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State Reconstruction Studies of the North Carolina Club at the University of North Carolina

FACULTY COMMITTEE ON EXTENSION

LOUIS R. WILSON

L. A. WILLIAMS

E. C. BRANSON

N. W. WALKER

J. H. HANFORD

P. H. DAGGETT

M. C. S. NOBLE

E. R. RANKIN

H. W. ODUM

D. D. CARROLL

E. W. KNIGHT

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THE NORTH CAROLINA CLUB
YEAR BOOK, 1919-1920
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
—
STATE RECONSTRUCTION
STUDIES

NEW MEASURES AND NEW MEN

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

New times demand new measures and new men;
The world advances and in time outgrows
The laws that in our fathers' day were best;
And, doubtless, after us some purer scheme
Will be shaped out by wiser men than we,
Made wiser by the steady growth of truth.
The time is ripe, and rotten ripe, for change;
Then let it come; I have no dread of what
Is called for by the instinct of mankind.
Nor think I that God's world would fall apart
Because we tear a parchment more or less.
Truth is eternal, but her effluence,
With endless change, is fitted to the hour;
Her mirror is turned forward, to reflect
The promise of the future, not the past.

THE COMMON PROBLEM

ROBERT BROWNING

The common problem, yours, mine, everyone's,
Is not to fancy what were fair in life,
Provided it could be—but finding first
What may be, find how to make it fair
Up to our means.

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FOREWORD

The North Carolina Club at the University of North Carolina has been busy during the last five years studying the economic, social and civic problems of the home state. Its published Year Books to date are (1) North Carolina: Resources, Advantages and Opportunities, 93 pp., (2) Wealth and Welfare in North Carolina, 140 pp., and (3) County Government and County Affairs in North Carolina, 188 pp.

The Club is a volunteer organization of students and faculty members—at present 13 faculty members and 105 students, representing 46 counties.

State Reconstruction Studies

This year the North Carolina Club is working a-team with the State Reconstruction Commission of twenty-five members appointed by Governor T. W. Bickett in early October, 1919. The fields of investigation by the Commission and the Club are identical. The layout of work by special committees is the same in both organizations. The committee work of the commission was planned for busy men of affairs in the state-at-large; in the Club it was done by university students, aided by faculty members specially chosen by the various committees. The chairman of the steering committee of the club was appointed by the Governor as a member of the commission, and the president of the club was unanimously elected an unofficial member at the first meeting of the commission on October 28. On the same date the chairmen of the club committees were invited to sit in with the commission committees as they meet from time to time after the Christmas holidays. This high honor was accorded the club in a motion made by Hon. W. N. Everett, of Rockingham, as follows:

“Because the North Carolina Club at the University has for five years been giving concentrated, detailed attention to the economic, social, and civic concerns of the home state, and is therefore unique in this or any other state of the Union, it is

“Moved: That the club be declared eligible to elect from its membership of students one unofficial delegate to the State Reconstruction Commission and one delegate to each of the commission committees, to sit with this commission and its committees, and to learn further about the problems of the state at first hand.”

A Rare Distinction

Here is a unique situation. Never before in the history of colleges and universities, so far as we know, have young men busy mastering great subjects within campus walls been given the opportunity to come

face to face with great situations in a commonwealth at a critical era in its life, to sit at the feet of their elders in the world of men and affairs, to learn at first hand of the work-a-day problems of a state, and thus to relate culture to citizenship and learning to life. It is an epoch-making experience for these young men. What they will now contribute to a state reconstruction program may be negligible; but what they will derive from this unique working relationship may not impossibly be an asset of large proportions for the state when they come into public life and leadership in the years ahead.

The Working Program

The body of this bulletin consists of the program of the State Commission as it has been organized by the club for its work during the present college year. The details show (1) the fields of investigation and the special committees, and (2) the bibliographies of material ready at hand in the seminar room of the department of rural social science at the University. These committees rendered tentative reports as per the schedule dates of the club, but they were continuing committees and the final matured reports were surrendered to the collaboration committee of the club on October 1, 1920. Meanwhile they held sessions of their own and as many as they pleased, in order to turn in at last such reports as would represent wisdom, justice, and moderation on the highest levels possible to youth and immaturity.

I may say in conclusion that the bibliographies were not intended to cover these great subjects in complete schematic sort; they merely brought to our club members the material already at hand and best worth the while of busy students whose spare time was small in the rush of a college year.

E. C. BRANSON,

Chairman Steering Committee of the North Carolina Club.
Chapel Hill, N. C., December 24, 1920.

CHAPTER I

THE STATE RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAM

The personnel of the State Reconstruction Commission appointed by Governor T. W. Bickett in October, 1919, was as follows:

C. F. Tomlinson, manufacturer, High Point; Julius Cone, manufacturer, Greensboro; Charles C. Page, labor representative, Raleigh; W. H. Newell, railroad official, Rocky Mount; W. L. Poteat, college president, Wake Forest; C. F. Harvey, merchant and banker, Kinston; C. B. Armstrong, manufacturer, Gastonia; E. C. Branson, teacher, Chapel Hill; Archibald Johnson, editor, Thomasville; J. Bryan Grimes, farmer and state officer, Raleigh; J. O. Carr, lawyer, Wilmington; H. R. Starbuck, judge and lawyer, Winston-Salem; Clarence Clark, farmer and merchant, Clarkton; Cyrus Thompson, physician, Jacksonville; J. F. Diggs, farmer, Rockingham; R. W. Christian, farmer, Fayetteville; James H. Pou, lawyer, Raleigh; A. L. Brooks, lawyer, Greensboro; Gilbert T. Stephenson, lawyer and banker, Winston-Salem; Fred L. Seeley, business man, Asheville; B. F. Eagles, farmer, Macclesfield; E. C. Duncan, banker, Raleigh; W. C. Ruffin, manufacturer, Mayodan; E. S. Parker, lawyer, Graham; W. N. Everett, manufacturer and merchant, Rockingham.

Chairman, Governor T. W. Bickett; Secretary, and Chairman of the Steering Committee, E. C. Branson.

Commission Organization

Governor Bickett requested the State Reconstruction Commission to hold its first meeting in the Senate Chamber in Raleigh on October 28. He asked each of the twenty-five members, who represent every class of our citizenship, to prepare and bring with them to the initial meeting written suggestions relative to the work the commission should undertake to do.

In the meantime, on the Governor's request, Mr. E. C. Branson, a member of the faculty of the University of North Carolina, prepared a tentative working program for the commission's consideration, as follows:

In the first place, Mr. Branson, who is himself a member of the commission, would have that body consider the reasons for its own existence. These are, he says: (1) the quickening effects of the world war, which fundamentally are (a) the accelerated cityward drift of country populations, decreasing labor in our farm regions, and labor unrest in our industrial centers, (b) the enormous increase in prices received by producers of primary and secondary wealth, and the tragic

high cost of living, in city centers in particular, (c) inflated currency, inflated credit, real and pseudo prosperity, the widespread mania of extravagance, the necessity for increased production, increased thrift, and a noble use of our wealth, (d) the sudden expansion of the mental horizon of the masses, and their manifest willingness to consider the large concerns of democracy—taxation, education, health, highways, and civic reforms, along with the final values of life, (e) the rising tide of race antagonism; and (2) the economic, social, and civic adjustments necessary in the days at hand and ahead, due to these foundational disturbances.

In the second place, the commission, in his opinion, should arrange to take stock of our resources, agencies and institutions—their values and deficiencies, opportunities and possibilities, in order to determine definite base lines of progress for the future; to prepare a compact body of wisely determined principles, policies and plans for safe commonwealth development—all in view of the fact that the development of a state is an organic process and not a mechanical program; to present to the state what is ideally desirable but also what is reasonably possible, the characteristic genius of our people considered. In short, to supplant aimless drift with reasoned progress, to the end that North Carolina can speedily be a cleaner place for children to be born in, a safer place for boys and girls to grow up in, a happier place for men and women to live in, and a more joyous place for departing souls to look back upon.

Program of Work

Touching on the machinery of the commission, and going more into detail with reference to the work ahead of it, Mr. Branson would have the chairman appoint and instruct appropriate committees, (a) to consider particular phases of life and business in North Carolina, (b) to hold separate committee sessions, (c) to call into consultation at such meeting the thinkers and leaders of the state, and (d) to report definite committee findings to the commission when called upon, the full and final report of the commission as a whole to be given to the state at the earliest possible date.

These committees, if they follow Mr. Branson's suggestions, in all their deliberations will wisely keep in mind the fact that North Carolina is dominantly a rural state, that ten years ago it was being urbanized more rapidly than thirty-six other states in the Union, and even more rapidly during the war period, and that, therefore, every problem each committee considers has a threefold aspect—agricultural, industrial and urban.

The following committees seem to Mr. Branson to box the compass of fundamental state concerns: (1) Public Education, (2) Public

Health, (3) Transportation and Communication, (4) Home and Farm Ownership, (5) Economic, Social and Civic Organization, (6) Race Relations, (7) Public Welfare, (8) Civic Reforms, State and local, and (9) A Collaboration Committee whose duty it is to receive the reports of other committees and to organize them into compact form for the final consideration of the commission as a whole.—*The Winston-Salem Journal*.

The commission was organized on October 28, as follows: Chairman, Governor T. W. Bickett; Secretary, E. C. Branson; Steering Committee, C. F. Harvey, Charles C. Page, E. S. Parker, James H. Pou, and E. C. Branson, Chairman.

RECONSTRUCTION STUDIES

A section exhibiting (1) the suggested outlines for club committee investigations, to be expanded or contracted as may be deemed wise by the various committees, (2) bibliographies of selected books, bulletins, press clippings, and the like, accumulated in the seminar room of the department of rural social science at the University of North Carolina, and ready at hand for club and commission committees.

The Subject in General

Problems of reconstruction—Isaac Lippincott. Macmillan Company, New York. 340 pp.

Reconstructing America: Our Next Big Job—Edward Wildman. The Page Company, Boston. 422 pp.

The New State—M. F. Follett. Longmans, Green and Company, New York. 373 pp.

American Problems of Reconstruction—Edited by Elisha M. Friedman. E. P. Dutton Company, New York. 492 pp.

Democracy in Reconstruction—Edited by Frederick A. Cleveland and Joseph Schafer. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. 506 pp.

Some Phases of What is Called Reconstruction—Wm. C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce. Press Service, June 11, 1919.

Evolution of Industrial Society—R. T. Ely. Macmillan Company, New York. 489 pp.

The British Revolution and American Democracy—Norman Angell. B. W. Huebsch, 225 Fifth Avenue, New York. 319 pp.

Modern and Contemporaneous European History—J. Salwyn Schapiro. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. 766 pp.

Report of the British Ministry on Reconstruction—University Rural Social Science Files, No. 338.02.

Lloyd George's Program for England—*Ibid.*

Emergency Problems in England—Sir Guy Granet. A newspaper interview. *The New York Times*, October 26, 1919.

Social Reconstruction—Reconstruction Pamphlet No. 1, January, 1919. National Catholic War Council, Washington, D. C. 24 pp.

The Church and Social Reconstruction, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America—The Survey, August 2, 1919. 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York. 5 pp.

Christianity in the New Age—E. Herman. Funk and Wagnalls Company, New York. 262 pp.

Social Christianity in the New Era—Chaplain Thos. Tiplady. Macmillan Company.

Fear God in Your Own Village—Richard Morse. Henry Holt and Company, New York. 212 pp.

Religious Education and American Democracy—Walter Scott Athearn. Pilgrim Press, Boston. 394 pp.

The Farmer and the New Day—Kenyon L. Butterfield. Macmillan Company, New York. 311 pp.

Reconstruction Numbers of The Survey, April 12, May 24, May 31, June 7, June 21, October 4, 1919—The Survey, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York.

Outline Studies in Reconstruction Problems—Associated Press, 347 Madison Avenue, New York.

Outline Studies of the Reconstruction Period—Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York. 39 pp.

The Problems of Peace in Our Liberal Colleges—Harry A. Garfield. University Rural Social Science Files, No. 378.

Library of Reconstruction—The Sage Foundation, 130 East Twenty-second Street, New York. 4 pp.

The New Social Order in America, A Study Syllabus—Hornell Hart, 807 Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. 40 pp.

Government of American Cities, by W. B. Munro. Macmillan Company, New York, N. Y. 415 pp.

Reports on Reconstruction

Alabama, The Social Problems of—Hastings H. Hart, at the request of Governor Charles Henderson. The Sage Foundation, 130 East Twenty-second Street, New York. 87 pp.

— — — Legislative Message of Governor Thos. E. Kilby, July 8, 1919—Legislative Document No. 7. 24 pp.

Florida, A Social Welfare Program—Hastings H. Hart and Clarence L. Stonaker, at the request of Governor Sidney J. Catts. The Sage Foundation, 112 East Twenty-second Street, New York. 96 type-written pp. (Out of print.)

Kentucky, The Social Problems of—Kentucky State Council of Defense, Inter-Southern Building, Louisville, Ky. 120 pp.

Mississippi, The Social Progress of—Hastings H. Hart (in preparation). The Russell Sage Foundation, New York.

— — — Development Program of the State Landowners' Association—Manufacturers' Record, September 18, 1919.

North Carolina, Pressing Needs of the Present Hour—Governor T. W. Bickett—University Rural Social Science Files, No. 338.02.

South Carolina, A Social Program for—Hastings H. Hart, at the request of Governor Richard I. Manning. The Russell Sage Foundation, New York. 61 pp.

Illinois, Report of the Efficiency and Economy Committee—John A. Fairlie, Director, Urbana, Ill. 1051 pp.

— — — The Civil Administrative Code—Compiled by Louis L. Emerson, Secretary of State, Springfield, Ill. 37 pp.

Indiana, Report of the Reconstruction and Readjustment Conference—The Executive Chamber, Indianapolis.

New York, Report of the State Reconstruction Commission—The Executive Chamber, Albany, N. Y.

Massachusetts, Debates and Bulletins of the Constitutional Convention of 1917-18—Executive Office, Boston, Mass. 4 volumes.

Michigan, Report of the State Reconstruction Commission—Stuart H. Perry, Adrian, Mich., Chairman. 26 pp.

West Virginia, A Suggested Social Program—Hastings H. Hart and Clarence L. Stonaker. The Sage Foundation, New York. 24 pp.

Wisconsin, Report on Reconstruction by a special Legislative Committee—Roy P. Wilcox, Chairman. Executive Office, Madison, Wis. 30 pp.

CHAPTER II

THE NORTH CAROLINA CLUB

The work of the North Carolina Club at the State University in 1919-20 followed the lead of the State Reconstruction Commission and its committees. A working relationship with the commission was voted to the club on October 28, and Mr. J. V. Baggett, the club president, was elected an unofficial member of the State Reconstruction Commission. The chairmen of the club committees were invited to sit with the commission committees.

The club members thus honored were the pick of the club membership.

Each club committee chairman chose his cabinet of conferees, laid out the work of his committee, held committee meetings at will, and passed on to the club on stated schedule dates such committee findings as the committee thought fundamentally necessary to progress under the new order of things in North Carolina.

Each committee was set to the task of puzzling out and stating What is, What ought to be, and What possibly may be in North Carolina. It was generally agreed that no reconstruction proposal, policy, or plan would avail unless it appeals to the common sense of the common man of the commonwealth.

The Club Program

The work of the North Carolina Club as a whole was spent upon hammering out a State Reconstruction Program that evidenced a decent respect for the opinions of mankind. This document was finally fashioned for club approval by the collaboration committee, after the reports and findings of the various club committees were rendered according to the adopted schedule. It was the subject of the final club session June 4, 1920.

Its 1919-20 year book bears the title of a Program of State Reconstruction by the North Carolina Club. It doubtless evidences the imperfections of youth, but it at least expresses the judgments of a thoughtful group of young students about what is and what safely can be in North Carolina.

The Club Organization

This North Carolina Club is organized for work in 1919-20 with officers as follows:

President, J. V. Baggett; Secretary, Miss Ernestine Noa.

Steering Committee: E. C. Branson, Chairman; D. D. Carroll, C. L. Raper, S. H. Hobbs, Jr., A. M. Coates, and W. E. Price.

Publicity Committee: Lenoir Chambers, Chairman; C. A. Hibbard, W. H. Andrews, Jr., and G. D. Crawford.

Membership Committee: G. D. Crawford, Chairman; S. H. Hobbs, Jr., W. H. Andrews, Jr., J. V. Baggett, F. P. Graham, and Mrs. M. H. Stacy.

Student life on an American college campus is so intense, the working schedule so crowded, the interest in marks so overwhelming, and the leisure time of students so preoccupied with athletics and social events that college men do not easily or often climb up and peep over the rim of the campus bowl into the affairs of the big wide world where in a year or two they will rise or fall according to their competent acquaintance with life in the large, and their power of mastery over themselves and the situations that confront them.

Nevertheless, at the University of North Carolina a little group of some fifty students and faculty members has for five years met on fortnightly Monday nights to study intensively the economic, social, and civic problems of the home state. Their club year-books bear the following titles: (1) The Resources, Advantages and Opportunities of North Carolina, (2) Wealth and Welfare in North Carolina, (3) County Government and County Affairs in North Carolina, and (4) State Reconstruction Studies. It is a unique body of state literature. There is nothing else like it in any state of the Union.

The chapters that follow give to the public the reports of the various club committees, along with the bibliographies of selected books, bulletins, reports, clippings, and the like used during the year.

CHAPTER III

PUBLIC EDUCATION IN CAROLINA

Equality of opportunity is the ideal of democracy in education. To help North Carolina to attain this ideal is the purpose of this report. The Education Committee of the Club has sought to find the steps toward improvement that may reasonably be taken within the next ten or twenty years.

Scope of the Report

This report deals with the educational welfare of two and a half millions of people, seventy-one per cent of whom dwell in the open country. That fact marks the problem as dominantly rural, and so throughout the study that follows the rural phases of education are emphasized. City educational problems, however, are given due weight and consideration.

The outstanding needs of the North Carolina school system are in the order of their importance:

1. Adequate funds.
2. Better trained teachers and better trained county superintendents.
3. A reorganization of the state, county, and city educational units.

I

Committee Findings

In the judgment of your Committee, the steps to be taken in order to meet the educational needs of the state are:

1. Public School Support.

(1) The provision of funds, one-third by state tax and appropriation, and the remaining two-thirds by county tax, adequate for all the school expenses of the state, providing an amount sufficient to maintain all the elementary and high schools at least eight months.

(2) The adoption of the county as the unit of local taxation.

2. Organization and Administration.

(1) The appointment of the State Board of Education by the Governor subject to the approval of the Senate.

(2) The election of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction by the State Board of Education for a term of five years, the selection being determined by professional standing and ability without reference to place of residence.

(3) The establishment of the county as the unit for local organization and administration, abolishing all present district, city, and county boards of education, and in their stead placing the school affairs of the entire county (city, village, and rural) in the control of a County Board of Education. This board should consist of five members to be elected by the qualified voters of the county on a non-partisan ticket at a special election. The term of office of the members should be five years, so arranged that one member should retire each year. The function of the board should be legislative only, and should be concerned with the broad aspects of policy, rather than with executive or administrative duties.

(4) The election of the County Superintendent of Education for a term of five years, the selection being determined by professional standing and ability without reference to politics, creed, or place of residence. The relation of the Superintendent to the County Board of Education should be such as to make him its supreme executive and administrative officer, with full power over all professional educational matters, such as the appointment of teachers, principals, supervisors, and assistants, consolidation of schools, and the organization of courses of study, and the general direction of the school work of the county.

(5) The appointment of three directors for each school community in the county by the County Board of Education, said directors to be custodians of the local school property and to represent the local needs before the County Board of Education.

(6) The organization of elementary and high schools on a 6-3-3 basis.

(7) The furnishing of free textbooks in all public elementary and high schools.

(8) The specifying of 8 to 16 years as the ages for compulsory school attendance.

(9) Adequate provision for physical education coördinated with medical and sanitary supervision.

(10) The approval of all building plans and specifications by the State Superintendent of Education and the State Board of Health.

(11) The subsidizing of the building of teacherages by the payment of one-third of the expense by the State.

(12) The mandatory appointment of at least one teacher in each county to give full time to the campaign against illiteracy and near-illiteracy.

(13) The encouragement of vocational education through state aid and the requiring of at least one high school in each county to offer properly equipped and properly taught courses in agriculture, domestic science, and teacher training in addition to the usual academic subjects.

(14) Adequate provision for the education of the negroes, particularly in industrial subjects.

(15) The minimum requirement for all new teachers for permission to teach in any public school to be the successful completion of four years of high school training and at least one additional year of professional study.

(16) The granting of certificates by the State Board of Education for all positions paying \$60 a month or more, beginning salaries being scaled according to the grade of certificate held; salary increases being scaled according to success in teaching, length of tenure at one place, and professional improvement through study at approved institutions.

(17) The minimum salary for any teacher who is a graduate of a standard college and who has had one year's successful teaching experience to be \$100 per month.

(18) The establishment of a state system of pensions for teachers.

(19) The employment of all teachers for a term of twelve months.

(20) Adequate provision to aid the intelligent consolidation of schools and the transportation of pupils at public expense.

3. Higher Education.

(1) The increase of facilities for the professional training of teachers in vocational subjects at the State College of Agriculture and Engineering.

(2) The increase of facilities for training teachers in county high schools, normal schools, and colleges until 2,000 new teachers each year can be provided for.

(3) The establishment of practice schools illustrating both city and rural conditions in connection with all teacher training departments in institutions of higher learning.

(4) The acceptance for entrance at all institutions of higher learning of any fifteen units of work, involving four sequences of three units each, successfully completed at an accredited high school.

(5) Increased appropriations based on a state-wide mill tax of such size as to meet the progressively increasing needs of the state's higher institutions of learning.

(6) The establishment of at least two standard teacher training schools in the state.

II

Explanations in Brief

The three principal recommendations in the above list of findings concern (1) school funds, (2) adequately trained teachers and school officials, and (3) the county unit of organization and administration. The following explanations will be restricted to these outstanding needs.

FUNDS

North Carolina is a billionaire state. The census estimate of the volume of primary wealth produced in 1919 is conservatively estimated at \$1,397,000,000. In the face of such big-scale production is North Carolina to go on with her small-scale thinking about public education? That it is small-scale thinking is attested by the fact that in practically all important aspects of educational work our state ranks in the lowest group of all the states of the United States, and sometimes we are nearly last within that group. This is true in regard to: (1) Length of school term; (2) average salary of teachers; (3) school property investment for each child; (4) per cent of total enrollment in high schools.

If this is to change, if we are to regain in the South the place of leadership that we held in the days of Calvin H. Wiley, we must invest heavily in public education. Our school money must not only be doubled but tripled if ample funds are to be provided for "all that is necessary in buildings, equipments and grounds, in length of school term, and in teachers adequately prepared for their work."

BETTER TRAINED TEACHERS

Of the 11,730 white teachers in North Carolina 9,207 have never graduated either from a teacher training school or a college. We are playing with education, bluffing ourselves into thinking our children are being properly taught. The comparatively uneducated are being set to teach the slightly less educated and ignorant. Public school teaching in our state is not a profession as long as there are so many untrained teachers at work. If we want professionally trained teachers we can get them, but we must pay for them. There are thousands of untrained teachers who will gladly take professional training, if the salaries are increased so as to justify their doing so.

However, in order to give professional training to our teachers we need increased facilities for teacher training. Provision should be made for more teacher training schools and for increased facilities in the schools of this sort already in existence. At present the graduates from all the normal schools and colleges of the state number less than 800 per year. We need 2,600 new teachers every year. Until such time as normal school facilities for the graduating of 2,600 new teachers per year are provided, teacher training should be given in at least one high school in each county, by a teacher placed there by the state.

PROFESSIONALLY TRAINED COUNTY SUPERINTENDENTS

A County Superintendent of Education should in fact as well as in title be the professional head of the educational forces of the county.

His training should be equal to if not better than that of the highest teachers under him. If we are ever to get professionally trained teachers in a county, the very first step is to get a professionally trained county superintendent. There are a hundred County Superintendents of Education in North Carolina today. Less than twenty of them are professionally trained educators, fully alive to the tremendous importance of their office. The County Superintendent of Education is the key to the improvement of North Carolina education. If nothing else be done, let this be done. Put professionally trained men in each county superintendency. Let the people of the county elect the County Board of Education, and then let the County Board look anywhere in the state or in the United States for a man adequately fitted for the duties of the office. Until professionally trained County Superintendents of Education are secured, public education in North Carolina will mark time.

THE COUNTY UNIT

To equalize educational opportunities and to coördinate the work of educating the children is the purpose of a county unit. In organization, administration, and support, all the schools of the county—city and rural—are placed in the hands of the County Board of Education, the County Superintendent of Education, and his professional assistants. This is done to bring the county as a whole to a high level of educational progress. Under the present district system many parts of the county are barely existing educationally. The children pay; it is they who suffer. Practically every county in this state has fifty or more one-room, one-teacher schools. Under a county unit system these schools would be merged into a small number of consolidated schools to which the children would be transported by wagon or truck. In such consolidated schools country children would receive educational opportunities fully equal to those of city children. These schools need to be taught by country-minded teachers whose professional training is in all respects equal to that of the best city teachers. Schools of this sort could be community centers working for the enrichment and the advancement of country life. Cities in large measure owe their prosperity and growth to the surrounding area of country production and trade. They owe it to the countryside to help make the country schools as vigorous and efficient as the city schools.

Equality of educational opportunity can not be effected by the county unit, unless the county as a whole—city and rural—is made the unit for school taxation. No special taxes in special districts, but the same tax throughout the county, both in the city and in the country. The whole wealth of the state is available to educate the children of the state. The whole wealth of the county should be available to educate the children of the county. Only thus can educational oppor-

tunity be equalized, particularly for the seventy-five per cent of North Carolina children who dwell in the open country.

The county-wide school unit is not an experiment. It has been tried and tested here in North Carolina. New Hanover County has had it for years. The country people of New Hanover and the people of Wilmington all unite in praise of the system. In Alabama the State Superintendent of Education resigned his office to become the County Superintendent of Education in Jefferson County under a county-unit system. The opportunity which the county-unit offers appeals to the very highest type of educational workers. In Shelby County, Tennessee, the county unit has proved a brilliant success. The people of Memphis are justly proud of the country schools of the county, and they rival in excellence those of the city itself. In Baltimore County, Maryland, the plan has been in operation for a number of years and is a decided success. In Florida the system has been in operation for many years under a state-wide plan. In view of these facts legislation should be enacted allowing and encouraging the county unit in North Carolina.—Harry F. Latshaw, Chairman; R. B. Spencer, H. B. Simpson, B. W. Sipe, W. J. Nichols, O. A. Tuttle, and Mrs. H. F. Latshaw, Committee on Education.

November 10, 1919.

OUTLINE OF PUBLIC EDUCATION STUDIES

1. Public school support and policies, covering (a) elementary schools, (b) high schools, (c) technical schools, and (d) schools of liberal arts.

2. Illiteracy and near-illiteracy, (a) the facts and their significance, (b) policies and methods of attack.

3. Vocational education, for farm, factory, and urban populations: (a) Survey of our needs, (b) vocational educational agencies, activities, and results in North Carolina, (c) the special importance of farm vocational education and the necessity for country teacherages, (d) conclusions.

4. Teacher training: (a) The necessity for increased agencies and facilities, (b) policies and plans.

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Education Committee

The County Unit System of Public Schools: H. F. Latshaw, Chairman, Macon County, Franklin.

Units of Organization: R. B. Spencer, Orange County, Chapel Hill.

School Administration: H. B. Simpson, Union County, Matthews.

Form of Organization: W. J. Nichols, Durham County, Gorman.

Illiteracy and School Support: O. A. Tuttle, Mecklenburg County, Pineville.

Building Program: B. W. Sipe, Gaston County, Cherryville.

Teachers and Teacher Training: Mrs. H. F. Latshaw.

Committee report (tentative), November 10, 1919.

CHAPTER IV

COUNTY HEALTH DEPARTMENTS, WHOLE-TIME HEALTH OFFICERS AND PUBLIC HEALTH NURSES

BLACKWELL MARKHAM, DURHAM, N. C.

I. Scope of the Report

The findings of this division of Public Health Committee concern the establishment of effective county health machinery in each county of the state; to consist of a well ordered county health department, headed by a whole-time health officer who in turn should be aided by a whole-time public health nurse.

North Carolina, while it is the most aggressive of the Southern States in public health work, has still to reach in effective ways eighteen hundred thousand dwellers in the open country. They are 71 per cent of our total population, and they are difficult to reach and serve. So in every state.

But the greatest barrier to effective public health work lies in the indifference, inertia and unconcern of the people in general in rural and urban districts alike in regard to disease-prevention and health-promotion.

At the present time only 21 of our 100 counties are provided with public health departments. Only 14 of these departments are under the direction of the State Board of Health, while only 7 of these boards have the assistance of whole-time public health nurses. This figure does not include the 60-odd nurses employed by life insurance companies, civic organizations, churches and mill owners in North Carolina.

II. Program Proposals

(1) A statute law compelling the establishment of a county health department in each county with a population of 25,000 and over. These departments should operate under the direction of the State Board of Health. They should carry on or improve the plans which are at present in operation in the most progressive county health departments now existent.

(2) Each county health department (a) should be under the supervision of a competent county health board, (b) should be under the direction of a competent whole-time health officer, (c) should have the assistance of one or more well trained whole-time public health nurses, the number varying according to the actual need; (d) should work from a county or county-group hospital, (e) should conduct diagnosis centers, general clinics, and dispensaries.

III. Explanations

State legislation if properly enforced would lay the foundations for sound health conditions all over the state. Well ordered county health departments should be established in every county. The upkeep of each department should be cared for partly by the county and partly by the state. Effective health work in the smaller counties would be too expensive for them to conduct alone. Every dollar of taxable wealth in the state should be put behind the health-promotion and disease-prevention in rich and poor county districts alike.

The supervision of a competent county health board is essential in order to assure the right use of the methods suggested by State Board of Health on the one hand, and on the other hand to judge accurately the needs of the people of the particular county. Also to judge the competency of the health officer and nurse.

The county health officer should devote his whole time to county work and should have every facility for carrying on his work efficiently. He should be well fitted for his position. No unsuccessful physician who formerly has not had enough to keep him busy should occupy this important public office.

(3) The whole-time health nurse has an unusual field of opportunity open to her. She should have a good general education and not only be well versed in the arts of bedside nursing, but should also possess the fine arts of transferring her knowledge of sanitation and hygiene to the people she comes in contact with daily.

Diagnosis centers and general clinics should be determined by the necessities of different communities, since varying conditions produce varying needs.—Blackwell Markham, Chairman Sub-Committee on Public Health.

RURAL PUBLIC HEALTH WORK

Perhaps the most thorough study of civic machinery for public health work in country areas is that of E. C. Branson, Kenan Professor of Rural Social Science at the University of North Carolina. We are, therefore, printing in full his report on this subject to the American Country Life Association at its recent session in Chicago:

Scope of the Report

The findings of your committee concern the governmental machinery of public health work among 44,000,000 dwellers in the open country of the United States outside incorporated towns of every sort and size, and 10,000,000 village dwellers in towns of fewer than 2,500 inhabitants. Here, all told, are 54,000,000 people, or just about half our total

population at present. These people are aside and apart from the centers of business activity and social enterprise. Remote and aloof, they were hard to reach down to the last household in our liberty bond, war stamp, and war benevolence drives. They are just as hard to reach with public health literature and to arouse to self-protective activity in behalf of disease-prevention and health-promotion.

The instinct of self-preservation is feeble in individuals, except on the lower levels of life and in dramatic situations of sudden peril to life and limb; it is even feebler in the collective personalities called cities, as most of us have learned in the struggle to persuade boards of aldermen to invest in adequate public health machinery; it is almost non-existent, as a local civic asset, among the multitudes scattered throughout the vast open spaces of America.

Your committee has been charged with considering the hard end of public health work, namely, the public health machinery that will effectively reach and serve the rural multitudes who can not or will not take individual or collective action in behalf of themselves, their homes, or their home communities. Rural public health, like the rural public school, is a mired wheel at present in the United States.

Committee Findings

Effective public health work in rural areas seems to your committee to mean:

1. A state department of public health with authority to determine general public health policies, to broadcast popular public health literature, to establish and maintain standards of public health service, to supervise and direct all state and local health activities, agencies, and institutions whatsoever, and to serve within the state as a direct co-ordinating center for all extra-state public health organizations and agencies, federal health bureaus as well as national public health philanthropies.

2. Regional diagnosis centers, general clinics and dispensaries—enough to be within easy reach of the rural population of a state.

3. Hygiene and sanitation as required subjects of instruction in all grades and types of schools receiving state aid.

These as a setting and support for

4. A county-unit organization of public health machinery under state health board guidance.

Explanations in Brief

1. The State Department of Public Health. It appears to your committee to be both possible and desirable that all local public health work, regional, county, and municipal, be placed under the authoritative guidance of the state health board; and also that all outside pub-

lic health agencies and organizations operating within a state function through the state board—this in order to avoid, in Milton's phrase, confusion worse confounded, which being translated means confounded confusion. This finding presupposes the willingness of public health organizations, local, state, and national, to federate their aims, to concentrate their funds, and to operate through a single responsible state agency in comfortable comradeship. If it cannot be so, it indicates a sad lack of self-effacingness among Good Samaritans along the road to Jericho. Pending such a federation, national organizations should place their public health work on a project basis, and definitely announce their projects to the public.

2. Regional Diagnosis Centers, General Clinics, and Dispensaries. Such centers ought to be established in steadily increasing number in every state, and their location determined by the necessities of remote rural regions. The investment and operating expense ought to be a charge upon the state treasury, supplemented by the funds of such federal bureaus and volunteer organizations as find these centers useful in reaching the disabled constituencies they are created to serve. The lack of such centers at present leaves our rural populations at the mercy of clogging inveterate superstitions, quack doctors, and patent medicine venders.

3. Schools of every grade and type receiving state aid in any measure should offer instruction in hygiene and sanitation, with lessons in first aid, bedside nursing, and sick-room dietetics, adapted to classes of various ages and degrees of preparedness. A measureable command of these matters ought to be required for a license to teach in the public schools of the United States; otherwise college, normal school, and summer school courses in these subjects are likely to be offered in vain for long years to come. Credit courses must be used to create civic and social mindedness. The schools must hurry to capitalize popular interest in public health. Public health servants must be trained in wholesale numbers, and rural communities must be stirred into readiness for action, by intelligent local leaders in multiplied thousands. Public health instruction in the schools is foundational.

The County-Unit Plan

4. The County Unit of Public Health Machinery. In forty-one states the county is the local unit of civil government. Just as we have slowly come to see that public education on a county-wide basis is the way of progress, so it begins to appear that the county as such is the proper territorial basis for local health organizations operating as mediate agencies of state health board effort, and that on no other basis are we likely to reach and serve our country population in public health work. And this is probably just as true in regions where the town or township is the real unit of political life as it is in areas

where the township is merely a geographic term with little or no significance of economic, social, or civic sort. Effective public health work is expensive—too expensive for rural taxpayers or for dwellers in fractional areas of rural counties. Our rural counties, it is well to remember, are four of every five on an average the country over; that is to say, in 2,350 of our 2,950 counties two-thirds or more of the people dwell in the open country and in small towns and villages. The time has come to recognize this fundamental fact and to act upon it. The taxable wealth of an entire county is required to support public health work that is organized to reach all the people. It is not too much to say that every dollar of taxable wealth in every county ought to back health-promotion and disease-prevention in the richest town center and poorest country district alike. Bear ye one another's burdens, and Every man shall bear his own burden, are complementary Biblical truths. They are also complementary democratic doctrines. They mean local tax levies, reinforced by state and federal aid and by private benevolence, local and national.

A state health board can function most effectively through county health machinery. It is hard to see how it can otherwise reach individual farmsteads in sparsely settled rural areas. In every detail—in health surveys, in case work, in advice, supervision, care and cure—public health bulks up too big for centralized authorities, agencies, and institutions. And this is true in urban and rural areas alike. Public health is fundamentally a local problem, and at last it must be in largest part a local responsibility. Consider tuberculosis, for instance. The country over, the open pronounced tubercular cases of all sorts are around ten per thousand inhabitants; which means 25,000 cases in a state of two and a half million people. It is hardly thinkable that a state sanitarium with a few hundred beds can be either a diagnosis center or a curing station for such a host of stricken sufferers. On the other hand, the open cases in a little county of 16,000 inhabitants are some 160, and the deaths around 20 per year. Clearly, the problem is too large for one big sanitarium in any state. Tuberculosis is a county problem and it calls for county or county-group hospitals. Such hospitals are now required by law in New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts, and other states are moving ahead in the same direction.

County Health Machinery

County Public Health Machinery. Effective local public health work involves:

1. A county public health board, elected preferably by the county board of finance and the county board of education in joint session, and supported by a fund at least one-third of which is locally derived,

the balance coming from state, federal, and other outside agencies and organizations if possible.

2. A county health department, headed by a whole-time county health officer, with clerical help, laboratories, and assistants in the largest measure possible. He should be elected by the county board of health, the county board of finance, and the county school board jointly, from a certified list furnished by the state board of health. He should be answerable to the local health board and through it to the state health authorities. He should hold office without reelection during good behavior and effective service. He should have directive oversight of all local public health agents and institutions in the county. He should be quartered with the county school superintendent or alongside him with the veil between rent in twain.

3. A county-paid public health nurse, one to start with and more just as rapidly as supporting funds can be found. She should be chosen by the county health officer from the certified list of the state board, to whom she is finally responsible through the county health officer.

4. A county tuberculosis hospital in every county where the annual taxes, state and local, are \$100,000 or more, under permissive legislation, by a majority vote of the voters voting. In areas where county populations are small and taxable properties meager, county-group hospitals should be established.

In short, a county health organization should develop a robust sense of local responsibility for local health problems. It should be removed as far as possible from local partisan politics and at the same time allow the largest possible measure of local democratic participation consistent with effectiveness.

