public discussion. Opposition from country districts defeated the bill reducing the hours of work for women from nine to eight. The minimum wage law was vigorously opposed and did not come to a vote. Bills providing for state supervision of private charities met unexpected opposition at the last minute. The serious financial condition of the state prevented any action to put the factory inspection system on a salary instead of a fee basis.

Progressive legislation which passed provided a complete revision of the road laws; an appropriation to meet the federal requirements under the industrial education act; creation of a state tax commission and revenue measures recommended by the governor; abolition of the contract labor system in the state penitentiary, and the creation of a paid board to manage all the state penal institutions in place of the local boards of managers. A similar bill for placing all other state institutions under a special board was defeated, as were the bills for workmen's compensation and the calling of a constitutional convention.

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INDUSTRIAL SAFEGUARDS IN WAR TIME

ANTICIPATING efforts to relax labor laws in the event of war, the American Association for Labor Legislation has announced protective labor standards which, it maintains, must be observed in the interest of both output and human conservation. The association warns against the shortsightedness of European countries which permitted a serious breakdown of labor regulations with the result of early and unmistakable loss of health, output and national effectiveness.

"The strength of the nation," declares the association, "is needed as never before and we cannot afford to suffer loss of labor power through accidents, diseases, industrial poisoning and over-fatigue."

Essential minimum requirements are outlined to promote the industrial efficiency of the country in war as well as in peace. They include reference to safety, sanitation, hours of labor, wages, child labor, women's work, social insurance, the labor market and administra-

tion of labor laws. Under hours, emphasis is placed upon such specific regulations as the three-shift system in continuous industries, maintenance of existing standards of the working day as basic in non-continuous industries, one day's rest in seven for all workers. Under wages, the necessity is pointed out for equal pay for equal work without discrimination as to sex, continuation of existing wage rates for basic working day, time and one-half for all hours beyond the basic working day, and the periodic revision of wage rates to correspond with variations in the cost of living.

Other requirements set down the inviolability of laws protecting women and children, the maintenance of workmen's compensation for industrial accidents and disease, the extension of compensation laws to embrace occupational diseases, especially those incident to the manufacture and handling of explosives, and an immediate investigation into sickness among workers to ascertain the advisability of establishing universal workmen's health insurance. Finally, repre-

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By Robert N. Willson, M.D., Secretary of the American Federation for Sex Hygiene; Fellow of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia.

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sentation of employes, employers, and the public is demanded on joint councils for cooperating with the labor department in drafting and enforcing regulations to put the foregoing principles into full effect.

Not only is the action of the American Association for Labor Legislation timely on account of the attempt in the New York legislature to repeal the laws regulating women's hours [the SURVEY, March 24], but on account of the unstandardized labor supply that bids fair to flood the market in the event of war. By the hundreds societies are pledging their members to national war service. The Woman's Suffrage Party, the National League for Women's Service and other organizations are planning to train women to become chauffeurs, gardeners, munition makers, cooks, seamstresses. But as yet none of these bodies have bulwarked their offers of aid by endorsing standards of hours, wages and sanitation.

**EMERGENCY PEACE VS. WAR
 EMERGENCY**

DURING the week of March 19 an unofficial commission gathered around a council table in New York city upon invitation of the Emergency Peace Federation to discuss ways and means of solving the intricate international crisis without resort to arms. David Starr Jordan came all the way from California to act as chairman; other members were Edward P. Cheney, professor of European history at the University of Pennsylvania; Arthur Le Suer, legal advisor for farmer organizations in North Dakota; William I. Hull, professor of history and international law at Swarthmore College; Joseph D. Cannon, of the Western Federation of Miners; John F. Moors, president of the Boston Associated Charities; Prof. Emily Green Balch, of Wellesley College; Fannie Garrison Villard; Stoughton Cooley, editor of the *Public*; Winter Russell, New York attorney and publicist, and H. A. Overstreet, professor of philosophy, College of the City of New York. Louis P. Lochner, former secretary of the Ford Peace Commission, was appointed secretary.

After listening day after day to persons versed in international affairs who were asked to present their views, the commission threshed out certain proposals which it recommends as substitutes for war. Principal among these is the policy advocated by Professor Hull of appointing two joint high commissions of inquiry and conciliation, with Great Britain and Germany respectively, for the purpose of agreeing at least upon a *modus vivendi* (perhaps upon the basis of the Declaration of London) which shall conserve neutral rights until the end of the present war. Such a pro-

ceeding, Professor Hull pointed out, is in accordance with American ideals and the prime achievements of American diplomacy, including those of the administrations of Presidents Washington, John Adams, Lincoln and Wilson himself in the Mexican settlement.

The commission further urged an advisory popular referendum before entering war, the calling of a conference of neutrals before assuming to establish international law in the interests of neutral nations, and the acceptance of any offer of mediation that might be proffered by a neutral nation in accordance with the Hague convention.

Last but not least the commission adopted the suggestion of Professor Cheney that the President be asked to make a further appeal for a conference of belligerent nations looking toward peace, in view of the changed conditions throughout the world—the new government of Russia, a new ruler in Austria-Hungary, Germany's apparently weakened internal position, a greater desire for peace among all peoples.

Although the meetings of the commission were public, except for notices in one New York paper they were absolutely neglected by the press. The impression was abroad that they were the last disheartened effort of a small, fast-vanishing group of pacifists. But on its final day of conference the commission arranged a mass meeting in Madison Square Garden, packing the big hall with 10,000 cheering pacifists and closing the doors upon more than a thousand left outside. Two nights before the garden was filled by a meeting in support of a vigorous war policy at which Senator Root, President Hibben, of Princeton, and Mayor Mitchel were the chief speakers. To judge by the press, sentiment in New York is overwhelmingly in line with the action of this meeting in calling upon Congress to declare "that by the acts of Germany a state of war does now exist."

**WAR, REVOLUTION AND
 CHILD LABOR**

THERE are those who have wondered why a child labor conference should attempt to compete for popular favor with the Russian revolution and American preparations for war. The answer of the National Child Labor Committee to those who attended the sessions in Baltimore last week was that those were the two things that gave the conference its greatest significance. "The tide of democracy is rising in Europe," said Felix Adler. "The lesson of the hour should be for us to develop and perfect it." Child labor has no place in a democracy whose aim must be to bring out "the uncommon fineness in the common man," as Dr. Adler expressed it, by improving the material

conditions of the majority, by establishing better educational facilities, and by giving a chance to participate in the government determination of what is for the public good. Child labor defeats this aim because it makes impossible the necessary training, and Russia should not be led to think that child labor is something to be adopted along with our truly democratic institutions.

As for the other issue which is now occupying the American public so largely—the question of participation in the war—the warning again comes from Europe. “The excitement of war is fatal to the growth of young minds,” said Julia C. Lathrop, of the federal Children’s Bureau, “fatal to the bringing up of the present generation, and without enriched and educated childhood social advance is impossible.” The rape of the schools and other war measures of England that are endangering social advance were outlined by Owen R. Lovejoy, secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, to much the same effect as Winthrop D. Lane’s article in the SURVEY for February 3. The tendency to let down standards is already evident and will become more so, Mr. Lovejoy predicted, “unless those of us who have dedicated ourselves to the protection of these defenseless ones keep our heads clear and our motives un-mixed, determining that whatever happens all other treasure, all other forms of wealth, all other methods of defense shall be sacrificed before we compel the children of America to pass through the fire.”

A tendency to centralize everything seemed to be the keynote of the sessions. Ethel Hanks Field, agent of the New York Child Labor Committee, who has been making a study of the enforcement of the New York law, advised a central bureau to formulate rules for the issuance of work permits. C. C. Carstens and Roy Smith Wallace expressed a desire for centralized care of dependent, delinquent, defective and neglected children. A. C. Monahan, of the United States Bureau of Education, and Edward N. Clopper declared there was no solution of the problem of non-attendance in rural districts until the schools were organized on a county instead of a local basis. Members of a local school board will not prosecute their friends and neighbors for not sending their children to school. John Dewey and P. P. Claxton said that the states are not large enough to handle their educational problem unaided, that the federal government should give aid to elementary education so that the rural schools might be improved, the problem of educating immigrants more adequately handled, and the states with a large per cent of adult illiteracy assisted.

The only tendency in the opposite di-

THREE CONTRIBUTIONS TO SEXUAL SOCIOLOGY

THE SEXUAL CRISIS

By GRETE MEISEL-HESS

Authorized Translation from the German

A sociologic and psychologic study: a criticism and an affirmation. It expresses the *newest* and *best* thought in Sexology, interpreted in terms of social need and social action.

The book opens with a critique of marriage in its present form, and proceeds to discuss the increase of celibacy, the social factors in our sexual misery, trial marriages, sexual need and the woman's movement,—in fact, *all the forces* that make for the movement for sexual emancipation. Instinct with delicacy, sympathy and imagination. Price \$3.00, *postpaid*.

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Tragedies of Sexual Ignorance.

By William J. Robinson, M.D.

*Jack London said of this book: "I wish every person, man and woman, young and old, could have a copy of 'Never-Told Tales.'" A damning indictment of sexual ignorance, told in the form of vivid fiction based upon facts gleaned from the experiences of a sexologist. Thirteenth edition. Price \$1.00, *postpaid*.*

Our catalogue of authoritative literature on sexual problems is yours for the asking. Send for it to-day.

THE CRITIC AND GUIDE CO.

12 Mt. Morris Park, W., New York City

rection seems to be in Massachusetts where the Child Labor Committee is working with one community at a time, opening the eyes of the local social organizations to the needs of the working children along recreational, health and educational lines, with the idea that the awakening will eventually resolve itself into a concerted demand for the necessary legislation, which can then be administered by a central body.

CARE FOR THE GUARDSMEN'S FAMILIES

AS a result of the calling out of the national guard on Monday and Tuesday, social workers will find much that is of immediate interest to them in the recommendations just made by the Active Service Auxiliary to the New York National Guard, which was created to care for the families of state guardsmen on duty at the Mexican border. This auxiliary consisted of the wives of staff officers and was established with the approval of both General O’Ryan, commanding the guard, and Governor Whitman. Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt was chairman.

The auxiliary strongly recommends that a body similar to it be organized in every state in the union and be made a permanent part of the national guard. So long, it declares, as breadwinners must constitute the majority of men in

military service, “we must have well-defined, responsible, automatic machinery to handle the social and economic problems that will arise.”

