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GOVERNOR WILLIAM HODGES MANN
OF VIRGINIA, PRESIDENT

BATTLING FOR SOCIAL BETTERMENT

SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
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MRS. ANNA RUSSELL COLE
OF NASHVILLE, FOUNDER

INTRODUCTION

THE civilization of the Old South, in spite of the severe handicap of slavery, had features of incomparable beauty and nobility. In the greater freedom of the New South, there is the same chivalrous spirit at work that produced the finest things of the old civilization. The history of reconstruction is the epic story of this dauntless life emerging from the desolations of war to aspire for a still finer and nobler civilization in the future. Readjustment has been so rapid that the march of progress is irregular. The new civilization is lacking in symmetry. Many zones of danger and infection exist. False prophets have appeared. The world outside has disturbed the South by talking overmuch about its danger zones and false prophets.

Consequently, a conviction grew that the best intelligence and leadership of the South should study and improve and interpret its social and civic life. Out of this conviction the Southern Sociological Congress was born. Immediately it drew the best minds of the South together. On its absolutely free platform the new social consciousness has found expression. Leaders of State and Church have got their sense of direction. Comrades in the common warfare against social and economic evils have become acquainted. Fires of enthusiasm have been kindled in many hearts. The Churches and other forces have been enlisted for social welfare. The New South has heard the call of duty to relieve social distress. Southern patriots are mobilizing in a large way for a crusade of national health and righteousness, and already they are battling all along the line for social betterment.

The Congress met in Memphis this year in joint session with the National Conference of Charities and Correction. By special agreement, the National Conference had charge of the departments of the program on Public Health, Child Welfare, Courts and Prisons, and Associated Charities, while the Southern Sociological Congress confined its part

of the program to Race Relations and the Church and Social Service.

The volume of Proceedings this year is therefore smaller than usual owing to the fact that the Congress program was confined to two departments. This arrangement, however, applies only to the Memphis convention; for the Congress will continue to work this year as usual through the following six departments: Public Health, Courts and Prisons, Child Welfare, Associated Charities, Race Relations, and the Church and Social Service.

The Editor is indebted to the speakers for their careful preparation of manuscript and to Mr. Curtis B. Haley for his assistance in reading the proof. THE EDITOR.

Nashville, July 16, 1914.

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I. PRELIMINARY

The Social Program
The Challenge of the Congress
The President's Address

THE SOCIAL PROGRAM OF THE CONGRESS

THE Southern Sociological Congress stands:

For the abolition of convict lease and contract systems, and for the adoption of modern principles of prison reform.

For the extension and improvement of juvenile courts and juvenile reformatories.

For the proper care and treatment of defectives, the blind, the deaf, the insane, the epileptic, and the feeble-minded.

For the recognition of the relation of alcoholism to disease, to crime, to pauperism, and to vice, and for the adoption of appropriate preventive measures.

For the adoption of uniform laws of the highest standards concerning marriage and divorce.

For the adoption of the uniform law on vital statistics.

For the abolition of child labor by the enactment of the uniform child labor law.

For the enactment of school attendance laws, that the reproach of the greatest degree of illiteracy may be removed from our section.

For the suppression of prostitution.

For the solving of the race question in a spirit of helpfulness to the negro and of equal justice to both races.

For the closest co-operation between the Church and all social agencies for the securing of these results.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE CONGRESS

THE Southern Sociological Congress is a challenge to the men and women of the whole South:

1. It is a challenge to the Southern fathers and mothers and all social workers to lift the burdens of labor from childhood and to make education universal.

2. It is a challenge to the men who make and administer laws to organize society as a school for the development of all her citizens rather than simply to be a master to dispose of the dependent, defective, and delinquent population with the least expense to the State.

3. It is a challenge to all citizens to rally to the leaders of all social reforms, so as to secure for the South civic righteousness, temperance, and health.

4. It is a challenge to Southern chivalry to see that justice is guaranteed to all citizens regardless of race, color, or religion, and especially to befriend and defend the friendless and helpless.

5. It is a challenge to the Church to prove her right to social mastery by a universal and unselfish social ministry.

6. It is a challenge to the present generation to show its gratitude for the heritage bequeathed to it through the toil and blood of centuries by devoting itself more earnestly to the task of making the nation a universal brotherhood.

7. It is a challenge to strong young men and women to volunteer for a crusade of social service, and to be enlisted for heroic warfare against all destroyers of public health and purity, and to champion all that makes for an ideal national life.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

GOV. WILLIAM HODGES MANN, OF VIRGINIA

COMING from the capital of the Old Dominion and from the city which for four years was the capital of the Confederate States, so largely represented in this assembly, I would, if I could, bring to this splendid audience the inspiration of history—the history of my State and its capital city, in which every American has an interest because it is his history as well as ours—a history which deals alike with war and peace, with splendid achievements of constructive government, with the field, the forum, and progressive advancement of manufacturing and industrial development, and, best of all, a history which even in this day and generation records the best development of representative government and shows upon its pages no taint or stain of graft.

In making these utterances there is no disposition to boast, but rather to take counsel that together, as one man, we may lay hold of the gathered force which has been accumulating for more than three centuries in Virginia, and which for shorter periods has been gathering in the other commonwealths of our beloved country, and to-night dedicate them, as never before, to the service of God and humanity; that we may bring together the mind and heart of this splendid Congress, consecrated to plans which will best strengthen and increase our own love, and, when our hearts are full, spread it abroad like water in a dry and thirsty land, vivifying, purifying, and making glad every human heart it touches, and bringing upon ourselves the smile of an approving God.

It is not often in this striving, progressive country, advancing along every line of thought and action, and continuously converting possibilities into realities, that we are permitted to come to a conference like this, each with the love of God in his heart, bound by no denominational lines, caring nothing for minor differences, regardless of wealth except as a means to an end, trampling under foot all

thoughts of personal gain or advancement, but in honor preferring one another and taking counsel together how we may best strengthen the weak, uplift the fallen, work for the suffering and needy, consecrate all of our capacities, and direct in proper channels all the forces of nature, of society, and of government, that through these agencies all people may get the most good and do the most good. Surely it is an honor of which any man might be proud to address such an audience, to feel his heart beat and his brain throb in unison with good men and good women in service. Thank God for the honor and the happiness of a service which brings its own reward!

> "The joys we give to others rest
> In blessings on our lives again,
> The dewdrops gathered from earth's breast
> Return to her in rain."

But if, as I have stated, it is an honor to address such an audience, it is a still greater honor to have been elected President of the Southern Sociological Congress, and I take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation.

It is easy on occasions like this, with heart and brain aflame, to indulge in sentiment and rhetoric and to give vent to our opinions and energies in those generalities which are pleasing to the ear, touch a responsive chord in the heart, but do not advance the purpose which has brought us together. Indeed, if we confine ourselves to generalities, there will be little, if any, difference of opinion and we will lack in our meeting the pleasure, and go away without the profit, which comes from the energizing sparks of clashing minds, all seeking the truth, but viewing it from different standpoints and looking for it in different ways.

Holding this view, and with the sincere desire of seeing things done and good accomplished, it may not be unwise to direct your attention to certain definite reforms, and if the Congress will grant indulgence I would like to bring up for your consideration certain recommendations made to the General Assembly of Virginia at its 1914 session, and repeat the messages which went from head and heart to that body. Of course, you will understand that difference in conditions

and environments may make changes and modifications of these recommendations necessary, but the principles involved and the ends sought to be accomplished will be for good everywhere; and although all of these recommendations may not meet with the approval of this Congress, they will at least serve to show the trend of modern official life, and their failure of enactment will emphasize the recognized truth that time and education are necessary for the gathering of public sentiment in favor of reforms into such volume and strength as to compel their enactment into laws.

The first subject considered, you will observe, touches every State and almost every community and is one of interest everywhere: People who, on account of age, infirmity, or poverty, have to be supported by their more fortunate fellows ought not to be sent to "poor houses," but should be comforted with the thought that their neighbors and friends have provided "homes" for them. Without further remarks, I submit the recommendations.

DISTRICT HOMES

At the last session of the General Assembly I recommended the establishment of a home in every Congressional District to take the place of the present county and city almshouses and to be supported by each county and city in proportion to the number of inmates furnished by each. In the light of the figures which have been furnished by the State Board of Charities and Corrections, I earnestly renew my recommendation.

Number of persons supported in almshouses during 1913	4,514
Value of real estate	$1,061,485.00
Cost of maintenance	214,771.03
Superintendents' salaries	26,617.00
Value of crops made and consumed	33,624.03
Total cost, not including interest on real estate	$ 275,012.06
Persons aided in their homes by overseers of poor	6,033
Cost	$ 90,590.00
Salaries of overseers	11,692.05
Total cost	$102,282.05

These figures show that 10,547 poor people were supported or aided last year by the cities and counties of the State at an expense of $377,294.11.

The proceeds of the sale of the real estate belonging to the almshouses would be sufficient to purchase ten good farms centrally located or, where there is a city, in the district as near to it as reasonably possible, and for the erection of suitable buildings in which the poor of our State could be comfortably housed and properly looked after. These homes would be a decided contrast with the present almshouses, some of which, to express it mildly, do not reflect credit on the State.

These homes would be used as nuclei for the segregation and care of the 6,000 feeble-minded in the State, which includes at least 2,000 high-grade imbeciles or morons who would not be classed as feeble-minded except by experts, 1,525 classed as idiots, and 2,832 imbeciles, but with mind enough to work. Of these feeble-minded people, only 225 have adequate custodial care. It is believed that with carefully selected and cultivated farms these people could certainly be segregated and probably could be made self-supporting. Certainly, the time has come when the State ought to take some action.

Mental defectives multiply twice as rapidly as normal people, and from feeble-mindedness springs, by inheritance, insanity, epilepsy, crime, pauperism, and all forms of mental degeneracy. The prevention of the reproduction of this class is, therefore, a social and economic necessity.

STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS

This board has done good work since its organization, and has been exceedingly helpful in making investigations and ascertaining real conditions when it was necessary for the Governor to have information. The board reports that there is a daily population of sixteen hundred misdemeanants living in our jails in idleness and evil companionship at a cost to the State of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars a year. The very best remedy for this condition is to put these people to work either on the roads

or on farms provided for the purpose. Lynchburg has already purchased a farm on which it proposes to put its criminal class, and I hope that other cities will follow its example and that authority be given for the prisoners confined for violation of State laws to be worked on the farms when for any cause they cannot be worked on the roads. This plan is now being carried out by the District of Columbia, which has in Fairfax County a farm of about eleven hundred acres, and upon which an average of seven hundred prisoners from the Washington jail make net, after paying expenses, about ten thousand dollars per annum.

HOMES FOR POOR CHILDREN

During the last eighteen months the Board of Charities and Corrections has placed in family homes one hundred and fifty delinquent colored children, a majority of whom were taken from jails, and all except eight are doing well. This work should be continued, and it would be well to so amend the law that white and colored children committed to the reformatories should first go to the Board of Charities and Corrections and homes secured for such of them as in the opinion of the board could be trusted, with power to send such as proved unmanageable to the reformatories, at the discretion of the board.

PROBATION LAW

By an act of the General Assembly of Virginia approved March 12, 1912, any court or justice in cities of over 40,000 population was authorized and empowered to continue the case and admit to bail any one charged with being a habitual drunkard, with failing to support his wife and children, with being a vagrant or idler able to work, and who is likely to become a charge on the corporation, and to commit such person to the supervision of a probation officer. The probation officer sees that the man so committed works, and that his family gets the benefit; and if he fails to obey directions or violates the rules, he is arrested without warrant and carried before the judge or justice and put to work on the roads—in short, he must either work for him-

self and family or for the State on the convict road force, or he may be committed to workhouses or city farms.

In the city of Richmond, where the probation law enacted by the last General Assembly, on the recommendation of the Board of Charities and Corrections, is being tested, one hundred men paid last year to the probation officer for the support of their families $6,558. The board recommends that probation officers should be appointed and non-support cases placed under them in every city in the State. This recommendation meets with my approval.

PROTECTION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN

The Department of Labor and Statistics, by its careful system of inspections and its determination to have executed the laws for the protection of women and children, has obtained fourteen hundred convictions in two years. Great good has been accomplished and the law is being obeyed.