To this end the initiative of local health authorities ought to be respected and their wisdom conserved by bringing them together and having them assist in determining the standards of local health work on the highest possible levels. In this way local taxpayers have an understandable basis upon which to compare costs and results in the various counties, to know how their county ranks in public health work among the counties of the state, and whether or not it is moving ahead or lagging behind—whether or not it is getting results or getting left. Such standards, democratically determined, are essential to the best efforts of local health officers and the largest possible support in local communities.—E. C. Branson, Kenan Professor, Rural Social Science, University of N. C., Chicago, 1919.

COUNTY OR COUNTY-GROUP PUBLIC HOSPITALS, AND WHY

JOHN S. TERRY, ROCKINGHAM, N. C.

This paper contains brief suggestions concerning county or county-group hospitals, to serve two and a half million people, of whom

1,800,000 are open country dwellers and 830,000 are negroes.

These hospitals are needed by people who are hard to reach with doctors and health literature, and to arouse to self-protection in behalf of disease-prevention and health-promotion.

It is the purpose here to suggest methods of obtaining the hospitals necessary adequately to serve the state. For our two and a half million souls we have at present 6,000 hospital beds; in one year we have 30,000 hospital cases, and long waiting lists. Our 830,000 negroes have only 200 beds in their four private hospitals. This means that on an average in North Carolina 416 people have one hospital bed to serve them, and 4,150 negroes have one hospital bed to serve them.

Program Proposed

1. Educate all citizens as to the need of hospitals by socializing the idea of health, by means of public health literature and campaigns, issued and conducted by the State and County Health Boards.

2. By state legislation follow either of the two plans below suggested, which have been used elsewhere with good results.

(a) The Indiana Plan. Authorize county commissioners to vote for and then establish county hospitals, maintained by tax levies.

Or authorize the county commissioners to hold an election if petitioned by 200 voters, and, if there is an affirmative vote, to establish the hospital and levy taxes.

(b) The New York State Plan. Pass a state law requiring all counties having more than a certain population, or counties paying a certain amount of annual taxes, state and local, to build a hospital; and require the more sparsely settled counties to group themselves for erecting and maintaining hospitals.

Explanations

1. Health propaganda is necessary because our population is largely illiterate, and those of measurable education are ignorant about public health activities. For example, only six cities and one county in North Carolina, during all the years they have been left to local initiative, have established free public hospitals on a tax basis. Yet we have a law which permits bond sales for the purpose of founding county or community hospitals.

2. County hospitals are needed as active working centers for health, and to serve as headquarters for the county board of health and the health officers and nurses.

Good laboratories can be built up. Able men can be kept at home, instead of being forced to go to distant cities.

Our people need to be given free medical examinations and advice, especially the school children.

Ten of every 1,000 people in the United States are open pronounced cases of tuberculosis. Twenty-five thousand people in North Carolina need hospital treatment, instead of suffering and dying for lack of proper care. Moreover, at present they are left to scatter tubercular germs among others. So of all other communicable diseases.

Other states have enacted hospital legislation. New York state has 31 Tb. hospitals, and requires every county of 35,000 or more inhabitants to erect one. In Indiana the County Commissioners can vote to establish a hospital and proceed to do so, or a county can vote on the matter. These hospitals can be built by the issue of county bonds.

For example, our University infirmary here, conducted by a general tax, is an example of the socialized hospital, where all receive attention freely, and where any one of the students may receive examination and advice as to his physical condition at stated times.

The staff should consist of one surgeon and one or more interne; a pathologist, a dentist, and an eye, ear, nose, and throat specialist.

They should be selected by the local hospital board, subject to the ratification of the State Board of Health. One member of the Hospital staff should be on the County Health Board.

The hospital should be freely open to all, with graduated charge for different wards, private rooms, and nursing service.—John S. Terry, Rockingham, N. C.

Nov. 24, 1919.

HEALTH AND SANITATION AS REQUIRED SUBJECTS IN ALL SCHOOLS RECEIVING STATE AID

A. R. ANDERSON, STATESVILLE, N. C.

I. Scope of the Report

The findings in this special committee concern the teaching of hygiene and sanitation to (1) approximately 634,000 elementary school pupils, (2) 24,000 high school pupils in 486 high schools, (3) 5,800 normal school pupils in 7 normal and training schools, (4) 2,500 college students in the State University and the State A. and E. College. Here are the citizens of tomorrow, and in giving them practical instruction in hygiene and sanitation we are not only safeguarding the health of the state but we are also raising future standards of health to an extent hitherto undreamed of in North Carolina. We can do much to improve health conditions in all communities now, but we can do far more for future generations by training the youth of the state properly in these most important subjects.

Before considering any recommendations whatsoever we must face the fact that it is not nearly enough merely to require all the aforementioned schools to place courses of hygiene and sanitation in the courses of instruction. We must change radically the attitude assumed towards these studies and the methods of teaching these studies by the teachers in these schools. And, furthermore, we must change the methods of teaching hygiene and sanitation to these teachers. Finally, we must make this instruction effective in every state-aided school by the supervision and reports of proper state and county officials. These changes, no doubt, will be gradual, but the benefits to the state even at the end of the first year would be inestimable.

II. Committee Proposals

The teaching of hygiene and sanitation in all schools receiving state aid seems to mean:

(1) That every teacher, before receiving a license to teach, be required to make a careful study of hygiene and sanitation and methods of teaching the same, and be thoroughly acquainted with the importance of practical instruction of children in these subjects.

(2) That the instruction of all school teachers at state-aided institutions shall include practical training in a demonstration rural school, authorized by the State Board of Health, and constructed and conducted according to the specifications and ideas of the most successful of these demonstration schools in the United States.

(3) That students at the State University, the State A. and E. College, and at all normal schools under state control or receiving state aid be required to take a thorough, practical course in hygiene and sanitation, and in addition that the standard of living at these institutions be raised by frequent periodical inspections of living conditions.

(4) That all county public schools shall have thorough practical courses in hygiene and sanitation suited to the various grades, and that a uniform method be adopted throughout the state for estimating the work done by the teachers in the various schools.

(5) That the county health officer be responsible to the State Board of Health for the enforcement of health regulations in the schools of his county, and that he shall make reports at the end of the school year concerning the health status of the public schools under his supervision.

III. Explanations in Brief

1. The teacher's course in hygiene and sanitation. The first fact to recognize in the teaching of hygiene and sanitation is that the teachers do not recognize the great importance of training the children in these subjects, nor do they often understand the first principles of

giving the child a practical, working knowledge of them. A former county superintendent stated that 90 percent of the schools of his county used the text on hygiene merely as a reading book, and that particular county probably has the best public schools in the state. The teacher who does not apply the lessons of hygiene to the school-room she is teaching in, and to the health of every child she teaches, is failing utterly in her work. Certainly every teacher should be adequately trained in these subjects, and the county superintendent must provide for the instruction of all those teachers under his charge who are not so trained.

2. The instruction of the teachers by demonstration methods. It has been proved that one of the best methods of giving instructions in teaching is by the demonstration of teaching in a model class room. We now propose to carry this a step further and to train the rural school teacher in a demonstration rural school. Probably the best example of such a school is the Demonstration Rural School of the First District Normal School at Kirksville, Mo. At every institution where teachers are trained a model rural school should be conducted under the supervision of capable teachers. The demonstration would include such things as the following: construction of building, ventilation, heating arrangements, precautions against flies, toilet arrangements, construction of sanitary privies, sanitary drinking arrangements, playgrounds, the medical inspection of children, and countless other things too numerous to mention. If we expect the rural teacher to accomplish much in the practical instruction of children, she must go to her school with clear ideas concerning what she wants to do. The teacher must have a standard, a visualization of essential factors in health building which the photographic plates in hygienic textbooks and theoretical instruction do not give them.

3. The courses at the University, the A. and E. College, and our normal schools. This state is far behind in the establishment of courses of hygiene and sanitation in those institutions under its control. If these institutions are to lead the state and to train the teachers for its schools, they must lead in no uncertain half-way manner. And we must practice what we preach. It is highly illogical to think that lasting lessons in sanitation can be taught in an unsanitary class-room of a school whose dormitories are far from model. This lesson must first be taught to every teacher and every student in these schools. Teachers cannot train others in subjects in which they are themselves untrained, or worse—indifferent and unconcerned.

That brings us to a brief consideration of the second proposal in this recommendation, the improvement of living conditions in all these schools. It is a deplorable fact that the State University was found in an excellent condition by a committee of investigation of a neighboring state in every detail except in the living conditions of the

students. These were judged very poor by the committee. It is probable that an investigation of other state schools would reveal the same defect. We must improve these conditions by improving the attitude of the students concerning health education. The inspection of living quarters would naturally follow practical instruction in these subjects and would insure the success of the plan.

4. The courses in public schools and uniform methods of estimating results. As has been pointed out, it is not enough merely to have courses in hygiene and sanitation compulsory in the schools. There must be a follow-up method to see that these courses function properly. Probably current methods of teaching and old text-books would be entirely destroyed. The teacher must be impressed with the fact that teaching a child the length of the digestive tract is not nearly so important as teaching him how to keep his teeth clean. Naturally, from her study of sanitation, she will have a clear idea of the proportional value of different lessons.

Dr. J. Mace Address, of the Boston Normal School, has devised an excellent system of tabulating results and of determining the value of each teacher as a health instructor. She is given so many points for every advance in health instruction: for instance, 5 points for daily inspection of hands and teeth, 2 points for her knowledge of the number of children having defective teeth, etc. Under this system Dr. Address has concluded that the teacher making 45 points or less is a failure; between 45 and 100, good; above 100, excellent. For further information regarding this system, reference is made to Dr. Address's Health Education in Rural Schools.

5. The responsibility of the county health officer of the State Board of Health for the proper functioning of these courses of instruction. The county health department should be so organized as to include at least one competent assistant to the county health officer, whose sole task would be the supervision of the health of the county schools. He should see that all schools function properly in health education, and, if necessary, should give instruction to those teachers who do not come up to the standard. Finally, he should consolidate the reports of the schools of his county concerning the work accomplished during a school year in health education and the relative health standing of the various schools of the county. Through the county health officer he would be directly responsible to the State Board of Health for these reports and regulations.

A reorganization of the State Board of Health has been advised to include authority "to supervise and direct all state and local health activities, agencies, and institutions whatsoever." Under this department might well be placed a special branch for the control and direction of health education in our public schools.—A. R. Anderson, Chairman sub-committee on Health and Sanitation in all State-aided Schools.

Nov. 24, 1919.

RECREATION FOR RURAL PEOPLE

CARY LANIER HARRINGTON, GREENVILLE, N. C.

I. Brief Survey of Present Conditions

The country people of America at present are personal and local in their habits of thought, dogmatic, over-serious and over-sordid. They are socially isolated. Some steps for wholesome recreation and improvement of social conditions in general have been taken in the large towns and cities of this state, but comparatively little has been done by our rural communities. Several states, including North and South Dakota, New York, Illinois, and Virginia, are ahead of us in this respect. The neighborhood coöperation, romance, spirit of adventure and sociability of the earlier days of country life are gone. American farmers everywhere tend to be individualistic and almost impervious to new ideas of life and progress. They are unorganized, complacent, and socially backward. The younger generations have little opportunity to grow into wholesome, aggressive citizens on the farm, and have consequently looked to the city for better opportunities and professions. Long seasonal hours of labor and lack of scientific training have made life a drudgery on the farm and the rural people have lost the sense of appreciation of play, life, love, and the spiritual values they develop.

Aside from the State Community Service Bureau and the high school athletics of a score of the county schools there are no homebred leaders in the field to advance this idea, and if progress is to be made it must be made slowly and gradually. The changing conditions of the last few decades have quickened the sense of economic values and depressed the sense of social values in country regions everywhere. The movement for play and recreation in country areas purposes to bring to country people a fuller life—socially unifying, satisfying, and wholesome. Our country people dwell in solitary farmsteads, their work is most largely solitary, and their recreations, like their work, are solitary for the most part. Usually it is lacking altogether. People who do not play together never learn to work together. Team play is promotive of team work for business advantage and social progress.

II. Program Proposals

1. Make the country school the social center of the country community. The only country school that can be such a center is the consolidated school with motor trucks and a teacherage that houses the colony of teachers in comfort during the school term, and the prin-

cipal and his family the whole year through. Weak little one-teacher schools cannot be social centers, because they are empty and deserted for six or eight months of the year in the country regions of North Carolina. The consolidated school ought to be a detail in a county-wide plan of consolidation. The largest value of such schools is social rather than academic.

2. There is needed for such a school a principal and teachers of initiative who can introduce games, school and inter-school athletics, school and school-community debates, musical entertainments, festivals, community fairs, Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, lectures, moving pictures, pageants, and so on and on. These social play undertakings of the consolidated school could be financed by (1) entertainments with small admission fees, (2) club membership dues, (3) voluntary contributions, and (4) public appropriations.

3. Country recreation must be native; it must develop and express the intrinsic sources of joy in country life itself. It is a mistake to import city amusements into country areas, because they only whet the appetite for more of such amusements and lead the young people out of the country into the city where they can find such amusements in unrestricted measure. The country never can compete with the flamboyant, the fantastic, and bizarre spectacles of city life, and it ought never to try to do it. But it can develop its own original types of social recreation, and it must do so if the cityward drift is to be checked and the country regions not left to develop social decay. This is one of the things that every country community must do in sheer self defense.—Cary L. Harrington, Chairman sub-committee on Rural Recreation.

November 24, 1919.

PUBLIC HEALTH STUDIES

Outline

1. County health departments, whole-time health officers, and public health nurses.
2. County or county-group hospitals (public) and why.
3. Health and sanitation as required subjects in all schools receiving state aid.
4. Wholesome recreation, town and country, and why.

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CHAPTER V

STATE HIGHWAY POLICIES

S. O. WORTHINGTON, WINTERVILLE, N. C.

Any country, nation, or state that hopes to keep pace with the world must adopt the improvements of the day. The plodding horse has had his day. The uncertain and slow freight train has had its day. The motor truck and its competent service is upon us. Do we expect to use it to advantage? If so, then we must prepare for it. Everyone recognizes that our present system of rural transportation is inadequate for truck service. What does this mean? It means that to make use of the truck service and enjoy a better transportation system in North Carolina we must have a better system of roads.

Just what roads to build and just how we are to build those roads has been discussed for years. Township after township and county after county has issued bonds and attempted to improve its roads. In a certain measure there has been an improvement, at least an honest effort toward improvement. In greater part it has been a failure and a waste of money. Anyone can readily see that this is no job for a township nor even a county. The job is too big. If we ever progress along this line there must be a power back of the job to push it, and that power can be none other than the state.

Since the road question narrows itself down to the state, our next proposition is just what roads should the state build and what methods should be used in obtaining funds to build these roads.

To my mind, the following outline suggests the most logical and adequate system for building roads in North Carolina today:

Highway Systems

1. A system of national highways built and maintained by the Federal Government exclusive of state aid—approximately 300 miles.

2. A primary system of state highways, traversing the state from east to west, built and maintained by the state exclusive of county aid—approximately 1,000 miles.

3. A secondary system of state highways built and maintained by the state connecting the county seats of the different counties—approximately 5,000 miles.

4. A system of county roads built and maintained by the counties alone, comprising all roads not included in the state and national highways.

National Highways

1. These roads should be built of the best known hard surface material.
2. The first of these roads should meet the national highway coming through Virginia by way of Roanoke to Winston-Salem, thence by way of Greensboro and Charlotte into South Carolina.
3. The second one should meet the Capital Highway coming from Richmond to Henderson, thence by way of Raleigh and Fayetteville to South Carolina.

State Highways, Primary and Secondary

1. This system, like the first, should be built of the best available material.
2. The first of these highways should start at Asheville and go by way of Charlotte to Wilmington, the engineers using their discretion as to what other towns it shall go through.
3. The second should start at Winston-Salem, passing through Greensboro and Durham to Raleigh. Here it should branch, one fork going by way of Rocky Mount and Tarboro to Elizabeth City; the other should go by way of Goldsboro, Kinston, New Bern, to Morehead City. Asheville and Statesville should be connected with Salisbury by a state highway where it meets the proposed National Highway.
4. The proposed secondary system of state highways, not being subject to such heavy traffic as the primary system, could be built of a cheaper grade of hard surface material.
5. Such of these secondary roads as lead to sections that promise to require a primary road should be built with that end in view.
6. The state should create a fund for building these roads by (1) a property tax and (2) a special road tax on all automobiles, automobile accessories, gasoline, and cylinder oil, (3) the legislature should tax all land within one mile of the highway, on either side, with one-eighth the cost of the road, (4) serial bonds to be issued as the money is needed. These to be paid off at specified times out of the money from the different taxes.
7. The present automobile license tax to be increased to one dollar per horse power and the money used in keeping up the highway commission and to maintain the roads after they are built.
8. The State Highway Department should be adequately supported so as to have the best engineers to carry on the work.

County Highways

1. The roads left to the county should be built of dirt, well located, graded, and drained, and surfaced with gravel or properly mixed sand and clay.

2. Each county should perfect its own organization for carrying out this work.

3. The state should furnish to each county a competent highway engineer.

4. All bonds previously issued by the township should be bought by the county, thus placing the debt all in one place.

5. The counties should use their convict forces as labor in carrying out this work, under state supervision and state highway engineers.

6. Through local property taxes and special assessments the counties can raise the amount required to build their roads.

7. Each county should maintain its own parcel post routes and the proceeds should be used from these for local road building.

My suggestion would be that in carrying out this plan we try to build the primary system in the next five years. The present federal aid fund, which is a dollar for every dollar we give, the automobile and auto accessories taxes, together with the tax of one-eighth of the cost to be paid by the adjoining property owner, would easily pay the \$35,000,000 estimated as the cost of these roads. Then we would be ready to begin on the secondary system, which is estimated to cost around \$100,000,000. With the ever-increasing federal aid, and increasing state taxes, we would easily be able to build this system within twenty years. Of course, to obtain the money necessary to start to work with, it will be necessary to issue bonds. These should be kept paid up as nearly as possible, and at no time should more be issued than are needed. By this plan we hope to do away with the piecemeal system of building roads and place the burden on shoulders broad enough to bear it.

Just as we go to the printers with this bulletin the newspapers report the passage of a bill by the state legislature appropriating \$50,000,000 for highway building, as follows:

The North Carolina State road law, just passed, provides for the construction and maintenance by the state of a state system of hard-surfaced and other dependable roads connecting by the most practical routes the various county seats and other principal towns of every county in the state; also connecting with the state institutions and with the roads through state parks, national forest reserves and linking with the state highways of adjoining states.

A \$50,000,000 bond issue is authorized toward the construction of this state highway system, and the funds derived from motor vehicle license fees, plus a one-cent gasoline tax, are to be used for the support of the State Highway Commission, paying the interest on the bonds and the maintenance of the state system of highways. Ten million dollars are to be sold during 1920 and 1921, and more than this if the State Highway Commission can expend more money.

The state is to be divided into nine construction districts, to which the construction funds are to be apportioned on the same basis as the federal-aid apportionment; that is, one-third in the ratio of the area of each construction district to the entire area of the state; one-third in the ratio of the population of the district to the entire population of the state, and one-third in the ratio of state highway mileage of the district in proportion to the total mileage of state highways.

The State Highway Commission is given ample power for acquiring rights of way, taking over the state system from the counties, acquiring and operating quarries, etc., for procuring material to be used in constructing and maintaining this system.

Provision is made for the appointment of a State Highway Commission consisting of ten members, one from each of the nine construction districts and one from the state at large. The term of office of the present State Highway Commissioner, Mr. Frank Page, is not interfered with. There is also a provision for the working of all able-bodied male state convicts on the state highways. The bill contemplates the construction and maintenance of approximately 5,500 miles, and is believed to be the most constructive measure ever enacted by a North Carolina legislature.—S. O. Worthington, Chairman, Subcommittee on State Highway Policies.

December 8, 1919.

MOTOR TRUCK SERVICE, THE COUNTRY PARCELS POST, AND INTERURBAN ELECTRIC RAILWAYS

I. M. ABELKOP, DURHAM, N. C.

Scope of Report

The purpose of my report is to bring forward some feasible and practical plans and reasons for their necessity.

1st. The development of the Country Parcel Post with regard to the movement of produce from producers to consumers.

2d. The best possible use of the motor truck for short hauls.

3d. The development of our interurban electric railways for facilitating the movement of freight and passengers in the sections of our state that are sadly lacking in means of transportation.

A Country Parcels Post System

The country schoolhouse should be made the Parcel Post office of its district; the school teacher be made a Parcel Post agent; the motor trucks be used by the government to take this parcel post business to the cities. To this plan we can add a plan in the cities

where every school community can have a secretary who can keep in touch with the Country Parcel Post agent at the country schoolhouse, who is also the farmers' secretary. Such a country school would need to be a consolidated school; no other could possibly serve as a parcel post center.

By keeping in touch with one another every school district benefits the others, in that the city secretary knows or is informed by the people he is serving as to what produce they desire and the farmers' secretary notifies the farmers as to what is wanted and it is shipped direct to the consumer. The Parcel Post truck delivers it right to the consumer's door.

The operation of this direct marketing plan between organized communities will show very soon, also, the importance of permanent road construction. A system of great trunk highways, crossing the continent east and west, north and south, can be built and paid for largely out of the receipts of this motor transport service of the Post Office Department. They would be post roads as intended by federal law, and they would connect with roads built by the states and local subdivisions.

No more important task could be undertaken by this government now, and it would furnish constructive employment to thousands of those who have returned from overseas with experience in road construction and truck operation in France, Belgium, and Italy.

When you link the post office and the schoolhouse together you have laid down the foundation for real progress along many lines.

Organizing the community by means of the school building, the property of all, will help weld the citizenship into one composite whole as nothing else could do. It will bring neighbors together for many varied purposes—educational, social, recreational, and so forth. And when people get together they develop agreement, fellowship, and coöperation.

Making the schoolhouse a station of the Postal Service, with one of those engaged in education work as the responsible agent of the community and also as an agent of the Post Office Department, means the linking up of the individual citizen with the Federal Government. It means that government, instead of being paternal, is fraternal.

With all this we have the reduction in the prices of commodities to the consumer and an increased price for his produce to the producer.

"An income of \$200,000,000 is possible from motorized parcel-post service in this country and at an expenditure of only \$50,000,000," said Mr. Blakeslee. "I don't say that's possible for private enterprise, mind you. But it is for the government. For you see the Post Office starts with a revenue of \$3,000 per ton on some of its loads. Thirty pounds of first-class mail at three cents an ounce or fraction give me

\$45 a day for maintenance of the trucks. All else I haul, all the parcel post freight, is velvet. That is why I am in a position to report \$90,000 made on a single truck route last year."

Motor-Truck Freight Lines

We advocate that private capital be interested in truck routes by showing manufacturers, merchants, and farmers the advantages and financial returns of such a business. This can be done through the newspapers and in special issues of the University News Letter, also by Chambers of Commerce.

Mr. J. B. Douglass has the following to say on this subject:

It can be said that the inability of the railroads to handle the traffic and the pressing demands of war gave a stimulus to the use of trucks that is amazing. In 1908 one leading motor car company built only 13 motor trucks. There was no demand. That same company turned out 8,000 trucks last year.

The variety of uses and the superiority of the motor truck in certain fields is causing other transportation systems to suffer in comparison. To be more definite, the freight service for the "short haul" cannot compete with the truck as may be seen in the following examples:

Often the freight rate may seem lower, but to it must be added charges for cartage. In general, freight rates plus cartage equal motor truck rates. That is, motor trucks generally give express service at the usual freight rates.

Another advantage is that the motor truck eliminates at least five handlings of goods as shipped by railroads:

1. From factory or warehouse to freight station.
2. Loading from freight station or truck to cars.
3. Unloading at destination from cars to trucks or freight station.
4. Unloading from trucks to stores, factories, or warehouses.
5. Handling, in case the goods are removed from car to freight station and held until consignee sends a motor truck to remove them.

In March, 1918, the Post Office Department made an interesting experiment. At 6 a. m. there were loaded on a motor truck at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 18,000 eggs in crates and 1,000 little chicks a day old. The truck started for New York, 180 miles away.

At the same time exactly the same kind of shipment was made to the same consignee by train. The motor truck took 12 hours; four chicks were dead and nine eggs broken. The train took four days. Another day was consumed in sending notice to the consignee, who then had to send his own truck. And on arrival it was found that 1,000 eggs had been broken and half the chicks were dead.

The response of business men came like magic. Motor-trucking or express companies equipped to haul freight and express over routes from 20 to 600 miles long sprang up on every hand. In the Cleveland-Akron section the local freight and express hauled by truck is now 65 percent as much as that going by rail. One 40-mile route from Akron to Cleveland relieves the railroads of the demand for 800 freight cars a week. Even if the average throughout the year were only 60 daily, this would mean 30,000 cars a year saved for other uses.

The motor truck is an economy also from the standpoint of doing certain kinds of service that cannot be performed by the railroads, and in speeding up traffic.

What the trucks in inter-city service can do for the farm and thus for the food supply and the man-power of the nation, has been worked out by the Highways Transport Committee. Usually, going to market means a man and a team taken from the fields for at least one day—more likely two days. Where there is a scheduled motor express service, the farmer can keep his men, teams, and equipment right on the regular job.

One Maryland farmer spares a negro boy from chores long enough to go a quarter mile down to the main road, hang a three-gallon can of cream on a forked stake, and get back. The motor express picks it up, carries it into the city, and the farmer's receipts on this little transaction are \$27.30 a week.

In railroad transport better packing is necessary, and additional expense has to be incurred for boxing, crating, or protecting by other means in order to prevent loss or damage. A general traffic manager holds that one of the principal savings consequent on the use of the motor truck was in lumber and other material, and the great amount of labor required for boxing.

The saving in time has been pointed out. There is often, as a result of that, a saving in actual money, because the receiver of freight usually considers invoices due when delivery is made. If the terms of sale are 2 percent 10 days, or net 30 days, the receiver takes 10 days or 30 days from the date of receipt of freight. If goods are in transit 30 days the shipper is actually selling them on 60 days' credit instead of 30. If the difference in time of delivery between railway and motor truck averages 10 days in the short-haul field, then there is an actual saving or gain in interest on the sale price of goods, when the shipper uses the motor truck.

The economy of trucks has been recognized in the South, also. The Louisiana mule has abdicated. The picturesque but slow and expensive four-mule cotton float, a type specially designed for the cotton business of New Orleans, is giving way to a semi-trailer composed of short-wheelbase, two-ton trucks.

In the far West, too, trucks are forcing their way into the forests, and with the aid of trailers are bearing out the logs to the mills. Timbermen report as high as 50 percent saving over any other method of logging. This was an unsuspected use for trucks. Its discovery has been a great help to the wood and pulp industry.

How the truck solves express and labor problems is shown in the following:

While an expressage embargo was on in Detroit last May all inbound express was embargoed. The question as to what should be done was serious. It was answered by the motor truck. Detroit manufacturers wired shippers to divert consignments and express them to Toledo and Cleveland. Motor express companies at those points received them and brought them to Detroit on trucks where they were accepted because not technically express. All of this business was handled during the night and delivered at receiving rooms in Detroit by 8 A. M. Similar diverting of shipments is often done now to avoid freight-terminal delays at large centers.

During recent stringent labor conditions a large eastern manufacturer of corsets used his trucks to solve a serious problem. The town in which his factory was located was a munition center. When labor costs became prohibitive he opened plants in the three neighboring towns at distances of 23, 30, and 40 miles. Labor was obtained in these communities at much more reasonable rates. Raw materials were transported from the one factory warehouse to these new plants by trucks. The return load was made up of finished or partly finished goods.

The promptness and low cost of haulage between these four plants enabled him to continue business profitably in the face of the serious labor shortage.

These two instances, and innumerable others which might be cited, show three superiorities of motor truck transport over all other means—the flexibility of the service, the speed, and the directness of the deliveries. They move goods much faster than the railroads do, actual delivery considered, and they haul the goods, not to some terminal, but to the consignee's receiving-room door.

All of this emphasizes in a general way the conditions that have obtained in railway transportation, and explains why industrial and commercial interests are turning more and more from what had been considered short hauls to the use of motor trucks for transportation. Business men first turned to motor-truck service to meet an emergency; now they are turning to it to insure against interruptions and delay in carrying on their operations.

Department stores in New York City and Philadelphia are extensively patronizing long-distance motor truck freight service. This method of transportation insures prompt receipt of goods.

The products carried by motor trucks have hardly any limitations. Recently several tons of finished leather, valued at \$40,000, were shipped by motor truck from Philadelphia to New York overnight. Railway service at the same time would have required from four to seven days.

A look into the future of motor truck service reveals possibilities that have no limit.

Government Ownership of Electric Railways

We advocate municipal or governmental ownership of all electrical railways.

Let us first see the condition of electric railways at the present time.

Here are a few excerpts from testimony given before the Federal Electric Railway Commission appointed by President Wilson to inquire into all phases of the electric railway situation.

Mr. J. W. Welsh put into evidence charts and tables revealing that 345 electric railway companies suffered a diminution of 74 percent in net income during the year 1918 as compared with 1917. This diminution was largely due to increased operating expenses, including labor costs and increased taxes. The companies on which the comparison was based, he explained, represent more than 80 percent of the gross earnings of all electric railways in the United States.

The statistician also furnished figures showing an appreciable retardation in the growth of electric railways in recent years, these figures also being based on reports of the 345 companies reporting greatly reduced revenues.

Decrease of revenues, he said, had been accompanied by lower dividends, or no dividends at all, while a surplus of \$16,000,000 in 1917 had shrunk within a year to half the amount. The average dividend return, Mr. Welsh testified, is now only about 3 percent, a return entirely unattractive to investors and indicating a critical situation in the electric railway field.

One of the tables demonstrated that on May 31, 1919, 62 companies with a mileage of 5,912 miles of single track were in the hands of receivers; that 60 companies with a mileage of 763 had been dismantled and junked, and 38 companies having 257 miles of single track had been abandoned.

J. E. Hedges, receiver for the New York Railways Company, says: The street railways today are operating at a loss, and unless there is a change they are going out. They will cease to be a part of community life entirely.

Thus we see that the electric railways instead of being advanced and improved now need to be relieved and put on the stronger basis of government ownership.

Capital cannot be expected to build railways where they are not reasonably sure of a certain percentage of profit, regardless of the benefit to the community. There is only one way left, municipal or governmental ownership. This will work on a scale that will not necessarily demand a profit. Lines can be built wherever they will benefit the community and the farming districts. Interurban electric railways will develop our country districts. They will make urban property more attractive, and relieve congestion in the cities. They will bring producers and consumers into closer relation with one another.

Interurban lines, municipally owned, are being used in several cities of the North and West, and with success. One city has purchased its electric railways and besides running lines into unprofitable territory has made more than 3 percent on its investment.

Higher rates would relieve the situation temporarily, but not permanently, and the only way to keep electric railways alive with benefit to the community and society is to put them in the hands of the municipality or the government.—I. M. Abelkop, Chairman Subcommittee on Motor Truck Freight Service, The Country Parcels Post, and Interurban Electric Railways.

December 8, 1919.

RAILWAYS, INLAND WATERWAYS, AND PORT FACILITIES

PHILLIP HETTLEMAN, GOLDSBORO, N. C.

Scope of the Report

This report concerns itself with a brief discussion of conditions and methods of improving the railroads, inland waterways, and port facilities of North Carolina. We suggest no legislation, but we do urge that various organizations become alive to their vital interest and adopt measures that will not only promote their own welfare, but also advance the best interests of the state.

Program Proposals

1. Cities should employ a competent traffic manager.
2. Manufacturing concerns should pool their interests and employ rate experts. Small merchants might well follow the same policy.
3. Chambers of Commerce should give major attention to the improvement of railroad facilities and to plans for the relief of yard congestion.
4. A comprehensive program for the development and improvement of inland waterways and port facilities.

Explanations

1. A traffic manager should be able to give information as to the time required to obtain different supplies from certain designated places, the best routes for shipments, the relative freight rates from rival supplying points, and the possibilities for securing commodity rates.

After the passage of the Elkins law in 1903, no secret rates with carriers were possible. But it is possible to petition classification committees for a change in the class of certain articles, and when we realize that 75 percent of our rates are commodity rates, we get a glimpse of the many benefits a traffic manager can confer.

Very few merchants know how to bill mixed carload shipments properly, and consequently the railroads charge the highest possible rate on the description furnished. In this function alone the traffic manager can save the city many times his salary.

2. The present freight rate controversy in North Carolina shows the vital need for rate experts in this state. For years the state has appealed to various commissions for a change in rates, but the project has always failed, because their exhibits have been inadequate and real experts have not coped with the situation. Just one revision of a single freight rate could save the manufacturers in this state thousands of dollars, and, since a rate expert must be a highly paid official, we suggest that different manufacturers pool their interests in securing rate experts. Small merchants grouping themselves into clubs of 100 each would find the hiring of a rate expert very beneficial.

3. North Carolina is developing in many ways and notably in our live stock industry. This means that the railroads should furnish more and better facilities for live-stock shipments in the state, and in this matter the chambers of commerce have before them a great field of service and usefulness. Congested freight traffic in local yards is properly a detail for chambers of commerce to consider. It is interesting to note that Durham's Chamber of Commerce is now drawing up plans for the handling of congested freight traffic in the local yard. Improved switching conditions, better terminal facilities, and more comforts for travelers in railway stations are vital subjects which will relieve existing troubles in many of our cities.

4. Very little has been done in this state toward improving our navigable rivers except a few attempts by the Engineering Corps of the United States Army on the Cape Fear, Neuse, Pamlico, and Chowan rivers. These rivers and their tributaries reach some of the most productive parts of the state, and some of these areas do not have adequate railway facilities. A regular system of water transportation would mean nearness to markets, higher prices for products, conservation of coal, and greater development of water power for commercial purposes.

Dr. Thorndike Saville, in a letter to this committee, suggests that a canal from the Cape Fear river to the Yadkin and a partial canalization of the latter would bring large areas of the most productive regions of our state into cheap communication with the port of Wilmington. He also sees no reason why Raleigh should not be an inland port for coastwise steamers coming up the Neuse river. The experience of Manchester and Leeds in England is cited in this connection.

Through the efforts of The South Atlantic Maritime Corporation, Wilmington and four other southern ports have been granted the use of government-owned ships for Latin-American trade. Railway rates have been so changed that Wilmington can receive freight for export shipment at the same rate as other eastern ports. But if Wilmington is to become one of the leading ports on the South Atlantic Coast, immediate steps must be taken to deepen the harbor and to provide adequate docking facilities and suitable unloading equipment.—Phillip Hettleman, Chairman Sub-Committee on Railways, Inland Waterways, and Port Facilities.

December 8, 1919.

COUNTRY TELEPHONE SYSTEMS

B. E. WEATHERS, SHELBY, N. C.

Scope of Report

The telephone has made wonderful progress the world around within recent years. The number of users in the United States is both actually and proportionately larger than in any other country. For every thousand Europeans it is estimated that there is one telephone; while for every thousand Americans there are fifteen telephones. In Chicago, for example, there are more telephones than in all France.

According to the North Carolina Club Year-Book, 1915-1916, there were 718 telephone systems, 109,000 miles of wire, and 65,000 telephones in the state in 1912. It is estimated that 650 of these were country telephone systems, owned and operated privately by groups of farmers. They had in use around 35,000 miles of wire, and some 20,000 telephones. The latest statistics which the Census Bureau has just released are not yet available, but this new report will most likely show a great increase in country telephones in North Carolina.

The strides our home-owning farmers have made are indeed gratifying, but we must not overlook the fact that it is not the average but the exceptional farm household that has undergone constructive, desirable, and advantageous changes within recent years. The majority of farm homes throughout the state, viewed from the angle of home comforts and conveniences, are almost as crude and unfurnished as

those of our frontier ancestors. There are 275,000 farm homes in North Carolina, and there certainly ought to be at least 150,000 telephones—or, a telephone in each country home occupied by an owner.

Gov. Bickett is to be commended for his activities in behalf of country-life improvement in North Carolina. His whole administration was characterized by a keen desire to lift the farming class of North Carolina into increased activity and enhanced value in the life of the state. Largely through his recommendations the General Assembly of 1917 passed an act authorizing the State Highway Commission "to advise and assist in providing a water supply and electric power and electric lights for rural communities and individuals outside of incorporated towns, by investigating natural powers and preparing plans for their development, and the installation of such apparatus as may be needed to utilize such water power in developing electric power and for supplying a water system and electric light system, and to furnish plans and specifications for the installation of rural mutual telephone systems."

The provision, therefore, so far as it affects country telephones, has to do primarily with the formation of rural telephone companies purely from an engineering point of view. The State Highway Commission enlisted the services of the Engineering Departments of the State University, and their work at present is limited to practical suggestions as regards installation, assistance in selecting proper apparatus, etc.

Little need be said of the desirability and advantage of having a telephone in the country home. The time has passed when people considered it a mere luxury—it is now becoming more and more a necessity. The question is, what is the best method of providing the most effective telephone service?

Program Proposals

We make one definite proposal in addition to the plans already formulated by the Bureau of Country Home Conveniences at the University, namely, that an additional sum be added to the present appropriation of \$5,000 in order to establish an adequate supervising and auditing service free of charge to country communities having mutual telephone systems.

This proposal appears to be logical, and in harmony with the work that is now being carried on by the University Engineering Department. This department, under the present plan, is specifically concerned with the problems that arise in connection with construction, and is limited in scope to the giving of expert technical advice in engineering matters. We propose that an additional sum be added to the present appropriation in order to carry the matter a step further and to provide for the establishment of an adequate inspecting,

supervising, and auditing service. It is important from the standpoint of efficient management. By the term audit we do not refer merely to the detection of possible mismanagement in the various systems, but we use it in the larger and more acceptable sense of pointing out poor financial methods and proper financial changes. This particular service is needed in order to guarantee efficiency in purchasing, collecting, account-keeping, reporting, etc.

Not only are proper construction and proper management essential to the successful operation of country telephones, but a third important factor is proper maintenance. Many country systems are poorly constructed and do not receive timely necessary repairs; consequently service is frequently interrupted or completely stopped for long periods of time. A good deal of carelessness on the part of local telephone managers in respect to upkeep of equipment, repairs, extensions, etc., is observable in country districts.