The duty of such an auxiliary, it believes, should be “to further the enlistment of men by giving them assurances that their families and those dependent upon them will receive care, thought and attention from the National Guard itself.” The work, it continues, should be financed by the state and supervised by the military authorities of the state. Provision should be made for volunteer contributions to be administered by the auxiliaries.

Mrs. Vanderbilt’s review of its work shows what she and her associates think such an auxiliary ought to do and how to do it. Its own aim was not relief *per se*. In the average case of a dependent wife with several young children, declares its report, “the need was not merely to pay the rent and sustain life until the husband should return, but rather to insure to that family its normal opportunity for development, social growth and education. These needs are not easy to chart, and they are to be insured not by money alone, but by wise adjustments and helpful planning, which must usually be furnished from the outside.”

The method of the auxiliary was to make an emergency payment to a family,

Some of REBMAN'S New Books

DIABETES—

Fasting and Undernutrition in the Treatment of Diabetes.—By HEINRICH STERN, M.D., LL.D., New York.

This little book is based entirely upon personal observations and experiences. It will be found that it differs, in certain essentials and in a number of details, from the rules and regulations laid down by others in articles dealing with the same theme.

It is intended for direct perusal by the diabetic patient.

Cloth—Price \$2.00

FEEDING BABIES—

The Science of Feeding Babies and Normal Care of the Growing Child.—By H. ELIZABETH GOULD.

The author offers so many valuable hints and practical suggestions for almost every phase of a baby's career that her work is bound to meet with great approval.

It is written for young mothers and nurses having charge of babies.

Cloth—Price \$1.50

TEETH—

Care of the Mouth and Teeth. A Primer of Oral Hygiene.—By JOSEPH HERBERT KAUFFMANN, D.D.S., New York.

This brief volume aims at nothing else than the grasping of the fundamental idea of the value of oral hygiene.

To parents, teachers, social workers, and all those who have charge of children, this book should prove invaluable.

Cloth—Price 60 cents

OBSTETRICAL QUIZ FOR NURSES—

A Monograph on Obstetrics for the Graduate and the Undergraduate Nurse in the Lying-in-room.—By HILDA ELIZABETH CARLSON.

The essential feature of this work consists in a description for improvising everything required on an emergency case. It is eminently practical.

Cloth—Price \$1.75

WHAT SHALL I EAT—

A Manual of Rational Feeding.—By F. X. GOURAUD, M.D., formerly Chief of the Laboratory of the Medical Faculty of Paris, France. (Translation by F. J. REBMAN.) With a Glossary containing definitions of the Principal Technical Terms, and an Index of Diseases referred to in the text.

An Analysis of each Article of Food and its Calories are given. Also the actions on the digestive functions, in assimilation, secretion and elimination. Likewise the reasons are given why a food should be employed or rejected, according to the normal or pathological conditions of each individual case. Indications and contra-indications are given in every instance. This makes the choice of food adapted to each case easy.

Cloth—Price \$2.00

HOSPITALS AND THE LAW—

By EDWIN VALENTINE MITCHELL, LL.B. This is a short analysis of the general propositions of law relating to health institutions, and to make it readily comprehensible to those who are professionally or otherwise interested in such establishments.

Cloth—Price \$1.75

Rebman



Company

New

York

if need was immediate, of three dollars. Before a budget was decided upon, a visit was made to the home by an investigator. If there were employable members, these were offered work suited to their abilities. A weekly budget was then voted only after "repeated investigations," and was supplemented, when necessary, with increased payments for unexpected needs.

The auxiliary expended \$16,100.32 on 545 families. It received 633 applications, seven of which were outside its sphere. It returned to contributors an unused sum of over \$12,000.

OHIO COMMISSION ON SOCIAL INSURANCE

BOTH houses of the Ohio legislature have passed and the governor is expected to sign a bill creating a state commission of seven to study social insurance. Interest in health insurance in Ohio has been alive for some time. Two years ago an investigation of occupational diseases was made by the State Board of Health under the direction of Dr. E. R. Hayhurst.

THE CANADIAN DISPUTES ACT

[Continued from page 759]

try the weakness of a system of public regulation of railroads, which fails to provide insurance against a paralysis of the internal commerce of the nation.

Is not this unrestricted right of the railroad employes to quit work in a body a menace to the public welfare? Does not the individual who chooses to earn his livelihood in the public service of transportation assume a duty to help keep open these vital arteries of commerce, a duty greater than the private right to strike?

A member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Judge Clements, recently expressed the opinion that railroad employes are affected with a public interest that they can no more ignore than can the carriers, and he suggested that there should be a legally established obligation upon these employes not to interrupt the service by strike until the justice of their demands had been determined by some public tribunal.

Such a definition by law of the public duties of railroad employes must have been in the mind of the President when he said recently that "the business of government is to see that no other organization is as strong as itself; to see that no body or group of men, no matter what their individual interest is, may come into competition with the authority of society."

The position taken by the representatives of the employes is that they have no obligation to permit a reasonable consideration of demands which they may formulate; that simply because they have decided they want them, not even the

Classified Advertisements

SOCIAL WORKERS' EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE: The Department for Social Workers of the Intercollegiate Bureau of Occupations registers men and women for positions in social and civic work, the qualifications for registration being a degree from an accredited college, a year's course in a professional school training for social or civic work, or experience which has given at least equivalent preparation. Needs of organizations seeking workers are given careful and prompt attention. EMELYN PECK, MANAGER, 130 East 22d St., New York City.

HELP WANTED

DEPARTMENT STORE TRAINING EXECUTIVE

R. H. Macy & Co., New York City, desire to engage the services of a man with experience, or lacking actual experience, the proper qualifications, to direct the Educational, Recreational and Welfare activities of the store. Familiarity with department store system and organization desirable but not absolutely essential. Apply by letter, giving in detail qualifications, previous experience and references, to

PRIVATE OFFICES,

R. H. Macy & Co., New York City.

WANTED—A Matron for Jewish Child Caring Institution. Address 731 W. 6th Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

SITUATIONS WANTED

SOCIAL WORKER, graduate of School for Social Workers, and with a nurse's training, who has had experience in medical, social and associated charity work seeks position with child-placing society or social service in hospital in or very near Boston, summer or early fall. Employed at present. Address 2480 SURVEY.

GRADUATE NURSE desires position as hospital social worker. Experienced. References. Address 2483, SURVEY.

EFFICIENT Head Worker Settlement House. Experience. Institutional Manager. Jewish or non-sectarian. Credentials. Address 2486, SURVEY.

JEWESS, experienced as directress of fresh air camp, desires similar engagement this summer. Address 2487, SURVEY.

WANTED—Position in a Protestant institution by an experienced business woman: stenographer; bookkeeper; Normal School graduate. Address 2488, SURVEY.

FOR RENT

FIVE ROOM APARTMENT for the summer, comfortably furnished, upper west side of City overlooking the Hudson. Very cool. Rent reasonable. Address 2485 SURVEY.

employers have any right to question them; that the possibility of improving conditions, of which they complain, in some other manner than they propose, is not entitled to any consideration; but they must have an unrestricted freedom to take whatever action they may see fit to take, to compel the concession of their demands in the exact terms and manner and at the time they propose, even to the extent of discontinuing work in a body, and if the public suffers it is only an incident to the situation, and the public should not complain.

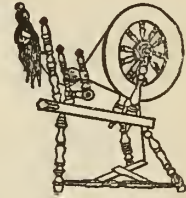
For the railroads to take a corresponding stand, they would have to take the position that the demands of the men were beyond all reason and that under no circumstances would they even be considered. But they have not done this; they simply take the position that they are willing that the merits of the claims of the employes, as well as their own, shall be passed upon by some competent but impartial tribunal appointed by proper federal authority, and that they will abide by their findings, whatever they may be.

This right of the employers to have consideration given to their side of the questions is denied by the employes, and any measures considered by governmental authorities to make this obligatory are met with the charge that the rights of the employes are being infringed and that any measure looking to a compulsory investigation of the merits of controversies is a curtailment of their liberties and subjects them to involuntary servitude.

This is a problem in which all of us, as American citizens, have a vital interest. I have endeavored to state the facts without prejudice, I am an advocate of industrial peace—not peace at any price, but peace that will insure the best possible wages and working conditions for our employes, together with the highest efficiency in the operation of our transportation system. There must be, as President Wilson has so well said, "A full and scrupulous regard for the interest and liberties of all concerned."

I am not prepared to say that all wage problems on the railroads should be placed unreservedly in the control of a public commission, but I do believe that when a controversy between the managements and the men reaches a stage where the interests of the public are imperilled—that then there should be a judicial settlement, that will conserve the public interests as well as the rights of the parties to the controversy, and if it is finally determined that any body of men be required in the public interest to subordinate their private rights to their public duties, it should be with the full understanding that their rights must be in every way safeguarded by the public.

White and Colored Dress Cottons



Reg. Trade Mark

For Spring and Summer 1917

Fine Cotton Fabrics will be greatly in demand for the coming season.

During the last few weeks we have received several shipments containing the very latest Parisian novelties. We have also received a large consignment of the sturdy English and Scotch Fabrics.

It is gratifying to hear the comment of our patrons to the effect that the very materials and colors that cannot be found at all elsewhere, can be obtained here in perhaps greater variety than ever before.

Imported Swiss Organdie. in a complete range of plain colors, shadow Checks, Dots, etc., 46 inches wide, \$1.25 yard.

Imported Voile. 42 inches wide, White and range of Pastel and Street shades, special crisp French finish, 75c yard.

Handkerchief Linen. McCutcheon Quality, shown in a range of twenty-five shades, special soft finish to prevent creasing, 33 inches wide, 85c yard.

David & John Anderson's Celebrated Scotch Ginghams, unequalled assortment. Plain colors, Stripes, Checks, Plaids, 32 inches wide, 60c yard.

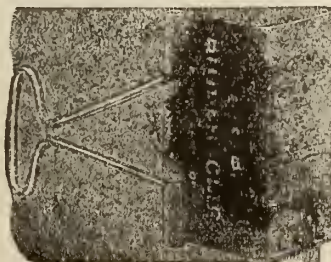
Japanese Crepe. Hand Woven, shown in White and upwards of 35 plain shades. Special value, 30c yard.