The statute under which the department is acting does not give protection in some very important particulars, and should be so amended as to prohibit the employment of women and children in liquor, beer, and cider bottling establishments, mail order liquor houses, and breweries.

I recommend that whenever any person, firm, or corporation shall employ a child under the legal age, and the age of the child is clearly proved, the employer shall not be permitted in any prosecution against him to escape conviction by showing or attempting to show that he used diligence to ascertain the age of the child employed. But this effort on his part should be allowed to be proved in mitigation. Our children are our best assets, and whoever deals with them must keep the law.

FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

The Federation of Colored Women's Clubs of Virginia has purchased a farm, upon which will be established an industrial school for delinquent colored girls. This enterprise has the approval of the Board of Charities and Corrections, and I heartily recommend it to the favor of the General Assembly.

INEBRIETY

Inebriety is now a disease and must be so treated, if the reclamation of our unfortunate fellow-citizens is desired. They should not be sent to jail, but should be kept from all intoxicating liquor until it has been thoroughly eliminated from the system; should have plenty of sunshine, fresh air, and wholesome food, and made to work. A colony should be established where inebriates and drug habitués should, under proper rules and regulations, be required to earn their living, and influences should be brought to bear upon these unfortunate people tending to restore their self-respect and manhood.

GIRLS' CANNING AND POULTRY CLUBS

In addition to the demonstration work described above, there has been conducted under the control of the United Agricultural Board the girls' canning and poultry clubs. These clubs are operating in twelve counties under the general supervision of Miss Agnew and are doing fine work. The girls are taught how to work a garden in the most advantageous way, how to preserve and can the products of the garden and orchard, to sew, clean up, cook, and to do anything necessary to make a home comfortable and happy, while with every phase of the work there is a moral uplift which strengthens the characters of the girls and helps to fit them for the responsible position of home makers. The meetings of these clubs are held in the homes of the girls and their influence upon these homes is educational and far-reaching. This work is largely supported by funds through the United States Department of Agriculture, and should be favored by the General Assembly and the United Agricultural Board.

NEGRO GIRLS' GARDEN AND CANNING CLUBS

In fourteen counties of the State, under the supervision and direction of Mr. Jackson Davis, the work by the negro girls' garden and canning clubs is carried on upon substantially the same line, and the same things are taught as to

the white girls' canning and poultry clubs. The clubs are held in the homes of the colored girls, and the mothers soon become as much interested as the girls and interest and enthusiasm are aroused which produce good results. During last year 10,504 jars of fruit and vegetables were put up by girls and 12,269 put up by mothers. Before these clubs were started the fruits and vegetables now canned and used were thrown away or permitted to decay. It is said that these negro girls' garden clubs can be traced by improved fences, whitewashed houses, and other evidences of thrift and industry. The United Agricultural Board was able to render a little assistance to these clubs and is more than satisfied with the results. These clubs are almost entirely supported by contributions from the people of the State and by help from Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute and from the Jeanes Fund.

NEGRO EXPOSITION AT RICHMOND

About the first of December last I had presented to me by four prominent colored citizens of Richmond a report of three expositions held by colored people and at which they made a great showing. One of these expositions was held in New York, to which the State contributed $25,000; one was held at Atlantic City, to which New Jersey contributed $25,000; and one at Philadelphia, to which the State of Pennsylvania contributed $95,000. The report goes on to say:

"After consultation among ourselves, we feel that this is an opportune time for the negroes of Virginia to hold an industrial exposition and place upon exhibit the agricultural, mechanical, and educational products and achievements of the race within the last fifty years. Such an exhibit, in our opinion, would be invaluable to our race and would be an opportunity for the white people of Virginia, who have aided us in every worthy undertaking, to see what we have done and are doing in the solution of the so-called 'problem.' It would attract thousands of white people from the North and West, who have never known the peculiar and satisfactory relations that exist between

the white and colored race in Virginia. It would show to the world how the negroes have prospered under our institutions.

"We therefore most respectfully petition your Excellency, and through you the Legislature of Virginia at its next session, for an appropriation of $25,000 to aid the negroes of Virginia in holding an exposition at Richmond in commemoration of their achievements within the last fifty years."

I think the purpose manifested in the papers submitted and the ambition on the part of the colored people of Virginia to equal, if not surpass, the achievements of their race in the States named should, and I trust will, incline the General Assembly to consider favorably their request for an appropriation to aid them in holding an exposition at Richmond in the near future.

TREATMENT OF CONVICTS IN THE PENITENTIARY

The convicts in our penitentiary are well and kindly treated. The discipline is maintained with as little punishment as possible, and the board and officers of the institution are to be commended.

It seems to me, however, that the time has come when a distinct forward movement in the interest of reformation should be made in addition to the agencies now employed for that purpose, and I recommend the establishment of an evening or night school, in which shall be taught the Bible and such elementary branches and other studies as will promote mental training and produce that pride and self-respect which are necessary elements of character, and thus fit these people, who have broken the law but are still in reach of good influences, for useful participation in actual life.

If the experiment succeeds, vocational training should and doubtless will be added. If a small deduction, in addition to that now allowed, is made from the convict's time of imprisonment for good behavior, and a library of good books and magazines shall be furnished for the use of the prisoners after their tasks are completed, and they are

made to feel that the State cares for them and their welfare, I believe great good will be accomplished. There is sufficient room in the penitentiary building for the school, and an appropriation of five thousand dollars per annum for the next two years out of general funds, to be repaid from the penitentiary surplus, will be sufficient to put this recommendation into effect and demonstrate its value.

Looking to the future, conditions all point to the removal of the penitentiary, sooner or later, to some suitably located farm in the country, where such work can be given the convicts in sunshine and pure air as will break up the habits of dissipation which bring at least seventy-five per cent to the penitentiary, and promote vigorous health and a return to real manhood. With this fact before us, we should purchase sufficient land in some desirable locality and with ample transportation facilities while it can be secured at a reasonable price.

It is not contended that morality and righteousness can be forced into the human mind and heart by legislation; but on the other hand it is believed that by removing temptation from the paths of the weak, by giving them good food, comfortable quarters, plenty of air and sunshine, reasonable but not too hard labor, and above all by giving to these unfortunates that consideration and attention which will awaken a long slumbering but not dead self-respect, the spirit of manhood may be kindled into a flame which will remove the dross of their natures and permit them to stand clear-eyed and unashamed in the presence of their fellow men.

THE HOME

In conclusion, as the home is the fountain of civic life and civic righteousness, the opinion is ventured that upon the home, as most important of all, the efforts of those who seek to benefit and elevate their fellow men should be turned, that to obtain entry into the homes of our people, and so act as to secure the respect and confidence of the mothers and fathers and so be able to influence them in the right direction, is a work of intelligence, tact, self-denial, and almost infinite love; but once there we have

open to us and can act upon the sources of life. When these fountains commence to be purified, little by little the stream of humanity going from them will become clean and healthy. Boys and girls from pure and righteous homes carry with them the strength of virtue, the consistency of truth, the love of those things which are of good report, the fear of evil and hatred of sin. If this great country could be divided into districts, each in charge of a home lover, and wise, systematic work could be done, the need for places of reformation would largely disappear, the enemies of humanity would be met at the gate instead of at the back door, the principle of preventive medicine would be applied to preventive evil, and the world would soon have higher ideals and better citizenship. To a considerable extent the effect of this home influence has been demonstrated by our girls' garden and canning clubs, to which allusion has been made, and it is honestly believed that therein lies, to a very large extent, the solution of segregated districts, the promotion of temperance, the advance of righteousness, and the love and service of God.

II. THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL SERVICE

Report of the Committee on the Church and Social Service

The Present Social Order in Conflict with the Ideals of the Church

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The New Profession of Social Service and the Training of Social Workers

The Preparation of Ministers for Social Service

The Preparation of a Church for Social Service

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL SERVICE

REV. JOHN A. RICE, D.D., CHAIRMAN, FORT WORTH, TEX.

INSTEAD of a sweeping survey of the field in the South, I have chosen to present to you a report of work done in one individual church, as a sort of type now possible everywhere.

The one word upon the lips of all social workers is "education." The feeling is growing everywhere that the people must be taught. The feeling is also growing that the Church must come to a larger place in this important work, through the education of the masses. Countless thousands under the tuition of the Church never see the college or the university, never see even the high school. Have we no message for them? Is there no service we can perform in equipping them for more efficient living? Shall we undertake to educate the few while the many go untouched? I have come to the conclusion that the most powerful single educating agency outside of the common schools is the local church. There is no vital subject through the whole range of human interest that might not be brought through this channel to bear upon the life of every congregation. The Church must now become the middleman between the university and the people. If this is to be done, a thorough reorganization of the educational side of the local work is necessary.

All the great denominations have therefore appointed committees to work out plans, both for the local congregations and the general Church. This indicates a growing conviction that we yet have undreamed-of possibilities in the Sunday school and its adjuncts. I personally believe the time has come to change the name "Sunday School" to "School of the Church," "Church School," or "Department of Religious Education in the Local Church," and to change the names of the officers to correspond with this general conception. The following work is now in progress in First Methodist Church, Fort Worth, Tex.:

TRAINED MOTHERHOOD

We have organized our mothers into a council whose purpose is to increase the efficiency of the home. They supervise a Sunday school class which studies not only the Bible but also child life and welfare, household economics, eugenics, etc., and have lectures by specialists. They buy the graded lesson books and study them with their children and make it possible for the teachers to coöperate with them in the religious training of their children. They have also a Thursday class which studies at present the Montessori system as applied to the home. They go together with their children at intervals to the woods and study nature under an expert who shows mothers and children what to see and how to see it. Occasional conferences are devoted to practical problems.

GRADED INSTRUCTION

We are trying to use the Bible as a real source book of religious education, adapting its rich pedagogical material to the epochs of the child's life, to the changing interests of infancy and youth. We are therefore using the graded literature in all departments.

The educational activities of the Church are correlated under a Committee on Religious Education, composed of the pastor, the superintendent of the Sunday school, a representative from the Board of Stewards, the Woman's Missionary Society, the Epworth League, the Brotherhood, and the Church at large. The Director of Religious Education has charge of the whole.

GRADED WORSHIP

The individual repeats in his life the history of the race, epoch for epoch. The child lives in the world of sense, begins with animism, and passes through all the varying stages of primitive religions, including paganism. Our teaching and our appeal must therefore be made in terms of these advancing interests, if it is to be effective; and worship must express the real life of the child, must feed the predominant hungers. As these hungers change, the

forms of worship must change with them. The child must be helped to unfold according to the laws of its own life. The regular church service does not meet these needs. The fact that eighty-five per cent of our church members come from the Sunday school, eighty-five per cent of the pupils do not attend church, and at least forty per cent disappear forever, and that Jesus is present in the consciousness of as low as five per cent of conversions, would in the business world compel immediate attention. We are therefore grading our worship in three separate simultaneous services. At the 11-o'clock hour a competent nurse cares for those under two and a half in a nursery fitted up for the purpose, thus enabling mothers to attend church. From two and a half to seven they are trained in self-expression by means of the Montessori apparatus, clay-modeling, songs, nature work, story-telling, etc. The aim here is to teach concentration, self-command, and lead them through the senses to God.

From seven to fourteen they worship together in the Junior Church, which is organized with a board of stewards, board of ushers, a choir, a secretary and treasurer. They have a full service suited to their needs, including proper songs, responsive reading, a sermon—all conducted by the Director of Religious Education, who is their pastor. Their interest is steadily deepening, their numbers growing, and the effect is tonic upon the whole congregation. It is bringing men out who come with their boys. The children are devoted to what each calls "My church." At least one-third of the hundred and fifty or more converts in our recent revival came from the Junior Church.

GRADED EXPRESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Insight outruns power to act in youth. Boys and girls see much farther than they can do. How then shall we bring up the will? What is unexpressed dies. And each stage of life to be conserved must be expressed in terms of its own capacities and interests. But no complete list of things that can be done at each stage of development has yet been made. Our boys under twelve are organized

into the "Brotherhood of David," those over twelve into the "Boy Scouts," and the girls into the "Camp Fire Girls." We are beginning to organize the "gangs" in certain neighborhoods for Bible study, gardening, etc. The organized classes are directing their expressional activities into lines of social service. We have baseball teams and other means of recreation and play.