As a solution, we propose a special inspecting service which will include expert supervision in all these matters pertaining to the maintenance of effective telephone service.

With such free expert service as we propose, country systems might be just as successful and satisfactory as the service of the great commercial telephone companies of the United States. Mutual telephone systems in rural areas, if properly installed, advised and guided, might give maximum service at minimum rates. Independent rural telephone systems may be privately owned, mutually owned by its users, or operated by a coöperative stock system on the customer-dividend, profit-sharing basis.

By either of these methods, as shown by actual experience, rural telephone systems can be successfully established, and operated by farmers, on a minimum cost basis with maximum benefits.—B. E. Weathers, Chairman Sub-Committee on Rural Telephones.

December 8, 1919.

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION STUDIES

Outline

1. State highway policies.
2. Motor truck freight lines, country parcel post routes, and inter-urban electric railways.
3. Our railroad situation and its disadvantages; freight rate problems and solutions; inland waterways, and port facilities.
4. Country telephone systems; number and locations in North Carolina; University aid in country telephone development.

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Transportation Committee

1. Railway Transportation, Inland Waterways, and Port Facilities: P. Hettleman, Chairman, Wayne County, Goldsboro.
2. State Highway Policies: S. O. Worthington, Pitt County, Winterville.
3. Country Telephone Systems: B. E. Weathers, Cleveland County, Shelby.
4. Motor Truck Freight and the Country Parcels Post: I. M. Abelkop, Durham County, Durham.

CHAPTER VI

HOME AND FARM OWNERSHIP—THE FACTS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE.

W. R. KIRKMAN, GREENSBORO, N. C.

By exhaustive inquiry it has been ascertained that in 1910 the multitude of landless, homeless people in the United States numbered fifty-five million souls, town and country, or nearly three-fifths of our entire population. Of this number eleven and one-half million are tenant farmers. The other forty-four million are breadwinners in other occupations, (1) living in the villages, towns, and cities of the United States, earning wages in stores and offices, mills and factories, and (2) salaried people in positions of all sorts.

The more populous and prosperous a community or country becomes the fewer are the people who own the farms they till or the homes they live in, and the larger the multitude of tenants and renters. It is Christendom's cruelest paradox.

In North Carolina, in 1910, fifty-two percent of all our dwellings in town and country regions were occupied by tenants and renters. This means that eleven hundred and eighty thousand of our people of both races in North Carolina are landless and homeless.

Where city populations are most concentrated in North Carolina the ratios of home ownership are low. In Asheville, Charlotte, and Wilmington two-thirds of the people live in rented dwellings. In Raleigh 70 percent, in Durham 71 percent, and in Winston 72 percent of the population live in rented dwellings. Greensboro makes the best showing of any town in the state, yet in Greensboro 62 percent of her people live in houses they do not own.

Twenty-eight states make a better showing than North Carolina in the ownership of homes and farms, and seventeen a poorer showing. These seventeen states are in the industrial centers of the North and East and in the cotton belt sections to the south of us, where farm tenancy is excessive.

Our white farm tenants outnumber our negro tenants three to two, or 63,000 to 44,000. With their families the white tenant farmers of the state make a landless, homeless population of 315,000 souls. They outnumber the negro tenants and their families by nearly a hundred thousand, which means that farm tenancy in North Carolina is mainly a white man's problem. The white tenants are superior in social position to be sure, a distinction which only quickens their sense of discomfort and discouragement. Farm tenants of both races have poorer food and less to wear, more miserable houses and less certainty

of yearly income, than any other class of people in North Carolina. The tenant is the state's agricultural vandal. For years he has been robbing the soil of its fertility. He moves from one farm to another, leaving in his wake impoverished land, abandoned farms, and a train of economic evils that soon must be remedied or grave economic consequences will follow in our farm regions.

The effect of tenancy on social conditions is bad. Farm tenants have no stake in the land and are tethered to no locality by the ties of ownership. They are forever moving from farm to farm and cannot be identified with any community. Upon an average one-half of the farm tenants of the South move every year. This state of affairs makes it impossible for them to develop an abiding interest in schools and churches, in good roads, and in local law and order. As a result, wherever we find excessive tenancy we find undue illiteracy. The children of tenant farmers change teachers and schools so often that they soon become discouraged and drop out. Tenancy breeds illiteracy and illiteracy breeds tenancy. They go hand in hand, and neither can be cured without the other.

Another noticeable effect is the effect of tenancy on white church membership. Where there is a high ratio of white tenancy there is always a low ratio of church membership in white country churches. In twenty-one of our cotton and tobacco counties we find excessive tenancy and illiteracy, and in these twenty-one counties are massed more than a fourth of the non-church members of the entire state.

The greatest home mission task of the church today is to set itself to destroy tenancy and illiteracy, or tenancy and illiteracy will destroy the church in our country regions. A landless, homeless population offers a perilous foundation for stability, sanity, and safety in American democracy. Popular intelligence and Christian conscience must get busy with this problem.

The most comprehensive study of this important subject yet in print in compact form appeared in *The University of North Carolina News Letter*, Vol. I, No. 46, and in Vol. III, Nos. 36 and 39. We reproduce them in full.—W. R. Kirkman, Chairman Sub-Committee on Our Landless Multitudes, the Facts and their Significance.

January 12, 1920.

OUR HOMELESS MULTITUDES

We entered this war, said President Wilson, to make the world safe for democracy. The supreme task for teachers, said President Graham, is to lead in making democracy safe for the world; to be a prime force in creating a Democracy that is worth the sacrifice.

The first can be achieved, let us hope, in the next year or so; the

second is humanity's supreme struggle during the next century or so—in America as well as in France, England, and Russia.

And what will be the chance for sane, safe democracy in any community or country, state or nation that is populated by landless, homeless people; who in the very nature of things move from pillar to post under the urge of necessity or the lure of opportunity, who lack identity with the community in which they live, who feel little responsibility for local law and order, who lack a proprietary interest in schools and churches and other agencies of progress and prosperity, welfare and well-being?

It is well nigh impossible to socialize, civilize, or Christianize a landless, homeless people; and Mexico perfectly illustrates this fundamental truth. At bottom, her people are illiterate, irresponsible, and impossible because the masses are landless and homeless.

On the other hand, Switzerland and Denmark are countries whose economic and social institutions are based on the nearly universal ownership of homes and farms. And both countries are leading the way in democratic sanity and safety.

Rome fell into decay, says Pliny, because of *latifundia*; that is, land ownership by the few and land orphanage for the many. Nobody ever realized any better than Moses and Isaiah that civilization is rooted and grounded in the home-owning, home-loving, home-defending instinct; but in Hezekiah's day the dwellings in the fenced cities of Judah, and the fields, orchards, and vineyards of the open country were owned by the royal family, the courtiers, the captains of war, the traders and the usurers. Judah was a land of tenants and renters, and Judah went away into captivity. This story of national decline has been repeated under every sky of Heaven from that day to this; and the time has come to consider this foundational menace to democracy in America and in North Carolina.

Democracy and Homelessness

Of democratic freedom to do as a body pleases we already have enough and to spare in North Carolina and everywhere else in the United States. Of democratic freedom schooled and skilled in wise and righteous self-government we have too little everywhere. We have not yet spelled out Plato's paradox—the necessity of freedom from restraint along with the necessity for ready obedience to the authority of right reason. Rights and duties are still in mortal combat in every man and in every community everywhere. The best and the beast in us are still in deadly struggle. The Sons of Men and the Servants of Mammon are still contesting every inch of the way in developing democracy. The making of men is not yet a greater thing than the making of money. The world is still filled to

the brim with poverty and progress, magnificence and misery side by side in every community. The rights of property are still greater in the minds of men than the rights of humanity.

We have not yet unraveled the riddle of industrial security on the one hand and economic justice on the other. Our civic institutions are democratic; organized big business is feudal. The two are in opposition, and the fundamental problem of democracy everywhere is the reconciliation of opposites—to borrow a phrase of Froebel.

Profound problems of democracy confront America, as well as Germany, England, and France, as President Graham says. Witness the prolonged struggle between profits and patriotism in the discussion of every measure in Congress today. Man is still locked in deadly struggle with Mammon. Our democracy is not perfect; it is merely on the way to perfection, and the way is long and difficult.

The matter passed under brief review in this study concerns the relation of land and home ownership to democratic sanity and safety. How well or how ill are our 55,000,000 landless, homeless people in these United States conditioned to be the high priests of right reason in economic, social, civic, or spiritual affairs? How stable or unstable are the foundations of democracy, when laid down in restless, roving, irresponsible citizenship? What is the worth of citizenship that is weighted and steadied by home ownership in our cities and land ownership in our farm regions?

The cities have always been hot-beds of destructive socialism, and so mainly because vast majorities of the city dwellers own neither the houses they live in nor the tools they work with. Here frenzied revolutionists find large and responsive audiences; and but for the sanity of home and farm owners in America our democracy would long ago have gone down like a house of cards.

Macaulay gave us a hundred years in which to reach the supreme crisis in our history. We have not yet reached it, but inevitably we are moving toward it. A prudent people will foresee the evil and hide themselves in the ownership of homes and farms; a foolish people will pass on and be punished—now as in Solomon's day.

An efficient, stable democracy, based on economic justice and industrial security, is impossible in a nation of landless, homeless people—or so it seems to us.

Fifty-Five Million Renters

The multitude of landless, homeless people in the United States in 1910 numbered 55,000,000 souls. And mind you, this is the sorry state of affairs in a land and country with one and a half billion idle, wilderness acres. Our homeless people are three-fifths of our entire population. Eleven and a half million are farmers and their families

living on and cultivating other people's land, and 44,000,000 are bread-winners in other occupations, living for the most part in the village, town and city centers of the United States—daily wage-earners in mills and factories, and people in salaried positions of all sorts.

Town and country tenancy in the United States ranges from 23 percent in North Dakota, an agricultural state, to 70 percent in Rhode Island, a highly developed industrial state.

The Homeless in Carolina

In North Carolina 52 percent of all our dwellings, in town and country regions, are occupied by renters. Eleven hundred and eighty thousand of our people of both races are landless and homeless. Our farm tenants do not have their legs under their own tables, as the Danes say; and our town dwellers living in rented houses spend their days and nights, like poor Dante, going up and down other people's stairs.

Twenty-eight states make a better showing than North Carolina in the ownership of homes and farms, and 17 a poorer showing. These 17 states are all in the densely populated industrial areas of the North and East, and in the cotton belt states south of us, where farm tenancy is excessive.

A White Man's Problem

It is well to keep clearly in mind the fact that even in the South farm tenancy is a white man's problem mainly. Contrary to the popular notion, it is not a negro problem mainly. The white farm tenants of Virginia outnumber the negro farm tenants by nearly 17,000, in North Carolina by 19,000, and in the South at large by nearly 156,000.

And the situation is peculiarly distressing where white and black farm tenants work side by side in nearly equal numbers, as in Halifax, Henry, Nansemond, Northampton, and Westmoreland counties, Virginia, and in 18 counties of North Carolina—mainly in our cotton and tobacco areas.

How Our Counties Rank

Elsewhere in this issue we give a table based on Volume I of the 1910 Census—the work of Mr. S. H. Hobbs, Jr., of Sampson county. The figures cover the dwellings occupied by renters in our town and country regions—dwellings occupied by farmers in the countryside and by people in all other bread-winning occupations, mainly in our village, town, and city centers.

Dare and Alleghany Lead

The best showing in home ownership is made in Dare, where 91 people in the hundred live in their very own homes, and the next best showing is made by Alleghany, where nearly exactly four-fifths of the people dwell under their own vines and fig trees, unmolested and unafraid.

The poorest showing is made by Scotland county, where 22 people in the hundred own all the land and all the dwellings of every sort, while 78 in the hundred cultivate other people's land and live in other people's houses. Standing next to the bottom is Edgecombe, where nearly three-fourths of the people are landless and homeless. In these two counties are nearly 5,000 landless whites—counting tenant farmers and their families.

Home ownership is the rule in (1) our Mountain counties, Haywood excepted, (2) in 22 counties of the Foot Hill country east of the Ridge where grain, hay and forage are the chief farm crops, (3) in 7 counties of the Lower Cape Fear, and (4) in 12 of the Tide Water counties—New Hanover, Jones, Craven, Pitt, Northampton, Hertford, Perquimans, Pasquotank, and Camden falling below 48 per cent, the state average of home ownership. In Jones county, for instance, nearly two-thirds of the all the people are landless and homeless.

The Fatal Law

The more populous and prosperous a community becomes the fewer are the people that live in homes of their own, and the larger the multitude of tenants and renters. It is mortal strange that advancing civilization should mean decreasing home-ownership, in Christendom, in this year of our Lord 1917. But such is the fact, and there is no more anomalous thing in all the world today.

Where city civilization is most highly developed in North Carolina the ratios of home ownership are low. In Asheville, Charlotte, and Wilmington two-thirds of the people live in rented dwellings; in Raleigh 70 percent; Durham 71 percent, and in Winston 72 percent. Greensboro leads the cities of the state in home ownership, and yet 62 percent of her people live in houses they do not own.

In the great cities of the North and East the ratios of homelessness run into almost unbelievable figures. For instance, in Jersey City, Brooklyn, and Boston 20 people in the hundred own all the dwellings, while 80 in the hundred are tenants and renters. In Manhattan and the Bronx 94 people in the hundred are renters. In Greater New York, as a whole, 11 people in the hundred own all the land and all the dwellings, while 89 in the hundred live in rented dwellings, mostly tenement houses and apartment buildings.

New York City is a civilization of cliff dwellers—genuinely so; but unlike the Aztecs the New Yorkers do not dwell under their own roof-trees. And they are forever on the move from one neighborhood to another. They flit from Brooklyn to the Bronx, from the Long Island villages to the Jersey hills and back again a half dozen times in as many years. They are identified with no locality. They have no abiding interest in local churches or schools. Their sense of civic responsibility is reduced to a minimum; and this lack of robust, responsible citizenship imperils good government in every large city center in America. Irresponsible citizenship on part of roving renters freely licenses every form of sin and shame, greed and graft, crime and corruption in our great cities. Democracy has no greater problem in our cities than its homeless population offers.

Sojourners in the Land

The tenants in our farm regions are sojourners, strangers, and pilgrims in the earth. They have no stake in the land. They are tethered to no locality by the ties of ownership. They are forever seeking new fields and pastures green. They have little or no chance to develop an abiding interest in schools and churches, in good roads, in greater attention to public sanitation, in local law and order, in community organizations and enterprises for progress and prosperity, welfare and well-being. Upon an average a little more than half of our farm tenants in the South move every year. In some neighborhoods the ratios of change are larger, in others smaller. Their children change schools and teachers so often that they soon drop out altogether.

The Peril of Illiteracy

As a result wherever we find excessive tenancy we find undue illiteracy. Farm tenancy and illiteracy are twin-born social menaces. They are twins at birth and boon companions throughout life. And neither can be cured without curing the other. Tenancy breeds illiteracy, and illiteracy breeds tenancy among the native born whites of the South. As long as we have tenancy we shall have illiteracy. The increase of illiteracy among white men and women in our country regions since 1850 is due to steadily increasing tenancy among white farmers in fifty counties of the state. Other causes—like sparsity of population and raucous individualism—produce illiteracy, as in our mountain counties and in the lower Cape Fear region, but the constant accompaniment of farm tenancy is illiteracy.

Perils to the Church

Another thing is true. High ratios of farm tenancy mean low ratios of church membership. For instance, in 21 of our white cotton and

tobacco counties we find excessive tenancy and undue illiteracy; and in these 21 counties are massed more than a fourth of all the non-church members of the entire state—171,427 all told. These figures cover only the people who are ten years old and over. The ratios of non-church membership range from 27 percent of all the people of responsible ages in Vance to 77 percent in Edgecombe, and the persons outside the church range from 1,033 in Camden to 16,455 in Edgecombe. In eight of these counties more than half the people of these age groups are outside the church, and in one county more than three-fourths of them.

Verily the church must set herself to the task of destroying tenancy and illiteracy, or tenancy and illiteracy will reduce the church to a minimum in our country regions. They are our two great home-mission tasks.

The Source of the Ill

So far we have said little about the fundamental cause of increasing homelessness in America. Isaiah's analysis is complete: The cause lies in our joining house to house and laying field to field until no place is left in the earth for the poor. The social sin of holding land out of productive use for speculative rises in value has not yet been laid upon the conscience of Christendom in any large, courageous way. Because of this sin, among others, Judah went away into captivity; and the same cause among others is leading one million a hundred and eighty thousand people in North Carolina and fifty-five million people in the United States into economic serfdom.

A landless, homeless population offers a perilous foundation for stability, sanity, and safety in our developing Democracy in America. Popular intelligence and Christian conscience must get busy with the problem. British Columbia, Manitoba, Australia, and New Zealand have gone at it hammer-and-tongs, and we must get at it earnestly in North Carolina and in every other state of the Union.

When our boys get back home from the trenches abroad they ought to find it easily possible to own homes and farms of their own in the United States just as in Canada. It will be an unpardonable sin on part of American democracy to force them into the ranks of our landless, homeless multitude.

The Cure for It

An effective remedy lies in a progressive land tax. It took twenty years to get such a tax on the law books and in force in New Zealand; and it will take even longer in America unless Christian consciences are willing to consider Isaiah's proposition competently and to stand for the remedy courageously.

The Progressive Land Tax, and its results are treated at length in Henry Demorest Lloyd's *Newest England*; Frank Parsons' *Story of New Zealand*; Douglas's *Dominion of New Zealand*, and the *Official Year Book of New Zealand*. All of these books can be had in any public library.—E. C. Branson, in the *University of N. C. News Letter*, Vol. III, No. 36.

HOME-OWNERSHIP IN THE CAROLINA CITIES

Sensible people in the towns and cities have long ago learned that the simplest, easiest, least expensive way of getting under one's own roof tree is to get into a well-managed building and loan association.

They are a great benefice, and have everywhere promoted the ownership of homes. A wise man finds it out early in life.

It is well to remember that in general the more populous and prosperous communities become the fewer are the people that dwell under their own vines and fig trees, unmolested and unafraid.

Thus nearly two-thirds of the country dwellers, but only one-third of the city dwellers, are home owners in the United States.

Spokane with 51.3 percent made the best showing in home ownership in the United States among the 50 cities having 100,000 or more inhabitants in 1910; and Greater New York City with 11.7 percent the poorest.

Greensboro Leads the State

In North Carolina, the best showing is made by Greensboro with 38 per cent; and Winston with 28 per cent made the poorest showing.

Our seven largest towns in 1910 show as follows in home ownership: Greensboro, 38 percent; Charlotte, Asheville, and Wilmington, 34 percent each; Raleigh, 30 percent; Durham, 29 percent, and Winston, 28 percent.

In a growing community the average man's chance to own his own home decreases with every passing day.—E. C. Branson, in the *University of N. C. News Letter*, Vol. I, No. 46.

HOMELESSNESS IN AMERICA

Our Landless, Homeless Multitudes in North Carolina, in town and country regions, as exhibited in the *University News Letter* August 1, seems to have taken our readers by surprise.

A score or more letters are already on our desk asking how North Carolina ranks in this matter among the states of the Union. So we are this week printing the table that gives this information in full detail.

These facts challenge attention on part of virile thinkers in the field of education, manufacture, civic life, and church enterprise.

This lack of farm-ownership in our country regions and of home-ownership in our mill villages and our town and city centers—what are the causes, the consequences, and the remedies?

How far does the homeless estate of 55,000,000 people in the United States lie in individual deficiencies—in the lack of industry, thrift, sobriety, sagacity, personal integrity, and the like? How far does it lie in the rapid increase of land values that puts home and farm ownership beyond the reach of likely tenants and renters in our country regions and city centers?

What Does it Mean?

What are the effects of homelessness upon personality? upon the family and the home? upon industrial stability and security? upon social and anti-social attitudes? upon the sense of civic responsibility? upon local law and order? upon community organization and enterprise? and upon illiteracy and poverty? upon church work and community welfare? upon the development of democracy—stable, sane, and safe? upon democracy in economic, social, civic and spiritual realms?

If there are any sequential, consequential relationships between home and farm ownership on the one hand and these various vital concerns of sane democracy on the other, it is high time we were getting a fist around the facts and thinking them out to some competent conclusions.

What have been the effects of well nigh universal home-ownership in Switzerland, Denmark, South Germany, France, and New Zealand?

What have been the effects of homelessness upon Mexico, China, Japan, and India? What penalties is England paying today for the landless, homeless, and well nigh propertyless estate of four-fifths of her entire population?

And so on and on. It is a tremendously large question; and all we are trying to do in the rush of things here in the closing days of the Summer School is to thrust it into the quick of our thinking in North Carolina. If anybody is interested, we shall be glad to furnish a reading list in this field of democratic concern—when we get back to our desk in September.

Three Ways Out

Meanwhile, the way out lies (1) in Coöperative Credit Unions among groups of small wage earners in our industrial and trade centers, and among our farmers in the countryside, under our present Coöperation Laws in North Carolina, (2) in an immense expansion of business by

our Building and Loan Associations, and (3) in a proper Progressive Land Tax, modeled on the New Zealand laws that have now been tried out twenty years or so.

But before any widespread increase of effort in any of these directions is possible, popular intelligence will need to be schooled during the next decade in North Carolina by our leaders—our real leaders in civic life, education, manufacture, banking, and trade, and above all by our leaders in the larger realm of church life and spiritual democracy.—E. C. Branson, in the University of N. C. News Letter, Vol. III, No. 39.

TOWN AND COUNTRY TENANCY IN THE UNITED STATES

Based on Volume I of the 1910 Federal Census

The landless, homeless people in the United States, in town and country regions in 1910, numbered 55,629,000 souls, or three-fifths of our entire population. U. S. ratio 60 percent; N. C. ratio 52 percent.—University of N. C. News Letter, Vol. III, No. 39.

Rank	States	Pct. rented Dwellings	Rank	States	Pct. rented Dwellings
1	North Dakota	23	26	California	49
2	New Mexico	29	27	Arizona	50
3	Idaho	30	27	West Virginia	50
4	South Dakota	31	29	North Carolina	52
5	Oregon	33	29	Tennessee	52
6	Utah	34	29	Arkansas	52
7	Wisconsin	35	32	Oklahoma	53
8	Minnesota	37	32	Florida	53
8	Michigan	37	34	Texas	54
8	Maine	37	34	Maryland	54
11	Montana	38	36	Illinois	55
12	Kansas	40	37	Pennsylvania	57
12	Nebraska	40	38	Delaware	58
14	Washington	41	39	Connecticut	61
14	Iowa	41	40	Alabama	62
14	Vermont	41	41	New Jersey	63
17	Nevada	44	42	Mississippi	64
17	Wyoming	44	43	Massachusetts	66
17	Indiana	44	43	Louisiana	66
20	Colorado	47	45	Georgia	67
20	Virginia	47	45	South Carolina	67
22	Kentucky	48	45	New York	67
22	Missouri	48	48	Rhode Island	70
22	Ohio	48	49	District Columbia	72
22	New Hampshire	48			

TOWN AND COUNTRY TENANCY IN NORTH CAROLINA

Based on the 1910 Census

Eleven hundred and eighty thousand people in North Carolina in town and country regions are landless and homeless, or 52 per cent of the total population.—S. H. Hobbs, Jr., Sampson County, University of N. C. News Letter, Vol. III, No. 36.

Rank	Counties	Rented Homes Per Cent	Rank	Counties	Rented Homes Per Cent
1	Dare	8.6	36	Duplin	43.6
2	Alleghany	20.1	37	Cherokee	43.8
3	Carteret	23.7	38	Beaufort	44.4
4	Ashe	25.	39	Swain	44.5
5	Watauga	25.3	40	Chatham	44.6
6	Wilkes	29.7	41	Currituck	44.8
7	Alexander	30.	42	Stanly	45.3
8	Bladen	31.9	43	Iredell	45.5
9	Randolph	32.4	44	Polk	46.2
10	Brunswick	32.7	45	Washington	46.6
11	Macon	32.8	46	Alamance	47.9
12	Mitchell	33.	47	Lincoln	48.1
13	Graham	33.4	48	Harnett	48.4
14	Yadkin	33.5	49	Stokes	48.8
15	Jackson	33.6	50	Hyde	49.1
16	Henderson	34.3	51	Madison	49.2
17	Pender	34.8	52	Lee	49.3
18	Famlico	35.4	53	Bertie	50.2
19	Columbus	35.6	54	Davie	50.5
20	Vance	35.7	55	Martin	51.1
21	Tyrrell	36.4	56	Cleveland	51.2
22	Burke	38.3	56	Buncombe	51.2
23	Gates	38.4	58	Chowan	51.7
23	Yancey	38.4	59	Rowan	51.9
23	Catawba	38.4	60	Montgomery	52.2
26	Sampson	38.5	61	Guilford	52.6
27	Davidson	38.6	61	Johnston	52.6
28	Surry	38.8	63	Craven	53.
29	Caldwell	38.9	63	Hertford	53.
29	Clay	38.9	65	Haywood	53.3
31	Transylvania	39.3	66	Warren	53.5
32	Onslow	39.8	66	Pasquotank	53.5
32	Moore	39.8	68	Cumberland	53.7
34	Orange	41.5	69	Perquimans	54.1
35	McDowell	42.6	70	Forsyth	54.6

Rank	Counties	Rented Homes Per Cent	Rank	Counties	Rented Homes Per Cent
71	Camden	56.8	85	Gaston	63.2
72	Rutherford	57.4	85	New Hanover	63.2
73	Union	57.8	87	Lenoir	63.8
74	Robeson	59.	88	Franklin	64.4
75	Cabarrus	59.2	89	Anson	64.8
76	Granville	59.3	90	Wayne	65.8
77	Caswell	59.5	91	Jones	66.
78	Northampton	59.8	92	Durham	66.2
79	Rockingham	60.2	93	Mecklenburg	66.5
80	Richmond	61.6	93	Wilson	66.5
81	Person	62.2	95	Halifax	67.8
81	Nash	62.2	96	Greene	71.1
83	Wake	62.4	97	Edgecombe	74.1
84	Pitt	62.6	98	Scotland	77.8

HOME AND FARM OWNERSHIP

MYRON T. GREEN, MARSHVILLE, N. C.

Remedial Measures

In this study of home and farm ownership in North Carolina we are concerned fundamentally with the question of getting rid of our present system of farm tenancy, and the evil tendencies that are the outgrowth of the merchant-supply, crop-lien system of agriculture. Such a system discourages thrift, one of the five home-owning virtues, and encourages a one-crop system of agriculture, our chief industry, putting it on such a footing that it is economically impossible for a farmer to obtain more than the bare necessities of life, to say nothing of accumulating enough capital to enable him to own his own home and farm.

Our present system offers no encouragement but rather discouragement to those exceptional farmers who deserve to own their own farms and homes. I am speaking here of the farmers who make farming their business, whose farms are their sole source of income, and not of absentee-farmers who earn their livelihood by other means, who capitalize farms held by them for speculative purposes and cultivated by tenant farmers, often by negro tenant farmers.

To the industrial laborer who desires to own his own home we likewise offer no encouragement, except in a few rare instances of a corporation's efforts to better living conditions among its employees by encouraging thrift through plans whereby the employee may get the money to buy his home, either through direct loans on long term and easy payments, or by encouraging him to invest in building and loan associations.

Constructive Proposals

We offer the following proposals for the solution of our home and farm ownership problem in North Carolina:

1. Amend Article V, section 3, of our State Constitution, so as to allow (1) a progressive or graduated land tax similar to that of New Zealand, giving low rates on improvements, higher rates on land, and still higher rates on lands held out of productive uses for speculative rises in value, and (2) exemptions or low rates on small properties while occupied and operated or used by owners.
2. Adopt an improved system of rural credits whereby a farmer may borrow money on long term at low rate of interest with which to buy his farm.
3. Require a written contract between landlord and lessee or renter.
4. Substitute a long-term lease instead of the short-term lease on farm properties.
5. The adoption by landlords, merchants and banks of a crop lien reading in terms of food and feed crops as well as cotton or tobacco acreage.

A Reformed System of Taxation

In the first place, we must have a reformed system of taxation that will encourage rather than discourage home owning. Under our present tax system a farmer who purchases land paying a part down and giving his note or mortgage for the remainder is forced to pay taxes on the full value of his purchase. Another discouragement the would-be home owner has to meet is the fact that lands held for speculation—lands from which the would-be home owners are excluded by the gambling instincts of owners, and lands held in large tracts and cultivated by tenants—are usually assessed and taxed at a far lower rate than the little home plots on which sturdy farmers are trying to rear families and nurture the state's future citizens.

Land, the most tangible of all forms of wealth, and the form from which production begins and all material things are derived, has long been our chief source of revenue through taxation. It being the most tangible form of wealth, tax levies upon it have proved to be the simplest and easiest way of raising governmental revenues. But what have been the effects of these levies, especially in those countries or states where a uniform tax rate must constitutionally apply?

To begin with, land being the starting point of production and the source of all material things, free scope should be given to its development by removing hindrances which restrict its use. Our present form of land tax, the uniform rate tax, is one, and the chief one, of these hindrances. It is restrictive, repressive; it punishes industry and rewards inactivity or cupidity. The man who holds land is at present rated not on the value of the land he holds, but on the use

he makes of it. The less he develops it the less he has to pay. Every facility is given for the unproductive retention of land. Improvements are penalized, for the greater the improvement the more the tax. Production is checked at its source. Every form of industry suffers from its effects, and agriculture most of all. Quoting from Dr. James D. White: "The agriculturist finds that his first difficulty is to get land on satisfactory terms, then he is hampered by a system which rack-rakes him on every improvement as soon as it is made. If he reclaims land, or levels it, or drains it, so as to increase its annual production, up goes the assessment and up goes the rate. If he builds a hay-shed or a farmhouse, up goes the assessment and up goes the rate. Every improvement is promptly penalized."

Take building, quoting again from Dr. White: "The builder's first difficulty is to get land and to build upon it on satisfactory rates; then as soon as the house is completed up goes the valuation and up go the rates; the larger the house, the better it is, the healthier it is, the more he has to contribute to the rates; if he makes an extension or adds a story, or even puts on a bay window he is promptly penalized—all of which prevents proper housing." Herein may lie a cause of so many unsightly homes in North Carolina.

Then come the effects on industrial plants. The first difficulty is to get land, then as soon as the plants are in working order up go the valuation and rates. The better, the more airy, the more wholesome and healthy they are, the higher they are rated. The more modern or effective the machinery is, the more it is penalized. Thus is every form of production affected by the uniform land tax.

What is the remedy? Assuming that we are going to continue to tax land for state or local purposes, some reform is needed that tends to promote home-ownership, and multiplied home-ownership will go a great way toward settling some of our labor problems, especially the problems of stable citizenship and labor turnover.

This reform must likewise tend to discourage land speculation and absentee landlordism. It must place a low rate on improvements and a high rate on lands held out of productive uses. We have not found and tried a remedy for this unfair taxation of land, but it will be well to consider what other countries have tried and found successful, as, for instance, the graduated land tax that has been productive of great results in New Zealand, Australia, Denmark, and other countries. Granting that the experience of one country with any proposition does not necessarily determine what the experience of another country might be, where conditions are different, there seems to be no reason why a progressive land tax should not produce greater equality and fairness in deriving state and local revenue from land. Also, the social effects of such a system would be greater under state-wide effort than

under local effort. Before we can adopt such a system in North Carolina it will be necessary to amend Article V, Section 3, of our Constitution so as to allow a graduated instead of a uniform rate.

Graduated Land Tax

What is meant by a graduated land tax? Take the New Zealand system for instance. It was seen that New Zealand was especially suitable for supporting a closely settled population, and that a dense population would be for the best economic interest of the country. Large land holdings had become common, and it was necessary to find some way to induce large landowners to sell their land, land that was for the most part held out of productive uses for speculative purposes. Accordingly laws were passed introducing a system of taxation on a sliding scale. The rate was graduated from one-sixteenth of a penny in the pound sterling on land values of 5,000 to 7,000 pounds, to thirteen-sixteenths of a penny on values of 35,000 to 40,000 pounds. Holdings that did not exceed 500 acres were free from the tax, those of larger area, but not exceeding 50,000 acres, paid a land tax which increased gradually with every additional 5,000 acres until it reached a total of 5 percent on the value of the land for estates of more than 50,000 acres. A special surtax was added for absentee-owners, increasing the graduated rate for such owners by 50 percent. Such a system did not break up the large land holdings already in existence, but it proved highly effective in preventing further large holdings. It was an instrument not for breaking up large holdings, but for preventing an increase in such holdings. The purpose of the system was to encourage close settlement, to prevent speculation and to give every one an equal right to own a home, by a system of taxation that made large land holdings unprofitable. The graduated land tax is still held to in New Zealand as the fairest possible system of land taxation, because it makes every man bear his share of the government expense in proportion to his ability to pay, regarding his wealth in lands and the possibility of gaining wealth from lands in production as a fair measure of his ability to pay. Lands are assessed at their capital value less the value of all improvements; that is, improvement is encouraged by exempting all improvements from taxation, and in this way unimproved lands held for speculative purposes are taxed more heavily than lands improved for productive purposes.

Rural Credits

Along with a reformed system of taxation should come some method whereby the thrifty tenant can borrow money on long-time repayments to the lending agency. It is now practically impossible for a small farmer to borrow money to buy a home. He must either borrow from

some bank on short time or from an individual on slightly longer time. The building and loan associations to a small extent are an aid to rural credits, but as yet such associations are but slightly active in rural districts, and a plan is needed that is more extensive. Such a plan should be under government direction or regulation, and to be successful the money should be loaned by the government, on easy terms, at a low rate, and for a period of say thirty or forty years. Such a plan has proved successful in Denmark, New Zealand, and Australia. Loans are made on the amortization plan; that is, the borrower pays a stated sum annually or semiannually rated against the sum borrowed, the time of the loan, and the rate of interest; which annual payments kill or amortize the debt at the end of the loan period.

For instance, in New Zealand a man can buy a farm and pay for it in twenty years by paying four percent semiannually, two and a half percent going as interest and one and a half percent as payment on the principal. A similar system has been devised by our Federal Farm Loan Bank, and is now in operation among the borrowers from this source of loans.

This system, however, needs to be extended so as to reach the class in greatest need of such aid, namely, the tenant class, or at least the farmers in that class who have a desire to own their own homes. The Farm Loan Bank does not yet reach that class effectively. Mainly it aids farmers already owning their homes toward the improvement of their homes and farms, but it fails to reach the farmers who are struggling to command enough ready cash to enable them to buy and own farms, under supply-merchant, crop-lien conditions.

Written Contract Between Landlord and Tenant

We would propose also that, in place of our lax system of contracts between landlord and lessee, a more specific method be adopted requiring a written contract between landlord and lessee. In North Carolina practically no contract is made other than a verbal agreement that covers a year or a crop season, a rate of rent, what the tenant is to furnish besides his labor and the labor of his family, what the landlord is to furnish besides land and house, as fuel, fertilizers, live stock, etc. We should have a written contract as required by the State of Wisconsin, and the contract should cover fully the terms of the lease, such as description of the farm, uses of property, disposition of products, use of manure made on the farm, purchase of feed and fertilizers, destruction of noxious weeds, value of a tidy farm, new buildings and fences, repairs on buildings and fences, fence posts, firewood, the road tax, duration of the lease, time of paying rent, guarantee that the rent shall be paid, and provision for enforcing the contracts.

In the item of duration of the lease we would propose a specific long-term lease instead of a vague short-term lease. The advantage of such a long-term lease is well summed up by Dr. John Lee Coulter as follows:

“With a long-term lease the evil of instability will be largely overcome. The farm operator will become interested in the farm; he will cultivate it better; he will keep up the fertility; he will improve the buildings; he will become interested in the country roads and the lane which leads to the building; he will take an interest in the neighborhood school, and church, and lodge room. He may even become a member of the local clubs which are organized for economic purposes. He may own a share of stock in the store, or the bank, or the creamery, or the canning factory, or the cotton warehouse, or the live stock shipping association. Indeed, he will become a part of the community.”

The long-term lease is practiced in Great Britain, New Zealand, Denmark, and practically all European countries. In Great Britain the tenant must be given legal protection for the improvement he makes in soil fertility or in the general appearance and value of the place. He is given credit for any improvement he makes, and is penalized for any permanent injury he wilfully does to the property. Both tenant and landlord are given protection each against the other. The period of lease for farm lands is usually for twenty years, and frequently for fifty years; for city property, fifty and ninety-nine years. In New Zealand the term of lease varies from twenty-five to sixty-six years on all property.

The Crop Lien

Lastly, since the time is not yet ripe for the complete elimination of the crop lien, we would propose that the crop lien be changed to include food and feed crops as well as money crops (cotton and tobacco). This is needed to encourage the home production of food and feed crops. Under our present crop-lien law the tenant places a lien upon his money crop for the necessities of life during the year; that is, for food and clothing for himself and family. Thus in order to be able to meet the terms of the lien he turns his whole attention to the production of these money crops, neglecting the production of food and feed crops. The result is that North Carolina sends millions upon millions to the West each year for food and feed supplies. This money might well be kept at home.

The plan in use in Texas is a good one. The Texas crop lien, in order to be acceptable collateral at a bank, must cover food and feed crops as well as the money crop. Down in Texas they call it the half-and-half plan—half the farm acreage in food and feed crops

and half in cotton. In this way the farmer is forced to raise both, and the plan to a great extent makes Texas self-sufficing. The saving each year in the state is around \$155,000,000 in average years. This plan was adopted by the bankers of Texas as a solution of their local market problem, and it has come near solving it.—Myron T. Green, Chairman Sub-Committee on Home and Farm Ownership.

January 12, 1920.

COUNTRY-HOME COMFORTS AND CONVENIENCES

R. R. HAWFIELD, MATTHEWS, N. C.

Country-home conveniences, comforts, and luxuries are related to economic and social welfare in our farm areas, but until very recently little attention has been given to this field of state and national concern. Of late years the Federal Agricultural Department is getting busy with this problem the country over; also the Farm Extension Service in every state. In North Carolina the State Legislature, the State Highway Commission, and the State University have combined to serve the country homes of the state free of charge.