White Fabrics. St. Gall Swisses, Dots of all sizes, French Plumetis, Fancy Voiles, Piques, Skirtings, Madras, Dimities, Batiste, French Lawns, Transparent Organdies, etc., in the largest possible variety.

Samples of any of these lines, except bordered materials, mailed upon request.

James McCutcheon & Co.
Fifth Ave., 34th and 33d Sts., New York

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BINDER**
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The L. E. B. Binder Clip

will instantly make a book of any papers
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THE GROWTH OF A CREED

An anti-theistic pamphlet
By **Elizabeth Patten, Englewood, Colorado**
Price, prepaid, 5c.

AFTER THE WAR IS OVER

What becomes of the discharged soldiers? And, during the war, of those invalidated home? Another leaf of Canada's experience, by **PAUL U. KELLOGG**, in the SURVEY next week.

Shall Labor be Dominated By the Liquor Traffic?

Liquor's "last stand" has been taken in the labor halls of this country. Liquor men control nearly every State Federation of Labor and practically all the over 700 Central Labor Bodies in this country.

They are determined to capture not only the men identified with the organized labor movement, but all other workers as well.

They are issuing false or unsound statements as to what will happen to workingmen's jobs when the saloons are closed.

They are taking an unfair advantage of the pledge of loyalty of trade-unionists toward one another.

It would be a calamity to permit the liquor men to succeed. And it need not happen. **WE ARE EQUALLY DETERMINED TO PREVENT IT.**

We shall purchase advertising space—and use thoroughly authenticated material—in over one hundred leading labor papers to counteract the influence of the liquor interests and the professional labor leaders who are on the pay-roll of the liquor men.

These papers are read by millions of workingmen and their families—read “as carefully as the early Christians read their New Testaments,” a famous student of the labor question once said.

If we can strike NOW—AND HIT HARD—it will count mightily—clear down the line—in the fight on the liquor traffic.

Charles Stelzle, who is directing this campaign, spent two years studying the liquor problem as it affects workingmen and in pushing unusually effective campaigns with this information as a basis.

Don't you want a share in the task of tearing loose liquor's grip on workingmen?

We need \$10,000 to conduct this publicity campaign. And it will be money well invested. There is no better way to spend it—just now—in fighting the saloon.

Send us as large a contribution as you can—and we'll be glad to keep you posted as to the results of the campaign. We will also—upon request—send you reliable material to meet the arguments of the liquor men in your town.

Make your check payable to Alfred R. Kimball, Treasurer.

For particulars regarding the campaign, and for general information, write to Charles Stelzle, 105 East 22nd Street, New York.

**The Commission on Temperance of The Federal Council
of The Churches of Christ in America.**

**GOVERNOR CARL E. MILLIKEN,
Chairman**

[ANNUAL REPORT SECTION OF 32 PAGES]
VOL. XXXVII, No. 6 NOVEMBER 11, 1916

THE
SURVEY

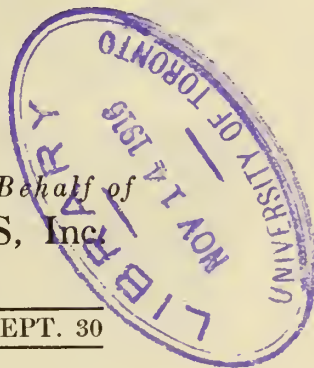


A Statement by the Editor in Behalf of
SURVEY ASSOCIATES, Inc.

The Year Ended: 1915-16

PUBLICATION YEAR: OCT. 1-SEPT. 30

The Year Begun: 1916-17



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FINANCIAL STATEMENT, FISCAL YEAR, 1915-16

AS OF SEPTEMBER 30, 1916

(Detailed memoranda covering any points will be sent on application)

REVENUE

COMMERCIAL RECEIPTS			
Subscription	\$38,735.56		
Advertising	8,769.17		
Profits from Own Publications	34.84		
Profits from Jobbing	166.80		
Miscellaneous	163.24	\$47,869.61	
CONTRIBUTIONS			
General:			
Coöperating Subscriptions	\$10,360.00		
Larger Contributions	13,265.00		
Contributions under \$10	172.00	23,797.00	
Special:			
Industry		4,115.00	\$75,781.61
Unrestricted Grants		14,950.00	\$90,731.61

DISBURSEMENTS

Manufacturing (including delivery)	\$28,109.19		
Editorial Department	20,046.61		
Subscription Department:			
Extension	\$11,833.02		
Routine	5,030.50	16,863.52	
Advertising Department	6,197.38		
Press Service	3,135.81		
Membership Department	2,759.42		
Industry Department	4,065.31		
Administration	9,476.40		\$90,653.64
Surplus for year 1915-16			\$77.97

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT

Surplus shown by general statement for fiscal year 1915-1916	\$77.97		
Surplus on October 1, 1915		3,156.39	\$3,234.36
Less:			
Expenses of moving plant from 105 East 22 street to 112 East 19 street. . . .	\$1,637.62		
Adjustment of Own Publications Sales, year ended September 30, 1915 . . .	206.01		1,843.63
Surplus on October 1, 1916			\$1,390.73

DETAIL OF DISBURSEMENTS

Salaries and wages	\$40,369.83	Illustrations	\$913.92
Stationery and office printing	3,326.58	Correspondents	935.00
Postage, including mailing of magazine	6,124.43	Special investigations	555.79
Traveling	1,112.58	Advertising	449.32
Telephone and telegraph	646.11	Commissions	133.00
Composition, presswork, and binding	18,764.99	Expressage	85.23
Paper	8,725.76	Rent	2,765.41
Index	405.05	Maintenance of furniture and equip-	
Annual report	534.79	ment	677.38
Engravings	2,047.88	Sundry expenses	1,606.68
Wrappers	544.11		
Addressing	1,129.80	Total	\$90,653.64

We have audited the accounts of SURVEY ASSOCIATES, INC., for the twelve months ended September 30, 1916, and certify that the above statement agrees with the books and is correct.

(Signed) HASKINS & SELLS,
Certified Public Accountants.

New York, Oct. 24, 1916.

SURVEY ASSOCIATES, INC.

SURVEY ASSOCIATES, INC., is a membership corporation, chartered November 4, 1912, without shares or stockholders, under the laws of the state of New York—

“to advance the cause of constructive philanthropy by the publication and circulation of books, pamphlets, and periodicals, and by conducting any investigations useful or necessary for the preparation thereof.”

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP in SURVEY ASSOCIATES is open to (a) Co-operating Subscribers of \$10 or more in any one year and (b) SURVEY Circulators. [See back cover.] A coöperating subscription includes the \$3 subscription to the magazine, and creates no financial liability on the part of the contributor. Contributors of \$100 or more are eligible to life membership.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of SURVEY ASSOCIATES is held the last Monday of October to elect officers and transact such other business as may come before the meeting. The directors are divided into three classes, whose terms run for three years. The voting is open to life members and to annual members.

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THE GIST OF THIS REPORT

1915-16 A YEAR OF EMERGENCY EDITORIAL

Published 53 issues.

Sacrificed in other directions in order to conserve our service as a weekly chronicle—in news paragraphs of the *Common Welfare*, and short opportune articles.

Closed year with compressed staff, but constructive plans for developing, on less emergent basis, our work of interpreting social practice, invention and experience.

Experimented with magazine numbers as a graphic once-a-month edition to interpret social movements to their natural public.

Major series:

War Boom Towns, by Zenas L. Potter and John Ihlder.

The Social Service of the Federal Government, by Graham Romeyn Taylor.

Life's Clinic, by Edith Houghton Hooker.

Censorship: the Moving Picture and the Pageant, by John Collier.

The Long Road of Woman's Memory, by Jane Addams.

Exporting the American Playground, by C. M. Goethe.

Great Spheres of War Relief, by Ernest P. Bicknell.

MANUFACTURE

Printed 977,250 copies as against 1,040,400 preceding year.

Delivered 1,412 text pages to each subscriber,—a recovery of 12½ pages toward pre-war standards.

Safeguarded by continuing paper and printing contracts, paid from 5 to 100 per cent more for wrappers, engravings and other publishing supplies.

COMMERCIAL RECEIPTS

Wrote \$8,769 in advertising; or \$1,737.62 more than preceding year. (Approximating record for 1913-14.)

Secured gross subscription revenue of \$38,735.56 or \$1,169.61 less than preceding year. (\$5,690.26 less than 1913-14.)

Secured 5,994 new subscriptions; or 218 more than preceding year.

Secured 1,074 restorations; or 341 less than preceding year.

Secured 9,000 renewals; or 262 less than preceding year.

Altogether 16,968 subscriptions; or 385 less than preceding year.

Brought special groups of college subscriptions (used as supplementary texts in sociology, social science, economics, etc.) to a new level of 2,238.

Equalled preceding year's subscription record in last six months, and brought new class of once-a-month subscribers to 1,179.

ADMINISTRATION

Attacked shrinkage in commercial receipts and grants of \$6,201.79 under preceding year (\$12,330.44 under 1913-14), by raising increased contributions, by retrenchments and by investing energy and money in issues and circularization.

Held venture intact and cleared fiscal year.

Drew on \$1,600 from small surplus of previous years, to move offices to new quarters and equip them; better workrooms at lower rent.

FINANCE AND MEMBERSHIP

Brought roster of \$10 co-operating subscribers to thousand mark—the goal set as sound membership base four years ago (1,037 as against 901 the year before).

Raised \$29,912 (all funds) for educational work (against \$24,281.50 preceding year); \$6,920 from new sources.

Suffered reduction of, roughly, one-third in grants (\$6,050).

Carried by new stage process of broadening out sources of support, geographically and numerically, bringing (all funds)

\$1,000	contributions—	from	5	to	6
\$200 to \$500	"	—from	10	to	17
\$25 to \$100	"	—from	75	to	96
\$10	"	—from	908	to	1,041

Membership representing 42 states and 5 foreign countries.

TO SURVEY ASSOCIATES AND ALL SURVEY READERS

WITH a membership—stronger not only in numbers, but stronger in the sense that we have gone through the crucible of difficult experience together—SURVEY ASSOCIATES enters upon its fifth year. For more than half of the time our adventure in coöperative journalism has had to reckon with the unsettled fortunes of war years. For over two years we have had to postpone promising lines of development, while we fended against circumstance and strengthened the organic body of the undertaking. For the twelve months ending September 30 last, to match operating expenses with income we had to clear the fiscal year—and did—

IN SPITE OF—shall we call it?—an “Indian” windfall, a reduction in grants of over \$6,000 which fell to us in December, two months after we had entered upon our publishing year.