TRAINED LEADERS

We have electrified our Wednesday evenings by making the first fifteen minutes a strong devotional meeting; the next thirty minutes I am talking on "How We Got Our Bible," after which we break up into classes in the Bible, psychology, Church history, missions and social service, household bacteriology, and such other subjects as are helpful in the art of living rationally and efficiently. These courses will be changed from time to time and will alternate so that each can take all. Still other classes ramify from these. We have one of eighty-five on Tuesdays studying Browning, Tennyson, and the Bible, and another of thirty-five studying Dante and the Bible. Yet others will be organized. We are trying to act as middlemen between the university and the people in matters vital. Friday evenings are open to free lectures on the fine arts, civics, welfare work, etc. We call it "Fine Arts Evening."

THE DIRECTOR OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

We are fortunate to have as Director of Religious Education a graduate of Yale, who has charge of all these educational activities. This office must now be recognized as necessary to an efficient city church.

We have the city cut up into fourteen sections, in charge of fourteen captains, all men but one. These captains have under them fourteen teams. Last Sunday, for example, we had a consecration service at the close of the morning service. I called for those who were willing to give the afternoon to an every-member campaign among the people. About seventy-five men responded, and in a beautiful spirit presented themselves as ready to go at the bidding of the

Church. By this movement we were able to reach almost every home in our entire charge and the men all greatly enjoyed the work. The members of the teams were sent out by their captains, two by two, street by street. This organization enables the pastor to touch the whole church in a few hours, although we have some fifteen hundred members.

RESULTS

The effects are visible on every hand. More than three hundred people are instructed in classes between Sundays. The whole atmosphere of the church has changed. A new spirit is born. A desire to help others is finding spontaneous expression all over the congregation. We have groups of people who visit and carry flowers to the jails, do friendly visiting among the poor, conduct Sunday schools, keep in touch with the city administration, the almshouse, hospitals, etc. We have others who teach in the social settlement and help the unemployed and the needy. The stirring of the emotions without adequate outlet may be damaging, but a people who once yield fully to our glorious evangel, and become well established, can never go back, can never again escape the compelling charm of the Master's call to self-sacrificing service.

THE PRESENT SOCIAL ORDER IN CONFLICT WITH THE IDEALS OF THE CHURCH

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I HAVE been given thirty minutes for the discussion of the theme which has been assigned me—a broad subject and a very brief time. The subject is somewhat unfortunately worded for a brief discussion. It would require some very exact definitions and nice discriminations. In the first place, it would be difficult to define the Church. The

word is used in different senses, some very broad and some very narrow. A great deal of the confusion in the discussion of the sphere and functions of the Church is due to the failure to discriminate between the Church as an organized body, exercising her functions through her courts and officers, and the Church as simply a collective term for her individual members and adherents. If we were asked, "The ideals of what Church?" it would take some little time to answer the question.

It would be more difficult to say just what are the ideals of the Church. There is no Church considered as an entity existing apart from her constituent members standing in certain relations to one another. The ideals of the Church are the ideals of her members, or at least the ruling and influential class of them, at any given period in her history or in any particular division of the Church. What the ideals of the Church are and what they ought to be are two very different questions. The ideals of the Church have varied very widely in different ages of the Church, and still do so in different portions. There is no form of privilege by which men have been enabled to exploit their fellow men that has not at one time or another received the sanction of the Church.

The divine right of kings, the divine ordination of hereditary ranks and classes, and the divine institution of slavery have all been upheld by ecclesiastics, if not held as doctrines of the Church. Even to-day some of those economic and political doctrines which most obstruct social progress are supposed to rest upon the authority of the Scriptures and to be sanctioned by Divine warrant.

The Church, as an organized institution, has always been one of the most conservative forces in history. In every great revolutionary crisis in history the orthodox and established Church of that day has sided with the existing order. Political as well as ecclesiastical reformers have been branded as heretics. The Church has not only defended her own forms, rituals, and creeds inherited from the past, but has lent her aid in resisting attacks upon existing political and economic institutions.

And yet, paradoxical as it may sound, out of the Church itself have come some of the most progressive, the most radical, the most revolutionary forces in history. Even where these forces have seemed to come from without the Church, they may be traced, sooner or later, to the influence of the Church itself. Such forces have not only reformed the government, creed, and rituals of the Church itself, but they have been potent in the reformation of political and economic institutions. It is more than probable that in the present conflict, when the real battle is engaged (for as yet the fight is barely begun), the Church will be found divided as in the past.

It will simplify and abbreviate our discussion therefore to change the wording of the subject to "The Present Social Order in Conflict with the Ideals of Christianity, or with Christian Ethics."

The term "Social Order" again needs definition. Surely it must mean something more than social conditions. To show that present social conditions are in conflict with the ideals of Christianity it would only be necessary to enumerate existing evils. The real question is whether there are organic principles at the very basis of the existing social order which obstruct progress toward the Christian ideal.

Fortunately there is very little difficulty in defining the Christian ideal, if we shun the difficulties of speculative theology and metaphysical ethics, and confine ourselves to a common sense interpretation of the plain teachings of Jesus Christ.

The Christian ideal is primarily and fundamentally personal and individual. The perfect man, of which Christ himself is the great example, is the ideal of Christian ethics. To save individual men and women from sin and to bring them into conformity with this ideal was the purpose of Christ himself, and it is the task which he has committed to his followers and to his Church. Christian ethics knows nothing of any "over-individual"—whether it be called humanity, society, the state, the Church, or the kingdom of heaven—existing apart from or above the constituent persons. The moral and spiritual welfare of the

individual person is not to be sacrificed to any of these abstractions. Duty to society, to the state, or to the Church is duty toward the persons who constitute them, through and by means of organic institutions. Since all such institutions and organic relations are essential to the moral and spiritual welfare of individual men and women, they are proximate ends of conduct, but they in turn are means to the welfare of individual persons. The good man is not merely a means to some cosmic, divine, or social ideal, but is an end in himself. He is an end to himself and to others, an end worthy not only of human striving but we may reverently say of the highest exercise of divine power, wisdom, love, and justice. And this is true without respect of persons. Not only is there no distinction between Jew and Gentile, between Greek and barbarian, but none of race, rank, talent, or genius. The intrinsic moral value of the man is not conditioned upon any of these distinctions. There is no spiritual aristocracy to whose moral welfare all beneath are servants. On the contrary, the greatest is the servant of the least. The higher the rank the greater the number of those beneath to whom the service of love is due.

Nor is there any serious difficulty in the definition of the "good man." Jesus Christ has not only exemplified this ideal in his own person, but he has defined it in a few simple sentences more clearly than all the ethical philosophers from Aristotle to Green have done with their profound metaphysical reasonings. The good man is one who loves God with all his heart and his neighbor as himself, even though that neighbor be a Samaritan; the man who loves the truth and who loves righteousness. In Christian ethics love, justice, and truth are the intrinsic moral attributes, constitutive of character and regulative of conduct. To perfect these attributes in the greatest possible number of men and women, to bring all the desires, affections, and sentiments of human nature into harmony with these, and to produce the greatest amount of *that kind* of happiness of which a virtuous character is the ground and condition, constitutes the end of Christian ethics. The moral value of all acts,

conduct, and habits of individuals, of all social customs, laws, and institutions, is determined by their utility to this end.

Nevertheless the Christian ideal is a social ideal. Christian ethics knows no more of a good man existing apart from the social relations than it does of a society existing apart from its constituent individuals. Thomas Hill Green exactly expressed the truth of Christian ethics when he said: "Without society no persons—that is as true as that without persons there could be no such society as we know." The very attributes, love, justice, and truth, which are essential elements of the definition of the personal ideal, imply the social relations. They are born with the social relations, are the bond of those relations, and develop with those relations. The moral sentiments and the social relations reciprocally condition one another. As the traits of love, justice, and truth develop in the individual, they not only bind him more closely to his fellows, but to an ever-increasing number of them, and in an ever-increasing complexity of relations of interdependence and reciprocal service. This expansion of social relations, in turn, serves to expand, intensify, and strengthen the moral powers of the soul.

But the social ideal is not the mere sum of individual ideals. While society is not an abstract entity existing apart from its constituent individuals, yet it is more than a mere aggregation of those individuals. It is an organism, in which different persons stand in different relations and exercise different functions toward one another and to the social body. The family is the fundamental social organism, and out of that grows the tribe, the state, the nation. With them develop diversity of gifts, functions, and relations between individuals and the social organism.

Finally, as the result of the advance of civilization, grows the whole human organism, always tending to approach greater solidarity and unity. As the individual is thus brought into wider and closer relations to his fellows and to society as a whole, his influence upon the moral welfare of society, and through its institutions upon the moral wel-

fare of other persons, increases at the same time with his dependence upon other persons, upon society and social institutions for his own welfare. A better state of society can only be brought about by making better men and women, but a better state of society helps to make better men and women. The betterment of the organic institutions and the purification of social relations therefore become a moral end. The social ideal is the embodiment of the principles of love, justice, and truth in all the relations, laws, and institutions of society. As in the individual the body with desires and appetites must be made the servant of the soul, so in the social body all economic and civil institutions and methods by which man's physical needs are served must be subordinated to those which promote the moral welfare of the race. The material welfare must be made the servant of the moral welfare of the social organism, and not the reverse. Economics, politics, and jurisprudence must be reinterpreted under the categories of ethics and religion to make them contributory to the moral and spiritual welfare of mankind. The social organism must be leavened with the same principles which constitute individual character until it becomes the kingdom of heaven. The Christian ideal of the perfect man therefore necessarily involves the Christian social ideal of the kingdom of heaven.

Now what have social conditions, especially political and economic conditions, or all those which are called secular, to do with the promotion or hindrance of these Christian ideals? They have a great deal to do with it. But it is just here that we find ourselves between the fires of two contending armies. On the one side we have the socialists of the materialistic school who maintain that economic conditions have everything to do with man's moral welfare. Man is the product of his environment. If he is bad, it is only because his environment is bad; change that environment and he will become a good man. As that environment is material, all that is necessary to bring a Utopian millennium is an economic revolution under socialistic principles. We may pass this with the remark that it is diffi-

cult to see how, on such a fatalistic theory, any force is to arise which will make a good environment out of bad men or good men out of bad environment; how a system which, confessedly, must have begun in brute selfishness can develop any altruism or philanthropy which would better social conditions. On the other side we have the orthodox and conservative element of the Church, who are jealous of any emphasis upon the effect of economic conditions upon man's moral and spiritual welfare; and that, strange to say, for two reasons that are quite as difficult to reconcile with one another as either is with the effect of a social environment.

On the one hand it is feared that undue emphasis upon social influences may destroy the doctrine of man's freedom and obscure the personal responsibility for his own character; on the other side it is feared that it will belittle the doctrines of Divine grace, of the work of the Holy Spirit in regeneration and sanctification, of the redeeming work of Christ, and lead to the neglect of all the spiritual influences necessary to man's salvation from sin. For these reasons the more conservative element in the Church even now are viewing with alarm and suspicion this whole movement for social reform. The question is dividing every branch of the Church into conservatives and progressives on a new issue. This difference is seen, not only in the work at home, but also in the foreign mission fields. A missionary to Alaska in the early days found that his work among the Eskimos was hopeless until he could develop their family life. He wrote to his Board for tools and materials to teach them to build houses. He was curtly informed that he had been sent to preach the gospel, not to teach the Indians how to build houses. Whereupon he resigned and devoted himself to preparing the way for other missionaries. Boards of Foreign Missions have learned something since that time, but the same spirit is manifested in other matters.

The speculative reconciliation of the doctrine of human freedom and responsibility with the efficiency of Divine grace on the one hand and with the causal influence of en-

vironment on the other is too difficult a question for us to enter into here. Philosophers and theologians have wrestled with this problem for thousands of years, and have not solved it yet; and what is more, they never will solve it. It is enough to say in passing that this is a metaphysical puzzle which grows out of the attempt of man to view himself as an object in nature, coördinate with other objects, and to affirm the same kind of causal relations between himself and his objective environment as between objects in that environment, or else to deny any causal relation at all. This is as impossible as to get up and look at ourselves from behind, or to take out our own eyes and look at them. Causality and freedom as thus viewed are not realities, but shadow images of the realities of which we are immediately self-conscious. The dilemma of necessitarianism and indeterminism is not a real dilemma, but only apparently so.