The question of country-home conveniences and comforts is related to farm ownership, and farm ownership and country-home comforts are related to the stability of country populations. The lack of home comforts promotes the exodus of people from country regions to town areas. Here is a large part of the explanation of the cityward drift of country people. When a country family moves to town it is the wife that usually initiates the move. It is the woman on the farm who suffers most from the lack of home comforts and conveniences—she and her children.

In October, 1913, the Federal Department of Agriculture sent 55,000 inquiries to farm women to determine, if possible, the chief source of discontent among farm women. The replies showed that country discontent centered in the homes, and that the chief of these discomforts in country homes is the lack of running water. The farms of North Carolina are commonly deficient in domestic water systems piped into homes and barns, in sanitary garbage and waste disposal, inside bath and toilet facilities, sewerage systems, electric lights, in motor power for home comforts and farm machinery. Such comforts and conveniences ought to be common in every country home. The lack of these things, along with the lack of good schools and efficient churches, often causes the farm family to abandon farm life in order to become tenants and renters in mill communities and town centers.

State University Aid

This state of affairs was recognized by Governor Thomas W. Bickett in 1915. One of his famous thirty-nine recommendations to the legis-

lature had to do with it. That year the legislature appropriated \$5,000 a year to the State Highway Commission to enable it to aid country homes and country communities to develop small nearby water powers for domestic light and power purposes, and the score or more of country conveniences depending on these. The law also authorized the expenditure of this money to promote the piping of running water into country homes, the installing of domestic sewage disposal systems, the use of gas-engine power, drainage and related health promotion plans in country areas. The law lay fallow for four years because it demanded expert engineering—telephone engineering, hydraulic engineering, sanitary engineering, electrical engineering, gas-engine engineering, social engineering, and the like. In 1918 the University, at the instance of the State Highway Commission, undertook to supply expert engineering service free of charge to the country people, and at once the Department of Country-Home Conveniences and Comforts was organized as a division of the University Bureau of Extension. Of the 199 appeals already received most or all have been investigated by the engineering field agents of the division.

After a year of this service it becomes clear that the appropriation of \$5,000 will hardly pay the traveling expenses of the agents sent afield for country service of this sort. The need for such a service has been demonstrated, the readiness of the University to give it is evident, and nothing but the lack of funds limits the help it can render.

Small Water Powers

North Carolina is rich in water powers. Many or most of the large water-power sites have been developed by the great hydro-electric companies. Others are bought in by them for future development. These companies own and control approximately 82 percent of our developed commercial water powers.

A large source of power for farm use lies in the development of small water powers, and this is especially true of our mid-state and mountain counties. Before these can be developed effectively it is necessary for the state to have definite knowledge of the location of these small water-power sites and the possibilities they present. This calls for a survey of the water-power resources of the state. Such a survey is now being made by the State Geological Survey in coöperation with the United States Geological Survey, with Prof. Thorndike Saville of the University faculty directly in charge. The surveys are already completed in Surry and Wilkes counties. As a result we shall know about our small water-powers in definite detail at some early day, or of those that are 500 horsepower or over.

Telephone Systems

The subject of country telephone systems has already been studied by the Club Committee on Transportation and Communication. We here merely emphasize the importance of the telephone as an agency for counteracting the discontent produced by the isolation of life in our country regions. To quote Dr. Paul L. Voght, "The telephone comes into the country home as a partial solution of the problem of isolation for the wife and mother and the girls of the family. It becomes a means of distributing information about household methods. It acts as a medium through which social affairs may be quickly and conveniently arranged, thus making possible social gatherings without the waste of time once incident upon having to drive from place to place to get up a social gathering. It aids the farmer in coöperative enterprises such as threshing or for fixing the date for coöperative marketing or purchasing of supplies."

The rural telephones in North Carolina are either owned and operated by the large telephone companies at rates almost prohibitive in country areas or they are privately owned and operated by farm groups in rural regions. When privately owned many or most of our rural telephone systems are poorly constructed and badly managed, and the service is commonly so poor as to make them almost undesirable. This is usually due to the lack of knowledge on part of the owners, and they are often negligent about upkeep and thus allow the plant to fall into disrepair. The telephone has its place as a country-home convenience, and many of our rural systems could be helped into greater efficiency by an agency from which the managers could get information, instruction and guidance concerning construction, operation, maintenance, and administration of telephone systems. Such is the work the State University seeks to do free of charge.

Constructive Proposals

In order to continue the work begun by the State University and the State Highway Commission, and to make further extension of the service, we would recommend:

1. That \$10,000 yearly be appropriated for the expenses of the field agents of the University, their services being free to the state. This expense would cover both consulting and constructive engineering advice.

2. The establishment of an inspection and audit service for country telephone systems.—R. R. Hawfield, Chairman Sub-Committee on Country-Home Comforts and Conveniences.

January 12, 1920.

HOME AND FARM OWNERSHIP STUDIES**Outline**

1. The facts and their fundamental significance, as related to robust personality, family integrity, responsible citizenship, industrial stability, and democracy under law and order.

2. Country-home conveniences and comforts; University aid.

3. A progressive land tax (a) with low rates on improvements, higher rates on land, and still higher rates on land held out of productive use for speculative rises in value, (b) with exemptions or low rates on small properties while occupied and operated or used by the owners, as in New Zealand and elsewhere.

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CHAPTER VII

RACE RELATIONSHIPS—THE NEGRO'S POINT OF VIEW

A. W. STALEY, GREENSBORO, N. C.

The problem of race relationships in the South is serious, and it must be seriously considered.

At no time since the days of reconstruction following the war between the states has the situation been more perilous.

The Civil War suddenly turned slaves into free citizens. They were not ready for manhood suffrage and full citizenship, and for the most part they are not ready today. The immediate result was riotous misrule in every Southern state by negro officeholders and by the scalawags and carpet baggers elected by negro voters. The stairways of the Capitol still show the scars of barrels of whisky up-ended by hand to refresh the black-and-tan legislators of those shameful days. Thus began the breach of relationship between the races in the South.

This period of negro supremacy was ended by the whites with means that little regarded federal law. During the ensuing half century the disfranchised negroes made great progress in schooling, church organization, and property ownership, largely with the help of Southern white people, but mainly because of their indifference and neglect. After 1890 the negroes made long strides towards higher levels of civilization. They began to realize that their leader, Booker T. Washington, was leading them wisely into a brighter day. He refused to bewilder them with dreams of social equality; he called them to work out their own salvation with thrift, home and farm ownership, and personal integrity. And always everywhere he proclaimed the fact that the Southern white man is the negro's best friend.

But the World War brought to an end this period of peaceful self-conquest by the negroes of the South. Another breach of relationship has occurred. The races are further apart than ever, and race relationship is once more a problem in the South, and it is a more serious problem than ever before.

When the negro soldiers went to France they were again put upon a social plane for which they were not ready. The French extended to the negro soldiers the same social welcome the white soldiers received. The negroes married French girls. Yes, it is estimated that between one and two thousand such marriages took place. Though the majority of the marriages were among the bourgeoisie and proletarian classes, we find that a small percentage were with women of culture and refinement. This social uplift of the negro while in France has aggravated the situation at home until it has reached an alarming

stage. But in North Carolina the negro is gradually coming to himself in sanity and safety for the most part—in North Carolina more rapidly than in any other Southern state, Virginia alone excepted.

The radical element is fast losing leadership in this state. This fact appeared in the recent inter-racial conference in Raleigh. Although this conference agreed upon a creed well above the mass level of public opinion in North Carolina, it is far less radical than that held by many soldiers upon their return from France.

Once more, then, the negro is slowly finding himself. And again he has set about putting himself upon a friendly working basis with the white man in the South. He is slowly learning that the average Southern white man is his friend. That he is learning this truth we can see by looking at the situation from the point of view of several negro leaders. We may also note that the Southern negro is adjusting himself much faster than the Northern negro. This is clearly apparent in the radical, inflammatory editorials of negro publications in the North. Let us, therefore, take a glance at some of these negro publications and look at the situation through the Northern negro's eyes.

The program of the Negro National Association for the Advancement of the Negroes is very different from the attitude of negroes in general in North Carolina. The National Association wishes to make radical changes in a single day. Southern negroes for the most part seek for more gradual changes.

The Northern Negro's View

On the 14th of May, 1919, the National Association for the Advancement of Negroes had a membership of 50,000. At a meeting in New York they adopted the following program: (1) An increase of membership to 100,000, (2) a vote for every negro man and woman on the same terms as white men and women, (3) an equal chance to acquire the kind of education that will enable negroes everywhere to use their votes wisely, (4) a fair trial in the courts for all crimes of which he is accused, by judges in whose election he has participated without discrimination because of race, (5) the right to sit upon the jury which passes judgment upon him, (6) defense against lynching and burning at the hands of mobs, (7) equal service on railroads and other public carriers, including sleeping, dining, and Pullman cars, (8) equal right to the use of public parks, libraries, and other community services for which he is taxed, (9) an equal chance to gain a livelihood in public and private employment.

From what I have read it seemed to be the purpose of this association to push toward the attainment of these conditions within the next few years, not by violent, but by peaceful means.

Groups of negroes sometimes pass very radical resolutions, urged thereto by agitators. But such action is exceptional and is not accepted by the large body of the race.

The following quotation is from an extremely radical writer in *The Negro World*, a weekly publication: "It is true that all races look forward to the time when spears shall be beaten into plowshares, but until that time arrives it devolves upon all oppressed peoples to avail themselves of every weapon that may be effective in defeating the fell motives of their oppressors. In a world of wolves one should go armed, and one of the most powerful defensive weapons within the reach of the negroes is the stand for social equality." This is an extreme view of a Northern writer, but it is, in my opinion, far from the general view of the negro race in the South.

The idea that a Southern negro gets from the public prints have, on the whole, a very different tone. A quotation from a leading negro minister in New Orleans will give you a fair conception of what the enlightened portion of the negro race is contending for in the South:

"I say to my people, be patient; not the patience of insensible apathy, nor indeed of passive docility, but of active, peaceful effort, and of patient, watchful waiting. The possibility of rising is the inspiring angel of hope, and the possibility is ours. The race is climbing. Race discrimination here and there is beginning to betray the relenting face of self-condemning shame. Mob violence will be stopped. Be patient. Be upright. Be in all things honorable. We are living in the early morning of a glorious day whose moral splendor shall illumine the world. But we must labor and wait until the noon cometh. We can't go to it."

Negro Opinion in Carolina

On the 15th of September, Dr. E. C. Brooks, our State Superintendent of Public Instruction, issued a call for the leading negro educators and ministers of North Carolina to meet in his office on September 26, 1919. The following is a summary of a Declaration of Principles which the negroes of this meeting sent to the members of their race in the state: (1) The negroes in North Carolina were never more prosperous. They are buying farms and homes, and it is unfortunate that outside agitators should be influencing them to migrate to the North and West, leaving their homes in North Carolina. (2) Negro children in North Carolina have had poor schools and school facilities, but a change is coming. One town is spending \$100,000 for negro schools. Other towns are planning bond issues. New schools are going up in rural districts. There is a new spirit in North Carolina which will in time give playgrounds for negro children, libraries, parks, and community centers. (3) It is true that the negro does not always receive justice, but many times this happens not because

his color is black, but because he is without friends. Some reformation in the jury system of North Carolina would perhaps make for more justice in the courts. Under the new juvenile court law the superintendent of public welfare is to keep negro children out of court and jail as well as white children. As it is the friendless person who suffers when caught by the law, it should be the purpose of the negro to win friends as fast as he can. (4) As to the segregation of the races, the reason that the prosperous negro tries to move into white sections is not because he wishes to intrude upon white neighbors, but because in white sections he has better streets, better lights, and better living facilities in general. The poor white man suffers much the same inconvenience as the negro, but when a white man becomes prosperous he can move into a district with good facilities, but the negro cannot do this; therefore the public should provide equal light, water, sewers, sanitation, and public facilities in general. (5) The agitators who advocate social equality and intermingling of the races are doing great harm to the negroes. The negroes of North Carolina are not thinking of social equality. As to lynching, a main thing is to remove the cause. The patriotic negro stands ready to unite with the white man in safeguarding both white and negro women and to remove the terror that hangs over the South. An appeal to force is wrong in a clash between the races. Any agitation that will stir the negro to violence is opposed to the welfare of both races.

The opinions of these reasonable negro men shows that there is plentiful ground for hope, and that a better quality of friendship between the races is in store for the people of North Carolina.—A. W. Staley, Chairman Sub-Committee on the Negro View of Race Relationships.

January 26, 1920.

THE SOUTHERN VIEW OF RACE RELATIONSHIPS

BRANTLEY WOMBLE, CARY, N. C.

Realizing that the negro is a permanent and increasingly important factor in the development of our national life, we of the South should bend our every muscle, as it were, to the working out of a program whereby our Southland will be able to make the most effective use of this backward element of population. The negroes can be of unlimited service in the development of the South if we, the Southern white people, will give them half a chance. And we must do this, in self-defense, if for no other reason. We must work out a program whereby both races can come together and work together for the betterment of all concerned.

First of all, what is the average Southern white man's attitude

toward the negro? That is a big question, and some of you may not agree with my answer. But if we are ever to solve this problem we must first see ourselves as the negro sees us. Put yourself in the negro's place for a moment. You are a citizen of the United States, you pay taxes for schools, roads, state and county government; by the Constitution of the United States you are supposed to have equal opportunity with every other citizen, but how often in walking down the streets have you heard this remark, "Negro, get out of my way!" What would be the thoughts in your mind if you saw one of your brothers burning at the stake or hanging from a tree, riddled with bullets, realizing at the same time that you would share his fate if you should protest?

Have you ever been in a Northern city and heard a Southern man remark, "You Northerners don't know how to handle the negro. Believe me, he knows his place in the South." Do you ever stop to think that the little thoughtless jests we throw out from time to time about the negro are harbored in his heart and resented by him? No wonder we fail to see the smile on the black man's face that fairly ought to be there. We must cease to bear ourselves so loftily. We must meet the negro half way. We have our present attitude perhaps because we have always been taught to regard the negro as something to be looked down upon. The average white man's view is that the negro was intended by his Creator to be a servant; that the negro can never rise above his present station in life. And at the same time some white men take it upon themselves to punish the negro in a fashion that would put the savages of olden times to shame. The guillotine of the French Revolution has nothing over us, and yet we are supposed to be civilized.

Lynching, the greatest blot on the South's page of history, is increasing of late. Lynching is not a remedy for any problem whatsoever. In 1917 there were 38 lynchings; in 1918 there were 64; and in 1919 there were 83. North Carolina has had fewer lynchings than most Southern states. Only Virginia has a better record, but any at all are more than we want. Lynchings formerly were provoked by assaults by negroes upon white women, and there was a widespread disposition to excuse the mob. Judge Lynch was thus encouraged to extend his jurisdiction. Statistics for recent years have shown that he is gradually doing that. He presumes to usurp the functions of the courts in the punishment of all kinds and degrees of crime on part of both blacks and whites. He no longer draws the color line. Where is this leading us? If not stopped, mob violence will destroy the fabric of civilization in any state. The most serious thing in lynching is the fact that the law itself is lynched.

Most of us care little about the home life of the negro. All the average white man wants of the negro is a solid day's work, and there

his interest ends. We rarely ever stop to think that the negro is human, just as we are human. We pay him for his day's or his week's work and consider our obligation ended. We do not know, neither do we care, whether or not he has a sick wife or children at home, whether or not they lack food or fuel, whether or not the disease may be a hospital case. But where is there a free public negro hospital in North Carolina? Even the free wards in city hospitals are fewer than 75 for our 800,000 negroes. The schools for colored children are a disgrace to North Carolina.

I have been told by the county health officer of Anson County that in some of the negro schools one teacher tries to teach more than one hundred boys and girls of all ages from 6 to 21. With such conditions existing in the schools of nearly every county in the state, how can we hope to improve conditions among the negroes? In 1917-18 the white race—60 percent of our population—received thirteen times as much of the available school funds as the negroes. A policy of enlightened selfishness alone should cause us to give the black man better educational opportunities. What will it profit us to spend millions in the uplift of one race if the other be left close by its side in ignorance and vice? Separate schools like separate coaches are a necessity, but fair-minded citizenship in the state should exert itself to see that separation does not work injustice and hardship. We must realize that as a race we cannot live unto ourselves alone; that if the black man sinks we cannot rise. No social regime can long endure unless it is founded on justice.

When you talk of these things to some voters they frankly say, "That's all right; the negro hasn't any right to an education anyhow. What he gets is better than he deserves."

I tell you the only way to remedy these conditions is to educate the great mass of the people of the South, both black and white, and then when we seek the aid and coöperation of the black man in building up a stable civilization we shall be able to prove to him that we are honest and disinterested.

Now, what should be our attitude toward the negro? First of all we should cease to think in terms of self, mainly or merely, in the way our grandfathers thought. Times have changed, the negro is no longer a slave, and we must realize this. Then in every act and relationship of life we must prove to the black man that we are his friend, that we are striving to help both races toward better mutual understanding. The experience of those engaged in this work has been that they are regarded by the negroes first with fear and suspicion, then with interest, and finally with appreciation, trust and such eagerness to learn, such willingness to coöperate as they never saw before.

I was reared on a plantation cultivated by negroes. For the first thirteen years of my life almost my sole playmates were negroes, and since then I have worked with negroes both in the South and North, and I have yet to find one who if you show trust in him will betray that trust. The negro is largely what you expect him to be. If you are looking only for faults you will find plenty of them, but if you look for those qualities which go to make up honest men, men who will not fail you, these also will be found in the negro.

Things We Can Do to Help

1. We must realize that the great mass of all people, both black and white, must be adequately educated. Understanding of each by each must be developed.

2. Our influence and our wealth must be spent in propaganda to place the real situation before all the people.

3. Everything in our power must be done to remove the blighting fear of injustice and mob violence.

4. Every possible agency must be enlisted to foster the spirit of justice, fair play and kindness in all dealings by members of one race with members of the other.

5. Closer coöperation between white and colored citizens should be promoted without encouraging any violation of race integrity.

6. We must safeguard the rights of the negro, (1) to better housing and home life, (2) to adequate educational and recreational facilities, (3) to fair play and a square deal always and everywhere in everything.

7. And finally we must use our influence to procure such legislation as will give the governor authority to dismiss a sheriff for failure to protect a prisoner in his charge.

Numbers 4, 5, and 7 are taken from the program of the Southern Sociological Congress of October 8, 1919. They say, further: "We consider the solution of the problem of race relations to be the most delicate and difficult single task that confronts the American people. We believe that no enduring basis of good-will between the white and black people of this country can be developed except on the fundamental principles of justice, coöperation, and racial integrity. The obligations of this generation to posterity demand that we exert our utmost endeavor to preserve the purity of our democratic ideals as expressed in the American Constitution, as well as the purity of both races."

In speaking of the Southern white man's duty to the negro, Dr. W. D. Weatherford says: It is not the negro who is on trial before the world. It is we, the white men of the South. The world is looking on to see whether we shall have sufficient courage, sufficient Christian spirit, to lend a helping hand to the race that is down. May the spirit

of the Christ, the friend of men, give us strength to stand the test.

Now, Carolina men, we call upon you, the leaders of tomorrow, to come to the aid of the state you love. When you go back to your homes as leaders in your respective communities, remember that you owe a great duty to your country. Strive to create a friendly relation between the white and colored people. If you do that your life will have been worth while, and your state will be a better place in which to live because of you.—Brantley Womble, Chairman Sub-Committee on The Southern View of Race Relationships.

January 26, 1920.

THE DETACHED VIEW OF RACE RELATIONSHIPS

L. J. PHIPPS, CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

In studying the views of people outside the South, people in the North and in Europe, we find their views run all the way from the extreme view of the French to a milder view, a view approaching that of the average Southern white man or woman of education, culture and refinement.

France and England received the negro soldiers not as negroes, but as American soldiers. If any distinction was made it was in favor of the negro soldiers. A large number of negroes married French girls. This is the extreme case.

Mr. H. G. Wells, in his book, *The Future of America*, holds that the negro is dependent on the white man and that he is not getting a square deal. He sees the negro not in terms of the negro race, but in terms of the human race.

We find that occasional families in the North receive the negro on terms of social equality. He is permitted to enter their schools and homes. Intermarriage is allowed in a state or two North and East, nevertheless such marriages are extremely rare.

Ex-President Taft, in speaking of race riots, says that the agitators should be suppressed, that the editors of the colored press should be reasoned with, to cease publishing articles, however true, having an exciting effect.

Bishop Thirkield of the Northern Methodist Church goes on to say: "The negro is human. Negro nature is not different from human nature. We should recognize his rights as a human being. A good motto and a fundamental teaching of Christianity that cuts straight down through color and creed and caste and which, lived up to, will cure our race conflicts, is this: All that is human should care for all that is human."

He says that his work among the negroes of the South has shown him that "enlightened democracy demands for all people three things:

"First, protection of health, property, life, and morals.

"Second, the enlargement of economic opportunity: efficiency, not race or color, the test.

"Third, the chance for development through education."

He thinks that in the South the practical working out of these principles involves four main considerations:

"Better houses with a chance for raising vegetables, fruits, flowers, chickens and pigs. A clapboard cabin in a barren field, without windows, gives no sense of attachment. Move? Yes. There's nothing to leave behind.

"Fair wages honestly paid, and a fair division of crops with tenants.

"Even-handed justice in the courts and protection from the mob, for which many leading Southern newspapers are now pleading.

"A more equitable division of school funds, and equal, if separate, traveling accommodations for equal charges."

Perhaps the best program suggested for the settlement of this question was issued by the Federal Council of the Church of Christ in America last fall. A call was issued to representative citizens of the United States, white and colored, to meet in New York City for a full and free discussion of the racial situation. This committee viewed the situation as seen by both races. It found that the present situation is a challenge to the churches charged with the promotion of the brotherhood of man, that this nation in adjusting this situation has to justify itself before the peoples of the world, that our settlement of this question will in a large measure influence the settlement of race relations in other parts of the world.

The Council adopted the following Constructive Program for Just Inter-Racial Relations:

1. The government, local, state and national, should impartially guarantee to all classes security of life and of property. Mob violence is becoming a crowd habit. When life and property are ruthlessly taken, when men and women are lynched with no protection from officers or courts, law and order are trampled under foot. We call upon the pulpit, the press, and all good people to create a public sentiment that will support necessary legislation for the enforcement of existing laws, that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness may be equally assured to all classes.

2. The negro should have economic justice, equal opportunity to get and hold work on the same terms as other men, with equal pay for equal work, and with fair working and living conditions. The entrance of large numbers of negroes into the various industries emphasizes the necessity of an immediate amicable adjustment of relations with employers and fellow-workers.

3. We call upon men and women everywhere to protect the sanctity of home and womanhood. We record with satisfaction the growing en-

listment of negro leaders in a program of education and Christianization such as tends to prevent crimes that provoke mob violence. The home of the negro should receive the same measure of respect and protection as that of other Americans, and the sanctity of his home relations should be safeguarded in every possible way. Swift and impartial action of the law should strike the violator of the sanctity of any home, white or black.

4. We recognize as fundamental to the welfare and efficiency of society that adequate recreational provisions be made available for negro citizens.

5. We strongly endorse the plea of the negro for equal traveling accommodations for equal charges.

6. Adequate educational facilities for negro children and youth should be provided not only as a national obligation, but also as a necessity for national welfare. We emphasize the urgency of giving to the negro his full share of local and national funds.

7. Qualifications for franchise should be administered irrespective of race, creed, or color.

8. Closer coöperation between the races should be promoted by organizing local committees of white and colored people in towns and communities for the consideration of inter-racial welfare. All possible agencies should be enlisted in fostering a spirit of justice and of goodwill in the relations of one race to the other. We recommend that the governor of each state appoint a standing committee for the careful study of the causes underlying race friction with a view to their removal and that Congress be requested, through a non-partisan committee, to investigate the disturbed and threatening inter-racial situation throughout the nation.

So we see that this outside viewpoint runs anywhere from a view so detached that it would set the negro upon an equal level in every way with the white man to the view of Ex-President Taft, which would suppress Red agitation among the negroes.

We see that people North and West are adjusting their views to the primary facts of race relations, race prejudice, and the necessity for race adjustment, either because they have a keener realization of the situation in the South, or because of closer acquaintance with negro colonies and their problems in Northern and Western cities.

The detached view is coming to hold that the negro problem is a problem and not a theory. We of the South should cherish open-mindedness, and generous willingness to consider the sincere views of lovers of humanity and righteousness everywhere. In whatever matter we are wrong we must get right both in attitudes and actions affecting our relationship to the negroes of the South.

And the same thing applies to the people of the North and West in their dealing with this backward, disadvantaged class of citizens.

The rapidly increasing multitudes of negroes in Washington, Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, and Detroit are already giving Northern people a chance to try out their own qualities of mind and temper toward the negro race.—L. J. Phipps, Chairman Sub-Committee on The Detached View of Race Relationships.

January 26, 1920.

RACE RELATIONSHIPS—COMMITTEE CONCLUSIONS

G. D. CRAWFORD, CORNELIA, GA.

In the development of the American negro there have been three critical periods: (1) his change from African savagery to American civilization, (2) his transition from slavery to freedom, and (3) the situation brought about by the recent world war. In the first period the negro was taken out of the jungles of Africa and placed among a highly civilized people. The period following was an educational experience for the black man. Coming into close contact with the white man he made great progress in the earlier stages of civilization.

The second landmark in the history of the negro was set up when he was given his freedom. The attending circumstances were extremely unfortunate. In the artificial position of ruler over his former master the negro naturally misused the power given him. In no sense was he the superior of the Southern white man, and the control given him was a blunder productive of serious and regretful results. The period of reconstruction in the South brought about regrettable frictions. Finally the Southern whites were reëfranchised and a normal equilibrium was again established.

Then, under the leadership of such men as Booker T. Washington, the negro race began to adjust itself to new conditions, and the race made great progress along practical lines.

The negro was making slow but steady steps forward when he came into the third critical period of his history—namely, the world war. During the war there was no time for racial distinctions. In France negro troops were received as Americans and were treated just as the whites were treated by the French. Although the attitude of American whites toward the negro did not materially change, it was but natural that the negro should return to his home in the South with new notions of social relationships. It is well attested that there were attempts on part of agitators, both black and white, to bring about a general uprising of the negroes. This movement, however, was ignored by the vast majority of blacks. Nevertheless, agitations and new notions did have a very decided effect upon the problem of race relationships. The continuity of the development of the negro

race has been broken. As a result the situation is more aggravated today than it has been at any time during the last two or three decades, not only in the South but in the whole United States.

Consequently it was imperative for one of the committees of the Reconstruction Commission recently appointed by Governor Bickett to consider this problem in North Carolina.

In presenting this subject our committee has dealt with it from three separate standpoints—from the standpoint of the negro himself, from the standpoint of the Southern white man, and from the standpoint of the outsider. We shall close the presentation with a summary of the findings of the committee.

Summary of Committee Findings

We have considered race relationships in the South from the point of view of the negro, of the Southern white man, and of the outsider. It now remains for us to choose the right in each case as we see it, and present a policy of procedure.

1. We believe that the solution of this problem in the South lies in the hands of the Southern people of both races working together with sympathetic common understanding, and in a spirit of mutual helpfulness. In our opinion the Southern white man, occupying as he does the position of strategic superiority, holds the key to the situation. As Governor T. W. Bickett said at a meeting last week at Tuskegee, Ala., "The responsibility of developing the negro race therefore rests upon the shoulders of the white man of the South. He alone can direct the working out of this problem."

2. The committee does not favor social equality. The thinking negroes themselves do not ask it.

3. We believe that both races should maintain their integrity and racial self-respect. Amalgamation will not help in the solution of the present perplexity.

4. We hold that the task of the negro is to better his condition as a race, and that his development, like that of every other race, inevitably must begin at the bottom. And also, that his gains will be made slowly throughout long periods of time. His heaven cannot be reached at a single bound. And nobody realized this fundamental fact any better than Booker T. Washington, whose constant advice to his race embodied imperishable wisdom.

He taught his people to become efficient in industries of every sort, and to be set upon home and farm ownership, sobriety, integrity, and law abidingness. The negro must learn day by day to take the next step forward in steady gaited ways of patience and wisdom; and it is supremely important for both races to learn that nothing can be gained by violence.

5. If you ask for a single word to explain the solution of the problem of race relationships we would give you the word justice. In the past the negro has not always had justice at the hands of the whites. He must have justice. He deserves it and fairness demands it. Above all things let us be just in our relation to the negro. We have been kind to him, but kindness alone is not enough. Let impartial and unbiased justice be given him.

The courts must be just. A negro should have just as great chance before the law as the white man. In every instance a case must be tried on its merits and on its merits alone. Lynching is unfair and brutal, and should be absolutely abolished.

The negro must receive justice in educational matters. The facilities furnished his children should be equal to those enjoyed by the white children. There is great need for more negro schools and better teachers in these schools.

We do not claim that the negro should be placed in the same railway coach with the whites, but his coach should be equally comfortable and sanitary.

Fairness demands that he be given equal opportunity to raise his standard of living. He ought to receive equal service in streets, lights, sewers, and the like, in every city.

In our opinion the great need is to render justice to all—to the negro as well as the white. If this be done, much of race animosity will disappear, and the negro will receive a great impetus in his struggle to better his race.

To bring about justice to the negro it is necessary for all concerned to face the question squarely, with full knowledge of its significance, and with widespread willingness on our part to share and bear and forbear.

In the last analysis, the problem can be solved only in terms of the Sermon on the Mount and the Golden Rule. Applied Christianity alone can bring us to the goal toward which we are striving.—G. D. Crawford, Chairman Committee on Race Relationships.

January 26, 1920.

RACE RELATIONSHIPS STUDIES

Outline

1. The program of the Southern Sociological Conference and the Congress of Governors—the Southern view.
2. The program of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America—the detached view.
3. The program of the National Association for Negro Advancement—the negro view.

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2. Race Program of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America—University Rural Social Science Files, No. 325.26.

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Race Relationships Committee

1. Committee Collaborator: G. D. Crawford, Chairman, Cornelia, Georgia.
2. Negro View: A. W. Staley, Guilford County, Greensboro.
3. Southern View: W. B. Womble, Wake County, Cary.
4. Detached View: L. J. Phipps, Orange County, Chapel Hill.

CHAPTER VIII

CHILD WELFARE IN NORTH CAROLINA

C. T. BOYD, GASTONIA, N. C.

Child welfare is one of the fundamental problems of this and every other state. The children of today will constitute the citizenship of tomorrow, and a grave responsibility rests upon the state to make such provision for their welfare as will enable them to assume the positions they are destined to fill. The people of North Carolina are moving tardily but certainly into a recognition of the importance and the magnitude of the task. North Carolina has always had the reputation of being slow to adopt progressive measures. The Rip Van Winkle of States is what she was dubbed by one of her own devoted sons. But she has waked up within the last few years. Since 1915 her common school fund for annual support has moved up from six to twelve million dollars, and her common school properties from twelve to twenty-four million dollars. We now have medical inspection for children, and free dental clinics in the schools of the state; adenoid and tonsils clinics, and the like. And we have a State Child Welfare Commission, but as yet we have no Children's Legislative Code Commission as in Minnesota, Kansas, Missouri, Connecticut and other states. Georgia and Virginia are moving toward the appointment of such commissions.

Social legislation in behalf of children began with the General Assembly of 1917.

A majority of the legislative acts concerning child welfare in North Carolina were passed by the 1917 and 1919 legislatures, during the remarkable administration of Governor T. W. Bickett. The 1919 Assembly has to its credit thirty-five social welfare laws, and directly or indirectly they all concern the well-being of children. We now have county welfare boards and superintendents in every county, a juvenile delinquency law, a compulsory education law, a child labor law, and excellent health laws. The Assemblies of 1917 and 1919 were epoch-making bodies. We now have much or most of the legislation we needed. The urgent necessity we now face is the creation of enlightened public sentiment in support of this legislation. Without it we are always in danger of reverting to primitive types of thinking about child welfare ideals, measures, and methods.

Having reviewed the chief matters of child welfare legislation, let us now consider the agencies at work in behalf of children in North Carolina. We have a state-wide system of public welfare machinery. At the head of the system is the State Board of Charities and Public

Welfare, which exercises a general supervision over all welfare institutions and work in the state. Associated with this board is the Infant Welfare Bureau, headed by Mrs. Clarence A. Johnson. Then there is in every county a board of charities and public welfare, consisting of three persons who serve without pay. Every county has also a Superintendent of Public Welfare, who has active charge of the welfare concerns of his county. In counties of less than 25,000 inhabitants the County School Superintendent may hold this position. There are sixty such counties in the state. The County Superintendent of Public Welfare is a salaried officer and holds a very responsible position. Public welfare in North Carolina, it is well to remember, covers every social concern except public education and public health, which belong to the special state departments of education and health.

The State Public Welfare Board has responsible oversight of our defective, delinquent, and dependent children. The state maintains four institutions for defective children, one institution for delinquent white boys and one for delinquent white girls. A reformatory for negro children has just been created by our legislature. There are two county institutions for delinquent boys, under the care of county welfare boards. There are also 21 orphanages in the state, two of which receive state aid. The others are maintained by churches, fraternal orders, etc. We have four rescue homes for unfortunate girls. The North Carolina Children's Home Society at Greensboro is the main child-placing agency of the state. There is in process of construction at Gastonia the State Orthopædic Hospital for crippled children. This institution will fill a long-felt need.

These agencies are supplemented in their work by the State Board of Health. North Carolina has the best law in the United States for the medical and dental inspection of school children. This act was passed by the 1919 Assembly, and already more than 50,000 children have received free medical inspection and dental treatment under its provisions.

From the foregoing facts it can be seen that child welfare work in North Carolina is now fairly well organized. We have state and county boards of public welfare. We have homes and institutions for the care of defective, delinquent, and dependent children. We have excellent health laws for school children. And we have a compulsory school law, a child-labor law, and a juvenile delinquency law. On first glance, this array of state legislation, agencies, and activities for the promotion of child welfare work would seem to be sufficient. But a great deal yet remains to be done. Take, for example, the question of reform schools. We can truthfully tell an outsider that we have reform schools in North Carolina; yet the facilities are by no means adequate. There are several pressing needs now before us, and on the basis of these needs the committee has three recommendations to

make. We shall not here discuss the need for more reform schools for both sexes and colors, as that subject will be treated by the next speaker. These recommendations are:

Program Proposals

1. More adequate facilities for the care of the feeble-minded children.
2. A more adequate child-placing agency.
3. A system of mothers' pensions wisely conditioned.

Let us briefly consider each of these propositions.

First, more adequate facilities for the care of feeble-minded children. At present there is only one such school in the state—the Caswell Training School at Kinston, with room for about 200 children. On the basis of the most conservative estimate, there are 3,500 feeble-minded children in the state, and yet we can take care of only about 200 of these. This school is for white children; feeble-minded children of the colored race are not yet provided for in North Carolina.

Second, a more adequate child-placing agency. The North Carolina Children's Home Society at Greensboro is doing good work, but it is not prepared to meet the needs and solve the problems of relaying children into good homes. North Carolina should have a child-placing agency supported on a fifty-fifty basis by state and by private funds. The tasks of such an agency would be (1) to find proper homes for homeless children, (2) to place orphan children or neglected children in such homes, and (3) to maintain an efficient system of inspection to see that these children receive the benefits of good home training. This side of child welfare work should be stressed, the purpose being to place as many homeless children as possible in good homes, to prevent the overcrowding of our orphanages, and to take care of the 5,000 or more known orphans who cannot now be received in our 21 orphan homes. It seems indeed the only practicable way of attacking the enormous problem of bereft children.

Third, a system of mothers' pensions wisely conditioned. By this we mean that a capable woman of good character, whose husband is dead or confined in a prison or an asylum, who has children to support and who is not able to support them on her meager earnings, should receive from the state a pension which would enable her to keep her children at home and to rear them under salutary home influences. Forty states of the Union provide mothers' pensions, and practically all the rest are considering the matter. The amount of the pensions varies in different states, and we are not now prepared to say what would constitute a fair pension. As for the length of time a mother should draw such a pension, we believe it should be until the child is 16 years of age.

The advantages of a system of mothers' pensions are obvious. It provides home training for children that would otherwise be thrown

upon charity for support or upon some state or private child-caring institutions. Let the state inaugurate such a system and the need for reform schools and orphanages will be greatly lessened. The family circle will not be broken up. It is cheaper in the end, both from a financial standpoint and from the standpoint of social welfare. The committee believes that if provision can be made for carrying out these three recommendations the problem of child welfare in North Carolina will be greatly lightened.—C. T. Boyd, Chairman Sub-Committee on Child Welfare.

February 9, 1920.

CHILD DELINQUENCY AND THE JUVENILE COURT

W. H. BOBBITT, STATESVILLE, N. C.

The child is father to the man. The delinquent child is father to the seasoned criminal.

The state of North Carolina is called upon to deal in a human way with wild, lawless, and immoral children. For the most part they are children who have been denied that to which every child is innately entitled—a home and the rearing care of wise and loving parents. The problem must be met, for thousands of children give daily evidence of deficient or improper or vicious home training.

A forward stride was made in behalf of the juvenile delinquents of the state when the 1919 legislature passed the law entitled "An Act to Create Juvenile Courts in North Carolina." Under this wise and comprehensive law a juvenile court was created in each county of North Carolina, and in every city of 10,000 inhabitants or more. The clerks of court under this law are juvenile court judges. In the larger cities these may be specially designated. The probation officers are the county welfare superintendents. A delinquent child appearing before this court is either placed on probation, detained by order of the court, or assigned to a state institution. But no child is ever brought into this court if his case can be adjusted safely outside the court. The juvenile court is a last resort in child welfare work. Since this law became operative its work has been highly successful. During the first four months nearly a thousand children came under the jurisdiction of the juvenile courts of North Carolina. Our juvenile court law is the first of a mandatory nature passed by any state in the Union. But in dealing with our delinquents we have made only the first move. The wayward child is judged, and then our system runs into a blind alley for lack of detention homes and reformatory school facilities.

Your committee therefore makes the following recommendations, the needs for which are hereinafter explained and emphasized.