IN SPITE OF a continued slump in commercial receipts—(advertising recovered lost ground; not so, circulation).

IN SPITE OF a combined shrinkage (as against 1913–14) of \$12,000 in these sources of revenue and that out of a budget of \$90,000.

IN SPITE OF increased publishing costs (printing and office supplies have gone up from 5 to 100 per cent).

IN SPITE OF the controversial issues thrust forward by the war itself, which have tended to split every group in society, from the Quakers to the Socialists, but throughout which the fairness of the journalistic formula of THE SURVEY has held the venture together.

IN SPITE OF one of the heaviest reportorial years with which we ever have had to deal.

In the industrial field, for example, there has been a succession of tense situations demanding even-handed interpretation—the successful collective bargaining in bituminous and anthracite; occasional flare-ups in the steel industry, such as at Youngstown; the break-up of the oldest protocol, the renewal of the most progressive firm-agreement, and the bitter strike and lock-out in the garment trades; the spread of the eight-hour movement in machine shops and munitions plants; and the dead-lock in railroading. The year has witnessed, moreover, the success of the long campaigns for federal child-labor and compensation laws and the outcropping of a sickness insurance agitation which may parallel that for workmen’s compensation.

And—a final straw—we cleared the year—

IN SPITE OF the contemptible trick which the Gregorian Calendar plays on weekly periodicals once in a dog’s age, popping a fifty-third issue, with its fifty-third printer’s bill, into the hopper of a single publication year!

A THOUSAND COÖPERATORS

A CHIEF factor in surmounting these difficulties has been the forging ahead of SURVEY ASSOCIATES as a mutual organization. Four years ago we set one thousand coöperating subscriptions as the sound membership base to strive for. In September of this year the roster of coöperating subscriptions mounted up and beyond that thousand mark.

In line with a deliberate policy long held—to spread out the foundations of our educational fund nationally and among wider and wider groups of givers—we endeavored to turn our misfortunes inside-out and develop new sources of support. The response brings us fairly to the threshold of a new stage of economic self-dependence as a philanthropic enterprise. Our largest contributors (\$1,000) responded generously, and we added one to their number. We can report seven more contributors at \$200 to \$500; twenty-one more at \$25 to \$100; and 133 more at \$10. Taken together, these groups of individual contributors, new and renewal, now contribute two-thirds of our educational funds. Taken together, they number 1,190 SURVEY ASSOCIATES.

MOREOVER, THE SURVEY enters the new year with constructive gains in equipment as well as membership. Last winter we engaged an expert to overhaul typography and format. Changes in text, headings, captions, and arrangement of illustrations, begun in April and carried out more fully this fall, should, without added cost, make every issue more attractive in appearance, more legible, and more time-saving.

FURTHERMORE, we are entering the new year fully settled in new offices on the top story of an East Nineteenth street loft building, whose windows afford a bird's-eye view of the city problem over the roofs of our neighbors. More practically, these offices give us roughly 500 more square feet of elbow-room, incomparably better light and ventilation, a lunch-room for the clerical force—all at a saving in rent.

WE are entering the new year, also, with the composition, presswork, and binding of THE SURVEY in the hands of a printing house which specializes in magazine publication, and has a soundly won reputation for justice and leadership in its treatment of labor. It is equipped to match in craftsmanship, and to put us on an equal footing in delivery with other weekly periodicals. This coming year THE SURVEY should reach all readers east of the Mississippi in the week of publication.

Without at all attempting to gloss over our weak spots in performance during the course of the twenty-six war months, and

without underestimating the serious obstacles in those ahead (see p. 18), we are entering upon a long plan for more adequate service to readers, and for meeting at least half-way the opportunities for creative work which crowd in upon us. Of these, more later.

WHY THE SURVEY

IN approaching them, let us look at some staff problems which crop out perennially in carrying on the development of **THE SURVEY**. We have to do with a non-commercial undertaking, but not (in either sense) with an easy-going one. It is up to us to "scoop," if you please—or be scooped, in handling news matters. It is up to us to go unflinchingly to the bottom of a situation and carry conviction as to our disinterestedness as against cross-interpretations from possibly a dozen quarters. At the same time, it is for us to consider how **THE SURVEY** can best complement rather than overlap the work of other publications—how, short of sacrificing that "come-hither" without which we could not get a hearing for anything, we can carry material which otherwise would get little or no hearing at all.

AMONG weekly periodicals there have been three outstanding developments the past year. *Harper's Weekly*, maintained at heavy loss by a group of public-spirited men and foraging not infrequently in the social field, has been discontinued. *The Independent* is getting articles by wire and has been translated into an alert news periodical—the most up-to-the-minute in weekly journalism—but unlike either the *Harper's Weekly*, which it absorbed, or the *Independent* of old, distinguished for its contributions to original thinking from writers the world over. Third, comes the rise of the *New Republic*, with its daring initial investment, its high standards of editorial outlay and output, as a glorified editorial page on affairs in general from a progressive social point of view.

Mark, if you will, three other illuminating successes—the mounting circulation of the *Atlantic Monthly* under an editorial management with a genius for eliciting rare transcripts of human testimony; the nation-wide recognition of a daily paper—the *Christian Science Monitor*, which has developed an unexampled foreign correspondence; and the astounding audience of the *National Geographic Magazine*, with its research, its travel and pictures drawn from all races and conditions of men.

Very evidently there is no falling off in people's interest in people. In ever-broadening groups they are interested in ever-broadening phases of society.

NEVERTHELESS there has been a costly reaction in another direction—the dropping out from the staffs of the monthlies of that remarkable group of writers who, first under the leadership of S. S. McClure and later in a dozen editorial offices, fairly revolutionized magazine journalism. They "swung the world by the tail," but they did it not merely by their writing ability and their fierce social patriotisms; they brought in an entirely new conception of accuracy and thoroughness in the gathering and massing of material. They set new standards for the investment of time and energy which it is justifiable to make in a piece of manuscript that takes up no more room than a facile story, but mayhap will overturn a corrupt political machine, re-shape public modes of thought, or bring in some belated reform. The degeneracy of this method at the hands of those with spurious standards of inquiry and accuracy, the circulation tobogganing of two years ago, the mad rush in a dozen offices to find something to counter the semi-salacious appeal of one group of periodicals, the absorption of public interest in "war-stuff," and the recent rise in the cost of magazine manufacture, have all led to one result. Today this

high-calibred service to public knowledge and understanding must largely be done, if at all, as free-lance work; and it brings less than what is paid for short-story writing.

Along with these shifts in the channels for news, opinion, and journalistic research, must be reckoned the appearance of further specialized periodicals,—monthlies or quarterlies,—on race problems, civics, health, etc.—a dozen new ones, there were, this past year; and a veritable snowball of pamphleteering more than matching the sudden rolling up—or out—of book publication along social and economic lines during the last ten years.

THIS report could, of course, be entirely given over to an analysis of the situation, so complex and interesting it is. Such an analysis would, we feel, bring conviction to SURVEY readers, as it has with us:

A

THAT THERE IS NEED AND OPPORTUNITY for a weekly chronicle in the fields covered by **THE SURVEY**.

This is afforded neither by pamphlets nor by books, neither by specialized journals, which come out infrequently, nor by the general periodicals whose attention touches only the high spots in these fields.

B

THAT THERE IS NEED AND OPPORTUNITY for a pooling place for experience, drawn from various fields of social concern.

Books, pamphlets, and technical papers bring out this material, but like the animals of the ark, each after his kind. A lawyer does not read a medical journal, a visiting housekeeper a journal of criminology. The general weeklies and monthlies handle articles which, from the publicity standpoint, get social material before wide and varied audiences. But here again the treatment must be sporadic.

C

THERE IS NEED AND OPPORTUNITY for a channel for forthright, informed discussion, over signatures, of subject matter and issues in the fields covered by **THE SURVEY**.

All too few are the meeting grounds for those who, from different points of view, approach serious questions in social economics. There is need not only for prompt news service, but for space given over to analysis, proposal, and criticism, into which has gone more than a scant allowance of reflection upon the material secured; there is need not only for the marshalling of evidence and experience, but for original and clear thinking, based on both. The academic journals afford ample channels for such discussion in the realm of pure theory; but the service of general periodicals in the practical field is again necessarily scattered and opportunistic.

D

THERE IS NEED AND OPPORTUNITY for a journal which, by crossing and recrossing the various social, racial, economic, professional, and other boundaries, shall help build up a stock of common terms by which all men may understand one another; which by budgets of testimony, personal experience, and the interplay of ideals, shall help lift the common floor on which they may meet to strive or to coöperate. And more, there is need and opportunity for a medium to interpret, consecutively, social movements themselves to their natural public.

E

THERE IS NEED AND OPPORTUNITY for a journal which can bring out promptly the results of investigations by responsible social agencies; and more, which has at call equipped staff members who can be assigned to cover emergent situations and can delve into social needs which are nobody's business.

In this, *THE SURVEY* has been building up a technique which has stood the fire of great controversial situations. The inexpensive way to handle such a situation in the labor field, for example, is to commission some local newspaper man. We look for something more incisive and objective when we are able to put members of our own staff on the job—as we did Fitch in Colorado and Taylor in Calumet. The results more than warrant the cost, which may be ten times as great. In carrying out this procedure, we interview employers, employes, and public officials; make independent inquiries on the spot; submit the manuscript in its first draft to representatives of all sides, and to disinterested observers, if there are any; weigh the resulting criticisms; publish the final draft and stand ready to publish rejoinders and defend our findings in the pages of *THE SURVEY*.

We have no illusions that the truth necessarily rests in splitting the difference between two contentions. We want the responsible staff member to bring out the facts as he finds them, and generalizations close to the facts; to show his approach to the situation, and where he comes off. In each case where this method has been employed,—where perhaps we have been copiously damned by one side or the other, or both,—we have had endorsement of the work from confidential sources in both camps.