In discussing the moral influence of social conditions we seem to be regarding the character of the individual as the necessary product of such influences; but in urging the duty of the individual to aid in the reformation of such social conditions we must assume his freedom. Common sense finds no practical difficulty in assuming these points of view alternately, but philosophy never has been and never will be able to see both causality and freedom at the same instant and from the same point of view.

A system of nature in which man is a passive object among other objects could never produce either righteousness or sin. It is the power of will which gives moral meaning to the solicitations received from environment as well as to the ensuing reaction upon that environment. Nature's forces do not enter and pass through the human soul merely to emerge again unchanged. In that passage they have acquired something that cannot be estimated as a physical force.

That there is a reciprocal causal relation between character and environment is a fact beyond all possibility of refutation. There are social conditions which encourage virtue and there are others which produce vice by the

wholesale; yet the same results would not follow, either for virtue or vice, if man were the passive product of his environment. The most conservative of the Churches recognize these facts in their insistence upon the sanctity of the home, the influence of parental teaching and example, and so on. And well they may, for out of such homes, it is safe to say, the Church gets the vast majority of her members. But the moral influence of the home is affected by economic conditions. How can there be a home when a man cannot earn enough in a day's labor to support a wife and children? How can there be any family training when not only the father and the mother, but the little children themselves, are compelled to work from ten to twelve hours a day in factories and sweatshops to obtain a bare sustenance? More than this, these classes have too much reason for their complaint that the gospel itself is preached to them by hirelings of the capitalistic class and that the Church is trying to bribe them to submit to the wrongs they endure in this life by promises of a life to come. The Church must prove her sincerity by seeking to save men from the hells in this world if she would have them hear her message of a life beyond the grave. The duty can no longer be postponed; the day has come when the Church must seek the reformation of social conditions, the purification of social relations and institutions, the abolition of political and economic abuses, the realization of her Master's social ideal of the kingdom of heaven on earth. The power and influence of the Church upon succeeding generations, not to say her life, depend upon her faithfulness in the discharge of this task.

Now what is there in the social order that is in conflict with these ideals of the Church? I must specialize the economic order, not only because my time is brief, but because that is receiving especial attention at this time, and because it is now seen that that is just where the trouble lies. Our fathers addressed themselves to the reformation of the political order. It was supposed that if the political order was reformed the economic order would adjust itself. We have awakened to the fact that under the forms of

constitutional government and political freedom there is the possibility of an economic despotism more tyrannical than the military and of an economic slavery worse than chattel slavery and serfdom. The political system is simply a means to the economic, and we are now beginning to see that the economic order is simply a means to the ethical order. The reformation of the political order does nothing more than clear the way for the reformation of the economic, and when we shall have succeeded in reforming the economic order we shall find that we have done nothing more than to remove obstructions and to provide the essential means and conditions for the working of moral and spiritual forces toward the perfection of the ethical order.

Our present social order is in conflict with the ideals of Christianity because the organic principle of our economic system is selfishness, whereas the organic principle of the kingdom of heaven is love. In our system he who needs most must serve him who has the most; in the kingdom of heaven he who has most must serve him who needs most. In the existing system superiority of strength, of intellectual ability, of social or official rank, enable the higher to compel the lower to minister to their pleasure; in the ideal social order they would be the means by which the higher would seek to raise the lower to their own social level.

Now self-interest is not the same thing as selfishness, nor does the principle of benevolence toward our fellow man necessarily preclude a legitimate regard for our own interest. Life, liberty, and property are essential means to the moral welfare of the individual, and when they are sought and used as a means to that end it is the duty of the individual to defend those rights against the wrongdoer, and it is the duty of society to protect the individual in the legitimate exercise of those rights. But from the very nature of the moral end as defined in Christian ethics, the use of such rights for such an end not only does not conflict with the moral welfare of other individuals and of the social organism, but tends rather to promote it. The individual cannot seek his own moral welfare without making himself a better servant of society, nor can he seek the

moral welfare of his fellows without making himself a better man. The progress of civilization in the sciences and the arts, by multiplying the resources of nature, would tend to make the conditions of life easier, to do away with the struggle for the means of a bare existence, and thus would tend to reconcile all conflicts between the legitimate self-interest of individuals or between the interest of the individual and that of the social body.

When pleasure is made the chief end of life, self-interest becomes selfishness. The direction of the moral progress of society is reversed and tends rather to the development of selfishness and sin. The struggle for the possession of the resources of nature, so far from being pacified by the progress of civilization, becomes more intense. For with that progress man not only increases his means of satisfying the wants which he already has, but he increases his wants. With the development of his nature come new capacities for pleasure. Now if those pleasures be made the chief end of life and the desire of pleasure its ruling motive, not only are man's natural appetites and desires subverted by the desire of pleasure, but they are perverted and depraved by it. This desire for pleasure enslaves every desire, affection, and sentiment which can be made to serve it, and makes war upon all that will not submit to its tyranny. It is an enemy to every will of love, justice, or truth, human or divine, which resists it. Those endowed by nature with superior physical strength or intellectual cunning use these gifts for the exploitation of their fellow men to gratify their own inordinate and selfish desires for pleasure. Money, rank, and power are sought exclusively as means to pleasure. The slave must sweat for his master's ease, the peasant must be taxed to build the palaces and support the courtesans of his prince, thousands of poor men must toil to make one man rich. Nor does the process stop when the selfish man has acquired all and more than he can spend on his own pleasure and that of his satellites. The love of money itself becomes an insatiable craving. The millionaire must become a multimillionaire, and the multimillionaire would not be satisfied if he became a billionaire.

The vice of our economic system is that it not only encourages selfishness, but compels selfishness. It not only gives a tremendous advantage to the willfully selfish man who deliberately seeks wealth and power to gratify his own desires for pleasure, but necessitates a struggle between those who would otherwise be unselfish for the necessary means to the moral welfare of themselves and their families. It not only gives our bad motives an advantage over our good ones, but necessitates a conflict between our good motives. Love of home conflicts with patriotism, love of family with philanthropy. It not only encourages war between the good and bad elements of society, but puts good men and women at odds with one another. In seeking to defend ourselves and our families against the selfish man, we must fight one another. To support and educate my family I must buy my clothes as cheaply as I can get them. To get my custom my storekeeper must buy as cheaply as possible, the jobber must buy as cheaply as possible from the manufacturer, and he must pay as little as possible for his raw material and for his labor. *Sweat shops are an inevitable result of bargain counters.* The laborer must organize to protect his rights against the selfishness of capital, and in doing so he must injure the consumer. The result is that our whole economic system is a war. It may be a civilized war, its horrors may to some extent be palliated by amendments of the code of war, but it is war none the less; and war, under the best of circumstances, is hell for somebody. The development of money as a medium of exchange, in all its forms, not only of silver and gold, bank notes and currency, but of stocks and bonds, has intensified this struggle. While essential to the advance of civilization, it has rendered possible an inequality in the distribution of wealth which would have been impossible under any system of immediate exchange of values. The economic system thus developed gives a tremendous and utterly unfair advantage to that class who engage in the financial operations which facilitate the exchange of values. Not only the capitalist who has earned and saved his capital, but the promoter, the stock-

broker, and the speculator accumulate enormous fortunes at the expense of their fellow men. Not only by the appropriation of nature's resources and the monopoly of the machines for their manufacture and transportation, but by the watering of stocks, the manipulation of stock markets, and the corruption of politics, a very small portion of the social body are enabled to acquire the stocks and bonds which represent the greater part of the wealth of the people without giving even a fractional proportion of value to society in their own labor. We have long passed the stage where money is a simple medium of exchange of service for service, of value for value. It is a means of enslaving the needy and of seducing the covetous. Precisely because money can be acquired without labor and can gratify every selfish and corrupt desire, the love of it has become the most consummate and diabolical form of human selfishness and a root of every kind of evil.

Now what is the remedy? I cannot answer this question, not only because I have not the time, but because I do not know. My own department of thought is ethics, and while I have a very clear conviction of the true ethical end, I do not pretend to know what are necessary political and economic means to the attainment of that end. It is the task of the moralists to define the ethical end and of the preachers to quicken the motives which will prompt men to seek that end rather than their own pleasure; but it is the task of the economists and financiers, of the statesmen and of the jurists, animated by unselfish motives, to devise the necessary political and economic means to the attainment of that end. This must be said, however: that there never will be an adequate provision of the means without a clear definition of the end. False ethical theories, by an inevitable logic, lead to false economic and political theories. President Hadley in a recent article* says: "There was no necessary antagonism between utilitarianism and Christianity." If he uses the word in its traditional sense of

*"Education and the New Morality," *Religious Educator*, April, 1914.

Hedonistic utilitarianism, there is diametrical opposition between it and Christianity. Hedonism, or that system of ethics which conditions the moral value of virtue upon its utility to pleasure, is essentially an egoistic and individualistic system, and every altruistic and universalistic modification of it in modern ethics is inconsistent with its fundamental tenet. Selfishness is the type to which it inevitably tends to revert whenever the influence of Christian morality and idealistic ethics is removed. It will make a tremendous difference in our economic and political systems whether we regard them as means to the greatest amount of pleasure to the greatest number of people or as means to producing the greatest number of good men and women. Our economic problems will never be settled until they are settled *right,* and that means not only intellectually but morally right.

Whether some form of socialism or communistic ownership of natural resources, of the means for its manufacture and of the facilities for its transportation and distribution, may prove to be the only or the best means for the attainment of the ethical end of society, is not for the moralist to say. But this is certain, that no form of socialism will of itself cure the evils of society or consummate the social ideal. Even if it prove to be the right system, the most that it can do is to open the way for the more effective operation of moral and spiritual forces. But if socialism in some form should prove to be the only or the best economic method for the attainment of the ethical end, then by all means let us have socialism. The day is past when men can be frightened from the investigation of the truth by the mere prejudice against a name. But if socialists expect a favorable consideration of their doctrines from the Christian elements of society, they must divorce that unnatural and illogical union between true socialistic principles and the doctrines of materialism and atheism which has been brought about by some of its advocates.

Another thing is clear, that the Christian ideal of society can never be brought about by force. Force is itself an appeal to selfish motives, and cannot therefore bring about

a state of society whose organic principle is brotherly love. Force is necessary indeed to remove obstructions and hindrances. If the selfish man cannot be persuaded to promote the moral progress of society, he must be made to stand out of its way.

For the same reason we cannot promote the social ideal by indiscriminate denunciation of the rich and powerful, by inflaming class hatred, and arraying class against class. Some of the bitterest foes of our present social system are animated by motives as selfish and corrupt as the motives of some of those who uphold it. If we ally ourselves with this element and aid in their triumph, we shall find that we have merely turned society upside down without making it any better, to say the least.

Nor will this movement ever be successful unless we can enlist in our cause some of the very men against whom we are now fighting. No struggle for the people's cause was ever successful without the aid of some of those whose self-interest alone would have allied them with the class of the oppressors. To enlist them we must appeal to their philanthropy and sense of justice against their own selfishness. The financial and political leaders of coming generations must ally themselves in syndicates and political parties, not for the purpose of increasing their own wealth and power, but for the purpose of bettering the social conditions of the whole people. It is equally clear that this reformation cannot be brought about by individuals acting severally. The evils have been brought about by selfish men acting together for their common self-interest; they must be reformed by the coöperation of unselfish men acting for the interest of the whole people. One Ford, however inspiring his example, cannot effect a revolution in business methods. When the same motives which have brought this body together actuate political conventions, legislatures, and congresses, financial meetings of stockholders and directors, and syndicates of capitalists as well as labor unions, then, and not until then, may we feel that the answer is approaching to our prayer, *"Thy kingdom come."*

Nor is this now universally regarded as a millennial or Utopian dream. The number is increasing every day of those who believe that the ideals of Jesus are the goal of human history. Events are transpiring which are convincing many of the skeptics that the principles of the kingdom of heaven can be put into practice in the relations between employer and employee, between the capitalist and the laborer, the producer and the consumer, between rulers and their people, between nation and nation. The past century witnessed the abolition of slavery in civilized lands, which, at the beginning of the century, was thought to be impossible. The present century will witness the abolition of many evils now thought to be ineradicable. War is one of them. The liquor traffic is another. Child labor is another. Commercialized prostitution may be another. Let us hope and pray and work that economic slavery and poverty may be added to this list.

THE SOCIAL MESSAGE OF THE CHURCH TO MODERN INDUSTRY

REV. C. A. WATERFIELD, PARIS, TENN.