Program Proposals

1. The creation in connection with each juvenile court of a detention home, where delinquent children may be temporarily cared for wisely and safely.

2. The immediate enlargement of the facilities of the Jackson Training School and of Samarcand Manor.

3. The regional establishment of training schools for wayward children of each race and sex.

1. Detention Homes.

When delinquent children are apprehended there is oftentimes a period preceding the final judgment of the court, and in some cases a period thereafter, before certain children can enter state institutions, in which these children are held in waiting. It is unthinkable to fair-minded and big-hearted men that these young children should be cast into jails to associate with seasoned criminals, although for many years this has happened in North Carolina. Hence, your committee recommends, not that there shall be erected a building in each county to be known as the County Detention Home, but that each county, through its juvenile court, shall arrange to place these delinquent, but potentially good, children in homes or places where the environment will tend to uplift rather than to crush their finer selves.

2. The Enlargement of the Facilities of the Jackson Training School and of the Samarcand Manor.

The Jackson Training School for ten years has been reclaiming the lives of North Carolina boys. Its record is one of wonderful Christian achievement, and today it is carrying on its work with a zeal that comes only from a noble desire to serve. But it is greatly hampered on account of its very limited equipment. While its maximum capacity is supposedly one hundred, there are at present one hundred and thirty-three boys in this school, and more than two hundred on the waiting list. Why cannot all the wealthier counties build cottages of their own at this school, as Guilford and Mecklenburg have already done?

These figures speak for themselves. The Samarcand Manor, a home for fallen girls and women, has been but recently established. For years the institution has been badly needed. It is now entering upon its great work. Its capacity has already been reached, and now is the time for the state and for individual counties to provide for larger facilities on the grounds of Samarcand Manor.

3. The Regional Establishment of Additional Training Schools for Children of Each Race and Sex.

At the present time no training schools are conducted for negro

boys and girls. Besides Samarcand Manor, which was intended primarily for girls of gross immorality, no girls' training school is being conducted, and the Jackson Training School, even if enlarged considerably, would be unable to accommodate all our wayward boys. Hence your committee recommends the establishment of additional training schools, preferably on a regional basis, so that the juvenile court in each district can consign its worst delinquents to the District Training School.

The character of the people of North Carolina can be seen in our attitude towards these unfortunate children. We who believe that a child is by nature good see the future of our citizenship wrapped up in this problem. For when men encourage, support, and uplift their less fortunate brethren, barbarism has been left behind, and a new era of goodwill towards men dawns. He who is unwilling to help bear the burdens of this task is a poor citizen, and society, to which he owes everything, receives at his hands little or no benefit.—W. H. Ebbitt, Chairman Sub-Committee on Child Delinquency and the Juvenile Court.

February 9, 1920.

PRISON POLICIES AND REFORMS

R. E. BOYD, GASTONIA, N. C.

The meeting tonight, said Mr. T. J. Brawley, the Committee Chairman, is devoted to the second study of public welfare problems in North Carolina. The subject deals with (1) jail conditions, abuses, remedies, etc.; (2) the state-farm plan for misdemeanants, and (3) penitentiary policies.

These problems have long been with us, but little has been done to solve them in North Carolina. The old jail, with its filth and other abuses, is still here. The county chain gang, which has been abolished in many states, still exists in this state. Under this system of punishment no plan is provided for teaching a man to live a better, healthier life when he is released. When he is released he has learned no trade, nor does he go out into the community better able to live a respectable life.

If we have the chain gang at all, it should be taken out of the hands of county officials and placed under direct state supervision. But even then the many evils inherent in this form of punishment would not be corrected.

The state-farm plan of dealing with misdemeanants is a solution of the chain-gang problem. Or so it is proving to be in Indiana. Here men have no ball and chain attached to their limbs. They are free in their movements, but they are forced to learn at least the rudiments of farming.

Persons convicted of felonies would, of course, be sent to the penitentiary, and only those guilty of minor offenses would go to the state farm.

The problem of handling penitentiary convicts has been worked out successfully in many states by means of the indeterminate sentence and pay-roll method. These methods have been employed to some extent in the South, where the development of penal reform has been slow. There are several reasons for the tardy prison reforms of the South, one in particular being that most of our offenders are negroes. Experience seems to show that they cannot be dealt with in the same manner as white prisoners. Such at least is the common belief. The chances are, in my opinion, that we can do far better than we have yet learned to do with prisoners of both races.

The handling of individual cases is a main matter in prison reform. The treatment of each prisoner should be adapted to his personal needs. Prisoners cannot be humanely or constructively dealt with in mass. Offenders should be treated in such manner as to restore them, if possible, to good citizenship. Special care should be given those suffering from tuberculosis and other diseases.

But even more important is the elimination of the causes of crime. I am here thinking especially of Buncombe County. Before the prohibition laws went into effect Buncombe had three chain gangs. Since the partial elimination of drunkenness there is only one chain gang, with less than twenty men in it. As we eliminate the evils that provoke or license crimes we shall have fewer and fewer criminals. As we lessen the number of criminals needing jail and penitentiary treatment the need for these purgatories will decrease.

The problem of jail conditions, penitentiary policies, and the restoration of prisoners to useful citizenship is a tremendous task for statesmanship. It should command the attention of every North Carolinian. In our own state, as in every other, there exist conditions and practices that call for correction. A main purpose of the state in dealing with offenders of the law should be to see them restored to society as respectable, self-supporting citizens. It is our duty to see that this is done—as far at least as it is humanly possible.

The report of the sub-committee will now be presented by Mr. R. E. Boyd.

Scope of the Report

North Carolina is an agricultural-manufacturing state, and a large percentage of her people are day laborers. Coupled with this fact is the eternal negro problem, which has ever been a perplexity to men with visions of civic betterment. But at last North Carolina is beginning to visualize social conditions and to institute reforms that have as their objective the furthering of public welfare throughout the

state. But even with all the progress of recent years the field of prison reforms has barely been entered in North Carolina. Not enough attention has as yet been paid to the care of misdemeanants in our jails and chain gangs, and to the felony convicts in our penitentiary.

The county and city jails of the state house an appreciable portion of its criminal population, and the manner of this housing makes the blood of right-minded North Carolinians boil with indignation. Our jail problems would be quickly solved if the men and women of North Carolina knew the condition of things in the jails of their home towns and counties. But they rarely or never visit them and see the filth, the darkness, the vermin, and the contamination of cells and corridors; and when we say contamination we mean contamination of bodies and souls alike. The evils inhere in the jail system itself, and our jails are no worse in Hertford, N. C., than in Hartford, Conn. If anybody thinks differently let him read Hart's recent report on the Hartford jail.

The county chain gang as it commonly exists in North Carolina today is a blot on our civilization. It is a common thing to see men with heavy iron spikes and chains fastened about their ankles and waists, swinging picks from sun-up to sun-down on some roadway, with an armed guard standing by. The camp itself is commonly deplorable, with white men and big burly negroes huddled together, with little or no decent provision for cleanliness of bodies, clothing, beds, and bed clothes.

As a result of its study of jail, chain-gang, and penitentiary conditions in North Carolina, the sub-committee of the North Carolina Club has formulated the following program proposals:

Program Proposals

1. Some authoritative body, such as the State Board of Public Welfare or the State Board of Health, shall be required to examine every county jail in the state at frequent intervals, and whenever a jail is found to be unfit for the confinement of humans the board shall notify the judge of the circuit, county, or municipal court of this condition and he shall require the responsible authorities to remedy the same; and as long as the jail is condemned no prisoners shall be committed to it, but shall be placed in an approved jail of some other city or county.

2. The abolition of turnkey fees, and allowances to sheriffs for the feeding of prisoners beyond the sworn statement of the cost of same. The frequent inspection of prison fare by the county public welfare superintendent.

3. The surrender to the state of misdemeanants promptly upon conviction.

4. Abolition of county chain gangs.
5. The state-farm plan of dealing with convicted misdemeanants.
6. The compensation of sheriffs for delivering prisoners, insane people, epileptics and the like to state institutions shall be based on trip expenses, properly detailed, instead of so much per prisoner.
7. Penitentiary convicts to be used for public-road building, farming, and other productive work, under state supervision and for state purposes only.
8. Reasonable compensation shall be allowed therefor, in behalf of the convict's dependent family.
9. Emphasis shall be placed on the indeterminate sentence and the parole.
10. There shall be vocational schooling, night schools, etc., for both misdemeanants and convicts.
11. Convicts shall not be leased to private parties or corporations.

Explanations

One of the present duties of the State Board of Health is to inspect and rate county jails. Out of 15 jails recently examined the highest score was 73.5 points and the lowest 50 points. Of six convict camps examined the highest score was 76 points and the lowest 62 points. These low scores were given for such shortcomings as failure to provide night-clothing and clean beds, lack of provision against flies, mosquitoes and vermin, absence of spittoons and shower baths, lack of provision for the separation of diseased prisoners from their companions, or of sexes, or races. It is a well-known fact that most of our county jails are dark, dingy, and dirty, and that they provide no means for exercise and fresh air. These are deplorable conditions, and they cannot be remedied by merely publishing jail scores. Some board, it matters not whether it be the State Board of Public Welfare or the State Board of Health, should be given the power to condemn any jail or chain-gang camp found to be unfit for the habitation of humans, and should notify the judge of the circuit court, who shall forbid any prisoner to be kept in said jail or chain-gang camp until the authorities make it comply with certain regulations prescribed by the said board. Any prisoners committed to jail in the meantime shall be sent, by the order of the judge, to some other county jail, and the county sending such prisoners shall pay all the expenses of conveyance and keep. If the jail is not put into proper condition in a reasonable length of time the board shall report the case to the Governor, who may, if he sees fit, declare it to be unlawful to commit anyone to said jail until it has been rebuilt, or remodeled, or in some other manner put into proper condition.

The fee system of compensating sheriffs for the care, keep and conveyancing of prisoners has been in existence for many years, and it is

now time to abandon it. It is not a commonly known fact that many sheriffs in this state receive a fee every time the jail door is opened to receive or discharge a prisoner, and that they also receive a stated legal per diem allowance for feeding every prisoner who is confined in the jail. There is law on the subject, almost as many laws indeed as there are counties, but the law is little regarded. It is needless to say that this system has often been a sad temptation to graft. Or so it appears in Orchard's report on Pennsylvania jails. The plan has entailed much suffering to prisoners and much needless expense to the counties. The allowance for food varies from 20 cents to 75 cents a day per prisoner. Jail officials are tempted to buy the cheapest food they can find and to pocket a large portion of the allowance. Hence, it seems best that sheriffs should receive a sufficiently large salary from the county and be required to feed and care for jail inmates at cost as shown by properly detailed accounts. Turnkey fees should be entirely eliminated. They are just as mischievous today as Howard found them to be in the eighteenth century.

It has been rightly said that a jail is a place of detention for persons arrested for crime and awaiting trial, and presumed to be innocent until proven guilty; that in the very nature of things it cannot safely be a place either of punishment or reformation. If the state-farm plan of dealing with misdemeanants were adopted, as proposed, there would be no people serving sentences in the county jail or on county chain gangs, as at present. Only those awaiting trial would be housed within its walls. As these people are held to be innocent until proven guilty, they of right ought to be given all the care, convenience, and liberty compatible with their safe keeping. Accordingly, the vesting of power in the State Board of Public Welfare or the State Board of Public Health to check up the jail authorities and force them to conform to the laws of sanitation, health, comfort, and morality is reasonable and necessary.

The county chain gang is a primitive plan for punishing misdemeanants by county authorities. It is unavoidably crude, oftentimes cruel, and invariably degrading. It effectively hinders the reform of prisoners, and their restitution to society as useful citizens. It should be abolished. The delicate business of punishing and at the same time reforming prisoners, both misdemeanants and felony convicts, is the job of the state, not the impossible job of county and municipal authorities.

Indiana is the first, and so far the only, state to provide a farm for her misdemeanants. Her belief that the effect of setting men to work out-of-doors would be to put many county jails out of business was soon verified. A large number of her jails have since remained empty. Misdemeanants over 16 years of age who are sentenced to 60 days or more are sent to the farm, where they receive the advantages

of vocational training in the open air under an indeterminate-probation-parole system. There is no one standing over them with a gun while they work; on the other hand, they go out to the fields and return unguarded. The number of attempted escapes has been negligible. Here the youthful offender is not brought into close, idle contact with seasoned criminals, as he is in the county jails. The number of prisoners is large enough to permit classification and promotion according to good behavior. Their bodies are built up by outdoor work. They are taught various trades and they have the privilege of attending night schools. The misdemeanants who are sent there are under the care of expert penologists, who have the well-being of the prisoners at heart.

To care for women in the jails a smaller farm home should be provided where they can do proper work, and receive proper instruction and proper care.

One penitentiary with its farm for felony convicts is doing well in North Carolina, but its usefulness could be increased by the institution of a few new policies. Road building could be carried on by penitentiary convicts in honor camps, where there are the fewest possible restrictions on the men. This kind of work should be done mainly on state highways. Each county would be credited with the number of convicts she furnished, thus enabling a fair rate of compensation to be established for the county treasuries. Farming should be carried on at the state farm as at present, but with more attention paid to the diversification of crops and the care of live stock. There should be no objection to manufacture by the prisoners, under state supervision, of products used in state institutions; as, for instance, brooms. No factory so run, however, should turn out products in competition with free labor.

For such work the convict should receive a reasonable compensation, based on existing wage conditions, to be sent to his dependent family. What this amount should be would depend largely on the needs of the family, and the varying efficiencies of prisoners.

Emphasis should be placed on the indeterminate sentence, probation, and parole. The prisoner should receive only the privileges which he shows himself capable of using rightly, and when by his behavior he shows that he is capable of reassuming the duties of citizenship he should be returned to society.

While the convict is being reformed as well as punished he should be taught some trade. On the state farm he can be taught blacksmithing, carpentering, plumbing, orcharding, trucking, the care of live stock, butter making, poultry farming and the like. If night schools are conducted the convict has an opportunity to learn to read, write and speak correctly. The men should be encouraged to better

themselves by putting the more capable ones in charge of various operations about the farm.

No matter how well the state cares for its felony convicts in its penitentiary and on its farm, the whole plan of reforming prisoners will fail unless the prison lease system is abolished. We have this iniquity embodied in the statute law of North Carolina; but we do not have it in actual operation in anything like the manner or measure of other states. Under this system groups of men are hired to farmers or manufacturers at a very low wage per man, although the state houses, feeds, and guards them. The wages received vary from 66 cents to 95 cents a day per man. The system is a gold mine to contractors, but it is essentially vicious in its effect upon the prisoners. This system is in vogue in twenty-four states, North Carolina among them. It looks as though it will take the wrath of God Almighty himself to break it up in the United States. The convicts are often mistreated and punished on the slightest provocation. They are worked ten or twelve hours a day. This system is a cruel injustice to them, as well as to the laboring men who have to compete with the low wages paid under the prison-lease plan. It would be to the best interests of all concerned if such a law were forever wiped off the statute books of North Carolina.—R. E. Boyd, Chairman Sub-Committee on Prison Policies and Reforms.

February 23, 1921.

CHILD LABOR AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION

T. J. BRAWLEY, GASTONIA, N. C.

Introduction

The papers tonight deal with (1) Mill Village Problems, (2) Child Labor, and (3) Compulsory Education.

These are problems which have lately come to our attention in North Carolina because of the growth of the cotton mill industry. The cotton mills have brought us many difficult problems to solve, such as the labor turnover, which has been dealt with effectively in only a few mills of the state. Health officers and community workers have been appointed in various mill centers to look after the health and welfare of the people. Safety devices and workingmen's compensation insurance have been established by law in many states. The child labor problem has become acute since the factory system developed in North Carolina. The child will work for less than the adult, and for this reason many parents and employers are anxious that children should work in the factories. Very little skill is required to do some forms of mill work, and for these a child serves the same purpose as a man or woman.

The first legislation passed in the United States for the protection of children was in Massachusetts, in 1836. Since that time child-labor laws have been enacted in all those states where there was any necessity for them, and a federal law was passed covering all the states. The constitutionality of this law is now in question in the federal courts.

Nearly two million children are employed in industries in the United States today. In the Southern states one-half of all the children employed are less than 13 years of age. Or so it was before the federal law went into effect.

The causes producing the child-labor problem are many. Poverty resulting from indifference, laziness, or shirking of duty by the head of the family, is responsible for a great deal of it. Then, too, where the family is large and the wage small, the child must go to work in order that the family may earn enough to live comfortably. It is also true that fathers and mothers are commonly more anxious to have their children work in the mills than the mill owners are to have them do so.

And, too, child labor has grown out of the sordid desire of employers to secure labor at the lowest possible cost regardless of the laws of nature or of man.

Conditions in schools have also been a cause of child labor. Because of crowded schools in certain localities the teachers do not have time to give individual attention and guidance to the pupils, and as a consequence many children become discouraged, fall behind in their work, leave school and enter upon some employment merely to escape the petty trials of school.

We now have a compulsory school law in North Carolina, but it will be effective only if it is carried out.

The effect of child labor is readily seen. Often the child's health is ruined. He becomes stunted, maimed, dulled in body and mind. The child who enters the industrial world at the early age of fourteen has not received enough education to make him capable of advancing far in any line of work. In many cases where children labor in mills, factories, or on the streets, they have scarcely any home life. Family life is thus at a low ebb, and if there is a home at all it becomes a mere eating and sleeping place.

MILL VILLAGE PROBLEMS

H. G. KINCAID, GASTONIA, N. C.

No other state in the Union has as many mill villages as has North Carolina. And their problems are distinct from those of city or country. Those of the country are concerned with the conditions that

accelerate the cityward drift of farm populations. The entire nation is thus threatened with decreasing agricultural production. And the solution of country-life problems is mainly the job of the farmers of the state. Likewise, the city is beset with problems which the city alone can solve. And so, too, the mill villages of this state have problems all their own. The mill village problems which we shall consider at this time relate indirectly or directly to the labor turnover. The labor turnover measures the discontent and restlessness of workers, and always it results in financial loss to the companies. Eliminating as far as possible the causes producing instable citizenship in mill villages will promote the happiness of wage earners and increase their confidence in the mill owners. At the same time it will lead to greater financial success for the company.

Many of the larger plants of the country have found progressive improvements profitable. Forty or more of our own textile manufacturers have taken progressive steps in labor relationships and evidence accumulates to show that these progressive policies have yielded liberal dividends in goodwill as well as in cash.

Program Proposals

Toward the solution of mill village problems in North Carolina we recommend:

1. The establishment of an employment or labor-manager department wherever the mill is large enough to afford it.
2. The encouraging of home ownership for worth-while employees by the mill company on an amortization plan, as at Bayonne by the Standard Oil Company.
3. That each mill have a public health officer, one or more public health nurses, and a recreation secretary—or at least such mills as can afford to engage in such community work, and most of them can, in some form and in some degree.
4. That every mill company maintain workmen's compensation insurance for accidents; also sick-benefit insurance.
5. A playground outfit sufficiently large for each mill or group of mills.

Explanations in Brief

1. While we do not believe that a centralized employment system for every mill in North Carolina would be advisable, because of the comparatively small number of workmen employed by some of them, yet central employment bureaus have been found highly efficient in reducing the labor turnover in many industrial plants of the country, and should, therefore, receive attention in North Carolina. There are large textile plants in North Carolina which would undoubtedly find employment departments effective and profitable, both for the em-

ployees and the companies. As a matter of fact, the Durham Hosiery Mills have been successfully using such a system for several years. Their labor turnover is now between 8 and 10 percent, instead of the usual 30 per cent in North Carolina and the 320 per cent in the country at large.

Many systems are used, differing with the special conditions and needs of particular plants. In all of them a labor supervisor is at the head of the bureau. He performs the following functions: (a) he analyzes the requirements of the different jobs in the mill, (b) he judges and selects right men for the jobs, (c) he acts as a middleman between employer and employee; he receives complaints from the workmen and acts upon them as best suits their interests and those of the management; he suggests improvements, and in this way he promotes better relations between the workmen and the company. The head of an employment department of a Detroit automobile concern says:

"Four years ago the hire-and-fire system was in vogue with us. If a man was needed for a certain department, the foreman would hire him; if needed no longer, he was fired. Our turnover at that time was about 300 percent to maintain a working force of 6,000. The next year the turnover had been reduced to about 200 percent, an employment department having been looking into the matter of turnover about six months of this year. In the year 1914 the turnover was 74 percent."

Smaller companies have likewise secured a substantial reduction in labor turnover through the activities of labor managers or employment departments. However, we recommend an employment department only to those mills that are large enough to justify their installation.

2. We believe that the ownership of homes by mill and factory operatives is directly related to stable citizenship, and that it will help to reduce the labor turnover to the smallest possible measure. Under this policy the mill company builds homes for industrious, thrifty workmen of good character. These homes are paid for in weekly installments during practically as long a period as the employees may desire, usually ten or twenty years. The advantages of such a plan are obvious. The workman gets a home of his own and one of which he can be proud. Naturally a friendly feeling springs up between the company and its employees. For which reason the plan is better for the company than the old building and loan association plan of home-owning. The employee who lives in a home built according to his wishes by his employer will not hastily leave that employer. And besides, the fact that he owns a good home will encourage the workman to be more careful of health conditions in the village. Moreover, he develops a sense of responsibility for local law and order. The employee, then, is healthier, happier, and more contented in a

home of his own. The employer has a healthy, contented workman who is likely to stay with him. The Standard Oil Company is trying out this plan of home ownership on a large scale at Bayonne. It has been perfected at the village of LeClaire, a mill village about 16 miles east of St. Louis. The population is 670. Remarkable as it may seem, this village has never had a mayor, a policeman, a jail, or a bar-room. It has never seemed to need any of these modern agencies of civilization. With only seven exceptions, every family owns its own home. The stability of this mill village population is shown by the fact that in 27 years the total loss of native-born population is one girl.

Home ownership is one of the needs of mill villages in North Carolina.

3. Each mill should have a public health officer, one or more public health nurses, and a recreation secretary or community worker.

The public health officer will create healthful conditions for the working men. He will see to it that the mill is kept in a sanitary condition. Where the peculiar conditions of a job make it unhealthful or dangerous he will either eliminate those conditions or provide the workmen with protection against them. And he will assure himself that this protection is used. The public health officer will also investigate thoroughly conditions of health, morality, law and order in the mill community. He will constantly seek the coöperation of the operatives in every matter that concerns the common good.

The public health nurse will also have important duties. It is, of course, advisable for every mill or group of mills to have a community house. The nurse will visit and nurse the sick. The injured will be given first aid by her. She will organize and superintend the nursery for the young babes of mothers who are working in the mills. These babies will be cared for in the community house. The nurse also will advise new mothers, and especially young wives about to become mothers. The nurse will need one or more assistants in the community house. In fact, her duties will be so numerous that it is evident there should be not one nurse for each mill but two or three, as the size of the mill village may require.

The recreation secretary puts enthusiasm and life into the people of the mill village. He knows the use of the playground outfit, which will be mentioned later. He will direct the young children and the larger boys and girls so that they will get the greatest benefit from leisure time activities. He will look after the entertainments of the village. He will be busy with the community bands, the clubs, and plays, ice-cream suppers, picnics, and the like. The recreation secretary, then, has an enlivening effect upon the community. He gives the people, old and young, the recreation which makes them better and more contented workers.

4. But accidents and sickness will occur. And so we recommend a workingmen's compensation insurance for all employees. The mill company should also carry insurance for its workmen against sickness. The fact that a mill company carries insurance for its employees against both accident and sickness gives it a name which it is well to have. Mill companies can relieve themselves of the direct burden of accident or sick-benefit insurance by taking out block policies. It has been the experience of companies employing this plan in other states that in practically all cases the awards for sickness and accidents are quickly and justly settled. For the protection of the employer as well as of the employee all probable causes for accidents should be removed.

In October, 1919, there were but six states in the Union without workingmen's compensation laws. North Carolina was among these six.

5. The necessity for playground outfits needs hardly to be mentioned. By giving the children facilities for play and supplying intelligent direction for it, we get strong and healthy workmen for the future. The companies using the playground outfits say that they are fully repaid for them. The cost is not great. The playground outfit for the Carr Mill at Durham cost only \$2,300. The cost at present would be more nearly \$5,000. The company has never made a better investment, says Mr. Carr.

We believe that the acceptance of these recommendations will aid in bringing about coöperation on part of employees and employers, and in advancing the interests of both.—H. G. Kincaid, Chairman Subcommittee on Mill Village Problems.

March 8, 1920.

CHILD LABOR IN NORTH CAROLINA

T. J. BRAWLEY, GASTONIA, N. C.

The second paper tonight, and the last of the public welfare studies of the Club, deals with child labor. The child labor and mill village problems have grown in difficulty along with the expansion of the cotton mill industry in North Carolina. These problems are more acute in North Carolina than in other Southern states because we lead the South in cotton textile industries. We have more mills, more spindles, more operatives, a greater variety of cotton factory products, a larger pay roll and a greater volume of textile wealth than any other state south of New England.

This paper deals with (1) the facts of child labor in North Carolina, (2) the state and federal laws, (3) conclusions, and (4) compulsory education.

I. Our Child-Labor Laws.

The legislature of 1919 revised the child-labor laws to a great extent. A child-labor commission was appointed to see that the new laws enacted should be strictly enforced. Mr. E. F. Carter is its executive secretary, in the State Public Welfare Department.

The new law, effective July 1, 1919, which is written with the compulsory school law, says that:

No child under the age of 14 years shall be employed, or permitted to work in, or about, or in connection with, any mill, factory, cannery, workshop, manufacturing establishment, laundry, bakery, mercantile establishment, barber shop, bootblack stand, public stable, garage, place of amusement, brickyard, lumberyard, or any messenger or delivery service, except in cases and under regulations prescribed by the commission hereinafter created.

Farming and domestic occupations are not prohibited.

The following additions and exceptions have been made to the above section:

1. No child of any age under 16 will be permitted to work in any of the occupations enumerated above before 6 o'clock in the morning or after 9 o'clock at night. The law itself makes this rule mandatory.

2. No girl under 14 years of age shall be permitted to work in any of the places enumerated in the bill.

3. No child under 14 years of age shall be employed in any of the places enumerated in the bill for more than eight hours a day.

4. Boys between 12 and 14 years of age may be employed in the enumerated occupations when the public school is not in session, when it is shown by the county superintendent of public welfare that the proposed employment is not likely to injure the health of the child. But in no case shall such employment be legal until a certificate has been issued by the County Superintendent of Public Welfare on blanks furnished by the State Commission. If necessary physical examination may be required.

5. During the time that the public school is in session boys between the ages of 12 and 14 years may be employed on Saturday and out of school hours on the same conditions as stated above, provided that such continuous employment does not interfere with their school work. When school officers have provided for what is known as continuation schools and where arrangements have been made to make the outside employment a unit of the school work, boys of this age may, in specific cases, be allowed to be occupied in employment during school hours for a limited time at the direction of the Superintendent of Schools.

This law of the state is a measure for child welfare, and it solicits the coöperation and aid of all people interested in aiding the officials in seeing that the letter and the spirit of the law are carried out.

The federal law says: That every person operating (1) any mine or quarry situated in the United States in which children under the age of 16 years have been employed or permitted to work during any portion of the taxable year; or (2) any mill, cannery (other than a bona fide boys' or girls' canning club recognized by the agricultural department of a state or the United States), workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment situated in the United States in which children under the age of 14 years have been employed or permitted to work, or children between the ages of 14 and 16 have been employed or permitted to work more than eight hours in any day, or more than six days in any week, or after the hour of 7 p. m. or before the hour of 6 a. m., during any portion of the taxable year, shall pay for each taxable year in addition to all other taxes imposed by law, an excise tax equivalent to 10 percent of the entire net profits received or accrued for such year from the sale or disposition of the product of such mine, quarry, or manufacturing establishment.

The federal authorities now have agents in the state issuing certificates and otherwise looking after the enforcement of the federal law, which is more drastic than the state law. Mr. M. L. Shipman, State Labor Commissioner, looks after the enforcement of the federal law.

Conclusions

These measures for child welfare should be given full aid and cooperation to secure the beneficent purpose intended. Wholesome conditions of environment must be provided for children while not in school or employed. Better homes must be provided, more parental thought and care, and more public coöperation in the way of playgrounds and other wholesome recreation.

II. Compulsory Education

As mentioned above the compulsory education law was written in with the child labor law which went into effect July 1, 1919. The law states that all children between the ages of 8 and 14 years must attend school continuously for a period equal to the time when the public school in the district in which the child resides shall be in session. If the school in such district runs six months, the child must attend that length of time; if more, even 10 months, the attendance must be continuous. Attendance records must be kept by the schools.

One of the important features of the rules issued is that governing the excuse of absences. The teacher in charge shall have the right to excuse pupils for temporary absence for the following reasons:

- (1) Illness of the child that prevents the child from attending school, etc.;
- (2) Illness in the family where it is apparent that the child's services are needed in the home and wherever

there is danger of spreading contagious diseases if attendance is not interrupted; (3) Death in the immediate family; (4) Quarantine in which isolation is the order of the local or the State Board of Health; (5) Physical incapacity, which shall be interpreted to mean that such defects make it difficult for the child to attend school; (6) Mental incapacity, etc.; (7) Severe weather that is dangerous to health or safety of the children; (8) Distance from the schools, two and one-half miles from the nearest school being considered an excuse for absence; it will be the duty of the county to provide transportation; (8) Poverty is an excuse, but such indigence must be reported to the County Superintendent of Public Welfare, etc.; (10) The completion of the course of study in the district shall be an excuse.

As for effective vocational mill village schools, very few, if any, exist in the state of North Carolina or in the South. The need for such a school where the mill operatives can learn how to make the most of their lives, how to spend the money they earn, how to keep the home free from disease, how to work mill arithmetic, etc., is indeed very important. Since so few of the mill pupils complete a higher education their greatest need lies in thorough vocational education.

Recommendations: Child Labor

1. As for the employment of children, we recommend that no boy under the age of 14, and no girl under the age of 16, shall be permitted to work in any mill, factory, workshop, cannery, mercantile establishment, place of amusement, restaurant, laundry, or office, while school is in session.

2. No child under the age of 16 years should be allowed to work in specific dangerous occupations.

3. No child under 14 should be allowed to work more than eight hours per day, nor between the hours of 9 p. m. and 6 a. m.

4. The State Child Labor Inspector and his assistants, who are the County Public Welfare Superintendents, should be given the power to inspect conditions as to the employment of labor in factories, mills, workshops, canneries, places of amusement, hotels, restaurants, and office buildings.

Recommendations: Compulsory Education

1. Every child from 8 to 18 should be compelled to attend school for the entire term of the locality in which he lives, except for physical or mental disability.

2. Every city of 5,000 or more inhabitants should have a full-time attendance officer.

3. The County Superintendent of Public Welfare should be authorized to employ a special truancy officer.

4. As for the effective vocational mill village schools, we recommend the construction of schools like the Textile Industrial Institute now in operation at Spartanburg, S. C., the funds to come from the state, the county, and the mill owners.

Brief Explanations: Child Labor

1. We believe that no boy under the age of 14 should be allowed to work during the school session, because he should receive a high-school education before beginning any regular work.

The influences of the streets are bad enough for the boy at 16 years of age, much more at the age of 14. Most of the cases of our juvenile courts come because of this fact.

No girl under 16 should be allowed to work in any of the places enumerated above if the womanhood of the state is to be properly conserved in the future. Girls of tender age should certainly not be allowed to run the dangers of association inherent in public places.

2. Children under 16 should not be forced to work in dangerous occupations until they realize the danger that they run, and until they can protect themselves therefrom.

3. No child should be allowed to work more than 8 hours a day nor between 9 p. m. and 6 a. m. if he is to get proper physical and mental development.

4. The State Welfare Superintendent and the county welfare officers under him are urged to the faithful performance of their duties under the law to inspect conditions in places of employment, see that sanitary conditions prevail, and that no violation of the law occurs.

Brief Explanations: Compulsory Education

1. Every child between the ages of 8 and 18 should be made to attend school in order that he may obtain at least a high school education.

On account of the retardation of many of our pupils now, when they are made to attend school only from the time they are 8 years old until they are 16, many of them have not completed the fourth grade. This generally ends their education, and we cannot hope to have a high class of citizenship if this continues.

2. One of the charges brought against this new law is that it does not give the probation officer or policeman enough money to justify his bothering with getting children into the schoolroom. If our compulsory law is to have any teeth in it a full-time attendance officer must be appointed in every county.

3. A full-time truancy and attendance officer is needed perhaps more in the country than in the small towns. Statistics reveal the fact that 95 percent of the white illiteracy of the state is found among the children in the country. The people must be made to see the necessity of sending their children to school. Thousands of children of school age are now found working on the farms.

4. The need of a school like that of the Textile Industrial Institute of Spartanburg, S. C., is readily seen. This school takes care of the young men and women who are without means to pay their way through school and who are willing to work one-half the time that they may go to school the other half. Its great appeal is to the more or less illiterate mill workers of the South Atlantic states from 14 years of age and upward. A school like this one should be established in every mill center for the North Carolina boys and girls. This school gives the pupil more than the fundamentals of an elementary education.

North Carolinians must realize that the problem of child labor is a big one, and that it will command the attention of every North Carolinian to find a satisfactory solution.—T. J. Brawley, Chairman Committee on Public Welfare.

March 8, 1920.

PUBLIC WELFARE STUDIES

Outline

1. Child welfare in North Carolina: (a) Legislation, agencies, and activities at present, (b) Conditions of success, (c) Further needs—in legislation, in reform school facilities for wayward boys and girls of both races, in child-placing agencies adequately supported, properly officered and functioned, (d) Mothers' pensions wisely conditioned.

2. Child delinquency, town and country; the juvenile court, probation problems, detention homes, etc.

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2. Child Welfare: C. T. Boyd, Gaston County, Gastonia.
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CHAPTER IX

ORGANIZED BUSINESS AND LIFE—CORPORATE ORGANIZATION

J. V. BAGGETT, GREENSBORO, N. C.

A pressing problem before the business world today is democracy in industry. In theory industrial democracy assumes that the individual worker is interested in industry far beyond the details of his daily task, that he is acquainted with the problems of business management, that he has the knowledge on which to form ideas of business policies and to judge the conduct of the business by his employers. Such is the assumption and in the main it is baseless. Corporate business has grown so rapidly, into such enormous proportions, and its management has become so centralized that the average employee finds it impossible to think it through from first to last in any particular field of industry. The political, industrial, and social problems of corporate business have become highly specialized and organized. As a result a wide gulf has been created between the employer and the employee. Labor has been depersonalized. The wage-earner is now little more than a cog or cam or crank in some industrial machine. And herein is the heart of the matter.

The purpose of this paper is to propose a plan to bring employers and employees closer together, to establish confidence between them by removing, if possible, the causes for distrust and thus to benefit both themselves and the public through better service. It proposes a more constructive supervision by the state over the corporate businesses of North Carolina.

H. B. Endicott, senior member of the Endicott-Johnson Company, shoe manufacturers, has said: It isn't a matter of capital acceding to the demands of labor or of labor making demands upon capital. Capital and labor are arbitrary terms for human groups who have human relationships with each other. The crux of the matter lies in establishing a relationship of understanding and confidence between the two human factors in industry.

A corporation is an association of persons organized for the purpose of doing business under a corporate name, with charter rights conferred by the state. In this paper we shall consider (1) its relations to the state, and (2) its relations to its employees.

The Corporation and the State

A corporation has powers of two kinds. (1) To act in a corporate capacity it must have a charter, setting out in full the powers and

privileges granted; and (2) it has such implied powers as are necessary to carry out the purpose for which the corporation was created.

The Corporation Commission of the state has general supervisory powers over the corporations of the state. The statute says that the commission shall have general control and supervision over all railroad, street railway, steamboat, canal, express, and sleeping car companies or corporations, and over all other companies or corporations engaged in the carrying of freight or passengers; over all telegraph and telephone companies; public and private banks and loan and trust companies; building associations; and shall have power to require all transportation and transmission companies to establish and maintain such public service facilities and conveniences as may be reasonable and just. It further provides that whenever any public service company or corporation embraced in this chapter has a controversy with another corporation or association of persons and all the parties to the controversy agree in writing to submit the controversy to the commission to arbitrate, the commission shall, after due notice to the parties interested, proceed to hear the same, and its award shall be final.

Program Proposals

1. The above provisions give the State Corporation Commission general supervisory powers over the public service corporations of the state. In practice the result is mere negative action by the commission. The Corporation Commission acts mainly as a court, and, therefore, must wait until complaints are brought to it for settlement. The Corporation Commission should be an active investigating body to see that the conditions, rates, facilities, and services stipulated in corporation charters are established and maintained by the corporations; and when controversies arise it should take the initiative in trying to bring the parties to a proper understanding rather than wait until ill-feeling result in a deadlock. It is true that the decisions of the commission may not and possibly can not be final; but when a thorough, fair and impartial investigation is made and the facts are published, public opinion will generally force the party in the wrong to do the right thing.

2. The powers of the Corporation Commission to regulate rates ought also to be enlarged. At present the burden of showing the reasonableness or unreasonableness of a rate generally rests on the public, and in many instances great injustice is done because of the hardships that a few public-spirited men must undergo in order to get the case of the public squarely before the commission. This procedure ought to be changed so that the burden of showing the reasonableness or unreasonableness of a rate would be on the corporation making the charge and not on the public. Before a public service corporation en-

forces any rate it should first have the consent of the Corporation Commission. This would tend to insure just rates. It would save a few public-spirited citizens the trouble of having to go before the Corporation Commission and fight the battles of the public for higher or lower rates as the justice of the case may demand. This plan would also serve to give immediate relief instead of waiting for a case to take its slow course up through the courts.

In view of the conditions set forth above we recommend: first, that the Corporation Commission be reorganized so as to make more effective the powers it now has; second, that the legislature give to the Corporation Commission such additional powers as are necessary to enable it to act positively and not merely negatively; third, that the burden of showing the reasonableness or the unreasonableness of a rate be placed on the corporation making the charge and not on the public.