The illustration chosen is from the field of industrial relations; but the same need for disinterested approach, linked with exacting standards of investigation and interpretation, holds true in other fields—whenever a situation is clouded with controversy, entangled with personalities, or torn by conflicting interests; or whenever it lies in a matrix of social or political conditions removed from the free action of public opinion.

THE ART OF CHRONICLING

WITH such chartings in mind, our purpose is to enter upon the new year on a less emergent publishing program than has characterized the last two years, in the faith that more adequate service will carry conviction and win support for a grade of work which has been outside our grasp. For, of the five functions outlined above, we have conceived the first named (A) as the journalistic “binder” which we must keep intact if we would hold the venture together.

TO go back a little. The publication year 1913-14 (ending Sept. 30) was the second year of *SURVEY ASSOCIATES*. The spring before we had mapped out plans for lifting our weekly issues, and the staff work lying back of them, to new standards the year ahead. In August came the great war, and a year of short commons. In our printing office it meant cutting down the planned weekly unit (32 pages and cover) to 24 pages. In our editorial rooms it meant either to contract the whole publication scheme of *THE SURVEY* or to continue certain main lines of service and shelve the rest for the time being. We chose the latter course.

This course can be described in a few words. The fields of social concern covered by *THE SURVEY* are not so many fenced-off plots. They overlap. Any given item, whether it is a “stick” long or a ten-page article, may have to do

with three or four of them. Moreover, this area of common interest is national rather than local, is marked by outstanding issues, events, problems, which, in whatever field they fall, are of lively concern to all.

Here we have to do with the service outlined in our first category of journalistic need and opportunity (outlined under A, page 8); and this service we have endeavored to maintain against the enforced economies of two war years—in our news paragraphs of the *Common Welfare*, in our short weekly articles with the opportune element strong in them, in our graphic magazine numbers with their current appeal to the general reader, recognizing that outside his own field each specialist is a general reader.

WE believe this was a right choice. As a program it has held *THE SURVEY* intact; but it was a makeshift choice, one continued for a second year, when our revenue losses exactly doubled, and it has had obvious disadvantages.

This will be clear if we recall the old truism of newspaperdom that action spells news. Case-work which makes for family rehabilitation is fairly overwhelmed—in public attention even more than in fact—by the breadlines and bitter need of a winter of unemployment. Penal reform may go forward for years and fail to elicit one tithe the publicity which comes of a spectacular attempt to oust a prison warden. That undermining of social health which trails after low wages and long hours makes scant impression compared with a fight and flying bricks in a strike.

The intention of *THE SURVEY* is, of course, to get back of the newspaper headlines to the conditions and forces which provoke them, and—a more difficult commission—to gain a hearing from the public for such conditions and forces, out of season as well as in. Yet within bounds, the same psychological rule holds of magazine journalism as of the daily newspaper. Events, legislative campaigns, cleavages—these have that element of action in them which widely appeals.

Given limited space, in any week our brief articles have had that opportune element strong in them. A commission reports, war radically affects some phase of industrial life, a neighborhood experiment reaches a point where it provokes the attention of a city, a fight is on over a piece of social legislation, or two conceptions of child-caring come to a clash. In any given week something which has a still more emergent appeal may be given right of way over any or all of these things. But back of them, in turn, lie great bodies of social practice, of untoward conditions or promising demonstrations which, lacking either spokesman or occasion, stand the chance of being entirely neglected. Such material demands more, rather than less, investment in its gathering and portrayal, if it is not only to be given space, but is to gain the attention which in the long run it deserves. For, by massing evidence of family distress traceable in large part to some one cause, that cause can be given something of the journalistic value of a catastrophe. By analyzing it, the momentum of public interest thus caught can be directed to ways for prevention.

INTERPRETING EXPERIENCE

TO discover more surely and competently the rapidly developing but fragmentary social experience about us, to explore and interpret more fully the life and labor in which it lies embedded, is the work we have in mind. It is work which falls in the second category of journalistic need and opportunity described (Category B, p. 8). It is work which helps answer not only "What is doing?" but "How to do it" for the community leader, living remote from the great centers. To define it more sharply: the range of opportunity which opens out before us lies in interpreting, in less hurried and constricted ways, experience and invention in the primary spheres of social concern grouped on the opposite page.

I

BEGINNING with incapacity and exploitation in the work-a-day life, the upward trend in industrial conditions and relations, including such subjects as minimum wage and labor legislation, collective bargaining, profit-sharing, factory inspection, safety, hygiene, scientific management, social invention, and coöperation in industry.

II

BEGINNING with pauperism and poverty, the upward trend in social economics, including such subjects as relief, rehabilitation, case-work, and charity organization; family budgets, thrift, and cost of living; remedial loans, mutual aid, social insurance against sickness, accidents, invalidity, unemployment, and old age.

III

BEGINNING with squalor and indifference, the upward trend in civic development, including such subjects as neighborhood life, housing, town planning, municipal research, taxation, efficiency, and democracy at work.

IV

BEGINNING with sickness and defect, the upward trend in public hygiene, including such subjects as social control over the preventable diseases (tuberculosis, syphilis, alcoholism, fevers), hospital social service, nursing, sanitation, public health work, the socialization of medical practice, constructive advances with respect to infant mortality, occupational diseases, sex hygiene, the treatment of defectives, mental hygiene, and the prolongation of life.

V

BEGINNING with ignorance and neglect, the upward trend in education and recreation, including such subjects as vocational training, the social contents of the curriculum and the social uses of the school plant; night schools, rural demonstration, and schools for immigrants; child welfare; work for dependent, neglected, and defective children; playgrounds, motion pictures, community drama; the development of stamina and the release of nascent capacities.

VI

BEGINNING with crime and degradation, the upward trend in social control, including such subjects as the police problem, minor courts, psychopathic laboratories, prisons, reformatories, parole and probation, and the application of self-government to processes of regeneration, rather than the old repressive tyrannies of punishment and retribution.

WHAT THIS CALLS FOR

IN the printing office, this program calls for a 32-page weekly unit instead of a 24-page unit. In carrying it out we are entering upon a three months' investment in paper, composition, and presswork, in the expectation that this more adequate service will impel old readers, who appreciate both the service and its expense, to secure new readers and enable us to project it a second three months, and perhaps a third, before we narrow down into the summer's issues.

In the editorial rooms this program calls for the gradual up-building of the staff along departmental lines which had demonstrated their efficiency prior to the war. This coming year we are proceeding conservatively with a smaller headquarters staff than for some years past, and with a wholly inadequate appropriation for correspondence the country over; much less any payment to contributors of articles.

In addition to reporters, proof-readers, and the general assistants of the managing editor's office, such consecutive interpretation calls for the full time in some cases, half-time in all, of a competent staff member in each of the great subject fields outlined; responsible editors analogous to members of an academic faculty, who can "soak" into the problems, know the personalities, apprehend and interpret the vital issues, digest the voluminous literature, recast technical material, often badly written or unwritten at all, which yields only to the application of finer instruments than shears and a paste-pot. It calls for such advancing standards of accuracy, craftsmanship in writing, copy reading, illustration, and make-up as require an editorial outlay we are not yet able to make.

At present, in only one department, Industry (and that by grace of a special fund), have we approached this standard in the matter of staff time. In others it remains on a half, a third, or a fourth time basis. [See special financial appeals, p. 17.] During the current year we are eager to bring our work in the field of economic dependence up to the standard we have in mind.

FIELD WORK

ABOVE all, this standard calls for such leeway as will keep those charged with departmental responsibility from becoming desk-bound and out of touch with realities. Such staff members should have time to perform definite pieces of field work in the course of the year—not only to give consistency to our approach to emergent situations, but to carry out major pieces of journalistic research (Category E, p. 9). The cutting down of this work of investigation has been one of our very real war losses.

THE most considerable magazine feature of the year, based on original inquiry, has been a series of articles on the social, sanitary, and labor problems of the more or less artificial communities called into being by the munitions trade—towns which, in their congestion, their lack of recreation and health facilities, their

heterogeneous mass of workers, have telescoped in a few months conditions common to all rapidly growing industrial centers. This series was entered upon in co-operation with several national organizations, the expense of field work for the three initial articles thus far published being met by the Russell Sage Foundation. These have included:

WAR BOOM TOWNS

BRIDGEPORT AND ITS MUNITIONS MAKERS. *By Zenas L. Potter, formerly of the Department of Surveys and Exhibits of the Russell Sage Foundation.*

PENN'S GROVE AND ITS POWDER MIXERS. *By Mr. Potter.*

FLINT. When men build automobiles, who builds their city? *By John Ihlder, former field secretary of the National Housing Association.*

Flint is distinctive in that it has supplied not the war trade, but the domestic market. Its boom began over five years ago and has gone through the earlier stages, thus affording for new towns the valuable experience which Mr. Ihlder brought out in his expert study. Mr. Potter's incisive article on Bridgeport came at an opportune time when civic spirit was in flux; and in part by arousing local ire, in part by gathering up and pointing out potential forces for development, it has measurably affected the history of the past twelve months in this Connecticut town [see Bridgeport on the Rebound, THE SURVEY, October 14, 1916].

A SERIES of staff articles, based on field work performed a year ago, has interpreted the social activities of the federal departments, at a time when public attention has been focused on the legislative rather than the administrative branch of the government:

WASHINGTON AT WORK. *By Graham Romeyn Taylor.*

The Print-shop. (December 25.)

The Nation's Playgrounds. (January 1.)

National Yardsticks for Health; The Public Health Service. (January 15.)

Underground America; the Bureau of Mines and its work of salvage and invention. (February 5.)

From Plowed Land to Pavements; the government's hand in helping the city dweller by helping the farmer. (April 1.)

At Your Doorstep; the neighborly service of the U. S. Post Office. (May 6.)

AMONG investigations by other agencies interpreted or reviewed the past year have been:

THE MUCKERS. *By William H. Matthews, New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.* An exact and sweeping indictment of what subway construction by means of unskilled labor means in terms of household welfare. (October 2.)

SURVEY OF SICKNESS IN DUTCHESS COUNTY. *By Joseph F. Weber, New York State Charities Aid Association.* (October 16.)

PROBING THE CAUSES OF INDUSTRIAL UNREST. A series in three installments reviewing the reports issued by the United States Commission on Industrial Relations. *By John A. Fitch (staff).*

Introductory, The Manly Report. (December 18.)

The Commons Report. (January 1.)