I

IN the ancient Book of its origins the Church is designated variously as—

The House of God,
The Place of Prayer,
The Sanctuary,
The Assembly of the Righteous,
The Flock of God,
The Temple,
The Jewish Community,
The Body of Christ,
The Bride of the Lord,
The Congregation of the Saints,
The Body of Believers,
The Holy City.

These dozen designations, and perhaps as many more, are from this source alone. Assuredly there has been no want of effort in the literature of religion to give name to this organ of religion. Yet the effort nowhere even approaches success; and the result, notwithstanding the wealth of poetic, philosophic, and practical suggestion lavished upon it, is left fragmentary and unfinished.

In the centuries that have followed the ultimate description has remained equally as elusive. Whether regarded as the politico-ecclesiastical establishment of Moses, as the spiritual fabric built by Christ on the fisherman's confession, or as the ganglion center of our modern mingled reverence and complaint, there has been found no word or way of thinking in modern life with which one may feel sure at once of grasping and of setting forth this historic and elemental institution. She has been with us from of old, seldom satisfactory, never negligible. On the human side, she is like a sort of wife of the world, sometimes hard to be got on with, always impossible to be got on without. She may be feared, fought, hated, adored, but not despised. And she is with us this day, the greatest institution, looked at every way, amongst men; to be reckoned with by all who think, or work, or care.

Why not be glad that she is not so rigidly definable? The growthless image of Diana, that fell from heaven at Ephesus, was that. Why not understand that the Church, the real, the living Church, whom "age cannot wither nor custom stale," does not seek to set up for one time and country the definitions and ideals of another time and country? Why not dare hope that the Church was from the beginning intended by her God to be all that men, her sons, through all their passing generations, should need her to be? Why not dare say that there has been at last found what has been well named the common denominator of all these multiplied denominations; and that that common denominator consists of the actual religious, social, and industrial lives being at any given time lived by their members? In this day of self-adding and self-subtracting machines, men of the world are no longer left incapable of reducing the re-

ligious appeals and the ecclesiastical claims of the churches to this common denominator. And in the sequel it will be found that the Master's paradox, "Whosoever willeth to save his life shall lose it; but he that loseth his life for the sake of others shall save it," is no less applicable to churches than to individuals.

To raise the value of this common denominator, to enrich the volume of this common service, to bear onward the banner of this common life on the earth together—this is the determining law of a church, as power is the determining law of an engine, or beauty of a flower. And in this function and effort, whatever the false emphasis which for a time she may have seemed to put on some one side of the truth, she has achieved a record unmatched and is invested with an opportunity unparalleled. The fraternal orders are proud to dispute with her a fragment of her beneficent program, and to borrow of her oil of consolation in the hour of death when the Bridegroom comes; the great journals plume their editorial pages with the stolen glory of her good tidings; and what secret society or modern brotherhood can offer to a loyal son of the living Church a single additional incentive to what he already possesses for a just and generous bearing unto any other man? The highest and best instance of brotherhood and social service which the world has witnessed, or will soon witness, is the foreign missionary program which she has pursued for centuries before we had even discovered our like problems at home. There is not a ligament of the larger minded modern relations of men that did not grow up out of the gospel she has urged through the ages. And the best ideals and the best language of men, when they have supposed that they have cast her off, and have gone apart in special industrial or social organizations to realize their own ends, have been always unconsciously re-convertible into the very speech with which her whole history has been saturated, and into the very ideals with which her whole career has been crowned.

In a newly settled and exclusive suburb of a leading Southern city, less than a decage ago, there was no church.

The people were just throwing the slopes into additions, and selling the additions in lots. Concrete walks superseded gullies, terraces shouldered away the ragged hack forests, and houses multiplied as in fairyland. These things, together with the journeys down-town to clip their coupons or select their furniture, consumed the neighborhood interest for five years. They had burnt out on musicales, lectures, and theaters before having moved out there. The Sunday newspaper; little formal, tiresome journeys down to the city churches, which however, gradually ceased; a day of lounging, mixed with some interchange of aimless visits—these wore the day of rest and religion wearily away. And there was a neighborhood as dumb, awkward, and miserable as any backwoods-village party, when the boys and girls are "on the jury," and nobody has risen to the emergency of stirring them up.

But there came a day when that was precisely what took place. Something happened to them from outside themselves. One of these denominations, with the least possible solicitation from the citizens, thrust out an arm and dropped at the mouth of one of their best streets an insignificant-looking little portable church building. It appeared piously hopeless, celestially quixotic; but a few of the children, afterwards some youth and women, then strong men and everybody, crowded the little chapel till it was doubled in size, and filled again, and again enlarged. That was not five years ago. To-day they have a handsome building enterprise, a vigorous, enthusiastic membership, an aggressive young minister specially fitted for the very needs of such a congregation. The old Church followed them, overtook them, and, re-discovering them to themselves, became to them what they most needed.

"City of God, how broad and far
Outspread thy walls sublime!
The true thy chartered freemen are,
Of every age and clime.

"How purely hath thy speech come down
From man's primeval youth!
How grandly hath thine empire grown
Of freedom, love, and truth!"

II

Of Industry also, it may be said that she is from of old, has been gifted with a manifold expression, yet has never come into her own. The spirit of toil has had the whole of human history for her workshop, and for her temple the four walls of the world.

Of Labor, no less than of Religion, might the seer have said:

"The Lord formed me in the beginning of his way,
Before the hills was I brought forth;
While as yet he had not made the earth,
Nor the fields,
Nor the beginning of the dust of the world.

"When he established the heavens, I was there;
When he set a circle upon the face of the deep;
When he made firm the skies above:
When the fountains of the deep became strong:
When he gave to the sea its bound,
That the waters should not transgress his commandment.

"When he marked out the foundations of the earth,
Then I was by him,
As a master workman
—And my delight was with the sons of men."

But whilst the Church has kindled the altars of her superstition Industry has clanked the chains of her slavery. If the Church has suffered the curse of priestcraft, Industry has bitten the dust of peonage. And as the Church is seen to-day, coming from the inside of the world's sacristy, casting off the impeding gown of her excessive individualism, to enter her larger service and to claim her richer reward, Industry is seen coming from the outside and knocking at the doors of the world's conscience with the petition that she be permitted to help build that kingdom of God for which we have all been, after some fashion, praying. And with that petition she brings along the just claim that while the workingman of America is now receiving an average daily wage of a dollar and a half, a just division of the increase of wealth he is helping to produce in this country year by year would yield him from ten to

twelve dollars per day. And if neither God nor man has any use for a church which does not serve to lift and gladden human life, what shall be said or thought of these modern temples of toil with their smoking altar-forges of human sacrifice? What difference, though their smokestacks are a hundred feet high and we call them factories? Are we, with all our boasted prosperity, no further along than when John Stuart Mill, a century ago, reminded us that all the machinery ever invented had never lifted a single burden from human society? Or are we just arriving where Goldsmith said England was when he wrote that melancholy indictment of English aristocracy—

> "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates and men decay?"

Surely, from the Adamic doom, be it evil or good, that in the sweat of their face men should eat bread, Industry also has been intended by a God that wrought the world to be all that the sons and the daughters of men should need her to be. And Gerald Stanley Lee, in his wonderful book, "Crowds," is right: There is really considerable spiritual truth in having enough to eat.

III

As for the call of the new social order, why not?

Do men longer, with their own hands, toss wheat up in the air, that the wind may drive the chaff from it? Or stampede armies by pitchers with torches in them? Or ride to Congress horseback? Or weave their own cottonade trousers? Has there not been a process of combination and coöperation in trade, production, and the making of money? And shall life be made social in production and commerce, but not in distribution and human service? Shall legislatures be social-wise in the way of getting there, but not in the effect of getting laws that make life reasonable and decent? Shall banks, biscuit factories, and perfume companies be social-minded and social-handed in clipping off more dividends, turning out more ovens, filling the earth with the smell of their prosperity, whilst bent women

and cowed little children and muttering, unbrothered men scowl by, shedding the murk of their dim lives into our windows? Can we not pass each other in the streets without knocking the skin off each other as we go by? Can this nation long endure half social and half savage?

What is prosperity? One man of my acquaintance said a year ago that it was something that a man could have to share with another man, and straightway he went out and took a corner policeman out of a beating cold rain and put on him the best rubber outfit to be found.

What is the kingdom of God? Jesus said it was that thing that happened one day when a big business man came down out of his high place in a sycamore tree and with a new light in his face cried: "I'll give half my fortune to the unfortunate; and if I have taken anything from anybody by wrong semi-annual report or daily advertisement, I'll make it good four hundred per cent."

If Zaccheus got tangled unto the jeopardy of his soul in the simple relations of his small day in that obscure land, how shall an American of affairs who looks not to his business as well as to his soul escape?

If that was evidently for him the obstruction to the coming kingdom, which his conversion or salvation, or whatever you want to call it, had to take away, how can a Southern business man be indifferent to the social bearings of his business?

And if he found the reorganization of his business a great joy, and took the Master home with him for the richest and best day of his life, why do not our sharp-hearted men of trade get his secret and boost his method?

But to take the Master home with one for a day is by no means enough. It is a beginning—yes, *the* beginning, but *only* the beginning. It would not seem at all like God to bring this all down to a mere personal affair between him and Zaccheus, or even to a simple matter between Zaccheus and the tax-dodgers or real estate victims or day laborers who had dealt with him to their sorrow. There was all Jericho, and Judea, and Perea, and Sicily, and Samoa, and New York, and Borneo, and Memphis, and Manchuria—and unto the uttermost parts of the earth.

When shall the individualists and the socialists, the aristocracies and democracies, the capitalists and laborers, stop, step out of doors, straighten up and look above this scuffle of civilization into the face of their ultimate, inextricable mutual interests, and those of us all? Why shall we not have these "bullies of wealth" and "bullies of poverty" alike to understand that they and all of us have infinitely more in common than we or they can possibly find to divide us?

Let Capital, as well as Labor, comprehend that the only trouble with the hungry and discontented is, that they are not hungry and discontented enough, that they are only hungry and discontented for themselves. What we want them to do is to go on and be hungry and discontented for all the members of their class, and of the capital classes, and for all of us.

Let Labor, as well as Capital, comprehend that men who sweat at their shoulders are by no means the only laboring men; that big brains, great grasp of wide relations, tracing crooked lines over paper for days and years, fighting to keep one's faith in men, and to go on with the big enterprises indispensable to the common welfare, are a task which would put most so-called workingmen into their premature graves. These capitalists and rich people enterprise not too much, win not too much wealth, but only not enough. If they would only go on and enterprise more and grow more rich for themselves and their class and ours, and everybody's! That is what is meant by being social, and that is what we are coming to.

The first great principle in this common larger outlook is, that no man is going hereafter to be taken very seriously as a competent capitalist or leader of labor who is merely thinking of his own interests or of the interests of his own class.

The second general principle which we are coming to see is, that no labor leader nor business leader shall be taken seriously—that is to say, regarded as either very dangerous or very useful—who believes in force. People have come to see that men who have to get things by force, and not by thinking of their uses and relations, will

not be able to think of anything to do with the things when they have got them. These things we have learned from the present owners of things; and we do not care to learn them all over again from new owners.

It is a grand thing to think that men are coming to think vastly more of the right relations and uses of things than of the mere possession of things. Jane Addams asserts that, just as men strove in the days immediately succeeding the great New Testament age to cast their new convictions and experiences into scholarly and logical formula and creed, and in the medieval ages to express their deepest conceptions and feelings in physical art and architecture, so now we everywhere discover an effort to conceive and regard men in their right relations to one another, and to their place and work in the world.

IV

What, then, is the message of the Church, the whole Church, the simple, social-hearted Church, the old, great-souled Church to men of modern industry, whether in the national banks or on the oyster banks, whether hatching novels or thatching hovels, whether sweating outwardly with toil or bleeding inwardly with care, whether suffering from their own or others' injustice or waiting wistfully for the consolation of all?

It is the message of a mother to her children: Do you talk of justice, my children? Of brotherhood, and the uplifting of all together? These have been the foundations of my house from Sinai to the Sermon on the Mount; the vines at my window, from Rome and Geneva and Plymouth Rock; the tears of my nights and the inspiration of my days, from the Bartholomew massacres to the Wesleyan revivals, from the Reformation in Europe to your wonderful missions in Africa, schools in the Orient, industries everywhere.