The Corporation and Its Employees

No one familiar with the march of events during the last few years has failed to note the necessity for a definite program to bring improvement in labor conditions in North Carolina. There can be no settled conditions leading to increased production and decreased living costs if labor and capital are to be antagonists instead of partners. Sound thinking and an earnest desire to serve the interests of the whole state, as distinguished from the interests of a class, must be applied to the solution of this great and pressing problem. The failure of employers, and in many instances of employees, to consider this matter in adequate ways has produced needless bitterness, jealousies, and antagonisms. Situations of this sort naturally breed labor agitators, labor organizations, strikes and lockouts. The only way to keep men from agitating against grievances is to remove the grievance, and even this precaution does not succeed when walking delegates move in and start up trouble in times of general unrest. A refusal to discuss the matters at issue provides a chance for professional agitators who provoke disturbances in order to tempt the government to embark on a course of repression and retaliation.

Charles W. Eliot says: From the highest to the lowest every one must be actuated by a sincere and earnest desire to make things go. Employer and employee alike must be actuated by one aim—to make the business of which they are all a component part as great a success as possible. The reward for success must be as available to the lowest man in the scale as to the head of the firm.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., says: I believe that labor and capital are partners, not enemies; that their interests are common, not opposed; and that neither can attain the fullest measure of prosperity at the expense of the other, but only in association with each other. He says

further: I believe that the provision of adequate means of uncovering grievances and promptly adjusting them is of fundamental importance to the successful conduct of industry.

Quoting again from H. B. Endicott: There will be no happiness and rest in industry until the workers cease to look upon the employer as their enemy and until the employer considers his employees as allies. Treat a man as a man, whether he deserves that treatment or not, if you want to get any results of lasting value.

Here are clear and concise statements by men of keen insight concerning just what should exist in our industrial establishments, and the inquiry naturally presents itself as to how these relationships can be brought about. The principle on which all concerned should deal with the labor question appears to me plain. It is the principle of the golden rule. I think the formula should be (1) that first labor is entitled to a living wage; and (2) what is left over belongs to both capital and labor in such proportions as fairness and equity and reason shall determine in all cases.

Someone will ask who shall distribute this. Let all corporations not public service corporations be required to make public periodical statements showing the business done, the profits, the losses, etc., and then let the State Board of Arbitrations, as hereinafter described, be empowered to make recommendations (1) as to what is a living wage, and (2) as to the proper share of labor and capital in what is left over. We would not recommend that these recommendations of the board be compulsory; merely recommendatory.

The application of this formula is, of course, complex and difficult, because there are so many different kinds of labor and so many different kinds of capital. Frequently labor and capital overlap and merge into one. We have skilled labor, unskilled labor, and casual labor, and we have the small employer, the large individual employer, the corporate employer, etc. And then circumstances and conditions vary greatly in different parts of the country and in different industries.

It is impossible to measure by the same yardstick everywhere, but the principle of fairness can be stated, the desire can be stated to do everything possible to bring about good feeling and good understanding between labor and capital, and willingly and freely to cooperate so that labor shall receive its fair share of the fruits of industry, not only as a wage return, but also as an adequate return in those less tangible things that make for contentment and happiness.

The workman is neither a machine nor a commodity. He is a collaborator with capital. He must be given an effective voice in determining jointly with the employer the conditions under which he works, either through committees in each factory, or through labor unions or through both. Individual capacity, industry, and ambition must receive encouragement and recognition. The employer's attitude should not be

one of patronage or grudging concession, but frank and willing recognition of the dignity of the status of the worker and of the consideration due to him in his feelings and points of view.

Whatever is necessary to infuse interest and conscious purpose into his work, and to diminish the monotony and drudgery of his daily tasks ought to be done. The closest possible contact ought to be maintained between employer and employees. Arrangements for the adjustment of grievances ought to be provided and the plan ought to work smoothly and instantaneously. Every possible opportunity must be given to the workman to be informed about the business of which he forms a part. He must not be deprived of his employment without valid cause. For his own satisfaction and the good of the country every inducement and facility should be extended to him to become a home and property owner.

Responsibility nearly always has a sobering and usually a broadening effect. I believe it to be in the interest of labor, capital, and the public at large that workmen should participate in industrial responsibilities to the greatest extent compatible with the maintenance of needful order and system and the indispensable unity of management. Therefore, wherever it is really desired by the employees themselves they ought to have representatives on the boards of directorship—at least whenever it is practically possible. This, I think, should be conceded. It gives labor a better notion of the problems, complexities and cares which the employer has to face. It would tend to allay the suspicions and to remove the misconceptions which frequently are the primary cause of trouble. The workmen would come to realize that capitalists are not quite as wise and deep as they are commonly supposed to be, but also on the other hand that they are a good deal less grasping and selfish, and a good deal more decent and well-meaning than they are usually believed to be; that essentially capitalists and wage earners are made of the same human stuff.

The worker's living conditions must be lifted to the highest possible level; life must be made attractive to himself and his family. Nothing is of greater importance. To provide suitable homes for employees or workers is one of the urgent duties of the employer.

The worker must be relieved of the dread of sickness, unemployment, and old age. It is inadmissible that because industry slackens, or old age befalls a worker, he and his family should be condemned to suffering or the dread of suffering. The community must somehow find ways and means of guaranteeing that any man fit and desirous to do an honest day's work shall have an opportunity to earn a living. Those unable to work must be honorably protected. The only persons on whom a civilized community has a right to turn its back are those unwilling to work.

The worker must receive a wage which not only permits him to keep body and soul together, but to lay by something for rainy days, to take care of his wife and children, to have his share of the comforts, joys, and recreations of life, and to be encouraged in the arts and rewards of thrift.

Labor, on the other hand, must realize that high wages can only be maintained if high production is maintained. The restriction of production is a sinister and destructive fallacy, and most of all it reacts disastrously on labor.

The primary economic cause of poverty is under-production. Furthermore, lessened production naturally produces high living costs. High wages, accompanied by a proportionately high cost of living essentials, do the worker little good, while they do the rest of the community a vast deal of harm. The welfare of men and women living on moderate incomes, the small shopkeeper, the average professional man, and the farmer is just as important to the community as that of the wage-earner.

If through undue exactions, through unfair use of his power, through inadequate output, the wage-earner brings about a condition in which the pressure of high prices becomes intolerable to the middle classes, he will create a class animosity against himself which will defeat his purposes in the long run. Precisely the same holds true of capital. Neither can afford to outrage public opinion, in a land where public opinion is the ultimate authority.

We therefore recommend that a State Board of Arbitration be established in North Carolina, as in New Zealand, Canada, or Massachusetts, to hear serious disputes that arise between employer and employee, to make impartial investigations, to publish the facts of the controversy and the conclusions of the board, and to investigate working conditions wherever it thinks them dangerous to the welfare of the workmen. Possibly it might be practicable for the State Corporation Commission to be organized into just such a board, as new duties of this sort jibe with the present powers and duties of this commission.—J. V. Baggett, Chairman Sub-Committee on Corporate Business Organization.

May 3d, 1920.

CO-OPERATIVE ORGANIZATION

C. I. TAYLOR, PIKEVILLE, N. C.

There have been three kinds of industrial organization instituted by man in his attempt to utilize the forces at his command for a specific industry or for all industry. These three according to the informing

element of control in each are the Capitalistic method, the Syndicalistic method, and the Coöperative method.

1. The first of these, the Capitalistic method of control, has long been used in the United States in all its industries. The instrument for binding all its parts together is the corporation and the trust. Indeed, it is sometimes spoken of as the corporative organization in industry. The control rests entirely with the owners, and in proportion to the share of each in that ownership. The earnings of the industry are likewise distributed according to the share in ownership. This system has resulted in the gradual concentration of extraordinary wealth in the hands of relatively a few individuals and families. The economic, social, and political ills of this system have been many and grievous—not because it is wrong in itself, but because capital is thus clothed with autocratic authority and is overly tempted to use its power regardless of wage earners and the general public good. The cumulative results of capitalism are good on the whole, in my opinion—indispensable indeed to the progress of stable civilization.

2. Those in distress have urged as a remedy, that labor control industry or have a co-partnership share in its control. Labor offers two methods of control; (1) Socialism, that is that the government own all natural resources, the sources of all raw materials, and operate all key industries—for instance as the post office is operated in the United States, or the public schools in a city or a state; and (2) Syndicalism, that is the operatives in a particular industry operate it for the benefit of the workers—for service and not for profits, as their phrase goes.

In neither case is there any return to the capital invested in the business. The recent upheaval in Italian industries was syndicalistic. The workers took control of many industries, only to find in the end that they could not negotiate the final problems of credit and salesmanship. Russia adopted Syndicalism. The Bolsheviks, who, says Lenine, are less than five percent of the Russian people, seized all the industries of the large cities, and undertook to operate them as state enterprises. They robbed the owners outright and denied them any share of the profits. As a result industries fell into idleness, production dwindled to zero point, and the bottom dropped out of Russian civilization. Not impossibly the time may come when America may be called upon to choose between these two; the one a despotism of capital, the other a despotism of labor; between capitalism and Bolshevism.

3. But there is no reason for going to an extreme when there is a safe middle ground. The third method of organization and control in industry, the coöperative method, is the solid middle ground. According to this plan the owners share in control as individuals without regard to the size of their holding. The earnings of the industry

above a certain return on the capital invested, is participated in by all those connected with the industry, including the customers, and at a ratio agreed upon. This plan has never been tried to any great extent in the United States and then largely without success. The Rochdale or Coöperative Stores in Great Britain have been an acknowledged, unquestioned success.

But credit is a condition of success in business. Recognizing this fact Raiffeissen devised a plan for coöperative credit unions among farmers. The plan was successful. In a few years it was extended to small wage and salary earners in the cities under the title of Schulze-Delitzsch banks. Both plans have been tried out to a successful conclusion during the last seventy-five years. These coöperative credit unions have accumulated billions of resources with almost no losses—only a few shillings all told. The Danes have always been an agricultural people but the balance of trade was continually against them and poverty was everywhere. Then they began to develop coöperative business organizations in agricultural production, manufacture, credit and markets, these organizations all being adapted to their peculiar needs. Today, Denmark is the most prosperous of all the agricultural nations of Europe. She has the most complete coöperative system in the world. The Danish farmers operate their own ship lines to London, and have their own centers of distribution to wholesale and retail customers in Berlin, London, and Paris.

Beginnings in North Carolina

In 1915 the Legislature of North Carolina enacted a coöperative enterprise law which includes coöperative credit unions, town and country. This law created a Superintendent of Coöperative Associations and Credit Unions, with such assistants as might be necessary. He operates under the joint direction of the Farm Extension Bureau of the state, the State Board of Agriculture, and the State College of Agriculture and Engineering. Thus the law placed the credit unions in friendly hands and gave them a chance of success at the start. How well they have succeeded is shown by the prosperous condition of the thirty-one coöperative credit unions at present. Their resources in six years have reached a total of nearly \$100,000.

There are certain rules under which these unions must be organized. Capital is sold in shares not exceeding \$25 par value. The unions are open for membership to all citizens of the community who are solvent and of good character, provided, however, that after organization new members are to be received only with the consent of a majority of the existing membership. Membership fees become a part of the surplus as do all earnings above 6 percent on the capital stock. The control is in the hands of members who are stockholders

but without regard to the size of their individual holdings. Loans are made to members only, and when loans are desired of more than \$50 security must be given. The endorsement of a fellow-member is considered sufficient security under the law.

These unions are enlarging the field of their activity. They now purchase fertilizers, machinery, and supplies for their members and arrange for the storage and shipment of their products at proper times. A credit union once established in a community can increase in resources and undertakings, and in a short time can become able to do any or all of the many kinds of work now undertaken by coöperative enterprises in general.

There has been a coöperative creamery in operation at Hickory, North Carolina, since June, 1910. This venture has proven a great success; but its greatest success came after the Catawba Rural Credit Association was organized. Today there are in Catawba many other successful coöperative enterprises.

The credit union has not been used in the towns and cities of the United States as in Europe. The need for such unions in our cities has been filled to some extent by the Morris Plan Banks. But if the idea of coöperative business organization in general develops in our cities the coöperative credit union must go before to lay the foundations.

But just now our greatest need is not to make the city more prosperous and thus to entice men away from the farms, but to make the country more prosperous, and, if possible, to entice city people back to the farms.

The Manufacturers' Record of a recent date carried an article under this caption, Our Greatest Problem. The writer urged that every effort be made to increase the supply of farm products in the United States, saying: "The questions of the League of Nations, of a soldiers' bonus, of Democratic or Republican supremacy are mere soap bubbles blown by children as compared with the question of food supply. Higher pay and shorter hours for industrial workers are like great magnets drawing men and women from the farm into the city, decreasing the number of farm producers and increasing the number of consumers of raw materials and foodstuffs. Economic forces will eventually push the price of food so high that starvation and revolution are imminent." He urges that one should not begrudge the farmer the prices he now receives for his products, but on the contrary should endeavor to increase that price in order that at least a temporary solution, as he believes, may be had.

The Coöperative Credit Union offers cheaper capital as an immediate solution of the problem of farm production, in this way actually increasing his profits without increasing the prices he now receives for his products. It keeps on the farm the savings of the farmer when

they are needed there and adds to those savings by coöperative loans from banks when the need arises. The credit union creates an efficient machinery for the purchase of farm supplies and for the most effective distribution of the farmer's product.

I would set, then, as the goal of the Superintendent of Coöperative Organization in North Carolina a coöperative credit union in every rural community in the state, and each union prosperous and fulfilling its mission in its community.

Program Proposals

To attain this end I recommend that he do two things:

First, that the Superintendent of Coöperative Organization in North Carolina begin a state-wide campaign of publicity and education covering the benefits to be derived from such organizations and how they may be attained; that he endeavor to interest in this movement the teachers of the state, the men of influence in their respective communities, such as school officers and magistrates; that he urge upon each farm-life school superintendent the importance of instruction in coöperative business organization as applied to agriculture, and, should there not be a union in his community at present, that he attempt to organize one as soon as possible; that each Farm Demonstrator be urged to coöperate with the Superintendent of the Farm-Life School in his county, and with the State Credit Union Superintendent in furthering the organization of these unions and in extending the principle of coöperative organization wherever possible.

Second, that a portion of the force of the state credit union bureau be devoted to a study of the methods and principles of coöperative business in this country and in Europe, that they may be able to anticipate impending troubles and to furnish adequate remedies; that the bureau coöperate with men in the State interested in and possessing a knowledge of coöperative business enterprise; that a card index be kept of the trained men available each year for work in this field, the extent of their knowledge and experience, and where they can be found should need for them arise in North Carolina.

Third, I recommend to the colleges of the state, especially the University, the State A. and E. college and the State College for Women, that they include in their curricula courses in coöperative business organization and that the heads under whom these courses are given coöperate with the State Superintendent of Coöperative Organization.—C. I. Taylor, Chairman Sub-Committee on Coöperative Organization.

May 17, 1920.

CO-OPERATIVE BUSINESS

E. C. BRANSON, CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

Coöperation as a form of business organization sanctioned by law is young as time goes. It is less than three-quarters of a century old in any land, less than thirty years in many lands, less than half a dozen years old in North Carolina. Yet in every country where coöperative business has been intelligently and faithfully tried out it has been proven successful beyond debate.

A coöperation is legally distinguished from a corporation by two features: (1) by the one-man-one-vote principle of organization and control, and (2) by patronage dividends as well as dividends rated on stock. Every coöperator has one, and only one, vote, no matter how many shares of stock he owns. In a coöperation the majority of men is what counts; in a corporation it is the majority of stock that counts. One capitalizes men, the other capitalizes money. In the second place, the profits of coöperative business go to those who create them, (1) in ratio to the capital stock they own, and (2) in ratio to the use they make of the business as patrons. Thus in a coöperative credit union the dividends are distributed to members according to the amount of money they borrow from it as well as the amount of capital they invest in it; in a corporation the direct profits go to the shareholders alone. Corporation directors who declared patronage dividends would be violators of the law; but coöperation directors would be criminals if they did not declare patronage dividends, if any such dividends were in their treasury.

Opposed to Socialism

Another thing: a coöperation is non-political, and wise coöperators never mix politics and business. Coöperation is also a social enterprise, but coöperators are rarely ever socialists. Intelligent self-interest molds their actions and determines their policies. They are usually home-owning, home-loving people, and they cling tenaciously to the rights of private property ownership. You could never bewitch a true coöperator with the most alluring pictures of nationalized wealth. Violent social or political upsettings are no part of his program.

The simple fact is that coöperation is the opposite of both socialism and bolshevism, just as Mr. John Sprunt Hill says. It is not only an opposite, but an antidote. This is why we hold to the belief that Russia's 65,000 coöperatives and 75,000,000 coöperators are the salt that will at last salt down her civilization into salvation. In the end they will overthrow both socialism and bolshevism; which by the way is not socialism, but individualism gone mad.

Coöperators learn slowly and cautiously, but in foreign countries at least they learn thoroughly. Their yearly transactions cover every

commodity under the sun, and their operations run into billions. They were seven billions in coöperative credit alone in central Europe the year before the Great War broke out.

In our own country the coöperator learns still more slowly. Coöperative business enterprise in many parts of the country is wholly unknown, or known by hearsay only, or known not as business but as an empty sentiment. America has hardly begun as yet to learn coöperation upon the upper levels of spiritual enterprise.

Coöperative Credit Unions

The Land Bank Law passed by Congress in 1916 and the Land and Loan Association Law of the North Carolina Legislature in 1915 cover long-term loans upon land mortgages at low rates of interest. These laws aid the owners of land for the most part.

The North Carolina Coöperative Credit Union Law covers short-term, personal, credit loans, and it was planned to aid the 1,136,000 people in North Carolina who own no land.

Coöperative credit unions were authorized by law in Canada, Province of Quebec, in 1900; in Massachusetts, 1909; in Wisconsin, 1911; in Texas, 1913; in New York State, 1914; and in North Carolina, 1915. The recently enacted laws upon (1) Credit Unions, (2) Coöperative Enterprise, and (3) Land and Loan Associations, put North Carolina in the forefront of progress in this new field of legislation.

The North Carolina Idea

Credit-union laws in American states show progressive and more or less successful adaptation to local conditions and necessities. But, so far, the North Carolina law is the best of them all. It not only gives to credit unions the sanction of law, but it creates a superintendent of coöperative associations and credit unions, with such assistants as may be necessary, whose business it is to conduct a campaign of education and promotion, to visit interested localities upon request, to organize coöperative groups, to furnish all necessary legal and business forms, to supervise and, once a year or oftener, to audit the accounts of such associations. This officer belongs to the Division of Markets operating under the joint committee of the State Farm Extension Bureau, the State Board of Agriculture and the State College of Agriculture and Engineering. His salary comes from funds of this committee and levies no additional burden upon the taxpayers of the state.

In other states credit unions have been what Mrs. Wiggs called ash-barrel babies. They have come into being in chill atmospheres, and have lacked the fostering care of friendly hands. But in North Carolina coöperative credit unions are the special charge and concern of the

agricultural authorities of the state. They are sheltered under a hospitable roof.

Because the laws in other states require no such friendly state department to promote, organize, and supervise the credit unions they authorize, the movement has so far made little headway among the farmers. Wage-earners and people on small salaries in the towns and cities have organized under these laws—some thirty-five in Massachusetts, perhaps; but in the country regions credit unions in America are few.

It is another story in North Carolina. Already there are thirty-three farm credit unions—more than in all the rest of the United States.

A Safe Farm Business Organization

The Jews are keen, competent business people. And Jewish farmers were the first country people to organize rural credit unions in America—18 unions, with 547 members, in four states. In 1913 their total capital was \$10,000; but the members loaned among themselves during the year \$73,624. The borrowers paid only 6 percent upon their loans, and the 18 unions earned 13¼ percent upon the capital invested. When Jews try out a business proposition and find it sane, safe, sound, and practicable, little room is left for argument or doubt.

In a word, coöperative credit unions are saving and mutual-loan associations. They operate upon the capital accumulated by the thrift of the members and increased by the business management of the associations. The operating capital and guaranty funds are created by payments on membership shares, by deposits received, by profits on loans to members at a low rate of interest, by interest on reserve and guaranty funds deposited in banks on savings account, by the profits arising from the compounding of interest in the business of small, low-rate, short-term loans to members; by entrance fees and transfer fees; and by fines and penalties.

They are self-financing, mutual-aid organizations, which encourage and reward thrift and capitalize the character of their membership. They are not organized to make profits, but to guarantee low rates of interest to members of meager means. They are not banks. Banks, says Mr. John Sprunt Hill, are aggregations of money; credit unions are aggregations of men.

Principles of Organization

All members share equally in privileges and ratably in profits. The one-man-one-vote principle is fundamental. Profits are rated (1) according to holdings of paid-up shares, and (2) according to the business the coöperators do with the unions. In voting each member has one vote, no matter how many shares he owns. The liability of mem-

bers is the usual liability under the banking laws of North Carolina, not the unlimited liability, joint and several, of credit unions in the Old World countries.

Seven persons or more in any neighborhood, district, or establishment may organize—farmers, clerks, mechanics, anyone. Successful operation requires at least twenty-five members. The larger the membership the greater the chances of success, provided the members know intimately one another's character, reputation, and needs. Identity of occupation, interest, location, or association is necessary. Members must have good moral character and a reputation for industry, honesty, and sobriety.

Membership shares are small, from \$5 to \$25, at the will of each union. They may be paid for upon an installment plan. Entrance fees are 10 cents a share or more, according to the value of the share. Shares, fees, and fines are all small, because the members of credit unions are people of small means with slender chances to save, who from time to time need to borrow small sums for brief periods for productive purposes or to meet sudden needs.

Usually under such circumstances the daily wage-earner or the man upon small salary, or the landless tenant, or the homeless man, is without credit of any sort or he must pay impossible interest rates for money. These various classes with their families number 1,136,000 people in North Carolina; and they need to establish their own credit, that is to say, financial and moral trustworthiness, upon the basis of thrift and character. There is, indeed, no other basis of credit, which means ability and willingness to pay what is due exactly when it is due.

The capital such people can create in the beginning will be small. But, as the Scotch proverb says, Many a mickle makes a muckle. For instance, in 1913 a thousand banks in the United States collected \$40,000,000 in pennies from the children's Christmas clubs.

The Book warns us not to despise the day of small things. The year the Great War began there were 65,000 coöperative credit unions in Europe, with 15,000,000 members and an annual business of some \$7,000,000,000. It has taken 66 years to develop the strength of such organizations in the Old World countries; but in North Carolina, with the active campaign of promotion provided by law, coöperative credit unions can develop great strength in a very few years.

The Necessity for Credit Unions

The farm regions of the South need to be, in far larger measure, self-feeding and self-financing. Both are fundamentally necessary if we are ever to accumulate wealth in the countryside and achieve permanent farm prosperity. In an average year we produce \$1,000,000,000 of wealth in our cotton crop alone; but we send some \$900,-

000,000 out of the South every year for imported feed and foodstuffs. It is a spendthrift system; it is economic insanity, says Hon. Clarke Howell. And truly he is right about it.

In proof, look at the per capita wealth of the people of our country regions. It ranged from \$230 in Alabama to \$829 in Oklahoma in 1910. These figures are pitifully small when compared with the per capita wealth of the country population in the country at large—\$994; \$2,555 in Illinois, or \$3,685 in Iowa. In taxable wealth the whites of North Carolina were worth only \$344 apiece in the census year, or \$31 less than in 1860—in Georgia, \$123 less.

But the change in our crop systems must be made gradually, and just as gradually we must become self-financing in our farm regions. The long-term, land-bank law passed by Congress offers relief for the land-owning farmers; the state credit-union laws offer relief to farm tenants and city wage-earners.

The McRae Credit-Union Law in North Carolina offers relief for our landless, homeless multitudes. If they would be free of crop-lien thralldom and time-credit prices, a beginning must be made in thrift; and small savings by industrious, sober people of good character must be assembled and managed in business-like ways under the guidance of friendly authority. Coöperative credit unions in North Carolina are organized, standardized, conducted under guidance, supervised, and audited under the laws of the state.

We need the discipline of thrift. We need what the New England Yankees have. For instance, the bank-account savings of New Hampshire alone are larger than the sums deposited on savings accounts in banks of all sorts in the entire South. There are savings banks in the South and savings departments in almost every bank; but not a single mutual-savings bank in any Southern state. We have joint-stock banks, but not mutual-savings banks. Strange, but so it is. Hence the necessity for coöperative credit unions. These are savings and mutual-loan associations, and they are needed in this and every other Southern state.

Carolina Credit Unions

Such credit unions are making notable headway in North Carolina. The first one was organized at Lowe's Grove, Durham County, December 10, 1915, with twelve members. On the twelfth day of the following January this credit union had 26 members, had received \$255 paid in on shares, and had total resources of \$1,602.

In his statement of November 15, 1920, the State Superintendent of Coöperative Enterprise shows that there are now 33 credit unions in North Carolina, with 1,388 members. They have paid in \$21,216 on shares, \$50,824 on deposit, and their total resources are \$99,764. All this in four years. What will the totals be in the next forty years?

Feedstuffs, fertilizers, and seed are bought coöperatively by these credit-union coöperatives. The farmers' money is loaned among themselves for farm improvements and equipment. The total interest rate charged is 6 percent, and interest at 4 percent is paid to depositors for the use of their money.

These farmer-coöperators do more than mere borrowing and lending. They learn to trust one another and to deal sagaciously with one another and with outsiders according to approved methods of business. These credit unions are making business men out of our farmers. They learn how to save and assemble resources, how to organize a credit machinery, and how to market credit among themselves. They learn the value of accounting, of keeping track of what they earn and what they spend. The whole family gets into habits of industry and thrift. The whole neighborhood develops social virtues and habits. Group life grows and flowers graciously in coöperative credit communities. If you doubt it move about a little in the Lowe's Grove or Valdese communities.

Negro Credit Unions

Four of our 33 credit unions in North Carolina—The Piedmont, Franklin, Cleveland, and Gold Hill unions—are composed of 161 negro coöperators all told. On February 20, 1920, their total payments on shares amounted to \$1,355.15, their deposits to \$520.15; their loans to \$1,015.95, and resources to \$1,095.90. But their depositors numbered only 7 and their borrowers only 20—which means that the colored people, like all coöperators everywhere, are beginning timidly. Deposits and loans are the basis of dividends in a banking business. Both are evidences of faith, and both increase as coöperators try out cautiously the credit machinery they have established—as they know one another better and trust one another more. We walk by faith in business just as certainly as we do in religion, and an absence of faith means alike no business and no religion.

A coöperative credit union with no depositors and no borrowers, as at Gold Hill, has no business basis and no excuse for existence. It would earn no dividends for its coöperators in a thousand years. The Piedmont Union, with three depositors and fourteen borrowers is moving off properly. The union with the most members, the most depositors, the most borrowers, the largest deposits and the largest loans is the union that will of course earn the largest dividends.

However, the assembling of resources and the marketing of credit is a hard lesson slowly learned everywhere. The beginning the Carolina negroes have made is distinctly creditable. If they rise to their opportunity, the number of farm-owning negroes will quickly rise from a third of the negro farmers, as at present, to a full half or two-thirds within a generation in North Carolina.

CIVIC ORGANIZATION: OUR TOWNS AND CITIES

W. E. PRICE, WENTWORTH, N. C.

Ground Work

The figures of the 1920 census are now appearing daily. A new and stronger light is brought to bear upon the startling growth of the cities and towns of North Carolina during the last decade. Winston-Salem has spurted ahead until it is almost in the 50,000 class. The other larger places, that we class with Winston-Salem, have expanded almost as rapidly. Yet it is not in our large civic communities that the most significant growth is found. It is in the small industrial communities of the state. We suddenly wake up and find North Carolina thickly dotted with thriving little manufacturing towns that twenty years ago were not in existence.

There has come upon us gradually one of the most significant movements in modern times. North Carolina, in the days before The War Between the States, and in the last half of the nineteenth century, was almost wholly rural. Towns of even small size were few and far between. In 1910, after some few years of remarkable city and town growth, our population was still 79 percent rural. Only twenty-one people out of the hundred dwelt in any kind of incorporated community. Seventy-nine lived in single family groups out in the open country. And yet in 1910 the census figures showed clearly that the tide was running to the cities. In ten years our urban population had increased more rapidly than in thirty-six other states. The growth of the city population in North Carolina between 1900 and 1910 was four and a half times the growth of our country population. During the last ten years our town dwellers have increased in number six times faster than our open country dwellers; 54 percent against 9 percent. Ride from Wilmington to Raleigh and then through Durham, Greensboro and Concord to Charlotte, and then westward through Gastonia. The state appears to be a nest of industrial plants that line the railroad in an almost continuous procession. This is a remarkable change from the rural North State of twenty years ago.

Picture to yourself a tremendous reaphook, with a long sweeping curve and a broad blade. Lay it upon North Carolina with the point just below Raleigh and the inside sweep of its blade passing along the bend of the Southern Railroad through Greensboro to Charlotte and the outside curve sweeping along to the northward embracing Spray and Winston-Salem and then south to Charlotte. Imagine the handle extending westward from Charlotte to Gastonia and covering the industrial area near it and further west. In the surface of that blade would be contained the area of the state that has shown the most striking urban development. In the last two decades cotton mills,

tobacco working plants, furniture factories, and many other kinds of industrial enterprises have sprung up overnight and converted corn-fields and woodlands into hustling young cities. North Carolina has become the best developed industrial state of the South.

It is the modern industrial era that has at last caught the state in its world-wide progress. Industry can be practiced only where there are people in sufficient number to man its machines, and in the South this means densely populated areas of white farm tenants. A factory is built near the railroad. A group of houses huddles around it. A station is built. More factories come. The community is incorporated. Streets are laid off. Schools and churches are built, and the town is born. Carrboro at our doors is a mushroom growth of the last ten years. Kannapolis and a host of others are of the same brood. With the birth of new towns has come the amazing expansion of the older towns. The labor demands of the factories have drawn the people of the state from the farm to the city. The call of the factory is strong at present, and country people are answering the call. The forces that put meaning and strength into the city-ward attraction may be found in the dissatisfactions and the desires of the farming folk of the state.

The country pushes them into the city. The city attracts them. This is a time when folks like to live together. It is the stagnant loneliness of the country that repels men and women. To the farmer shut off by miles of solitude from the nearest neighbor, working alone in the big field; and to his wife wearily treading the dreary round of household duties with none of the modern conveniences at hand, even the life of a mill village looks attractive and desirable. Dirty-looking standard houses with dingy windows and grassless yards can be easily endured if there is present the chance to talk with a neighbor and to absorb the noise and the color and the light of the city. Whatever the cause, the people of North Carolina are leaving the country and moving into the industrial communities of the state.

Our Towns and Cities

This particular study deals with the organization of the cities and towns of this state. Under the pressure of the new flood of population the old loose organizations and customs of town life have proved inefficient and inadequate. Bungling uncertainty characterizes every movement made by communities that have outgrown their old order of living. There is need of a new way.

In advancing any proposals for the reorganization of our cities and towns we are assuming that our cities and towns are eager for a better way. The making of a community is in the hands of its citizens. If they are interested in improvement everything is possible; if they are indifferent and apathetic the only prospect is laxness in govern-

ment and temptations to petty graft. Inefficient administration and corrupt practices are inevitable if the citizens of the community do not give a hang one way or the other. If I could I would drive this truth home to everybody in the state. It is only to a city whose citizens are alert that the advantages of the best city life can come.

Interest is a matter of civic sense and pride, and civic sense is the outgrowth of education. The school children of every community should thoroughly study the problems of their home town, its forms of government, its values and deficiencies—as for instance the children of North Wilkesboro have been doing of late. Ignorance slays interest. Knowledge creates visions of progress. The ordinary citizen does not know and never has been urged to learn about the powers and duties of the officials whom he elects to guide his own community. However we go about it, we must contrive to get people of North Carolina interested in governing themselves, for until they shake off their apathy the gateway of abuse is wide open and an invitation is extended to the boss and the ring to march in and make themselves at home.

We propose to treat the city and the town as distinct civic organizations. They are beset with many of the same evils, but there are differences of quality and degree, and in methods of reform. Let us take a city to be any incorporated community that is 5,000 or more in population, and the town to be civic communities smaller than 5,000. There are several reasons for making 5,000 the dividing line. Thus, communities with more than 5,000 inhabitants may be counted on as based largely on industry as their chief concern, although some communities of this size depend almost entirely upon the trade area of the surrounding farm regions. Usually when a community passes the 5,000 mark it loses the small-town air and way of life. No longer is every citizen a personal acquaintance of every other. In the little town it is impossible to elect a mayor who is not personally known to every voter. When the place moves beyond the 5,000 mark there is a diminishing chance for all voters to have the intimate small-town knowledge of candidates. The city is too large to be personal. The small town is too small to be strange.

I. City Reforms

Can you not vividly recall to your mind the successive impressions that force themselves upon you as you ride through the average North Carolina city? The open country gives way to a straggling array of houses that line themselves up along the roads that lead into the city. A factory or two flashes by the train window and a series of battered, dull huts are seen extending in a long succession. The negro settlements are usually along the railroad tracks. There is no more mean, sordid picture in the state than most cities present

in the areas given over to our colored populations—areas rejected by the city and left as a kind of refuse pit to be visited only after a criminal outburst, or only to be seen by the curious traveler. After negro-town is passed there flashes by a nightmare of warehouses, storage buildings, deserted dwellings, active mills, and factories. Streets cut down to track levels in dangerous and unsightly crossings. The bedraggled station is a relief from the confusion of the meaningless social mixture that we have witnessed.

When the town is explored, we find beautiful homes and splendid office buildings, but there is an atmosphere of chance about the whole structure of the place. The streets twist curiously. The city hall is where you would least expect it. The railroad station is placed where it was easiest to build and not where it could render the best service. The North Carolina city looks as if it had just happened, as if there had been no conscious element of growth at work. The population has grown and business has expanded, and as each new need has arisen it has been satisfied, with no attention paid to the appearance or the needs of the city as a whole.

Each year the newspapers of the state take up the tale of the activities of our cities and always the burden of their song is "trying to catch up with demand." School systems become inadequate before relief is planned. New streets are laid or widened only when the need is imperative. A water famine or a great fire is usually necessary to awaken interest in securing a sufficient water-supply system. The city in its activities has shown no disposition to look ahead. Everybody has been busy with his own personal affairs and fortunes; nobody has been thinking about the city as a whole.

When we come to examine the failure of the city to grow in strength, health, and beauty as it has grown in size, we find that the chief reason for the failure has been the lack of a clean, driving, efficient head. The mayor and the alderman have ruled the cities of North Carolina and as a rule they have ruled them badly. The aldermanic system has made so many failures, the pertinent query is, Is not the aldermanic system itself an inefficient form of government?

Under it the individual voter is called upon to vote for a long list of officers of all grades, from mayor to the most insignificant clerk. Voting in the dark is the result, for most men spend little time on politics and politicians, and most voters know little or nothing about the qualifications of the various office seekers. When the citizen casts his ballot blindly he reduces to zero his influence upon the officials elected. If the qualifications of the man are doubtful or negligible, if his duties and responsibilities are ill-defined, he is apt to feel free to direct the affairs of his office in any fashion that his personal preferences may dictate.

The aldermanic system is a ward system, and it easily lends itself to ward bosses, and graft. It is the farthest possible remove from business efficiency in city administration. The little boss, through his ring of heelers and personal followers, can secure a permanent control over a section of the city. Most of the evils of partisan city government have arisen directly from the organization of the ward bosses into a city machine that misdirects the affairs of the community in any line that may satisfy the desires of the men behind the scene.

As the city has grown, new duties have come to the city government. The government has not expanded in any orderly way. Officers and commissions have been tacked on in the most convenient manner. The mayor and the council so check and balance each other that essential reforms are hard to secure and any kind of change receives a long deliberation. But worst of all, when necessary things are not done, or when they are done wrongly, nobody knows exactly who is to blame.

Program Proposals

1. The City Manager.—The first proposal for reorganizing city government is the adoption of the commission-manager form of government for all cities with 5,000 inhabitants or more.

Of late years the commission form of government has developed into the commission-manager plan. The idea is sweeping the country. Already 185 American cities have adopted it. Nine of these are in North Carolina, as follows: Goldsboro, Elizabeth City, Hickory, Morganton, High Point, Thomasville, Morehead City, Gastonia, and Tarboro. More and more dissatisfaction is being expressed over the futility and the waste of aldermanic city government. In brief, the provisions of the commission-manager plan are:

The voters in a general election, and not by wards, choose a small body of commissioners, generally three or five.

These commissioners secure the services of a highly trained man to act as the city manager. The manager is liable to discharge at the hands of the commissioners if at any time they think he is incompetent or untrustworthy.

The manager is the administrator of the city's business. He appoints all the subordinate officers. They are responsible to him for efficient service.

The manager may be discharged or the commissioners recalled in case 25 percent of the voters so petition and if their petition is given a majority vote in a general election. By the same method ordinances may be forced upon the commissioners and objectionable ordinances defeated.

The commissioners pass the ordinances. They fix the tax rates. They inspect the work of the manager and call upon him for reports of work done and accounts of money expended.

Even from this brief outline the advantages of the system may readily be seen. It is a plan to place the affairs of the city in the hands of an efficient business organization with a single responsible head. Unified government is assured. A budget can be adopted and a proper accounting system installed. The taxpayers can be given their money's worth. The executive can look ahead and see the needs of the future, and seeing the needs can make intelligent provision for them. This proposal is not mere theory. In cities all over the land these benefits are being realized.

2. A Federation of Service Agencies and a City Survey.—Our second proposal is that the city government organize the service bodies of the community to make a searching survey of the economic, social, and civic conditions and problems of the city, and to plan its future in detail; in short, to substitute a reasoned way of progress for aimless drift in city development.

The Carolina city can certainly achieve no orderly growth until it knows itself thoroughly, what it is and what it can become. The city government should organize the service bodies of the city to take an auto-survey of every phase of city life. The chamber of commerce and kindred organizations can best conduct the survey of the business strength or weakness of the city and of the back-country market and producing area. The industrial wealth and health of the city and the probable expansion of industry can be judged by the industrial organizations better than by any other agency. The social survey would best be in the hands of the local social service societies, clubs, and associations, such as the Red Cross Chapter, the Y. M. C. A., the community council, or the public welfare board.