The Tactics of Violence. (January 8.)

ANCIENT LONG ISLAND. County conditions as found by the Nassau County Association. *Ruth M. Underhill.* (December 11.)

MADISON AND THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN SURVEY. *Reviewed by George H. Mead, University of Chicago.* (December 25.)

THE SOCIAL WORKERS. Summary of report on positions in social work, for the New York School of Philanthropy. *By Mary Van Kleeck.* (January 1.)

IN THE HEALING LAP OF MOTHER EARTH. How the sick in mind and spirit grow strong from their free life in the fields of Indiana's Farm Colonies. *By Winthrop D. Lane (staff).* (January 1.)

BETTERS. What field labor means to 5,000 children in the Colorado sugar beet districts. *By Edward N. Clopper, National Child Labor Committee.* (March 4.)

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT AND SOCIAL WELFARE. *By the late Robert F. Hozie, University of Chicago.* (March 4.)

UNDER COVER OF RESPECTABILITY. The findings of the Baltimore Vice Commission. *Reviewed by Winthrop D. Lane (staff).* (March 25.)

BUILDING UP A METROPOLITAN CITY PLAN BLOCK BY BLOCK (The New York Commission's Report). *Reviewed by Graham R. Taylor (staff).* (March 25.)

FROM "BOHUNKS" TO FINNS. The scale of life among the ore strippings of the Northwest. *By C. Whit Pfeiffer.* (April 1.)

JUST FLICKERINGS OF LIFE. What the Baltimore Vice Commission learned of Bahy Farming. *Reviewed by Winthrop D. Lane (staff).* (May 6.)

SHALL NEW YORK CITY UNTAX BUILDINGS? A review of the report of the Mayor's Committee on Taxation. *By C. C. Williamson, New York Municipal Reference Librarian.* (June 24.)

LABOR FORCES OF THE ALASKA COAST. *By William Kirk, Rochester Associated Charities.* (July 1.)

MAKING SCHOOL FACTS TOWN TOPICS. How the findings of the Cleveland Survey have reached the people. *By Elwood Street, Cleveland Federation for Charity and Philanthropy.* (July 8.)

REPORTORIAL ARTICLES

WHILE we have not been able to undertake any considerable investigations, we have published a number of reportorial articles by members of the staff and others. These illustrate the consistent carrying out of the larger aspects of our news function (Category A, p. 8):

- HELD TO ACCOUNT FOR THE EASTLAND. *By Graham Taylor (staff). (October 9.)*
- FIRE! THE WARNING FROM WILLIAMSBURG. *By George M. Price, M.D., director Joint Board of Sanitary Control. (November 20.)*
- TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF THE CONSUMERS' LEAGUE MOVEMENT. *By Florence Kelley. (November 27.)*
- ON GUARD AT THE PORT OF NEW YORK. The persistence of a provincial quarantine system. *By Gertrude Seymour (staff). (January 8.)*
- ONE DAY AFTER ANOTHER AT SING SING. *By Winthrop D. Lane (staff). (April 1.)*
- PEYOTE WORSHIP. The menace of a drug habit spreading among the Indians of the Southwest. *By Gertrude Seymour (staff). (May 13.)*
- CHILDREN OF THE JOY ZONE. A double page of photographs. *By Lewis W. Hine. (November 13.)*
- TURNED BACK IN TIME OF WAR. Ellis Island under war conditions; New York Harbor a tide-water for the flotsam and jetsam of the world conflict. *By Frederic C. Howe. (May 6.)*
- ARSON AND CITIZENSHIP. East Youngstown and the aliens who set it on fire. *By John A. Fitch (staff). (January 22.)*
- FIFTY YEARS OF THE Y. W. C. A. *By Annie Marion MacLean. (January 22.)*
- AT THE BAR OF CHILDHOOD. Some testimony from the investigation of the New York State Board of Charities. *By Winthrop D. Lane (staff). (February 12.)*
- SUDDEN SPREAD OF THE 8-HOUR DAY. *By Ruth Pickering (staff). (April 1.)*
- OUTLAWING EXHAUSTION. The United States Supreme Court to decide on the length of the workingman's day. *By John A. Fitch (staff). (April 15.)*
- ARIZONA'S EMBAROO ON STRIKE BREAKERS. *By John A. Fitch (staff). (May 6.)*
- FOUR YEARS OF PEACE AHEAD IN ANTHRACITE. Negotiation and settlement interpreted by the pastor of the Holy Savior Church in Wilkesharre. *By J. J. Curran. (May 13.)*
- WITH THEIR FEET UNDER ONE TABLE. The railroad conference between representatives of 300,000 men and twenty billion dollars of capital. *By John A. Fitch (staff). (June 17.)*
- HUMAN CONSERVATION AND THE SUPREME COURT. The hearing on the ten-hour case. *By Mary D. Hopkins. (May 27.)*
- MAYOR MITCHEL TAKES THE STAND. A further chapter in the story of the children's institutions of New York. *By Winthrop D. Lane (staff). (June 3.)*
- THE SPREAD OF THE HEALTH INSURANCE MOVEMENT. *By I. M. Rubinow. (July 15.)*
- POVERTY AND POLIOMYELITIS. *By Thomas J. Riley, Brooklyn Bureau of Charities. (July 29.)*
- SUMMER PLAY IN SPIKE OF AN EPIDEMIC. *By Wanda Greineisen, Henry Street (Nurses') Settlement, New York. (August 12.)*
- THE FEDERAL CHILD LABOR BILL. *By Florence Kelley, National Consumers League. (August 26.)*
- WHEN STRIKE BREAKERS STRIKE. The demands of the miners on the Mesaba Range. *By Marion B. Cothren. (August 26.)*
- THE NEW FEDERAL WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAW. *By John B. Andrews, American Association for Labor Legislation. (September 23.)*
- LICENSE IN PLACE OF LICENSING. The Massachusetts situation. *By Robert A. Woods, South End House, Boston. (September 30.)*

SOCIAL PRACTICE

FOR purposes of comparison, here are representative titles which illustrate those fresh drafts of social practice (Category B, p. 8) which, under our new year's program, we hope to bring out more adequately in our enlarged weekly issues:

- SAVING THE SIGHT OF BABIES. *By Carolyn C. Van Blarcom, of the National Committee for the Prevention of Blindness. (October 9.)*
- THE TOWN THAT DID NOT STAY CONTENT. The promptings toward reasonable play life for children in a Philadelphia suburb. *By Esther E. Baldwin. (November 6.)*
- UNEMPLOYMENT FROM THE ANGLE OF CASEWORK. The results of an inquiry by the Boston Associated Charities. *By Fred R. Johnson, Boston Associated Charities. (November 13.)*
- WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT CANCER. An interpretation of medical advances to the social worker and laymen generally. *By Alice Hamilton. (November 20.)*
- A DEAD LETTER OFFICE FOR MISDIRECTED MEN. Conclusions from work at the municipal lodging house. *By William Alberti Whiting. (November 27.)*
- KENTUCKY'S MOONLIGHT SCHOOLS. The story of their fight against illiteracy told by their founder. *Cora Wilson Stewart. (January 8.)*
- PUBLICITY BY PROSECUTION. A commentary on the birth control propaganda with especial reference to the history of English attempts at suppression. *By James A. Field, University of Chicago. (February 19.)*
- FIGHTING THE SCOURGE ON TROUBLESOME. The campaign of the Public Health Service against trachoma in the Kentucky mountains. *By Dorothy H. Stiles. (March 18.)*

A YEAR OF THE HARRISON NARCOTIC LAW. (April 8.)
 A STATE AGED ONE HUNDRED. Glimpses of social progress in Indiana during 100 years, in two installments. *By Alexander Johnson.* (April 22 and 29.)
 DISCIPLINE FOR CITY EMPLOYEES. *By Leonhard Felix Fuld.* (April 29.)
 THE CONSUMPTIVE AND HIS NEIGHBORS. *By Edward R. Baldwin, M.D., Saranac Laboratory.* (July 22.)
 CITY PLANNING IN SOCIAL WORK. *By William J. Norton, Director Cincinnati Council of Social Agencies.* (September 9.)
 FOR WORKING WOMEN IN OREGON. Revised code of wage, hour and sanitary conditions issued by the Industrial Welfare Commission. *By Caroline J. Gleason.* (September 9.)
 THE WOMEN'S CIVIC LEAGUES OF CALIFORNIA. *By Katharine C. Watson.* (September 6.)
 HEALTH INSURANCE IN A STUDENT COMMUNITY. *By Edith Shatto King.* (September 23.)
 THE SCHOOL AS A COMMUNITY CENTER. *Nathan Peyser, Principal Public School 39 (Manhattan).* (September 23.)

The most sustained serial feature of the year based on experience was continued from 1914-15, and broken into bi-monthly installments because of restricted space. This was *The Lantern Bearers*, by John Collier, founder (with Charles Sprague Smith) of the National Board of Censorship, who interpreted its six years' experience, and discussed the social ramifications of the invention and spread of motion pictures; their potentialities in recreation, education, leisure, enlightenment; their regulation, censorship, and constructive social development; and the parallel renaissance of the community drama:

THE LANTERN BEARERS. *By John Collier.*
 A series of essays exploring some thoroughfares of the people's leisure. Censorship and the National Board. (October 2.)
 Anthony Comstock—Liberal. (November 6.)
 The Theater of Tomorrow. (January 1.)
 A Film Library. (March 4.)
 For a New Drama. (May 6.)
 The Stage: a New World. (June 3.)
 Caliban of the Yellow Sands: the Shakespeare pageant and masque reviewed against the background of American pageantry. (July 1.)

One of our rarest gifts of the year was the advance publication of three chapters from the forthcoming book of an associate editor:

THE LONG ROAD OF WOMAN'S MEMORY. *By Jane Addams.*
 The Reaction of Simple Women to Trade Union Propaganda. (July 1.)
 War Times Challenging Woman's Traditions. (August 5.)
 Disturbing Conventions. (October 7.)

ONCE-A-MONTH EDITION

JUST as we can carry out major pieces of journalistic research, with the editorial staff needed to garner our subject fields competently from week to week, so can we build up our illustrated magazine numbers as a natural sequence to our weekly issues. This is not merely because these numbers afford space for ampler treatment of material, but for educational and practical reasons. There is a potential public demand for a magazine which can bring out as fresh transcripts of human testimony as the *Atlantic* does in its general field; which can perform as real a service in social exploration as the *National Geographic* does in anthropology; which can link foreign and domestic social work as the *Christian Science Monitor* links public affairs in its world correspondence.