The ancient law, "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," seems harsh and disgraceful to you? You should have been back there with me, my sons. That law was one of the longest strides of justice I ever induced my

family to take. Before that time and all around us it was kill, raze, burn, obliterate in retaliation for the smallest offenses, and often when there had been no offense whatever. O it was a world of hurt and bleed, kill and damn; and well do I remember the load that fell from my heart when I got one branch of our house to agree to stop with what seems to you now a bitter barbarism. Do you remind me of abominable sacrifices, priestly infidelity, fool-hearted dogma, pious pretense, of modern ecclesiasticism and dead professions? They who practice these things, my sons, are my selfish, spoiled, pouting children, and your backward, absurd little brothers. Be patient, and trust them to me. They are indeed often worse prodigals than the prodigal, even as your Elder Brother told you; for the prodigal was spendthrift with money and wayward in passion, but these are reckless with justice, and snobs in their merciful Father's house. They have been, indeed, farther from the old home than any prodigal. But you are young, my children, and I am old. In the very household talk, the songs of the old inner courts, which they think they monopolize, are the ancient, heart-searching good tidings imbedded, with all that you are saying of human justice and brotherhood. And they themselves cannot always miss it. They may be your little brothers, but they are your brothers, surely, as well as these of the factories and streets. Be patient. Trust them to me.

I must hasten, children. Two notes my message must have, and you must not forget: One is COME; the other is GO.

One of my pastors in a certain town, on a blazing afternoon, called on a certain human mother, who lived in a rosy cottage upon a clean slope. Their talk was of the blazing sun, of the little sleepy town, of the Church (that is, Myself), and of her handsome, rich, famous young son down in the village, who had bought her the house, with its furniture and all that made so winsome the well-beseeming place. But in the end of the visit, coming around to the topic of her son, from which she could never long refrain, the tears fell as she poured out to the pastor her sorrow when she

had recently sent requesting her son to come to see her, and he had replied by sending her a ten-dollar bill! There is the point, my beloved sons. It is not your dollars—it is yourselves I call for. The Church does not, in the first place, need money to make her happy or great; does not crave half-million-dollar temples to seat less than a half thousand pious pets. But you must not leave me for these things, my children. You must the more come. You must come! I need you for them. They are in your big brotherhood also. I need you for the honor of our ancient house, and for the hope of our new and ever-widening program. You will not, when you understand, send me a contribution and remain absent yourselves. You will come to me, O my sons, and we will sit in the old seats and sing the old songs and kindle the old memories and feed the old purposes awhile.

Awhile! There is the word, my men. Not to loaf around the throne, when there is work to do yonder in the world. Not to whine and chant around these perfumed altars, when the ways of men are foul with injustice and choked with wrongs. Not to pray and preach the doing of the Father's will, when we have risked nothing and done nothing to see to it that that will is done.

"Not in utter helplessness
We lift our hands on high;
Not as the nerveless fatalist,
Content to trust and die;
Our faith springs as the eagle's,
That soars to meet the sun;
And cries exulting unto Thee,
O Lord, thy will be done!

"Thy will, it bids the weak be strong;
It bids the strong be just;
No lip to fawn, no hand to crave,
No brow to seek the dust!
Wherever man oppresses man,
Beneath Thy liberal sun,
O Lord, be there, Thine arm make bare,
Thy righteous will be done."

No, my men of the world's work—all of it! I say to you, GO. Come by to see your mother. And go out into all the

fields, fraternities, shops, unions, parties, and departments of the world's whole, big life, and there honor the good name and fame and principles of the old house.

We could never envy any success that may anywhere come to you. It is already ours when it becomes yours. We could never be willing to be an obstruction, say nothing of an interference, with any work of justice, brotherhood, or service in which you are in any way engaged. Why should we? I am the mother. All your work is religious and sacred. Go and serve and win. Deep-hearted men have called me the bride of the world's Great Brother. And they name me well. And I say to you, it gives us great pleasure, both him and me, to have you both to COME and to GO.

THE SOCIAL MISSION OF THE CHURCH TO CITY LIFE

RABBI EMANUEL STERNHEIM, GREENVILLE, MISS.

TRUE religion insists on human service, and this is the end toward which the real development of religion should be in the present suborned. One of the signs of the times is a new consciousness of other's needs. All men agree that there are rights which have not been recognized and duties which have not been performed. The desire to serve is forcing men to new and sometimes to strange activities, but nevertheless the desire to determine the relation of the individual to the community is a universal one.

Busy with our trade, and surrounded with the signs of wealth, we, like Jacob, have been met by the angel of our forgotten brother. It is of the struggle of this angel, in the concerted effort to find what we must do for other's needs, that shall make of us princes of God, and enable us to remember that "the rich and poor meet together; the Lord is the maker of them all."

I cannot touch the manifold efforts of modern care for others' needs—the passionate stroke of the reformer, the

gentle touch of the comforter—and show the unity of their variety.

I fear I cannot catch the voice of the twentieth century and repeat it as the latest word of God. But I do believe in his presence guiding us all unto truth, and I bow in reverence before the spirit of the age, which is, I believe, socialized religion.

The social worker is everywhere at this time being congratulated upon the increasing interest taken in social questions. I am glad, because the interest reveals the existence of a love which is stronger than mere class. The spirit of the age reveals the fact that love is not dead, even in breasts hardened by success and luxury and fashion.

I am glad of the interest which proves the existence of human love, which is man's guide to God, and which the modern Church is interpreting as its cardinal message to contemporary civilization, in almost every land and clime, and more especially in England, Germany, and the United States.

I am nevertheless anxious. A great Christian divine has said: "There is such a thing as taking the sacrament unworthily."

Are there not those who enter the service of the people who are unfit, by reason of their own imperfect self-development, to handle the most sacred things of life, their brothers' souls?

Society enters to serve the poor, and as it talks of its care for the poor over its wasteful dinner tables it eats and drinks to its own damnation.

The many who listen eagerly to tales of suffering go out and serve, but instead of finding "life" by giving themselves as comforters they find "death" by wearing out their best emotions.

I fear lest such interest end in apathy; lest they who began by caring end in callousness, or lest by some hurried giving of a dole, or some pretentious service, they satisfy their conscience or their pride. The blind groping after the spirit of the age, which is socialized religion, seems to be manifesting itself too freely in various and devious forms

of unconsecrated service, and this is especially true in the city; so it seems to me that the primary duty of the Church to city life is the training of consecrated men and women, whole-heartedly impressed with the conviction that "the rich and poor meet together; the Lord is the maker of them all," and with a sufficient technical training in the principles of modern philanthropy to give their idealism fitting and proper expression.

In a striking and remarkable book, "The Two Great Republics, Rome and the United States," Professor James Hamilton Lewis enforces an eloquent plea for an American Renaissance by an analogy between American civilization and the condition of Roman civilization immediately preceding the downfall of the Roman Empire; and this plea for a renaissance is but another expression of the zeitgeist, a realization of the fact that "man cannot live by bread alone."

And here again the mission of the Church to city life is made manifest: to teach society that knowledge, ideas, books, art, friends, and joy are the things which make our lives; the higher pleasures we owe to others' friendship. These are the things we must share with our brothers, as others have shared them with us.

That modern philanthropy is a wider thing than the giving of doles must be pre-eminently the message of socialized religion.

Because so much has been done for people and so little with people, there is the idea that the Church has been negligent of its highest interests. The mission of the Church is to teach that, in the science of social service, the rule must be to serve with the people.

I propose to devote myself to two or three specific duties of the Church about which there is usually some dispute.

The first claim I make is, that it is the duty of the Church to enter into the work of municipal government. There are arguments pro and con about this, but it seems to me to be axiomatic that the minister is a citizen and a man before he is a parson and he cannot be refused the rights of a citizen; but I am not keen on pressing the point,

for my argument is to be that it is a comparatively unimportant thing whether the minister sits on the municipal board or not, but it is an essential to righteous city government that the united voices of the churches of the city shall speak through its personnel the demand for a godly and God-fearing administration.

Thank God, the Church is not the only school of political administrative morality; but there is not an iota of doubt that it is one of the most important.

Professor Henderson, of Chicago, puts this point admirably when he says that "every church in a city should set apart, consecrate, dedicate certain of its members to the ministry of political action, men of good sound sense, energy, public spirit, business and legal training, acquaintance with men of affairs." I indorse this suggestion of Professor Henderson and suggest that these men should have had previous training upon the lines already suggested in this address.

When one pauses to think of the tremendous influence of municipal government upon the morality and character of the citizens of a city, one can readily foresee the inestimable value of the coöperation of these men trained in the highest ideals of the social application of their religious convictions. A superficial objection will undoubtedly be the fear of infusion of sectarian differences. I am utterly unable to sympathize with the objection, for the very basis of socialized religion is the subordination of dogma before the ideal of universal human service.

Anticipating much the same objection and giving to it much the same reply, I am going to be sufficiently controversial to advocate the extension of the duty of the church to the domain of education. With a very complete and long experience of the evils of the infusion of religious differences into education, I am nevertheless anxious about the growth of a paramount utilitarian and materialistic educational system.

With Professor Lewis already quoted, I am pleading now for an æsthetic outlook, for an intellectual renaissance, and not for any dogmatic religious expression. It may well

be that the Church cannot as an organization wisely attempt to interfere in school management, but it may be sympathetic and may voice that broad and enlightened conception of education that sees in it great possibilities for redemption and achievement.

By virtue of the position of the Church in regard to guidance, it should so coöperate with every educational effort in the city that every teacher in the city may thank God and take courage.

The last point with which I shall deal is the duty of the Church with regard to recreation. Here again the cardinal principle already accentuated, that the duty of the Church is to do with and not for the people, needs to be reiterated. The function of the Church is not limited to criticism of the positively harmful in the recreational opportunities afforded the inhabitants of its city. The axiomatic truth that it is easier to criticize than to construct holds good here in very large measure, for I fear that the Church has been too prone to confine itself to criticism in this sphere especially.

What I am advocating here, however, is not so much the erection of the institutional church to which, of course, there can be no objection in the light of the principles enunciated in this address, but rather a conception of the duty of the Church in the fostering and the encouragement of every possible form of clean and wholesome amusement within the city limits. Perhaps there is no greater authority on this aspect of socialized religion than the late Canon S. A. Barnett, of London, England, for many years the presiding genius of the prototype of the social settlement, the concrete expression of the zeitgeist. He says: "Somehow Sunday must be rescued from its present degradation, saved from being a day of sleep and of eating and drinking, to become a day of learning, enjoyment, and rest. Somehow the people must be brought within a refining influence, such as that which comes from knowledge of the best things within men's reach." Hear him again on the art exhibition: "The admiration of beautiful things will not, we know, keep men from being selfish and sensual;

neither is there any other nostrum which, by itself, will cure evil. The sight of pictures and works of art makes them conscious both of power and capacity, and does something to bring them nearer eternal life." Finally, relative to the point that I am endeavoring to emphasize: "Service by doing rather than service by giving is the true ideal, but service by giving has also its place so long as it is properly subordinated."

Poverty, it must be recognized, cannot afford the pleasures which human nature demands. A poor neighborhood cannot support high-class amusements. The best has always to be given away, and if poverty is to enjoy pleasure, then means for giving it must be discovered. Here preeminently is the duty of the Church to the city clearly distinguishable. The advocates of pleasure for the people cannot find in the modern church, even yet, the material generosity of those who advocate the gospel. It will not be until the gift of pleasure is seen to be required by God that rich men will set with earnest purpose to the work of making gladder the lives of the very poor.

Finally, it must be the conception of the Church that it is its function to stand for every effort to beautify the city. In the simple yet majestic words of Browning,

> "If you get simple beauty and naught else,
> You get about the best thing God invents."

In an ideal city all these things will be. The mission of the Church to the city is to make it ideal, and therefore all these things must be. In an ideal city none will be very rich and none will be very poor; knowledge and good will will join together to give to every child the best education; to render every house and street as healthy as the healthiest hillside in the world; to provide the most comfortable hospital for every one who is sick and to have at hand a friend for every one in trouble.

In our ideal city art will grow out of common life, undisturbed by contrasts of wealth and poverty. The people will have pleasure in their work and leisure to admire what is beautiful.