The survey of the social institutions of the city should be in the hands of the service bodies that are interested primarily in the schools, the churches, and the home of the city; school betterment associations, women's clubs, the Rotary Club, and so on.

The city government should inspire and direct these researches. Let the town authorities call together the representatives of these various service agencies and organize them into an auto-survey body. When they are organized the city should give them every encouragement and every aid so that a complete analysis of the city and its back country may be at hand. In this way the people of the city may hope to become a choice business and residence center. The results of the survey should be graphed and pictured so that the most ignorant citizen can see their meaning. How can a community secure adequate parks and schools or a well-defined industrial district if the men and women in the city do not know what the city needs, and what is desirable and feasible? How can a city plan its streets or the construction of its buildings if the streets are laid out only after

the city has overcrowded its limits here and there? The awakened city must take stock of itself fully and accurately before it can know in what way its present needs and future necessities can best be provided for.

3. A City Planning Bureau.—In the third place, we propose that a body of citizens be selected to interpret the survey facts and to present plans for the future of the city.

Such a body is obviously necessary if the city is ever to realize fully its opportunities for development. The bureau to plan for the future of the community should be composed of the finest citizens of the city, men and women of far-visions civic minds. Membership in the city planning body is, or ought to be, a badge of real distinction and honor.

4. Executive Action by City Offices.—We propose, in the fourth place, that the city, as soon as the planning body formulates a plan of structural growth, shall take steps to carry out the plan, as far as it may be possible, step by step.

The streets of the city must be laid for the future. They must be broad in the crowded business districts, well arranged, and beautiful in every portion of the city.

Industries are one of the mainsprings of modern city life. An industrial area should be designated, easy of access to power and to railroad depot and station, sufficient in size to accommodate industrial expansion in the future. At least this manufacturing area ought to be mapped and publicly displayed for suggestion and guidance.

The trading businesses of the city should have a center. One of the greatest contributors to the rambling appearance and casual dirty look of most little cities is the indiscriminate way in which stores, markets, factories, and homes are jumbled together.

One of the main necessities of the city is wholesome open-air recreation. If not already done, every North Carolina city should start today and lay out for itself an adequate system of parks and playgrounds, future as well as present needs considered.

5. Proper Attention to Social Institutions and Agencies.—Our fifth proposal concerns (1) municipal buildings and the public square (2) public school buildings and city library, and (3) a community center or city auditorium.

The city planning bureau should lay out plans for all these with a keen look into the immediate and remote future.

A comprehensive and expansible system of school buildings should be worked toward. There is at present not a city in the state that has a really well planned and adequate school system.

A community center fitly expressive of the personality and loyalty of the city should be built as soon as possible, for the longer a city waits the harder it is for a city to express itself as a distinct personality with a distinctive beauty and significance of its own.

Then there is the library, and the auditorium, and the city hall that can in a few years time be grouped together with the community building and the schools to form the heart of the community, as, for instance, in the impressive assembly of municipal buildings in Springfield, Mass.

6. Public Health Machinery.—In the sixth place, we propose that the city create adequate public health machinery, which means (a) a public health department with laboratory, and dispensary, properly officered by a public health superintendent, sanitary inspectors, and public health nurses, one or more as may be necessary, (b) free hospital wards, or a city hospital or joint interest in a county or county-group hospital, (c) responsibility for water supply, sanitary milk supply, market inspectors, street cleaning, sewage and garbage disposal, sanitary and quarantine regulations, and so on and on.

The four ideals toward which every city should strive are the health of its citizens, the education of its children, wholesome recreation for all its people, and the maintenance of moral conditions everywhere in its borders.

II. Small-Town Reforms

The problem of the little town is distinct from that of the city. The little town has a different psychology. Its relationships are personal. A different method of drawing its citizens into a common interest must be employed. The town is different from the city in the extent and scope of its activities. The greatest difference lies in the sources of its being. The city is the center of industry and business, the small town and the village are country products, their citizens live under country conditions—that is to say, with a minimum of the artifices of civilization, police and fire protection, paved streets and sidewalks, libraries, health machinery, and so on. In North Carolina we have of late years developed many small civic communities that are mainly industrial—little mill centers set in country areas. To them the country is but a source of raw materials and labor, but to the town of the old order, the quiet, peaceful trading center, the surrounding country regions are important in other ways. They are the sources of its life. Indeed they condition its prosperity, even its very existence.

When the average small town is seen in passing one cannot honestly say it is pleasing. The open country is at least clean and natural; the small country town is too often an ugly blot on the landscape. If there is a railroad, the little country town in North Carolina will endeavor to place near the station all the disreputable shacks that it can erect—unpainted, unsightly warehouses, malodorous eating places, grotesque little stores, tumble-down shanties and the like. On the

outskirts of the place the panorama of badly kept premises, ungainly outhouses, and weedy lots gives a sordid effect. Then there is main street with its rows of shops on either side. The streets, alleys and back lots are usually muddy and littered with paper and refuse. There are attractive, comfortable homes, but they are few. For the most part the houses are nondescript in appearance and doubtful in comfort. Trees have been planted haphazard and an occasional prim lawn may be seen. This briefly is how the average country town impresses the stranger.

When a day or so is taken to examine the collective personality of the small country town one finds the disposition, the public spirit of its citizens, or the lack of it, to be a kind to harmonize with the physical surroundings. It is only after months of discussion that anything is done by the town government. When the need for a new school building is imperative, one is built to satisfy the present need. If there is a universal demand for water-works and electric lights the town will put up a temporary and unsightly tank and install a light plant that can last, at the best, for only a few years.

It is the atmosphere of the town that most depresses. Nobody cares for anything beyond his little personal affairs and his daily treadmill round of small interests. The apathy springs from poor government or poor government springs from apathy. It is a vicious circle of indifference and inertia. Nothing can kill a civic interest and pride in the individual more swiftly than an irresponsive and an irresponsible government. Town interest sometimes is aroused in a splendid way. It fritters away when a weak government interposes the deadweight of delay, and excuse. Passing the buck is a common small-town game. This, for instance, is the trouble with Chapel Hill. With a body of intelligent citizens this place should lead the small towns of the state in civic development. But nobody has any definite authority to undertake anything. As a consequence, little is done to trim and tidy up Chapel Hill and to make it what it might easily be—the most charming little university town on the continent. The contrast between Chapel Hill, N. C., and Amherst, Mass., is distinctly depressing.

The small-town citizen is a rank individualist. He can see little beyond his own interests and his own prosperity. One of the hard tasks of leadership is to drive into the thinking of our small-town folk the fact that the best good of the whole is the highest good of the individual. Little can be accomplished in our small towns unless the folks learn to work together. Even our small-town churches are sources of community division, or commonly so. In a word, rank individualism, social apathy, and indifference toward all affairs outside of purely personal interests are the things that hinder small-town development in this and every other state in America.

1. The City Manager.—Our first proposal for the small town is that it adopt the city manager form of government. This plan insures the employment by the town of a technically trained man to act as its business head and administrator. This head is, of course, responsible to the council for all his actions. The advantage of having such a directing force is immediate. There is some one to do things and to be responsible for not doing the things that the people want. There is someone to give definite care to the growth, the institutions, and the health of the community.

2. The Town Survey.—In the second place, we propose that the town, through its service bodies, conduct a complete and careful investigation of its present status and its future possibilities. This can be carried out after the method of the city survey, only the little town must make a much more careful and intimate study of the area of which it is the trade center, for the fortunes of the country town and its trade center are one and the same. This auto-survey should cover the economic, the social, and the institutional life of both the town and its countryside. Only through such a survey can the little town act wisely in providing, even self-defensively, for its future. All of us are acquainted with the small town that assures strangers that it will some day be the metropolis of the state, although it does not quite know how it is to achieve this eminence. There are hundreds of little country communities that can never be anything but little and country, but nevertheless they can be altogether lovely residence centers. Frank A. Waugh says that they are "like old maids, forsaken by opportunity but still simpering and smiling as though commanding a second future. Every crossroad is going to become a county seat, every county seat aspires to be the state capital. Meanwhile no town has the inspiration and the dignity to be itself. In ninety-nine villages and towns of every one hundred throughout the United States, especially in the South and West, the first work of community improvement lies in killing the poison of a false ambition and establishing instead a patriotic self-respect. Through the auto-survey they should realize that they may work toward what they may reasonably expect from the promise of the community they live in and the country they serve. It is the function of the survey to place them on bedrock for future operations."

3. A Town Planning Bureau.—When the town has a capable, competent, responsible head and knows its possibilities, we propose, in the third place, that it establish a town bureau to plan for the future and that as the future is planned the little town set about making itself presentable, comfortable and happy, with civic pep and pride.

Like the city, the town should plan its structure—where new streets should be run, where a park should be laid off, where the town center should be built, and how the school system is to develop, and so on and

on. It is only by years of persistent effort that the small town can ever make itself a unique community where there is a place for everything with everything in its place.

4. Unity with the Countryside.—We make as a fourth proposal that the town realize its unity with the countryside of which it is the center, and that it set about growing a mutual spirit of kinship and comfortable comradeship.

The little town, especially in a rural state, depends upon the country for its life. The farmers buy and sell in the town, and so give occupation to the middleman and the artisan. The town renders a valuable service to the country areas round about, but is paid handsomely for it. The economic life of the countryside and the town are so closely interwoven that neither could exist in comfort without the other.

In an institutional way the tie is almost as close. The town is not only the trade center, it is the logical school and church center as well. It is only by town and country coöperation that the broadest benefits will be received by both. Country institutions will best flourish if they focus in the physical and economic center of the country territory—namely, in the country town it supports and by which it is served.

The social needs of town and country are identical—that is the fundamental fact, but it is a fact that neither town nor country people have yet considered in any very intelligent way anywhere in America. Town and country interdependencies are so evident that it would seem easy to effect a close and hearty coöperation. But we reckon without our townsman. As we have said, he is a rank individualist as a rule. Not only this, he is a rank individualist with many peculiar, robust notions of his own. In our state it is commonly true that the small townsman has a real contempt for the farmer. He disguises his real feelings and puts on an air of smug welcome, but the contempt is there. Mr. Harlan Paul Douglass expresses it as follows:

“The citizen of Littleton is sure that he is different from and superior to the countryman: he feels that the countryman is like, though inferior, to the city man; that he himself belongs to the urban rather than to the rural order of life. Challenged to defend his position the townsman would think first of the palpable advantages of his lot. He walks on a sidewalk; he works less hard than the farmer, his day begins two hours later and he sits up two hours longer; he wears good clothes more of the time; he is nearer good schools and churches.”

At the bottom he bases his superiority on his sophistication, and his specialization of job or work. He feels that the town is the center of things. He looks on the farmer as the goose that lays the golden egg—a goose that deserves to be plucked.

And yet the small town is more of the country than it is of the city. If it is ever to amount to much in North Carolina, it must realize this close kinship to the country and must come to bend its every effort to make the two develop together, for no town can be stronger than its back country. The attitude of the townsman must change. Farmers are not deceived by the glad hand that greets them on their arrival at the store or the warehouse. They feel and resent the townsman air of superiority that, no matter how deeply it is hidden, crops out by chance, say, in the mouths of street urchins or town bullies. A real interest and a real appreciation of the farmer must become a vital town creed. When the day comes that the farmer can walk down the street of Littleton and feel that he has a proprietary interest in the welfare of the place, then will come Littleton's largest chance to develop, for it is only in the service of its community that it can realize its larger self.

5. Coördinating Plans.—And so we come to our fifth proposal, namely, that the country town definitely undertake to coördinate the economic, social, and institutional life of its own small group and that of the people in the surrounding countryside.

To interrelate itself economically with its trade area the town's businessmen need to set themselves to service in the broadest possible ways.

They must provide adequate marketing, buying, and shipping facilities. Provision should be made for the comfort of the farmer and the care of his stock while he is in town. Restrooms must be provided for the farm women in the county-seat town; these logically ought to be in the courthouse. They must be built into new courthouses as essential details of the structure. The town should bend its every effort to making itself the center of all kinds of coöperative farm enterprises—for buying, selling, credit unions and the like. The town, if it is really sincere in its work of service, must definitely and actively promote cotton and tobacco culture on a self-supporting bread-and-meat basis. At present the towns actively discourage the development of a safely-balanced agriculture in North Carolina.

Common Institutional Life

If the little country town seeks to correlate its institutional life with that of the countryside it can start at once the work—first of all, to improve the roads. As means of transportation grow better the town and the country may easily become more nearly one.

1. The town is the natural high-school center for its trade area. Only in central schools can the best results in education be obtained. It is to the best advantage of farmer and merchant that all the resources of the community be pooled and the money be spent for a

really adequate school, rather than dribbled away in half-hearted institutions, poor in teachers, buildings and equipments. The trade center is likewise the best place to establish a vocational school for all the children of the community needing special training. The town must solve the problem of transporting students, but with the motor vehicles of today such a problem is a minor one. Chapel Hill is at present doing such work successfully.

2. The religious life of a countryside would best focus and function in the small town. Small congregations scattered all over the country are greatly handicapped. If they could be unified, each denomination into one strong church, their influence would be immeasurably increased.

3. The village can, if it will, make itself the leader of the culture of its area. It should make provision for a good library. A public auditorium is a community necessity.

As a further work of tying town and country together, the town must undertake to satisfy the social needs of the country. It must surrender at once all ideas of its own social superiority. It can surely build up a community spirit by friendly intercourse, and just as surely it can provoke estrangement and resentment by snobbishness.

And we may add that the motion picture has not yet been fully appreciated as a community solidifier; that the little town can serve by making itself the scene of holiday celebrations, community fairs, political speeches, and the like; that it can serve by offering the means of expressing the community desire for dramatic plays and pageants; and that it can serve by being the musical center of the area to which it ministers.

Social Agencies

The future of the little country towns depends most largely upon itself. Its largest development is conditioned upon its own government and its own service bodies.

If the surrounding countryside is awake it can spread the spirit of coöperation, say, in building more and better roads with which to tie civic communities and country districts more and more closely together.

The state, through its legislature and its Community Service Bureau, could help the 414 small country towns of North Carolina to function properly, first as choice residence centers foundationed on trade and banking, and second as vitalizing centers of country civilization. At present our Community Service Bureau is busy with community recreation; it ought to move on into community organization and guidance.

Finally, there is the State University. In its new extension work it offers, free of charge, (1) engineering advice in country-home comforts and conveniences, (2) guidance in local study clubs, lecture courses, package library service, correspondence courses, community drama and pageants, community song service, home and school beautification, (3) county and community surveys, community organization courses and local guidance, courses in city and small-town planning, public welfare courses, field advice in social work, and so on and on.

It has recently established a course of training for town and city officials in municipal affairs.

It offers to every community in the state the expert advice of trained men on any subject in which the community may be interested. On questions of city and town planning, construction of water and light systems, coöperative organization, engineers are immediately sent to the community applying for advice. There they give expert attention to the situation and make up estimates of the proper method and cost of procedure.

It is not too much to say that the University of North Carolina is leading the universities of the South in field services of every sort; and, further, that in some ways of extension service it is leading the state institutions of the entire country.

The ideal informing this article does not concern perfection in town and city life, but it does concern what our cities and towns might reasonably do toward making themselves choice residence places in what might easily be the choicest in the United States.—W. E. Price, Chairman Sub-Committee on Social and Civic Organization. May 17th, 1920.

ORGANIZED BUSINESS AND LIFE

Outline

Corporate Organization. Problems confronting capital: (1) labor unrest—causes, extent, and intensity, (2) labor unions, labor demands, strike settlements in Charlotte, High Point, Albemarle, and elsewhere, (3) the National Industrial Conferences in Washington and Atlantic City, (4) the way out, state and national, (5) Government ownership of public utilities, (6) private ownership, development, and operation of small water powers for community and domestic uses.

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Corporate Organization: J. V. Baggett, Chairman, Sampson County, Salemburg.

Coöperative Organization: C. F. Taylor, Wayne County, Pikeville.

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CHAPTER X

CIVIC REFORMS IN NORTH CAROLINA

**AN EXECUTIVE BUDGET, THE STATE PURCHASING AGENCY,
A STATE AUDITING BUREAU.**

M. M. JERNIGAN, SALEMBOURG, N. C.

Tonight we are dealing with civic reforms, state and local, and it seems to me that no meeting of the North Carolina Club has been concerned with a more important subject than the one we have before us tonight.

Many reforms are needed in North Carolina. In various respects our state and local laws are inadequate for our present needs. During the period immediately following 1865, North Carolina and other Southern states found themselves confronted with a gigantic reconstruction program. North Carolina is at last awakening to the fact that there are many changes needed in the fundamental laws of the state devised during that period. There are many suggestions that might be made as to the proper way to begin the reforms which we are to deal with tonight.

A Constitutional Convention

As a foundation for these reforms, not as a necessary condition precedent but as a matter of progress, we recommend a constitutional convention to draw up an organic law that is adapted to the needs of a progressive people.

Our Constitution is faulty in many details. The Constitution of 1868 was misbegotten, and it is alien to North Carolina. It was foreign by birth; it was modeled after the constitutions of New York and Ohio; and it was christened by the notorious body of one hundred and twenty members that framed it. Eighteen of them were carpet-baggers, fifteen were negroes, seventy-three were native republicans, who, with a few exceptions, had never had any political experience. They were largely controlled by carpet-baggers. There were thirteen able men in the convention of 1868, to whom credit is due for the fact that the constitution of that date is not worse than it is. It has been amended, from 1875 and on, but it is inadequate to our needs, and it has always been so.

Its models have been disregarded to be replaced by a more progressive instrument in both New York and Ohio. Not so in North Carolina, and the time has come for us to rewrite our Constitution, not just

for the sake of change, but for the sake of progress; not through idle discontent, but for the cause of enlightened government; not for any special interest, but for the inspiring cause of a people striving to move forward in the performance of great things.

Other Program Proposals

1. We propose an amendment to Chapter 38 of the Public Laws of 1919, providing for a Budget Commission.

2. We discuss, but do not recommend, a state purchasing agency or commission, until it has been tried more thoroughly in Michigan and other states where the experiment is being made.

3. We propose a system of uniform departmental and institutional accounting.

Brief Explanations

Taking up each proposal separately, we consider first the budget system, which is of recent growth in the United States, but which has been used in England for perhaps a couple of centuries. However, it never attracted any great attention in Great Britain until 1909, when Lloyd George presented his budget to Parliament. It was rejected, and Mr. George appealed to the people themselves, who accepted it. The English budget regularly falls into three parts: (1) A review of revenues and expenditures during the year just closed, (2) a provisional balance sheet for the year to come, and (3) a series of proposals for the remission, modification, or fresh imposition of taxes. We can very readily see that this furnishes very valuable information for the House of Commons, which must vote the budget.

Several American states, following this or similar budget plans, now have budget bureaus or commissions. In some of these states the budget commissions are working competently, successfully and satisfactorily. Among these states are South Carolina, Alabama, Virginia, Illinois, and Michigan. In the states named the budget system is proving far superior to the old haphazard plan of voting appropriations in the confusions and haste of brief legislative sessions. When placed side by side, the reports of the budget commissions of Virginia and North Carolina are thought-provoking. We ought to do better in this state.

There is now a cry for a national budget. The American taxpayer, for the first time in our history, is actually conscious of the cost of federal government. Federal taxes have, all told, risen from one to five billion dollars a year—due primarily to the World War. The way is wide open for immense waste due to the fact that no one public officer is directly responsible for the adjustment of total expenditures to total receipts. There is probably no other civilized government—certainly no government which is truly representative—where there

has been such complete lack of budget construction and supervision as in the United States. But these conditions will last as long as the debit side of the national account is managed by one set of men and the credit side by another set, both sets working separately and in secret, without public responsibility and without intervention on part of the executive officer who is nominally responsible. Our natural wealth is so great and our revenues so elastic that we have not been acutely conscious of extravagance and waste here and there. But with a twenty-five billion dollar war debt laid on the shoulders of American business—or most largely on business—Congress is at last considering a budget system as an indispensable measure.

With immensely increased investments in state enterprises, North Carolina is interested in budgets, state, county, and municipal. The General Assembly of 1919 created a State Budget Commission, and also provided for municipal budget systems.

Chapter 38 of Public Laws of 1919 says:

Sec. 2. There is hereby created a budget commission to be composed at all times of the Governor, and Chairman of the Committees on Appropriations, and on Finance of the House of Representatives and of the Senate.

Sec. 4. The State Auditor shall furnish estimates of financial needs of the General Assembly and the Judiciary. The Auditor also shall furnish balances of each department, institution, etc., with their expenditures, etc.

Sec. 12. The Legislature may increase or decrease budget items, but special appropriations must be made for emergencies. If no money is in treasury special tax must be levied therefor.

SEC. 13. The members of the budget commission, except the Governor, shall receive ten dollars per day while they are actually engaged in work.

Chapter 178 of the Public Laws of 1919 also provides for municipal budgets. It provides that about the beginning of the fiscal year the governing body of each municipality shall cause to be prepared a plan for financing the municipality during the fiscal year, which plan shall be known as the budget and shall be based upon detailed estimates furnished by the several departments and other divisions of municipal government.

These are the provisions that we have at present relative to budgets. They are a long way ahead of the old system or lack of system, but we think they can be greatly improved. Particularly in one respect, and that is by creating a state budget commission headed by a competent budget officer who shall give his whole time to the study and preparation of a state budget. The legislature is not barred of its constitutional rights under the plan proposed, but the legislature should refrain, as a rule, from initiating proposals for the expenditure of money. What we need is a responsible executive, and no ap-

appropriation of money should be made except on the direct request of this executive. The legislature should exercise no power of initiating budget proposals, but under the recent law passed it may increase or decrease the budget at will, the total or any detail thereof. The primary functions of a legislature are those of determining the laws under which the people shall live, and of serving as an organ of popular opinion in respect to matters political.

The Executive Budget

The question of a legislative versus an executive budget is at bottom the question of which branch of the government is to be captain of the ship of state. The founders of our government carefully labeled the functions of each department. The duty of the legislative is to pass laws, that of the executive is to see that these laws are enforced. The practical working out of this system has shown that legislatures are unwieldy bodies. Consequently, the President, or the governor, or the mayor, has found it necessary to take upon himself the task of planning the administration, and the legislative bodies are expected to pass the measures which are necessary to carry out such plans.

This being the case, there are then at least three possibilities, (1) the legislature may limit itself to passing laws suggested by the executive, (2) it may attempt to resume its former place of leadership, or (3) it may follow the leadership of the executive but maintain a mind and will of its own, thus having an opportunity to be more than a mere machine.

The first possibility suggested is not in harmony with our ideas of a democratic government. The second does not seem to be the most efficient or feasible method under present conditions. A combination of the two as suggested in the third possibility is, therefore, the best working basis. By this plan it seems more probable that the needs of the state would be considered in their entirety and that different proposals would receive consideration more nearly in proportion to their importance.

2. A State Purchasing Agency.—We next discuss the question of state purchasing agent. Prior to 1917 we had no state laws regulating the purchasing of materials and supplies, etc., for public purposes. All this was done by the various departments severally. But in 1917 the legislature conceived the idea of a system of purchasing materials and supplies collectively, and this idea materialized into the following provisions:

Chapter 150, Public Laws of 1917, section 2, provides for a coöperative purchasing committee, which shall consist of the superintendents of the State Hospitals at Raleigh, Morganton, and Goldsboro, and the superintendents of schools for deaf and dumb, and blind, and of the Caswell Training School. The committee shall organize, meet quar-

terly, make reports of supplies purchased and price paid, etc. The committee shall keep a full and complete set of books, which shall show in detail transactions made. Also, any state institution that is not a member may, upon request, purchase through this committee.

Chapter 298 of the Public Laws of 1919, section 1, amended the above chapter by adding the following: "and the president of the University of North Carolina, the North Carolina State College, the State Normal, and the Eastern Carolina Teachers Training School."

The above are the provisions that we have in North Carolina relating to the purchasing agent, and since they have been in force they have not proven satisfactory. The University, for instance, has been purchasing supplies through this committee, with the result that the University paid \$300 more for one small lot of lard than it would have had to pay had it bought direct from the company. In another case a very inferior quality of flour, that could not be sold elsewhere, was put off on the University by this committee.

If all materials and supplies must be bought through a state purchasing agency, there may easily be a congestion of business in his office, and thus delays may occur at times when supplies are most needed. As an illustration of delays in state offices—it may be unavoidable delays—I mention the new dormitory at the State University. After a wait of nearly three years this badly needed building is only just now in the stage of basement-story construction.

3. A State Auditing Bureau.—The third proposition concerns a uniform system of departmental and institutional accounting and reporting in the several departments, offices, and institutions of the state government, and in all county offices. This is one of the reforms that we most urgently need, especially in county offices. Many of our county officers have inadequate conceptions of the proper way to keep the books of their offices. As a result they can make no intelligent report of the conditions and affairs of their offices. The usual plan where one officer is elected to succeed another is for the ex-officer to stay with the new officer for a few days or weeks, until he can get the hang of things, as he is accustomed to say. Thus we have things going on in county offices from year to year in the same old way. We are not criticizing the county officers; we believe they are doing the best they know and that in the main they are honest in their efforts. We are simply proposing a system of helpful, state-wide supervision.

Such a system, or a similar one, was provided for municipalities by Chapter 136, Sub-Chapter XIV, of the Public Laws of 1917, which says: "In all respects, as far as the nature of the cities' business permits, the accounting system maintained shall conform to those employed by progressive business concerns and approved by the best usage." This section of the law has led to the elimination of the poor accounting in many city offices.

We have been speaking of inefficient, insufficient account-keeping in county and city offices, but not all the bookkeeping inefficiency of the state is here; much of it is in the various state departments and institutions. In almost every department of our government you will find a different system of account-keeping and reporting. There is a lack of uniformity in financial records, and the public accountants are at their wits' ends to classify and simplify and interpret state departmental accounts.

In Florida they have had in use for several years just such a system as we are proposing for North Carolina, and it grew out of just such conditions as exist in this state.

The first year this system was organized by Mr. W. V. Knott he saved the counties \$80,000, or so the story goes, by putting in a uniform system of accounting and auditing. He also states that in the same year he saved the state \$60,000 in the same way. The next year the legislature of Florida was so well pleased with the work he had done that they gave him two assistants. Since that time the system has been in successful operation in Florida.

If the system works well in Florida, South Carolina, and Virginia, and in 14 other states, we think there is no doubt about its working well in North Carolina; therefore we think our legislature would make no mistake in adopting such a system.

Program Summary

1. A constitutional convention, not as a condition precedent to the further proposals we make but as a progressive measure for the people of North Carolina.

2. We propose an amendment to Chapter 38 of the Public Laws of 1919, section 2, by changing the section so as to read, "to be composed of the governor, and a qualified elector of the state known as 'state budget director,' and the chairman of the committees on appropriations and finance of the House of Representatives and of the Senate."

The state budget director should be appointed by the governor for a period of four years, and should devote his entire time to the duties of this office. The said budget director to be paid a salary of at least \$4,000 a year.

3. The state purchasing commission not having worked satisfactorily since it was created, and not having been fully tried out in other states, the committee does not think it wise to recommend a state purchasing agent.

4. We propose a uniform system of departmental and institutional accounting in the several departments, offices and institutions of the state government, and in all county offices, the same to be under the direction of a bureau of the state auditor's office.

(1) Said system to be headed by a bureau chief appointed by the State Auditor for a term of four years.

(2) Said bureau chief to be paid a salary of at least \$4,000 per year.

(3) He shall install a system of accounting that shall be uniform throughout the state departments, institutions, and counties; and it shall further be his duty to inspect the books of the various departments, institutions, and county offices of the state and see that the books are properly kept and that reports are properly made.

(4) The said bureau chief shall be given such other powers as will enable him to carry out this statute.—M. M. Jernigan, Chairman Subcommittee on State Budgets, State Purchasing Agencies, and Uniform State Accounting and Reporting.

March 29, 1920.

CIVIC REFORMS IN NORTH CAROLINA

CONSOLIDATION OF STATE DEPARTMENTS, THE SHORT BALLOT, THE SECRET BALLOT, OUR STATE PRIMARY LAWS

W. D. HARRIS, SANFORD, N. C.

1. The Consolidation of State Boards

North Carolina when compared with other states is not heavily burdened with an overplus of administrative boards and agencies. However, we have too many boards, bureaus, commissions, and the like, and the situation can be remedied in one way only—by the consolidation of state boards. Most of our departments, boards, and commissions are substantially independent of one another, and they are subject only to the nominal supervision of the Governor. The Governor of North Carolina has so little power over the various executive agencies that efficient government is almost impossible. The state needs unifying, responsible, executive headship in order to make satisfactory progress.

At the outset we see that for any scheme of consolidation to be successful—one might go so far as to say any scheme of state government—more power must be given the Governor, who in authoritative way should supervise the various departments of the state government. The heads of all state executive agencies should be held strictly to account by the Chief Executive.

Briefly, this is what the term “administrative consolidation” means, so far as state governments are concerned—the re-organization of the several offices and agencies concerned with the administration of the state’s affairs into a few coördinate departments, with department chiefs responsible to the Governor. Integration of administration is

thus brought about, obsolete and useless offices and agencies are abolished, and related functions are grouped under the same departmental management. Responsibility for the administration is fixed; the Governor and his department heads are placed in the limelight of public opinion. The effective operation of an executive budget system becomes possible, since the governor is no longer hampered in the formulation and execution of financial plans by numerous independent administrative officers and agencies.

This idea of consolidation is not a new one in American government. When the federal constitution was written the departmental system was adopted, the departmental heads being appointed by and directly responsible to the President. During the last twenty years four hundred cities have adopted the commission form of government. One hundred and thirty cities have already adopted the city-manager form of government. The movement for the reorganization and consolidation of state administration began in Oregon in 1909, when the People's Power League proposed a plan for the reorganization of the state government. New Jersey, by acts of its legislature in 1915, 1916, and 1918 has made some progress in state board consolidation. Minnesota was the first state where a comprehensive plan of administrative consolidation was proposed. The Governor appointed a commission which made two reports. The first recommended the establishment of six departments; namely, finance, public domain, public welfare, education, labor and commerce, and agriculture. Its second report eliminated the department of finance. A few functions, such as those of the civil service commission and the tax commission, were not included in the proposed departments. The reorganization did not affect the constitutional offices. The several department heads were to hold office at the pleasure of the Governor and were to form the Governor's cabinet, similar to the cabinet of the President. The commission recommended that advisory boards, the members of which were to be appointed by the Governor, with overlapping terms, be attached to the departments of public domain, welfare, and agriculture. While the work of this commission failed to accomplish anything for Minnesota other than probably the passage of a state budget law in 1915, it has been valuable because of its influence upon subsequent consolidation plans in other states.

The Iowa committee on state consolidation in 1913 engaged a firm of efficiency engineers to make a survey of state administration. The final report of this firm proposed the establishment of seven departments: agriculture, commerce and industries, public works, public health, public safety, education, charities and corrections. A report in 1915 was made by the committee recommending consolidation into three departments, designated as social progress, industries, and

public safety. No legislation resulted from the recommendation of either report.

In Oregon, Delaware, California, and New York plans for administrative consolidation have been recently proposed for the consideration of the legislatures. The interest other states have recently manifested in the subject of administrative consolidation clearly indicates a rapid spreading of the movement. The 1919 legislature of Ohio authorized the appointment of a joint committee to conduct investigations and to prepare a plan of administrative consolidation for consideration by the next legislature. The governors of a number of states, notably Indiana, Vermont, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, and North Dakota, recommended the consolidation of administrative agencies to their 1919 legislatures.

Illinois Leads.

The first comprehensive plan of administrative consolidation was adopted by Illinois in 1917, after a careful survey had been made of the state's administrative agencies. In 1919 Idaho and Nebraska adopted consolidation plans similar to that of Illinois. An amendment to the Massachusetts constitution, ratified in November, 1918, provided for the reorganization and consolidation of the administrative agencies of the state into not more than twenty departments which were to be constituted by statute. The 1919 legislature recently enacted a law which put this amendment into operation on Dec. 1, 1919.

As to how the consolidation plan has worked in Illinois I quote Governor Lowden, who, by the way, has sprung into national prominence largely because of the success of this plan in his state:

"The civil administrative code went into effect on July 1, 1917. It amounted to a revolution in government. Under it a reorganization of more than one hundred and twenty-five boards, commissions, and independent agencies was effected. Nine departments, with extensive and real power vested in each head, have taken the place of those one hundred and twenty-five bodies, which were abolished, and discharged, under the general supervision of the Governor, the details of government for which the Governor is responsible. At the time the bill was up for consideration it was claimed that it would result in both efficiency and economy.

"It has more than justified all the expectations that were formed concerning it. The functions of the government are discharged at the capitol. The Governor is in daily contact with his administration in all its activities. [Quite a contrast with the figurehead position the Governor of North Carolina occupies under the law. Fortunately, his position is much more than that in fact.] Unity and harmony of administration have been attained, and vigor and energy of administration enhanced."

Governor Lowden then tells how the new plan surpassed expectations during the critical times of the war, when Illinois, through the greater elasticity and efficiency of her new form of government, was able to meet every emergency of the war without an extraordinary session of her legislature.

Idaho is enthusiastic over the consolidation plan adopted by its 1919 legislature. This act abolished some forty-six offices, boards, and commissions, and consolidated their functions into nine departments, whose heads are all responsible to the governor.

Nebraska's civil administrative code creates six departments: finance, agriculture, labor, trade and commerce, public welfare, and public works. This reorganization does not include the constitutional administrative officers and four constitutional boards—the state railroad commission, the board of regents, the board of commissioners of state institutions, and the board of educational lands and funds. Each of the six departments has a single head with a secretary with an annual salary of \$5,000. These secretaries are appointed by the Governor with the Senate's approval for a term of two years. No subordinate officers are designated in the code. The Governor appoints the employees of the departments after consultation with the secretaries. The secretaries prescribe the regulations for their respective departments.

Time and space will not permit me to discuss the plan adopted by Massachusetts. It is very complicated and involved, and would not greatly help us to solve the problem in North Carolina.

The situation in our state today is noteworthy because of the seeming lack of any plan or system in creating and adding various state boards, commissions, bureaus, and various other executive agencies. I know of no panacea for our ills. But the fact remains, which any fair-minded observer will note, that state government is far from attaining a reasonable efficiency in North Carolina.

To re-order the six executive departments of the civil establishment, the twenty-four administrative boards, bureaus, and commissions, the boards of trust for the fifteen state educational institutions, and the seven charitable institutions, the following plan of consolidation is suggested for the consideration of those interested in civic reform in North Carolina.

A prefatory word might be said as to the constitutional officers who must be chosen by popular vote. In our state these are: the secretary of state, auditor, treasurer, superintendent of public instruction, and the attorney general. The other executive heads should be appointed by the Governor by and with the consent of the Senate for a term of either two or four years. Four thousand dollars is recommended as a minimum annual salary for such executive heads. For some of the boards an unpaid advisory board of three to seven members would probably be valuable to attain effectiveness. A complete list and ac-

count of the workings of the parts of the state government can be found in the North Carolina Blue Book. We here present an outline of the ten departments proposed under a consolidation plan.

I. The Department of Finance

1. A State Auditor, who shall, in addition to his present duties, (1) act as a comptroller of accounts with general supervision over all state expenditures, (2) prepare the budget biennially for the budget commission, (3) prescribe and have supervision over a system of uniform accounting, auditing, and reporting by all agencies whatever handling public moneys in the state, this duty being under the direct charge of an assistant auditor. The state auditor would be the head of the Department of Finance.

2. The State Treasurer.

3. The Tax Commissioner, who would have charge of all tax affairs now under the Corporation Commission, and who also would have charge of automobile licenses and funds, instead of the Secretary of State as at present.

II. The Department of Public Welfare

1. A State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, of seven members.

2. A State Prison Board, of five members, who would also have absolute power to recommend pardons and paroles to the Governor, who could not pardon except on the recommendation of this board.

The Department of Public Welfare would be headed by a public welfare commissioner, assisted by an executive secretary, the most competent to be secured anywhere in the United States.

III. The Department of Public Works and Buildings

1. The State Highway Commission.

2. The Department of Public Buildings and Grounds, which would absorb the present building commission and State Architect.

3. The Fisheries Commission.

4. The State Geological and Economic Survey.

The Board of Internal Improvements might be advantageously abolished; also the State Purchasing Commission.

In this grouping could be placed the state standard keeper and the firemen's relief fund.

A Commissioner of Public Works and Buildings would have general supervision over this department.

IV. Department of Education

1. State Superintendent of Public Instruction, who would head this department.
2. A Board of Education as at present.
3. A State Bureau of Community Service, reorganized to function with full effect under the law.
4. The State Library.
5. A Board of Trustees for the University.
6. A Board of Trustees for N. C. State College of Agriculture and Engineering.
7. A Combined Normal School Board.

V. Department of Public Health

1. A Public Health Commissioner who heads this department.
2. A Board of Public Health, of seven unsalaried members.
3. A State Laboratory of Hygiene.
4. A State Sanitation Board and system.

VI. The Department of Labor and Printing

This department should be given power (1) to enforce the return of industrial statistics, and (2) to investigate and report to the legislature a plan for arbitrating industrial disputes, as in New Zealand, Canada, Massachusetts, and other states. State printing aside, this department seems almost useless unless it can have an enlargement of powers and functions and render some adequate service to the state.

VII. The Department of Commerce

1. The Corporation Commission.
2. The Department of Insurance.
3. The Department of Banking.

VIII. The Department of the Attorney General

The attorney-general should exercise supervision over all solicitors and should give his whole time to the state; and the hiring of special attorneys should be discouragd. Also, his annual reports should present the law and order status of the state as revealed in the jury verdicts of the courts.

The legislative reference library might be put under this department.

IX. The Department of the Adjutant-General

X. The Department of Agriculture and Immigration

This department might be advantageously reorganized and modeled, say, upon that of Wisconsin. Some department in the state manifestly ought to be specifically charged with the business of attracting worthy home-seekers into the state, and of protecting them from professional land-sharks.