Here we have conceivably one of the few profitable factors embodied in THE SURVEY'S publication scheme. These enlarged and illustrated issues are, of course,

(Continued on page 18)

FINANCIAL APPEAL

SURVEY ASSOCIATES, INC.

As a journal of constructive philanthropy, THE SURVEY endeavors to get at the facts of social conditions and to put those facts before people in ways that will count.

As an educational enterprise, with circulation not yet large enough, nor advertising yet sufficient, jointly to meet publication expenses, much less journalistic research, THE SURVEY must look to contributions to make its larger work possible.

As an adventure in coöperative journalism, 1190 contributors of \$10 or more made up the active membership last year of SURVEY ASSOCIATES, INC.

This wide-spread, democratic backing comes not only from those of means, but from the rank and file of social workers, heads of settlements, teachers, probation officers, lawyers, ministers, physicians, etc. Their names (pp. 23-30) are our best endorsement.

GENERAL APPEAL

To carry THE SURVEY forward in 1916-17 we appeal for \$25,000 for our General Educational Fund.

COÖPERATING SUBSCRIBERS (\$10 each)

During the past year, 1037 readers enlisted as Coöperating Subscribers to SURVEY ASSOCIATES at \$10 each.

We appeal for 1100 \$10 Coöperating Subscriptions in 1916-17.

LARGER CONTRIBUTIONS

In these developmental years we must look to those of larger means and equally constructive vision for the remainder of our General Fund.

We appeal for \$14,000 in sums of \$25 to \$1,000.

ENDOWMENT FUND

SURVEY ASSOCIATES, INC., is in position to administer a short-term endowment fund, to be applied during this period of growth to our general work, or to certain well-defined lines of activity which would amply justify philanthropic investment.

(For audited financial statement, 1915-16, see page 2; for summary of year's work, page 4.)
Checks should be drawn to Frank Tucker, Treasurer, SURVEY ASSOCIATES, INC., 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

SPECIAL APPEALS

SURVEY ASSOCIATES, INC.

INDUSTRY

This work, made possible on its present scale by special contributions, has passed the experimental stage, and sets the standard toward which we hope to bring staff resources in the other major fields of social concern interpreted by **THE SURVEY**. In addition to our regular work in the industrial department, we want to be in position next spring to carry out a quick journalistic survey of a long-neglected industrial district as challenging in its way as Pittsburgh or Colorado.

THE FIELD

Beginning with incapacity and exploitation in the work-a-day life, the upward trend in industrial conditions and relations, including such subjects as minimum wage and labor legislation, collective bargaining, profit-sharing, factory inspection, safety, hygiene, scientific management, social invention and cooperation in industry.

We appeal for \$5,000 in 1916-17.

RELIEF AND LIVELIHOOD

Our purpose is to parallel this departmental work in industry with a similar equipment—full time of a responsible editor—devoted to the interpretation of experience, experiment, and investigation, in the oldest field of social concern covered by **THE SURVEY**.

THE FIELD

Beginning with pauperism and poverty, the upward trend in social economics, including such subjects as relief, rehabilitation, case-work and charity organization; family budgets, thrift, and cost of living; remedial loans, mutual aid, social insurance against sickness, accidents, invalidity, unemployment, and old age.

We appeal for \$5,000 to develop this department.

HEALTH, CIVICS, EDUCATION, CRIME

The coming year our treatment of the social aspects of these major fields is attempted by part-time adjustments of the headquarters staff. With special contributions, we should be in position to bring our work in each of these fields up toward the standard indicated above.

FOREIGN SERVICE

A new range of opportunity opens up in interpreting

The work of relief and rehabilitation in Europe.

The administrative and legislative experiments attempted incidental to the war itself which may prove permanent contributions to social engineering.

The life, labor, aspiration, and outlook of the immigrant groups entering into the American composition.

As a construction fund, by means of which we may add to our staff a man competent to engage in this emergent work, and may lay the groundwork for making **THE SURVEY** an exchange for foreign as well as domestic social practice and advance.

We appeal for \$3,000 annually for three years.

RURAL SOCIAL WORK

Scarcely a month passes but **THE SURVEY** is urged to cover rural conditions—social, economic, sanitary, educational—with something like the consecutive treatment we accord city conditions.

To enter upon such a commission, on an efficient basis which would make it in time a self-sustaining factor in the working scheme of **SURVEY ASSOCIATES**, we should need a similar construction fund of \$3,000 annually for three years.

the largest items in our printing office expense. On the other hand, they have advertising possibilities if we can build up an enlarged circulation for them. Moreover, when the cost of putting the magazine forms on the press is once met, the cost of additional impressions is comparatively small. For some years past we have thought to exploit these issues whenever we could get together a small surplus to invest.

Last spring, with the dropping off in revenue in other directions, we announced a special low-priced subscription [\$2] for the twelve monthly issues. The experiment neither came up to our hopes in the matter of gaining new readers, nor did it warrant our fears lest a large number of \$3 subscribers should lapse to the \$2 class. Some 757 monthly subscriptions were written in the six months, and of these, 38 had been up to this time \$3 subscribers. In the absence of sufficient investment, we do not consider the experiment conclusive one way or another, and shall follow up the plan in modest ways during the coming year.

Our working conception of these once-a-month issues calls for:

(a) A graphic article interpreting at length the results of some investigation (e. g., Mr. Pfeiffer's article, *From Bobunks to Finns*, describing conditions in the mining towns of the Mesaba Range).

(b) A fundamental article of social theory (e. g., Miss Addams' chapters).

(c) An authoritative article by an expert in some great sphere of social work, sharing the trend of thinking or experience in his field for the benefit of all (e. g., Dr. Adolph Meyer's discussion of what a democratic civilization can do about heredity and child welfare). (June 3.)

(d) A striking serial giving in its different installments a consecutive interpretation of some important process, development, or situation (e. g., Mr. Collier's on ten years' development in the moving picture censorship).

(e) A group of opportune contributions on current social work, of all-around interest to the people who are shouldering the every-day load of social advance in their communities.

These numbers should help us broaden the horizon of individual social work, and bring the criticism of social thinkers to bear on general affairs.

BUDGET FOR 1916-17

OUR administrative problem in all this has been to build up THE SURVEY while carrying out a heavy reportorial and analytical routine; to gradually bring commercial receipts up to the point of meeting a fair measure of publishing and editorial overhead in a field where commercial periodicals are not meeting the need; and to demonstrate the educational worth of super-commercial work as we go ahead.

This process has itself absorbed an unconscionable amount of staff energy. Some day we cherish the hope that commercial and membership receipts will reach a stage where we will be free to do our main job—write, edit, print, and distribute a magazine!

That is not this next year, when paper costs have exactly doubled and will add some \$4,000 to our expenses, and the discontinuance of our service as distributor of books for the Russell Sage Foundation (no longer justifiable in view of their curtailed publication plans) throws between \$3,000 and \$4,000 overhead charges into our administrative routine. We have cropped our budget accordingly, with the signal advantage that this year we are able to forecast these new difficulties, and by staff compressions, retrenchments, and new sources of revenue set out to meet them.

The alternative is seriously to consider raising the subscription price to \$4—a move which, however well founded, would hamper the educational reach of THE SURVEY.

All told, in writing our budgets for the three publication years 1914-15, 1915-16, and 1916-17, we have had to bridge gaps in income, or assume extraordinary expenditures, totaling roughly \$40,000. That we have been able to do so is downright evidence of the vitality of the venture.

With new offices, prompter printers, a new circulation staff, typographical changes which should make *THE SURVEY* more attractive in appearance and more time-saving, an issue scheme which should give more adequate service and win friends, and the institution of a new membership class of *SURVEY ASSOCIATES*, *SURVEY* Circulators (see back cover), we are bending every effort to build up circulation and spread out the cost of normal publishing and editorial overhead among larger groups of regular subscribers. Every new one thousand, or one hundred, or even ten subscriptions will bring this cost (now between \$4 and \$5 per subscriber) closer to the \$3 subscription price; and will, thereby, free contributed funds for constructive investment.

For, to carry out the developments outlined in this report, we must look to the sustained backing of old friends and, as occasion and opportunity offer, appeal for new gifts for new and creative work.

WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

SUCH a second range of opportunity has been thrown wide open by the war itself. We have long wanted to pool foreign as well as domestic experience in the pages of *THE SURVEY*, as an offset to any tendencies toward an ingrowing provincialism. This has been urged at board meetings and in communications to the editors. The events of the last two years have presented this opportunity with a new insistence.

However one apprehends the European struggle, whether most as a threat to our safety, or in its reactions as a threat to our democratic institutions, its social consequences in this country are on every hand and inescapable. The shutting off of immigration, with its effect on labor conditions, is only the most tangible of these consequences. We have reported them and given up such space as we could to their discussion from social points of view, pro and con, as part of our opportune service.

There is a growing body of social workers who feel that at a time of world changes, thus affecting every phase of our life and labor, we have a challenge to American social movements to think in broader terms, to see to it that the humanitarian ties which have bound us hopefully to the peoples of western Europe are not snapped, and that the social values we have struggled for in American life shall be projected along with our trade expansion or our participation in international polity.

We have in mind at least three specific ways in which THE SURVEY can be of service. These are:

1

TO INTERPRET the work of relief and reconstruction in Europe in its social and practical aspects—as a means for keeping socially minded Americans abreast of measures worked out under pressure of war, which may be suggestive in our internal development.

At the present time we are publishing a series of articles by Ernest P. Bicknell, director of civilian relief of the American Red Cross, presenting the first comprehensive review of war relief in the great stricken areas—Belgium, Poland, Serbia, Armenia.

We should like to follow these articles with consistent interpretation of efforts toward rehabilitation not only in invaded districts, but in each of the warring countries. For example, we published an article by Bruno Lasker on Imperishable Belgium, in which he weighed whether or not the remarkable coöperative societies for self-help will persist in the lowlands after the war. Like the very soil they have grown from, he holds that they will endure. Further articles by this same writer described the village for crippled soldiers promoted by the German Garden Cities Association, and the report of a British commission on settling discharged soldiers and sailors on the land.