In some such ways as these it seems to me that the mission of the Church to city life is to give practical expression to the viewpoint expressed by Dr. Henry Van Dyke in his soul-inspiring and beautiful book on "The Spirit of America" when he says: "If there is to be an American aristocracy, it shall not be composed of the rich, nor of those whose only pride is in their ancient name, but of those who have done most to keep the spirit of America awake and eager to solve the problems of the common order, of those who have spoken to her most clearly and steadily by words and deeds, reminding her that

"By the soul
Only, the nation shall be great and free."

This is the message of socialized religion. Midst the stress and ceaseless strife of modern life the zeitgeist is yet the still small voice, but it is the still small voice that bids

"Men hope,
And see their hope frustrate and grieve awhile
And hope anew."

THE WORKINGMAN AND THE CHURCH

A. M. BRUNER, CHICAGO

I. THE FIELD

THE Church of Christ is a force, not a field. The field is the world, and Jesus said, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." The field, therefore, assuredly includes the industrial class. There are approximately 20,000,000 men and boys between the ages of sixteen and sixty-nine regularly employed in the shops, factories, mills, mines, lumber and construction camps, and on the railroads and farms in America. This takes no account of the 3,000,000 women and children in industry. There are in America 40,000 industries employing from

25 to 10,000 men daily. There are 221,000 Protestant churches with 178,000 clergy and 21,974,315 members in America with only forty per cent attending church services regularly. There are 645 city Young Men's Christian Associations with 304 railroad and industrial departments. There are 34,796,077 non-churchmembers, ten years of age and over, in America, fifty per cent of whom are industrial workers, or 17,398,038 not being reached by the Church in any effective manner. These facts alone are sufficient to make leaders in industry and leaders in religion think!

II. THE MOVEMENT

Community extension, the "Sixth Message" of the Men and Religion Movement, is the entering wedge of the gospel to the unreached, unchurched masses, carried to all places not erected for social, literary, or religious purposes, such as shops, factories, railroad yards, car barns, engine houses, police stations, parks, summer resorts, boarding houses, office buildings, hotel lobbies, etc.; and embraces Bible study, social service, personal evangelism, and missions. It is an inter-church enterprise intended to develop morality and strengthen men, to induce frugality and real brotherliness, to give a clear, ringing message of the news of salvation through Jesus Christ to the industrial class, socially, morally, and spiritually, right where they are.

The Church, at the present time, is reaching less than one-fourth of the industrial class. Socialism, the growth of which in a single decade was seventy-five per cent, is making rapid advancement among them. Unless the Church, therefore, speedily and unitedly enters this wide-open field, the opportunity will be lost to the present generation.

III. THE CONDITION

Mental attitude influences physical state. A gloomy spirit in the shop, together with the presence of toxic gases, tends to intemperance, immorality, and discouragement, even to Christian workingmen; religion gives courage, hope, and cheer—even in the midst of an adverse atmosphere. The weekly shop meeting, followed by Bible classes, social

gatherings, and cottage prayer meetings in the homes, not only strengthens the men, but bridges the chasm that unfortunately exists between the Church and shop to-day; and the Church must go all the way to bring about that end. It has been said that "if the rich and poor ever meet together for common prayer, it must be upon the territory of the poor; and if the Church and shop are ever to meet on common ground, it must be upon the territory of the workingman."

IV. THE SCOPE

Community extension includes not only industrial communities, but also rural districts where the country church is gradually disappearing from the map. It was community extension by the Carpenter of Nazareth that won the heart of Simon the fisherman, causing him to leave his nets to become a fisher of men; for hearing the voice of the Master Workman one day, by the Sea of Galilee, he became the mightiest preacher of his age.

V. THE SYSTEM

1. A strong Central Extension Committee, composed of five laymen and two ministers, to direct extension activity in the city and surrounding country.

2. A leader appointed and held responsible for each plant operated.

3. A Shop Committee of three elected in each plant.

4. Additional points opened up with shop committees as rapidly as possible.

5. Monthly meetings of the Central Committee, with shop committees and leaders, for conference and prayer.

6. A Bible class organized to train men for lay evangelism in connection with extension.

7. The Bible to be the basis of every permanent community extension undertaking. A plan of studies or addresses to be arranged that speakers may intelligently prepare for extension work.

8. An Annual Community Extension Day in the churches, when the story of extension will be told and the opportunity for service presented.

9. A commission appointed by the Central Committee, to make a survey of the surrounding country within a radius of thirty miles, to determine what steps are necessary to reach outlying points by the extension system.

VI. THE OUTLOOK

The clock has struck the hour to advance and the layman has come, at last, to his own. First principles are being observed and a field of activity is being opened up that will challenge the Christian layman to his best and turn the thoughts of men to the early days of the Church when "they that were scattered abroad went everywhere preaching the word."

We are well within the greatest century the world has ever known. Let us advance with confidence, courage, and song, for

> "The morning breaks; the shadows flee;
> Christ's kingdom comes o'er land and sea;
> The rule of love, the reign of good,
> The whole round world one brotherhood."

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL AS AN AGENCY FOR SOCIAL SERVICE

ANDREW J. BETHEA, COLUMBIA, S. C.

JOHN RUSKIN, great alike as social reformer and prose painter of the nineteenth century, while deprecating in his "Sesame and Lilies" the failure of the Church of England to embrace a helpful social service speaks boldly and directly: "You had better get rid of the smoke and the organ pipes, both; leave them and the Gothic windows, and the painted glass, to the property man; give up your carburetted hydrogen ghost in one healthy expiration, and look after Lazarus at the doorstep. For there is a true Church wherever one hand meets another helpfully, and that is the only holy or mother Church which ever was, or ever shall be."

If in the discussion of the subject assigned me I should seem to deplore the failure of the Sunday school to exercise its full power and privilege in this age as a social agent, I trust no one will charge me with heresy or disloyalty to an institution which is the strong arm of the Church and which has made contributions to society more precious than human tongue can tell.

The Sunday school is a moral and spiritual force which builds up the moral fiber of community life. It implants the seed of truth and righteousness in the hearts of the young, molds boys and girls into citizens with a purpose and an ideal, and gives to society a noble and beautiful character. It is one of those priceless things, silent and irresistible in their influence, which seem to lose their value in proportion to the constancy with which they serve—true alike of the sunshine that gives us light, of the breath we breathe, and of the gentle rain.

I am to speak of the Sunday school as an agent of modernized efficiency in an age of unprecedented need and opportunity for social service. Propitious is then the time, for the world is waking up to a new ideal in religion, just as it has awakened to a new ideal in education, in politics, in government. For two thousand years religion has been largely a personal matter, but as the light of the twentieth century breaks upon us and we catch a new vision upon the broadening horizon of duty and opportunity we begin to see and to understand that the community has a soul. We are coming into an appreciation of the life of the great Teacher of mankind, who taught personal purity to be sure, but also "went about doing good," setting up social justice, relieving human suffering, and correcting human wrongs. Jesus Christ was the first great social worker, and it is his example of unselfish social service to mankind that the Sunday school and other religious institutions must follow if they would fulfill their highest mission. It is this aspect of the Sunday school as an agency for social service in the community that we wish now to consider.

Fortunate am I in speaking of the Sunday school to be able to point to the fact that the social program is dis-

tinctively Christian in origin. The humanitarian movements of the time, the great moral forces of modern life, such as the Red Cross, prison reform, social settlement, associated charities, prohibition, international peace, and this great Congress itself, which are doing their work independently of the Church, had their origin in the social program of Jesus Christ.

Strengthened and justified then by a rich inheritance, why has the Sunday school, and therefore the Church, failed to carry out the social program of the Master—the greatest social worker and teacher of all time? Why has it neglected to render a service, the imperative demand for which is evidenced in the humanitarian movements, of which mention has just been made? The answer, I think, is found in this: That the Sunday school, like the Church, has been content to teach spiritual truths designed to purify the individual life, believing that this work of regeneration would cure all social ills. There can be no criticism for its zeal in this direction, for it must continue to teach these essential things; but it must also embrace the social program projected by Jesus Christ, by rendering a large and helpful service to the community which gives it life.

This service can and will take form in many directions because there are many fields of social service that the Sunday school can with propriety enter. Ignorance, pauperism, disease, intemperance, and the like are things we find in every community that need relief or correction. It dignifies the Sunday school and gives to it power and influence, if it makes itself an agency for the common good. And I am free to say that it has not done all that it might have done; it has failed in its duty as an active agency for the uplift and betterment of all the people within the scope of its influence; it has not embraced a great opportunity for social service, if it does not come to the aid of these things.

It is as much the duty of the Sunday school as any other institution or agency to help to displace ignorance with light, pauperism with comfort, disease with health, intemperance with sobriety, and indolence with industry and life.

It was Emerson, I believe, who said, "What you are speaks so loud I cannot hear what you say;" and another in homely phrase has told us that "hungry men cannot hear the gospel." The duty of doing, to be living examples of the truth, is the clarion call that comes to all religious institutions to-day, and by this test of efficiency they must survive or perish; for never before have the words of the Master carried such dynamic power: "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, . . . but he that doeth the will."

In the United States alone there are 154,281 Sunday schools, 1,520,379 Sunday school teachers, and 13,732,841 pupils in Sunday school. What a mighty power for positive good these can be made! What an army of social workers, uniformed and armed and drilled! How large and helpful the service to their country and how great the victory of this invincible host against the citadels of disease, darkness, and death, with health, happiness, human justice, and hope set up in their stead!

Let me venture then a few ways whereby the Sunday school thus equipped and captained can multiply its usefulness in the community as a social agent. Time will permit only brief suggestions.

1. *It must act as a corrective influence.* Judge Fawcett, of the State of New York, who has had many years of experience on the bench in dealing with criminals, makes the significant statement that of the twenty-seven hundred boys who have come before him in five years not one in all that number was a member of a Sunday school; and that whenever he had occasion to dismiss a case he had always exhorted the accused to join a Sunday school, and in no instance where this advice had been followed did the individual fail to reform. Widen this suggestion so as to make the Sunday school an active, helpful, restraining, and corrective agency and witness the results for social uplift.

2. *It must serve the life of youth.* To do this, it must respond to moral and spiritual needs; for the Sunday school will teach in vain if it fails to become a moral guardian of the life of youth at school, at play, in recreation, and

at home. But coöperating, directing, helping it will extend its benign influence in stimulating the very life of the community with applied Christianity in its effort to "lessen every vice and enlarge every virtue."

3. *It must reach out in a guiding capacity in practical service.* In addition to ministering to typical cases of human suffering and want, there are social problems peculiar to every community. The Sunday school, alive to its highest mission, will discover these and will make itself "the center from which will radiate life and life-giving power."

4. *It must express itself in terms of life to-day.* Into a complex civilization, fraught with social needs and problems, there has come a highly quickened conscience. The heart of mankind has been touched and moved to deeds of charity, philanthropy, and benevolence hitherto unknown. Still the world is hungering for something more. The check of Crœsus cannot satisfy that hunger, for "the gift without the giver is bare." The wellsprings of the souls of men are drying up because they have no chance to flow. It is this hunger for a larger life of which I speak, this opportunity to work out destiny, this chance to rise to higher things. The Sunday school is called into this new and fruitful field of service.

From my sleeping porch this spring I have witnessed a rare and beautiful example of social service. It was that loving service rendered by parent birds to their young. Whether hunger, or thirst, or wound, or enemy came—whatever the need—the parent did his part. At last one day the fluffy little birds wanted to leave their home, to fly, to try their wings. Out, out into the new world the parent guided, and stronger and stronger the young life grew, until at last in its upward flight it seemed to enter the very portals of heaven itself. This is a message to the children of men; this a message to the Sunday school in its relation to community life. But will the Sunday school measure up to this high duty? I believe it will, for

> "Out of the darkness of the night
> The world is rolling into light—
> It is daybreak everywhere."

Happy indeed that community, happy the people served, if in response to the many calls to social service to-day the Sunday schools shall answer, in the words of Admiral Badger, "We are ready."

THE RELIGIOUS BASIS OF SOCIAL SERVICE

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SOCIAL service is a methodical endeavor to regenerate and ameliorate society. That society needs regeneration implies that society must be sick, infirm, diseased before it can require regeneration. Reflect to what things we apply this term, "to regenerate." When a system which was once good has degenerated and becomes bad, men say it must be reformed, regenerated. When a race has become demoralized, when bad blood gets into it to weaken it, when it seems to be fading away, it must get an infusion of fresh blood. So it is that we speak of society.