2. A State Constabulary

The remarkable records of the Texas Rangers, the New York State Police, and the Pennsylvania State Constabulary have caused widespread agitation for a similar police force in this state. Other states having such police organizations are: Michigan, Maryland, West Virginia, Nevada, and New Jersey. This agitation is largely due to the unparalleled crime wave of the country since the Great War, but the committee has no recommendations to make in regard to such a force in North Carolina at the present time.

3. The Short Ballot, the Australian Ballot, and Our Primary Laws

Many students and leaders of popular government—notably President Wilson—have urged the short ballot. It means simply the placing of a small number of names on the ballot, thus doing away with many elective offices, making them appointive instead. The chief argument for the short ballot is that by having to make fewer selections voters are enabled to choose more wisely, and moreover that it guarantees unified government under responsible headship.

In regard to the Australian, or secret, ballot, it might be noted that North Carolina is one of the only six states in the Union that still cling to the old open ballot idea. South Carolina, Georgia, New Mexico, Mississippi, and Delaware are the other states. To promote fairness at an election, to do full justice to the individual voter, it is urged that the secret ballot be adopted. The state owes it to its voters to protect them from unscrupulous election workers, and to this end it should do everything in its power. The surest means to this end that has yet been worked out is the Australian ballot.

In regard to our primary laws it might be said that the chief defect and the one most frequently noted is the lack of a civil remedy for election wrongs. This defect prevents an injured party from obtaining redress except by having his opponent indicted and convicted—a very difficult thing to do.—W. D. Harris, Chairman Sub-Committee on Consolidation of State Boards, and Suffrage.

CIVIC REFORMS IN NORTH CAROLINA

**COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION, COMMUNITY INCORPORATION, AND
AND EXTENDED SELF-RULE**

J. T. WILSON, RURAL HALL, N. C.

All reforms should begin at home, and should aim first and foremost at the physical and moral uplift of the individual citizen. In making proposals for the extension of local self-government, the incorporation of rural townships, and the organization of community life in country areas, I begin with what seems to me to be nearest to the individual citizen, and probably the most vital—the community problem.

Community Organization

There is a definite need in every community for a center of social activities—a fit place where both boys and girls, young people and old, can feel at home in leisure hours. The boys loafing around drug stores, smoking cigarettes and drinking “dopes,” the young girls sauntering up and down the streets, and the overcrowded moving-picture shows in every little town are proof of this need. Most people will readily admit that these are not always the best forms of amusement, and most people will agree that there ought to be in every community a place where the boys and girls can gather for wholesome recreation and enjoyment, for singing, dancing, debates, lectures, and reading.

The true answer to such a problem is the community house—a temple of community fellowship. As some one has said: It should be a social recreative center so democratic as to attract the humblest, so wholesome as to appeal to the exclusive, and so broad in its scope as to bring youth, maturity, and age into closer companionship.

1. The community house should develop the recreative and social instincts of the entire community. In order to do this it should be centrally located. It should contain a reception room, a reading room, a ladies' rest-room, a swimming pool if possible, shower baths, and an auditorium. Above all else, it should be made attractive to the rural population, and they should be able to feel perfectly at home here while in town.

If a building cannot be provided through public subscription or local taxation, it is often found convenient to use the school house during the summer months for this purpose. However, a separate building is better, and the results obtained, as is shown by communities that have such a house, amply repay the community for the expenditure. Salisbury was among the first half dozen towns in the United States to

establish a Community House. Goldsboro and Henderson are preparing to erect such a building as a memorial to the dead heroes of the Great War.

Country Community Incorporation

Rural community organization on a legal basis as allowed by a 1915 statute of our legislature is a form of local self-expression, self-protection and self-regulation that has hardly yet begun in North Carolina. A half dozen communities or so have been incorporated under this law, and the officers chosen, but so far these country corporations exist only on paper. They have done little more than to levy a small school tax in an instance or two.

The law on our statute books today is entitled "An act to provide for the incorporation of rural communities." It gives to the registered voters of a country community, incorporated as such, the right to adopt, amend, or repeal ordinances provided such action is not inconsistent with the laws of the state; to pass regulations concerning the public roads and public schools; the promotion of public health, police protection, and the abatement of nuisances; the care of paupers, aged or infirm persons, and the control of vagrancy; the collection of community taxes; the establishment and support of public libraries, parks, halls, playgrounds, fairs, and other agencies of recreation, education, music, art, and morals.

Besides enjoying special privileges of this sort, these incorporated communities may take any and all necessary steps looking to the standardizing of community products, and the adoption of community labels, brands, trademarks and so on, and to coöperative community marketing. In this way, it may, through its own elected directors, adopt standards for the production and marketing of produce, canned goods, and such commodities, and in the same way encourage the production of those things that will in the long run benefit the whole community most.

An alert country community could hardly fail to profit by incorporating for such community purposes.

This law is whole-heartedly recommended to the country communities of North Carolina.

I may add that the state has a Rural Community Organization Bureau in Raleigh, in charge of a state organizer, supported by a fund of \$25,000 a year. But so far no reports have been published by this bureau, and the public has no authoritative statement concerning its activities and achievements during the five years of its existence. We recommend that such a report in detail be given to the state at the earliest possible moment. It is proper to add that we have received an official report of this state bureau just as we go to the printers with copy for this chapter.

Local Self-Rule in North Carolina

The unit of local self-government, such as it is in North Carolina, is the county. Whether or not the state government effectively expresses the will of the people as a whole depends greatly upon whether or not those same people have been able to express their will effectively in county governments.

That local self-rule may be extended in North Carolina and that the counties of the state may enjoy the largest possible measure of self-regulation consistent with the welfare of the commonwealth as a whole, the following amendments to the constitution are submitted for discussion:

Proposed Constitutional Provisions for Local Self-Government

1. Any county in the state shall be permitted under general law to establish a form of government, not in conflict with the general laws of the state, and shall have power to draft a charter providing for itself unified county government under responsible headship. Such charter shall provide for county officers and their terms of office, and shall also provide that powers heretofore exercised by county officers for and on behalf of the state shall be exercised by such new officers as may be provided. This charter shall, after having been approved by a majority of the duly registered voters of the county at a regular or special election, supersede the existing government of the said county.

2. The legislature shall provide by law that any county so drafting and establishing a local government under the above provision shall have the power to legislate and enact laws that affect and are peculiar to the county, and that are not detrimental to the state nor conflicting with state laws, in such manner as the duly registered voters may provide.

3. The legislature shall provide by law that in such counties the county-commission or the county-manager plan of government and the short ballot may be adopted or not, according to the will of the majority of the voters voting.

Unified County Government Under Responsible Headship

In order to effect necessary changes in the conduct of county business and county affairs in North Carolina, and to abolish the irresponsible, unbusinesslike, wasteful methods that prevail at present in the large majority of our counties, I suggest:

1. That county business and business efficiency be exalted above childish partisan politics, and that men should be chosen or appointed to office with sole reference to their fitness and efficiency. I am well

aware that what I am proposing looks like an iridescent dream. Nevertheless, it is a political ideal toward which we must move just as fast as human nature is capable.

2. As the foundation of democratic government is the voter, we should start with adopting the Australian ballot in county elections with the hope that we may at last choose an intelligent ballot—the short ballot—in order that we may know for whom and for what we vote.

3. For counties adopting local self-government of the sort provided under the proposed constitutional amendments, I suggest the commission or commission-manager form of county government. This means a board of three or more county commissioners, elected directly by the people, to serve for a term of six years, one-third going out every two years. This commission should have power to appoint from a civil service list all such officers as are not elected directly by the people, and such appointees should not be confined to the county. The commission should elect its own chairman, who should be a successful business man of good character. He should give his entire time to the county affairs as the responsible head of county government, and his salary should not be less than four thousand dollars a year in any county. He should be the executive officer of the county commission in supervising the work of all other county officials, in controlling the finances of the county upon a budget plan, in authorizing the purchase and sale of county property, in enforcing the laws of the state, and in enacting and enforcing such local laws, not in conflict with the general laws of the state, as are allowed under the terms of the county charter.

The members of this commission, except the chairman, should serve without pay, but all expenses incident to commission meetings and business should be paid out of the county treasury. They should meet at stated intervals, not less than four times a year, and at one of these meetings the budget for the new year should be its stated business. At another the annual statement of county finances should be finally prepared for publication.

4. The initiative and referendum should be provided for in all counties having a local self-governing charter, this question to be settled by a majority of the voters voting.

In short, I suggest a form of unified county government under responsible headship—a county commission acting as a one-chambered body for legislation and administration in all local matters under the general laws of the state.—J. T. Wilson, Chairman Sub-Committee on Community Organization, Community Incorporation, and Local Self-Rule.

April 19, 1920.

CIVIC REFORMS IN NORTH CAROLINA

UNIFIED COUNTY GOVERNMENT, UNIFORM COUNTY ACCOUNTING, AND REPORTING AND
STATE-WIDE AUDITING OF COUNTY ACCOUNTS

CHARLES L. NICHOLS, BREVARD, N. C.

The county in North Carolina is the product of two full centuries of legislative tinkering. As a result many imperfections in its organization and operation are distinctly manifest. It is a question of no slight importance. In 1913, county government in North Carolina was an eight-million-dollar affair, which was approximately twice the cost of state government at that time. The following items of county expenditure in 1913 will convey an idea of its magnitude:

Courthouse salaries	\$1,022,000
Road building and repairs.....	900,000
Charities, hospitals, and corrections.....	358,000
Interest payments	324,000
Protection of persons and property.....	200,000

Nevertheless, what citizen of our state, in any county, is in any position to say whether the county revenues are expended wisely or unwisely, effectively or wastefully? What county in our commonwealth could, at this moment, at the instance of a sovereign command, render an accurate, final account of: (1) county assets; (2) county indebtedness; (3) county receipts; and (4) county expenditures? The whole situation has been well depicted in the following language: County government is a headless affair, uninformed, unregulated, irresponsible, and governed by local customs mostly—regardless of law.

Renovation is expedient. Our problem is to ascertain what plan of reorganization would be most effective and salutary and at the same time most practical.

Government grows out of the nature of human nature in this or that social area. It is an organism, not a mechanism; but like a prime fruit tree it constantly needs pruning-knife attention. The American mind regards governmental institutions with vague but quite distinct reverence, and has ever entertained a conservative feeling toward out-and-out changes. The same spirit informs the judicial mind, and is expressed in "stare decisis." It is only when public opinion demands in unequivocal tones that the court decides in contravention of precedents. Even then, these interpreters of the law beat the game by means of legal fictions: the law is changed in substance, but not in form. And this is the secret of success in the reorganization of county government. We must recognize this ever-present feeling of conservatism. We must change county government in substance, but as little as possible in form. Constitutional changes are a last resort. But in

county government there is urgent need for a program that can be put into effect at once. Statutory modifications of the present system, therefore, constitute the most practical and effective changes.

In view of the foregoing considerations, I submit the following definite plan of county government renovation—a cross-section of several proposed plans with certain advantages chosen out of each, as peculiarly adapted to state-wide conditions in North Carolina. The changes necessitate nothing more than statutory modifications of the present system. Article VII, section 14, of the Constitution of North Carolina confers upon the General Assembly adequate authority to provide by statute for all the proposals herein advocated.

Program Proposals

1. County government unified under a responsible headship, say under the chairman of the Board of County Commissioners, his dual rôle being that (1) of member of this administrative body, and (2) of chief executive of the county, by and with the counsel of his fellow board members.

The board of county commissioners, consisting of three or more elective members, including the chairman, shall be the administrative county organ, through direct agency of the chairman, who is charged with proper administration of all county affairs. All other county officers are placed ancillary to the board in definite ways to a definite extent each.

2. A Bureau of County Auditing in the office of the State Auditor. The Comptroller of County Accounts to institute a uniform system of county accounting and reporting, and to maintain a state-wide system of county account auditing.

Explanations in Brief

1. Unified County Government

The Chairman of the Board of County Commissioners.—This officer would be to a county what a mayor is to a city—the chief executive officer—and at the same time chairman of the administrative body, a power to give effect to its will. The chairman should be elected, say, for a six-year term, by popular vote, under the general election laws of the state. He should be a successful business man of good character; he should give his full time to the business of the county, and his salary should be of a magnitude sufficient to attract men of experience and ability—the exact amount depending upon the population and wealth of the county. To insure responsiveness to popular will, provision should be made for his recall at any time, requiring the signatures of a majority of the qualified voters for the petition to become effective.

The duties devolving upon such an officer would be: 1. Administrative. (a) He should preside over all meetings of the board; (b) he should submit recommendations to the board of such measures as he deems expedient to proper administration. 2. Executive. (a) He should execute and enforce all resolutions and orders of the board, and see that all state laws are faithfully carried out; (b) he should have power to appoint all minor county officers and employees whose selection is not otherwise provided for by the Constitution and laws of the state, subject to the approval of the board; (c) he should collect all reports and accounts from the several county officers and be ready at all times to give any instructions pertinent to the preparation of same; (d) subject to the approval of the board, he should purchase all supplies and materials used by all county officers, departments and institutions; (e) he should execute all county contracts on behalf of the board; (f) perform such other duties as the board might require.

The Board of County Commissioners.—The board would be the legislative and administrative body of the county in all its business affairs. Together with the chairman, there should be three or more members elected in the county at large for six-year terms, one-third of the board, or as nearly a third as possible and practicable, retiring every two years. Each commissioner, including the chairman, should be subject to recall. As compensation they should receive a per diem salary for attendance upon sessions, plus expenses actually incurred in attendance upon meetings and otherwise. Through the agency of the chairman, the board should be charged with the proper administration of county affairs, including a general supervision and control over the penal and charitable institutions, roads, bridges, taxes, finances, including the finances of county schools, health departments, welfare departments, and all other offices handling public moneys, etc. The board should enact administrative rules governing the manner in which the chairman and other county officers and employees shall perform their duties, in accordance with other provisions herein contained, and should take the proper action in regard to the recommendations of the chairman. And, finally, the board should make a business-like annual statement of county finances as hereinafter indicated.

Other County Officers.—Statutory modification conferring administrative authority upon the board over all elective county officers to a definite extent is indispensable. Abundant experience has conclusively demonstrated that efficiency in civic organization can be attained only by systematic subordination of all branches and parts to a planning, directing, responsible head. The offices would remain the same in form; they would be filled, as at present, by popular election; they would continue to discharge the duties imposed by law and in the manner prescribed by law, etc. But they should be placed ancillary

to the board to the extent required by expediency. The sheriff, the treasurer, and the register of deeds could be readily subjected to the administrative supervision of the board; the clerk, whose duties are primarily connected with the court, could be supervised in the collection of and accounting for fees, commissions, etc.; the duties of the county board of education are entirely divorced from county administration, and so its members would be exempt from such supervision, except in so far as the commissioners levy school taxes. To this definite extent, then, the board, through the chairman, should have power to inspect the work of these offices and exact strict compliance with its resolutions. The present independence of action and lack of coöperation in county offices would thus be greatly reduced, and the constant official scrutiny suggested would impel these officers to keep the business of their offices in order.

Fashioned upon the above plan of reorganization, county government would be unified under responsible headship with its present disadvantages largely overcome and its working difficulties eliminated.

Better county government is something more than a mere scheme of organization. Even with proper administration of county affairs achieved through the subordination of county offices to a directing and responsible head, what about county offices in themselves? In 1915, fifty counties in North Carolina were on a salary basis and fifty were on a fee basis. The fee system of compensating county officers is undoubtedly the better plan in sparsely populated counties where wealth is small and courthouse business small in volume. In such counties the fee plan is cheap, and provides an incentive to official activity. But every citizen of the county should know approximately the amount of compensation each officer receives under the fee system. For instance, a few years ago the treasurer of New Hanover county was receiving \$5,000 a year, or about as much as the Governor of the state. When fees and commissions constitute totals that make compensation excessive, the county should be placed on a salary basis. A suitable line of demarcation between fee and salary counties seems to be \$75,000 of aggregate taxes. All but two of the salary counties are above this level; thirty-six of the fee counties are below; fourteen fee counties are above it, and probably ought to change to the salary plan. A main matter in the fee plan, then, is accurate public knowledge of the compensation received by each county officer. On the other hand, the guaranteed salary, in the absence of authoritative supervision, as under the present system, removes the incentive to official diligence and faithfulness.

The theory underlying the salary plan is that if the fees and commissions, which in North Carolina amount to something like a million and a quarter dollars a year, are faithfully collected and honestly turned into the county treasury, they would create a fund sufficient

to discharge all salary obligations in fifty-odd counties of the state and leave an appreciable residue to be applied to general governmental benefits—schools, roads, sinking funds, interest accounts, and so on. At present the fee funds are small and tend to become smaller year by year in all salary counties, and hence the salary plan, without authoritative overhead supervision, simply adds burdens to the general taxpayer and denies him the surpluses properly accruing under good government. The real disadvantages of the salary plan, then, are lack of incentive to collect all fees and commissions, and the absence of authoritative supervision to insure that all fees and commissions collected are honestly accounted for. Under either the fee or the salary system, county officers must be compensated, and they ought to be compensated with salaries sufficiently large to secure and reward first-class business ability in officeholders. Hence our second program proposal.

2. A State Supervision of County Accounts.

The local supervision of county accounts has been weighed in the balance and found wanting as a system. Thirty of the salary counties in North Carolina have instituted some sort of local accounting and auditing—manifestly insufficient and incompetent, while thirteen salary counties have no auditing arrangement whatever. The constant supervision by such a chief executive as we propose in the county chairman looks toward a careful discharge of duties in all offices, but what is especially necessary for maximum efficiency is the establishment of a uniform state-wide system of county accounting and reporting. Complementary and incidental thereto is the maintenance of an effective system of county account auditing. Then, and then alone, will the citizens of the county have an accurate knowledge of county assets and liabilities, incomes and expenditures, fees, commissions, and salaries.

To accomplish this purpose most effectively, state control is a prerequisite, and the initial step would be the creation of a Bureau of County Account Control in the office of the State Auditor, and under his direction and supervision.

The primary duties appertaining to this office would fall into two classes:

1. The Establishment of a Uniform System of County Accounts and Reports.—The County Account Comptroller should formulate and prescribe a uniform system of accounting and reporting for each county office, especially sheriffs, treasurers, clerks of courts, and registers of deeds. Such a system should provide for forms, as few and as simple as possible, showing liabilities, assets and the location and condition thereof, sources of income, the amounts due and received from each source, the amounts expended for each purpose, the amounts on hand

or turned over to the treasurer, and so on and on. To facilitate the working of the plan, the State Comptroller of County Accounts should prepare a manual of accounting and reporting procedures, showing in detail just how the general books and accounts should be kept, how to close the books, and how to prepare uniform financial and operating statements for each office and fund. The chairman of the Board of County Commissioners should be ready at all times to assist in the preparation of these reports, should collect them periodically, preferably each quarter, and transmit them to the board. Through the chairman, the board should take all necessary action relative to delays, variations, and inconsistencies in regard to these reports. Each board of county commissioners should be charged, under penalty, with the preparation of an annual report or balance sheet, based upon the individual reports of the respective county officers, showing the assets and liabilities of each office, and, for the county as a whole, unit costs and disbursements for specific purposes, and so on. Separate accounts should be kept for each appropriation, showing separately the payments for salaries, for other personal services, and for supplies, distinguishing payments for ordinary expenses from payments for construction work and other extraordinary purposes. This report should be submitted to the State Comptroller of County Accounts as a basis for an official state report of consolidated county accounts.

2. The Maintenance of a State-wide System of Auditing County Accounts.—In this respect the State Bureau of County Account Control would simply function as the present Bank Commission does for state banks. State control over local public authorities is surely equal in importance to the control which has been exercised by the state over private corporations. The guiding principle of such supervision is mainly that of friendly instruction, counsel, guidance, and warning whenever necessary. It should not and would not operate as an incursion upon the rights and duties of county officeholders, but rather as an effort on the part of the state to reduce to a minimum the likelihood of error, confusion, and dishonesty in county office administration, and to substitute in its stead simple accuracy and uniformity.

The State Comptroller of County Accounts should be charged with the duty of examining personally or through his assistants the accounts and financial affairs of every county at least once a year; and at the end of the fiscal year to audit the books, records, and accounts of each county officer. On every such examination, inquiry should be made as to whether the laws of the state, the requirements of the County Account Comptroller, and the regulations of the County Board of Commissioners have been complied with in every respect; and into the methods and accuracy of the accounts and reports, and the financial condition of the county. The State Comptroller and his assistants should be authorized by law to enter any county office, to inspect any

books, papers, or documents therein, and to compel the attendance of officers and witnesses necessary for the proper examination or audit of county accounts.—Charles L. Nichols, Chairman Sub-Committee on County Finances.

April 19, 1920.

CIVIC REFORM STUDIES: STATE AND LOCAL

Outline

1. State Problems.

- (1) A budget bureau and an executive budget, as in South Carolina, Virginia, and thirty-seven other states.
- (2) A state purchasing agent, as in Michigan and other states.
- (3) Uniform departmental and institutional accounting, as in Michigan and other states.
- (4) The consolidation of state boards, bureaus, and commissions, as in Illinois and Massachusetts.
- (5) The Australian ballot, as in forty-two states; our state primary laws.
- (6) A state constabulary, as in Texas, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, New York.

2. County Problems.

- (1) Unified county government under responsible headship; county budgets.
- (2) Uniform county accounting and reporting, as in Ohio, Indiana, and other states.
- (3) The state-wide auditing of county accounts, as a bureau of the State Auditor's office, as in Ohio, Florida, Minnesota, Massachusetts, Wyoming, and other states.
- (4) A definite extension of local self-rule, under state conditions, regulation, and supervision.
- (5) Our township incorporation law, and our community organization bureau; policies and plans, etc.

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CHAPTER XI

THE NEW DAY IN NORTH CAROLINA

The Old Order

North Carolina has long been an agricultural civilization both in population and in wealth production. An overwhelming majority of her producers of primary wealth live in the countryside, and the bulk of her new wealth from year to year has been farm wealth. The aggregate of this wealth has grown into enormous proportions. In 1919 it was seven hundred and fifty million dollars, counting crops, live stock, and live stock products; it was more than a half billion dollars in 1920, or something like three times the total of ten years ago. In agriculture the producing unit is the farm family, and our farm families are scattered throughout the vast open spaces of North Carolina, not in farm communities but in solitary dwellings, only seven to the square mile the state over, fewer than four to the square mile in ten counties, and fewer than seventeen in our most populous county. They were settled in social insulation in earlier times, and so they remain to this good day. Agricultural production is small-scale production by small producing groups that are or may be self-sufficing, existence necessities considered. The inward urge to mass organization for business or social or civic advantage is therefore feeble, and the result has been poor country roads, poor country schools and excessive illiteracy, inadequate attention by country people to health and sanitation, an inadequate sense of civic as well as social responsibility in local areas, honest but inefficient and wasteful county government as a rule and, all in all, small-scale thinking about the big-scale concerns of the commonwealth. The mass-mind of North Carolina—what we call the genius of our people—must be spelled at in abc terms of this sort, and he knows little of the state who knows the story of political events apart from radical conditions and causes like these, for out of them our civic structures have grown.

The glory of North Carolina lies in the fact that it has always been a land of free democracy—unpurchasable and unroutable, unafraid and unabashed. We have always been what Emerson celebrated—free, unterrified American citizens. But also it is a land of overweening individualism, and imperious localism. It has always been so and inevitably so, because our civilization has been rooted in ruralism. Our fish and game laws perfectly illustrate this fundamental fact. Think of fourteen different deer seasons in nine contiguous counties, forty different quail seasons in the state at large, and even a larger number of local laws in our fish and oyster areas. And so it has

always been in every field of our civic life. The excessive private-local public laws of the state perfectly express the dominant private-local mindedness of North Carolina. The rural mind is private and local—almost inescapably so. And the culture of the countryman has long been the mainspring and the measure of our civilization. As the countryman thinketh in his heart, so are we in North Carolina—or so it long has been. Both the best and the worst of us lies in this fundamental fact.

A New Day in Carolina

But there is a new day in Carolina. The transformation has been wrought in quite unconscious response to the elemental urges of life and livelihood during the last few years—mainly the last five years. Agriculture has given place to manufacture as the primary interest of North Carolina. A machine-made civilization is conditioning and supplanting the old-time homespun, hand-made civilization of the state. The day of great cities is at hand, and the fullness of their greatness in the coming years does not yet appear. Out of fractional we have moved into integral suffrage and sovereignty. Out of private-mindedness we are moving into civic and social-mindedness; out of pinching poverty into abundant wealth; out of small-scale into big-scale thinking about the vital matters of a noble civilization.

The new day in North Carolina is a day of industrial establishments and enterprises, a day of swiftly growing cities, a day of abounding wealth, a day of increasing willingness to convert our wealth into commonwealth culture and character, a day of undivided civic privilege, undivided social wholeness, and undivided sovereign integrity.

The New Order

The day of industrial supremacy is at hand in North Carolina. We lead the South in the number of industrial enterprises, in the number of wage earners employed, in the variety and value of our industrial output. And we are distinguished among the states of the Union by a large number of small enterprises rather than a small number of large enterprises. Which means that so far we have escaped the concentration of wealth that has always meant in every land and country progress and poverty, magnificence and misery side by side. The remarkable diffusion of wealth is a fundamental fact of North Carolina. None of us are very rich as yet, but few of us are very poor. We have more cotton mills and more spindles, we consume more raw cotton and produce a greater volume and variety of cotton textiles than any other state in the South. In cotton manufacture, we doff our hats to Massachusetts alone, remembering the while that her almshouse and outside paupers outnumber ours five to one. We have right around

600 cotton mills—nearly 100 in a single county. We are expanding our textile industry more rapidly than any other Southern state. Last year we built thirty-one new mills and brought into operation more than a half million new spindles. Three-fourths of the new spindles and new looms in the South last year were set going in North Carolina alone. Not only does North Carolina lead the industrial South, but factory communities in North Carolina at last produce greater wealth than all other occupational groups combined.

The rise of manufacture into undisputed primacy is the startling story of a brief five-year period in our history. Agriculture no longer leads in North Carolina; manufacture leads for the first time in the history of the state. It means that North Carolina has moved up from small-scale farm production on domestic levels into big-scale factory production upon commercial levels. The volume of wealth created by our factories has been doubled and trebled and quadrupled in quantity since 1914, and its value has been increased even more amazingly. The creation of industrial values shows nearly a sixfold increase during the last five years, against a threefold increase in the value of our agricultural output during the last ten years.

A Day of Great Cities

Developing industries necessarily mean rapidly developing cities. Our town and city dwellers ten years ago were barely more than a half million all told. Today they number some eight hundred thousand souls. The increase has been around sixty per cent in ten years. Until recently North Carolina has been distinguished as a state of small towns and cities; and we still have sixty-eight counties in the state containing no town of as many as five hundred families. Twenty years ago we had only twenty-seven towns of twenty-five hundred inhabitants or more; today we have fifty-seven such towns, and two of them are near the fifty thousand mark. It is a day of great cities foundationed on great industrial enterprises; and the cities of this state with superior geographic, economic, and residential advantages will grow so large during the next quarter-century that in the coming years we shall many-a-time rub our eyes in amazement. I venture nothing in venturing this prophecy.

North Carolina is at last moving into the flood tide of modern industrialism—belatedly to be sure, but with marvelous speed since the early eighties. We have long been rural, but ten years ago we were being urbanized more rapidly than thirty-six other states of the Union, and the cityward drift has been immensely accelerated of late by the explosive power of country life on the one hand and the attractive power of industrial centers on the other.

The cityward drift of country people creates a host of new problems, economic, social, and civic. Cities are everywhere human aggrega-

tions; what they everywhere lack is social integration—on a territorial basis, which is democracy, and not on an occupational basis, which is sovietism. The forces that unite men must somehow become stronger than the forces that divide. The crowds in great cities look like nothing so much as a lot of crabs in the bottom of a bucket, each crawling over all the rest trying to get on top. It is a sorry spectacle. It keeps a body wondering whether or not an enduring civilization can be fashioned in this wise.

The cityward drift spells the doom of drowsy little towns lacking civic pride and enterprise sufficient to develop superior residential advantages. When country people move they go with a hop-skip-and-jump over dull little towns into census-size cities—in this and every other state. As a result, ninety-three of our little towns dwindled in population during the last ten years, and forty more faded from the map. The lesson the 1920 census reads to small-town capitalists who own building lots, enjoy rent revenues, run stores, and operate banks is, "Make your home town the best place on earth to live in, develop local manufactures set in garden cities, or move in self-defense into progressive centers, or reconcile yourselves to stagnant community life with all its menaces to family integrity and business opportunity." If the 414 little country towns of North Carolina can be brought into right relationships with the surrounding trade areas—as for instance in Garnett, Kansas—they will not only save themselves, but also the country regions round about. The small-town approach to country life problems is a hopeful approach, if only country bankers, country merchants and country ministers can be brought to realize it.

But also the cityward drift means that the long neglected problems of the open country must now be attacked with sympathetic intelligence, and by the only people on earth who can solve these problems—namely, the country people themselves. Else the economic and social ills of sparse populations, unrestrained individualism, and social aloofness will progressively destroy our country civilization—as surely in this state as in the great industrial areas of the North and East.

The country civilization of Carolina can be saved if the culture of the farmer can be rightly related to the farmer's agriculture; if his home and children can be set distinctly above his fields and farm animals, and barns and bank balances; if the eighteen hundred thousand open country dwellers of the state can come to a keen realization of country-life deficiencies and develop mass organization for community advantages. But in the main it is the job of the country people themselves, and so far their attention has been absorbed by the hazards of farming as a business and by business organization for economic advantage. Country people have given scant attention to the social problems of the countryside; they only dimly realize that country

homes, country schools, country churches, and county governments must function on far higher levels if the country end of our civilization is to be a rich asset in commonwealth development in the days at hand and ahead. To this end there is need for a Country Life Association in North Carolina—an association of country people related to the State Social Work Conference on the one hand and the American Country Life Association on the other. The State College of Agriculture and Engineering could organize and lead such a movement with clear chances of success.

A Day of Abundant Wealth

The new day in Carolina is a day of abundant wealth, town and country, farm and factory. We have grown rich during the last five years and apparently we are innocently unaware of it. The state has at last moved definitely and finally out of a long period of pinching poverty into overflowing wealth—out of two and a half centuries of deficit-economy into a new era of surplus-economy; and what we need to learn is to reckon with present problems and future necessities in terms of wealth instead of penury. Since 1915 our farms and factories, forests and fisheries, mines and quarries, have been creating brand new wealth at an average rate of a billion dollars a year—all told, five billions of brand new wealth within this brief period of time. And the increases have not been in values alone, but in quantities as well—in larger crops of cotton, tobacco, and corn; in the doubled and quadrupled output of our cotton mills, tobacco factories, and furniture establishments; in immensely increased trade activities, bank resources, and bank account savings; in material good things in multiplied abundance in and around our town and country homes. We have two hundred and fifty million dollars safely laid away in liberty bonds, war stamps, and bank account savings, and we are drawing an interest income of ten millions a year from these investments alone. There has never before been anything like this state of affairs in the entire history of the state. True, we shall have two hundred and forty millions less of farm money this year, and it is a cruel calamity for merchants and bankers, as well as farmers; but it is childish to conclude therefore that the state is facing bankruptcy, and it will be fatal to sacrifice birthrights for pottage in the famine-fashion of Esau. The fundamental fact is five billions of gain against two hundred and forty millions of loss. The people of this state are still solvent by a safe margin of many billions. We are still rich enough to spend one hundred and fifty-seven million dollars a year for manufactured tobacco, automobiles and automobile parts, carpets and superfine clothing, and candy.

What the people of this state spent last year for state support, church support, and college education was forty-three thousand dollars a day.

What we spent for motor cars, manufactured tobacco, rich apparel, and candy—these four luxuries and comforts alone—was four hundred and thirty-two thousand dollars a day.

It is plainer than print that we have money in abundance in North Carolina to spend for anything we really want, and if we do not spend money abundantly upon commonwealth enterprises, church causes, and college education, it simply means that in our heart of hearts we do not believe in church causes, commonwealth enterprises, and college education. If we will not invest liberally in public schools, public health, public highways, and public welfare, it simply means that in our heart of hearts we do not believe in public schools, public health, public highways, and public welfare. Debates upon commonwealth investments can no longer turn upon the poverty of the people of North Carolina—not when we are rich enough to pay one hundred and sixty-three millions of taxes into the federal treasury in a single year—not when we are rich enough to spend one hundred and fifty-seven millions a year on tobacco products, motor cars, luxurious clothing, and sweetmeats alone.

People who spend fifty millions a year on manufactured tobacco and twelve millions on public schools, forty-seven millions on motor cars and six millions on churches, thirty-five millions on fine apparel and seven millions on state enterprises, twenty-five millions on confections and two and a half millions on colleges, may be poverty-stricken in spirit, but they are not poverty-stricken in purse. And if we will not mend these shameful ratios somewhat we stand convicted of wanton self-indulgence and graceless unconcern about the vital things of a noble civilization.

Our leaders need not hesitate to lead. The highway of civilization is strewn thick with the wrecks of parties, but it is yet to be recorded that any party was ever wrecked on a program of progress in education. Party supremacy in North Carolina is and forever ought to be related to statesmanship in education, health, and highways. That party will live longest that dares most for the vital causes of the commonwealth.

A Day of Public Spirit

North Carolina is moving at last out of private-mindedness into civic- and social-mindedness. The new day is a day of great thinking about the great concerns of the state, and therein lies the immense significance of the inaugural address of our new Governor. We are at last thinking about education, health, and highways in terms of millions instead of paltry thousands. We have been willing to double our investment in public school properties during the last six years. And our public school fund for support rose from six to twelve millions in a single year. In thirty-five years we have moved up from two

thousand to three hundred and sixty thousand dollars a year for public health work. And in expenditures, activities, and values, North Carolina ranks among the first ten states of the Union in public health affairs. During the last six years, forty-one laws of social import have gone on our statute books. It is a new kind of legislation in North Carolina, and during the last few years we have moved forward in social legislation faster than any other state in the South. It has been epoch-making legislation, and it ushers in a great new era in North Carolina. Our state public welfare board, our county welfare superintendents, our juvenile courts and probation officers in every county and in every city with ten thousand inhabitants or more, our county school supervisors, our rural township incorporation law, our state commission charged with rural organization and recreation, the social agencies of the state and the public welfare courses of our state institutions, have all together put us distinctly in the lead in the South. North Carolina is no longer a valley of humiliation located between two mountains of conceit, as we have been accustomed to confess to Virginians and South Carolinians; it has suddenly become the Valley of Decision that the Prophet Joel saw in his dream. But with Virginia lying on the north and South Carolina lying on the south, it has been difficult to get the truth about North Carolina, is the way a wag puts it.

Madam How and Lady Why

But space forbids any discussion of certain large sections of my subject. I therefore hurry on to say in conclusion that the mothers, wives, and daughters of the state at last stand side by side with fathers, husbands, and sons in suffrage rights, civic privilege, and sovereign integrity.

Whatever else it may mean, it means a new kind of attention to civic housekeeping in North Carolina, and, approve it or not, the stupidest politician among us is already sensitively aware that hereafter he must reckon with Madam How and Lady Why.

Now, civic housekeeping is one thing and civic housebuilding is another. The one has been the job of men during the long centuries; the other is woman's job—her main job in her new estate. Our civic structures, material and institutional, have been reared by men. Our capitols and our courthouses and city halls, our poorhouses and jails have been built and officered and for the most part filled by men. Our state and national constitutions, our statute laws and municipal ordinances, our court principles, processes, and procedures, have been fashioned by men—primarily to protect property and incidentally or accidentally to safeguard life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and men are great housebuilders but poor housekeepers—so because

they lack the housekeeping instincts. Our civic structures have been magnificent to look upon without, but within they have been bare and ill-furnished or unfurnished. Oftentimes they have been offensive to physical senses and moral sensibilities alike and uncomfortable or unsafe for human habitation.

Perhaps our civic structures—that is to say, our social institutions—do not need to be rebuilt from ridgepole to cornerstone, but they do need to be swept and garnished from garret to cellar, to say nothing of deodorizing and disinfection; they need to be furnished and outfitted throughout and redressed daily for society to inhabit in comfort and safety. They need and have long needed the civic housekeeping that is necessary to an improved social order. And if woman can only conceive her particular task in large ways human welfare problems will speedily come to be the largest concern of legislatures, congresses, and courts alike. The rapid multiplication of homes and home owners, the safeguarding of home life and community life, constructive wholesome recreation, the renovation of jails and county homes and chain-gang camps, liberal investments in community and commonwealth progress and prosperity, adequate care of defective, dependent, neglected and wayward boys and girls, child-placing and mothers' pensions, county or county-group hospitals, regional clinics and dispensaries, law and order leagues, and so on and on—these are some of the tasks of civic housekeeping that only within very recent years have challenged the attention of our legislators and that are never likely to receive anything like adequate attention until our civic housekeepers get busy at their tasks. Not the filling of offices, but the fashioning of offices fit to be filled and the choosing of choice spirits fit to fill them, is the largest detail and the largest order in civic housekeeping.

I have the faith to believe that the part women will play in the new day in Carolina will make a most significant chapter in the history of the state. It is woman's nature, you know, to see the things that ought to be done and straightway to set about doing them, whether they can be done or not; to see the Palace Beautiful at the top of the Hill Difficult and not to see the lions in the way. You may remember that it was Christian, not Christiana, that saw the lions ahead, and that Timorous and Mistrust, the calamity-howlers of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, were men, not women. This keen look into the essential nature of woman is but one of the many flashes of genius that place Bunyan alongside Milton and made these two, in Macaulay's opinion, the foremost figures of the seventeenth century.

I am, therefore, venturing the prophecy that what North Carolina vitally needs she at last stands a chance of receiving in this new day of our history. I close in the faith and in the words of Henry Timrod:

"Ho! woodsmen of the mountain side!
Ho! dwellers in the vales!
Ho! ye that by the chafing tide
Have roughened in the gales!
Oh, could you like your women feel,
And in their spirit march,
A day might see your lines of steel
Beneath the victor's arch!"

—E. C. Branson, Kenan Professor of Rural Social Science, University of North Carolina, Presidential address, State Social Work Conference, Raleigh, January 25.