2

TO INTERPRET those social and constructive aspects of international negotiation and settlement which have to do with the safeguarding not only of the weaker nations, but of the weaker peoples within the strong nations, in their culture, their welfare, and their liberties; to interpret the social and constructive aspects not only of the movements for peace and world government, but the interplay of those social, economic, and scientific forces which had gained such momentum before the war, and which, unless the hate-breeders and prophets of isolation win the day, will weave again at its close a new woof of assurance and security.

Characteristically, American social work has addressed itself not only to the relief of distress, but with convinced optimism to the work of preventing distress. Here in Europe is distress compounded—wretchedness, destitution, sickness piled up as never before—by war. Whatever the outcome of the conflict, it seems clear that there is going to be a recoil against war among the great masses of people of all nations who have borne its chief burdens. Attention will be given as never before to the need for preventing war and its compounded miseries. To bring together evidences of this half-articulate yearning—to bring out the contributions to international organization of those whose business it is to deal with the fabric of human relations in their every-day work—is clearly one of the calls to service which THE SURVEY should meet by keeping its columns open and hospitable.

Our chief contribution in the past twelve months was a group of articles on the second anniversary of the outbreak of hostilities:

AFTER TWO YEARS OF WAR

(August 5, 1916)

- FIRST AID TO EUROPE. *By Ernest P. Bicknell, director of civilian relief, American Red Cross.*
AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY. *By Henri La Fontaine, professor of international law, Belgium.*
WAR TIMES CHALLENGING WOMAN'S TRADITIONS. *By Jane Addams.*
THE DEMOCRACY OF INTERNATIONALISM WHICH WE ARE WORKING OUT IN OUR IMMIGRANT NEIGHBORHOODS IN AMERICA. *By Grace Abbott, director Immigrant's Protective League, Chicago.*
WHAT WE HAVE TO BUILD ON: THE PERSISTENCE OF INTERNATIONALISM AS A COHESIVE SOCIAL FORCE. *By Carl Conrad Eckhart, University of Colorado.*

TO INTERPRET the life, labor, aspiration, and outlook of the various immigrant groups which enter into the American composition.

It has been the high distinction of South End House, Hull House, Henry Street Settlement, Chicago Commons, and other American settlements that they early rejected the policy of trying forcibly to cast the youth of immigrant neighborhoods into a rigid mold. Rather, they have fired the imaginations and helped conserve the heritage of these "strangers within the gates" by endeavoring to draw from each group its contribution to American life in craft and culture, art and ideals.

We have among us people who have their roots in every hopeful movement for progress and self-realization among the suppressed peoples of Europe.

As one labor investigator expresses it, there is no simile which does greater violence to our hopes than that of the "melting pot." We do not want to boil down all rare metals, all gems and craftsmanship of design which come to us, into a common and meaningless mass. We need them to enrich our life.

At the same time, neglect or repression of such elements in our population clearly leads to narrow, ingrowing separatist movements among them, destructive to their natural relationship to the American whole—as evil an outcome as to have them lose their identity; defeating in either case the possibility of their making a distinctive contribution to the life of the new world, or to the coming international life of which their migration was a symbol.

We want to follow the foreign language papers, so that by observation, appreciation, and criticism we may affect these links between the Old World and the New, what superstitions, hates, falsehoods are spread and encouraged in these ways; what aspiration and social yearnings find play; what interests—liquor interests, political interests, foreign interests, seek to exploit them. (It is said, for example, that some of the foreign language papers are the last haven of the quack medical concerns.)

In other words, we should like to parallel our following of European sources with a following of the leadership, press, and organized action of the immigrant groups—in relation to what goes on, both on the other side and here.

SOCIAL MISSIONS

IN a very special but striking way this opportunity for service which opens out before THE SURVEY has been demonstrated by a series of articles on Exporting the American Playground, which we are now running.

They are contributed as a gift by C. M. Goethe, a Sacramento business man, whose part in building up municipal playgrounds in California led him to help promote the remarkable spread of a recreation system throughout the Philippines, to cooperate in the development of the Japanese Playground Association (patterned after the pioneer American organization), and to open and maintain out of his own funds a recreation center at Calcutta, hard by an old Temple of Hate, which compares in its track equipment, its gardens and vocational work, with the most complete recreation centers in our American cities. To Mr. Goethe organized recreation, of course, means more than children's games. It reaches to the mainsprings of physical and racial motivation and upbuilding. It expresses and translates the combative instincts in a way kindred to what William James had in mind in his speculations on the moral equivalent for war. It is something educational and revolutionary, which should be exported with no less energy than barbed-wire or machine guns or biplanes.

And as a result of Mr. Goethe's two years' tour of investigation, in which he has studied everything from bull fighting in Spain and the world-old play needs of

the Sahara, to recreation hunger at the outposts of western civilization in the Far East, he believes that the people of Latin America, of French Africa, of the British colonies the world over, and of the Orient, will respond to social leadership from the New World more naturally and spiritedly than to any the Old has to offer; and that our own recreational culture will be enriched by the interchange of ideas.

Two hundred and fifty copies of each of these issues of *THE SURVEY* carrying Mr. Goethe's installments are going out each month at his expense to educational leaders and public officials, missionaries, and Y. M. C. A. workers in these lands. Letters received this fall from San Juan, Rio, Valparaiso, Wellington, Lavras, Amoy, Tokyo, Seoul, Calcutta, Manila, Madrid, Cairo, Helsingfors—tell the story of their welcome.

Our treatment of what, for want of a better name, might be called the social and constructive phases of internationalism is thus seen to be, not a scattering over an alien subject matter, but a natural outgrowth of *THE SURVEY*'s treatment of kindred phases of internal affairs. Yet our nearer concern lies, of course, in bringing out those phases of social well-being among us which are obscured by the war itself, for it is to America, after all, that the world may look to carry forward both the sound tradition and the pioneering spirit of the past.

EDUCATIONAL FUNCTIONS: EDITORIAL FREEDOM

IN conclusion, it seems pertinent to press home those educational functions of *THE SURVEY* for which we consistently appeal for support (whether for general or special lines of work), and their relation to editorial management and freedom. *THE SURVEY* is not an organ, a propaganda journal, or an editorial broadside. In projecting *SURVEY ASSOCIATES* as a coöperative undertaking in a field where a dozen controversial questions are up, where new questions arise on which it is foolhardy to expect agreement even among those most directly concerned in the management, it was for us to work out a formula on which staff and council and coöperative membership could reasonably be anticipated to achieve a common basis for both service and support. This we have tried to do, and that the formula has withstood the strain of these war years is our best assurance as to workability.

Our unsigned material is analogous to the news columns of a daily paper. The position which the editor takes on the fighting issues in our field is brought out in the editorial columns; and herein the very fact that we are a journal of social exploration carries with it the premise that we are for progress, for experiment, and for the broadening horizons of life. But one of the clear functions of *THE SURVEY* corresponds, in the practical field, to the functions of the academic journals in the theoretical field. It is a meeting-place for contributors of articles who come at their subject matter from different angles. We by no means underwrite all the manuscripts we publish over signatures. In the field of industry, for example, the labor press and the trade journals present their

varying creeds. In *THE SURVEY*, employers and employes can exchange points of view. That the editor does or does not agree with an article is not the touchstone which includes or excludes it, nor do we feel that the ability of *SURVEY* readers to weigh things for themselves is so toddling that it is invariably necessary to tie them to the apron-strings of accompanying dogmatic editorials.

WE cannot accept contributions to the educational funds of *SURVEY ASSOCIATES* on the basis of positions taken in contributed articles or in editorials. Such a procedure would either turn us into a propaganda journal, or leave us straddling all the fences around the lot.

We retain an independent editorial column as an integral and necessary element in any journal worthy of the name.

We seek and accept contributions to our educational work in the same way that a college or museum would seek or accept contributions—namely, to carry out certain well-defined functions. Those functions fall in the categories already outlined:

- A. As an even-handed chronicle of events and happenings in our field.
- B. As a pooling place for social experience, experiment, practice.
- C. As a forum for the discussion of issues within our field by those who come at them from various angles.
- D. As an interpreter of various groups in the community to each other.
- E. As an investigator and exhibitor of the results of social research.

IF our news treatment is even-handed; if in our field work we set standards of investigation and interpretation which (while not ignoring the personal equation) commend confidence; if our columns are open to both sides on germane issues, then we have a formula, and the only one, which could possibly enable the editors of *THE SURVEY*, with intellectual honesty, to cover a dozen fields of social concern in which social students hold conflicting beliefs and hold them strongly. That way progress lies.

EDUCATIONAL FUND

CONTRIBUTORS TO GENERAL FUND (\$13,265)

Anon.	\$1000	McCormick, Alexander A.	\$50
Cochran, William F.	1000	McGregor, Tracy W.	50
de Forest, Robert W.	1000	Meyer, Alfred C.	50
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		Willcox, William G.	25

* Gave also to Industry Department. † Pledged. ‡ Gave also a Coöperating Subscription.

Anon.	\$20	Waid, Mr. & Mrs. D. Everett . . .	\$20
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Storrow, Miss Elizabeth	20		

GRANTS (\$14,950)

Carnegie Corporation of N. Y.	\$1,000	Russell Sage Foundation	\$13,950
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CONTRIBUTORS TO INDUSTRY DEPARTMENT

(\$4,115)

Cabot, Dr. Richard C.	\$500	Mason, Miss Fanny P.	\$50
Fels, Samuel S.	500	Robins, Mrs. Raymond	50
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Farnam, Professor Henry W.	50		

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Addams, Miss Jane	Arnold, Miss Sarah Louise	Barbey, Henry G.
Adler, Isaac	Asher, L. E.	Bard, Mrs. Thomas R.
Adler, Dr. Isaac	Associated Charities of Erie, Pa.	Barnes, Earl
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Alling, Eric L.	Baekeland, Mrs. L. H.	Battle, George Gordon
		Beal, T. R.

* Gave also to General Fund

† Paid also a Coöperating Subscription.

‡ In Memoriam.

Beardsley, Dr. E. J. G.
 Beckwith, Miss L. C.
 Bedal, Dr. Adelheid C.
 Beer, Mrs. Julius
 Belknap, Mrs. M. B.
 Bender, Mrs. Inez J.
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