The symptoms of the disease that ail present-day society have been laid bare and intelligently discussed by experienced men and women in this Congress. Remedies have been suggested—some very good, others less so. The object of my paper is to show you that, unless we begin this regenaration in the right way, unless we erect the new edifice of socially reformed society on a firm religious basis, we shall build on sand, and in vain.

"God made man right," say the Scriptures. He made him in the integrity of his nature, and added to that the gift of divine grace. God made man a human body with all its senses, with all its inclinations, with all its necessities; and into that body Almighty God breathed a living spirit, an immortal soul, the image of himself. As soon as man refused his homage and his humble obedience to his Maker, just so soon did he lose the mastery over himself and over the rest of creation, of which he is king. Then began the conflict

between man and his brother; as soon as man lost sight of his duties toward his God, he also forgot his obligations toward his neighbor. This strife has grown, and has for ages called forth the earnest endeavors of social workers, who have striven to restore the proper relations to society, who have worked to replace the proper equilibrium that should exist between man and man. Some claim that they have been successful; others say not. It is thus that the momentous question, "Is the world getting better or worse?" occupies the minds of thinking men of to-day.

Be that as it may, we know that society is still in need of improvement—regeneration. The object of this Congress is to bring together well-meaning men and women, who are conscious that they are their brothers' keepers; who, by study, personal observation, and by conferring with others as earnest, as disinterested, and as unselfish as themselves, desire to learn the symptoms of the disease that is gnawing at the very vitals of society to-day, and, having learned the nature of the malady, fearlessly to apply the remedy.

We know that we have three great relations. The first of these is to God, the second is our relation to our families and to ourselves, and the third is our relation to the great world around us that constitutes the state and the society in which we live. The first demand that God makes upon him is faith; the first demand of the family is purity and fidelity; the great demand that society makes upon every man is the demand for honesty, honor, and firmness of purpose. These are the three great wants of our age: faith in God, purity and fidelity in the family, honesty in man's dealing with fellow man, in his commercial relations and in his administrative capacity.

Social service endeavors to remedy this condition. Lest our efforts be in vain, we must lay a deep and solid foundation; we must build upon religion as our basis, else our work will not be lasting.

By religion, I mean the tie of union that binds man to God, the acknowledgment of God's right to demand our entire service, because he is our Creator and will be our Judge and our Remunerator.

We must endeavor, by word and example, to instill into the hearts of men the love of God that should be there. We must teach them to acknowledge his existence, his divine attributes, his power, his goodness, his justice, and his mercy. We must teach men respect for God's laws. They must know that they must adore him alone; him alone shall they serve; they must learn to honor his holy name and keep his Sabbath day holy. If we can teach men to know God, to love him and serve him, if we can enkindle religion in their hearts, we shall have solved the much mooted social question.

It is impossible to love God and not love our neighbor. As St. John tells us: "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar." If a man keep the first and greatest commandment and love God with his whole heart, with his whole soul, with his whole mind, and with all his strength, then he will keep the second commandment, which is like to this: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Whence comes this bitter strife between the classes that we see so fiercely waged about us? Why is it that the employer and employee regard each other as antagonists? Why is it that the weak and lowly must flee from the mighty, rather than to him for protection and assistance? It is because many have become so blinded by their power and so deafened by the din of the busy marts of commerce that they fail to recognize in their weaker brother the image and likeness of their Creator.

It was the realization of the necessity of detaching men's hearts from the perishable things of this world, and directing his gaze to his true goal in heaven, of teaching him that true happiness in this life is to be found only in the wholehearted service of God, and self-forgetting sacrifice in the service of their neighbor, that inspired such men as St. Francis of Assisi (who has been called the saint of the Protestants, because his life appealed to Protestant and Catholic alike, and to whose order I have the honor to belong) to leave father and mother, brother and sister, honor and riches, to devote himself to a life of obedience, poverty, chastity, penance, humility, and charity in the service of the

poor and distressed. He was not a fanatic nor an enthusiast, but a man whose religion meant all to him. It was religion, love of God and love of neighbor, that gave stability to his work, so that, after seven hundred years, his order still thrives and flourishes wherever the cause of religion is to be promoted.

It is religion, love of God and charity to fellow man, that enables the dauntless missionary to deny himself the comforts of home—yes, even of civilization—to carry the message of redemption to those who have never heard of God and of his goodness. It is religion, love of God and charity toward their neighbor, that inspires noble women to lead a life consecrated to God's service in the person of his orphans, his sick in our hospitals, his aged and neglected in our old people's homes. It is religion, love of God and of our neighbor, that gives the Sister of the Good Shepherd, genteel and carefully trained, the courage to overcome the natural repugnance that a pure woman feels for a fallen one, and to reach out her hand to the poor spurned outcast and lead her back to a life of purity and of usefulness to society.

Ask yourselves, my dear friends, what is it that inspires you to your social service? Could you continue day after day, year in and year out (for whoever enlists in social service enlists for life), in your work of relieving the distress you see about you, in your endeavor in the schoolroom to educate and train the youth confided to your care to walk the paths of purity and honesty, in your zealous striving in the juvenile court room to correct and guide aright the feet that, early in life, have already slipped, or are about to step from the path of virtue, if you were actuated merely by philanthropy, or civic pride, or even the hope of temporal remuneration? Do you not often grow weary and footsore, as well as heartsore, in the work you are doing, so weary and disheartened, indeed, that you would give up an apparently thankless task, but that you know you are doing God's work for the glory of his name? Is not your religion your guiding star in dark hours of doubt, your encouragement and mainstay in days of discouragement? If not, my friend,

you are doomed to be a failure; but if it is, if your religion, your love of God and of your neighbor, buoy you up, then your social service is of the right kind, it is built on the proper foundation.

It is religion upon which social service must build—not upon mere philanthropy, not upon mere patriotism or civic pride, but upon philanthropy and civic pride permeated with that charity which sees in our brother our Maker's image, upon that charity that is founded and measured by the love of man for God. In a word, *social service,* to be true and lasting, *must be built on religion as its solid basis.*

Let us then, in the name of God, begin to carry out the work of this Congress; let us spread the kingdom of God on earth; let us teach our neighbor by our lives, even more than by our words, what it means to love God first and last and always, and to love our neighbor as ourselves; then our *social service* is bound to please him, and our ultimate success is assured.

THE COÖRDINATION OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS FORCES

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THE conservation of resources is one of the greatest objects of our age. The conservation of human life is the most sacred and important feature of this work. To accomplish large results we must both refine individuals and improve society. "No man liveth unto himself." Waste in the slums means loss on the avenue. Individual forces everywhere will prove insufficient. Only as all community forces are combined can we secure general social betterment.

The union of social and religious forces to promote every noble element of an advancing civilization has been called "the super-power of an associated people." In this "super-power" we have the key to unlock the gates of a happy future for America and the world.

Coördination, in the sense in which it is used in our theme, is any combination or adjustment for action which will lead to the desired result. In an old mill where I once worked we had both steam and water power. When the turbine was unable to bear the whole load, the engine was started to keep the wheels turning. It was a coördination of propulsive forces. We need a similar and constant coordination of social and religious forces to propel the car of progress.

Some time ago I sat beside the driver of a four-horse stage. There was a lead team dancing and swaying on ahead, and the pole horses below us, next to the wagon. It was a marvel to me that the lines never got tangled and that guidance and stimulation could be given just when and where they were needed. But the skillful Jehu at my side carefully coördinated his living forces and the lumbering old stage sped along, up hill and down, around corners, along narrow causeways cut in the mountain side, and through miry difficulties in the valleys, steadily to its journey's end.

Human society is a great omnibus speeding along the highways of time. Two great and related teams are tugging it onward day by day. The combined social and religious forces of the age, of which we are a part, are the teams; humanity fills the omnibus; and up yonder on the driver's seat, unseen but efficient, sits One who long ago said to an assemblage on a Judean mountain: "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

The simile is not perfect. The stage teams possessed intelligence, but were not free agents. They perforce obeyed the voice, the whip, and the reins in the hands of the driver. The great social and religious forces of the world are not only intelligent, but move and labor in manners modified by the free agency of the human units composing them.

Yet the simile is suggestive. Two coördinated teams are hitched to the car of progress. Its advance is determined largely by the unity of their response to the needs of the times. If either fails to do its part, the other is overburdened, humanity suffers loss, perhaps is endangered, and proper advancement is impossible.

Religion is recognition of an unseen Supreme Being, on whom man is dependent and to whom he owes complete allegiance, and a course of life and action in conformity to his revealed will. Religious forces affect mankind in three ways:

1. By direct Divine spiritual impulses.
2. By the written word of Divine revelation.
3. By the ministration of human beings to each other, generally through the organized Church or its individual membership.

Our churches have a social as well as an individual responsibility. There is, or should be, a definite relation between them and all elements of their communities. This relation need not always, nor even generally, be organic. Most frequently it should be an emanation of religious spirit and principle, through its individual members, and affecting through them the quality of social conditions. I hold it to be an essential duty of the followers of Christ to prove their discipleship by continuous, energetic, and effective striving to establish high physical, moral, and religious standards of living, and to labor for all kinds of social betterment.

The social elements of communities are distinguished by the term secular, and are largely expressed in institutions of a more or less formal nature. The home, the school, the asylum, the hospital, the store, the factory, and even the political party, are some of the elements now essential to human welfare. They are the media for the operation of forces we usually term social, since they inhere in society and are elemental parts of our modern civilization.

The distinction between social and religious forces is probably more in name than in kind. Perhaps sometime we will be able to obliterate the line between sacred and secular, and will then no longer need to indicate a difference between social and religious. At present we are obliged to concede a distinction. May we not say of religious forces that they are definitely of Divine origin, and always make for human betterment? Social forces are more distinctly human in origin, and they make for either the injury or the betterment of humanity. Social forces also may be guided or dominated by religious forces, so as to enlarge

and render cumulative their power for betterment. Or without the guidance and control of religious forces, those we term social may decline in strength, or change in quality, until the very civilization of which they are a part is destroyed.

It is said that the cordage of Great Britain's navy has twined into every rope a scarlet thread. Wherever found it is the evidence of both quality and ownership. So there should be religious forces related to and intertwined with all social forces, the quality thread of Divine guidance and authority, aiding in the attainment of increasing social betterment.

I believe that the Christian Church has a dual mission. Its first and primal duty is to bring to individual human beings the high and holy messages of the gospel; then to teach and train them as members of the household of God. Its second duty is to reconstruct human society so that individuals may live in a Christian environment. This means that the Church is not only the source of influences for personal salvation, but also of a leaven of righteousness for the reformation, the regeneration if you will, of the whole social order.

Mr. John M. Glenn, in an address at the National Conference of Charities and Correction, in 1913, made this positive declaration: "Spiritual power is the only power that can save us from the powers of wickedness and degeneration, the only power that will cleanse and purify the world of the tyranny of selfishness, the only power that will bring peace and good will to individuals, classes, and nations. . . . Social service is the practical, inevitable, necessary consequence and complement of true spiritual belief. They are mutually essential."

In other words, religion is indispensable to the highest type of social service, and social service is the natural expression, the necessary outreach manward, of any faith that properly claims a Divine origin.

Mere names and creeds in this relation are unimportant. From the author of true religion have come both messages of personal salvation and impulses tending to

develop a social conscience, to arouse a sense of responsibility for the elimination of evils, to awaken desire to aid the helpless, to lift up the fallen, and to stimulate the establishment of constructive agencies and regulations. True religion is the real source of the essentials of social service, and religious forces are the constant inspiration and support of all efforts for social betterment.

I have mentioned some of the principal social elements in and through which social forces are manifested. Let me add to them the organizations and institutions usually called social welfare agencies. Do not think me radical beyond many in saying that the entire system of social welfare agencies is essentially religious. In effect they are religious service centers, related not to voluntary groups but to entire communities. They minister to the social needs of the people as the churches minister to their personal and spiritual needs.

The other day at the New Jersey State Conference of Charities and Correction, the Head Worker of Union Settlement, New York City (Rev. Gaylord S. White), declared that settlement centers, although in the past largely dissociated from all the churches, were coming into closer cooperation with them every year, realizing that settlement work is, after all, only one form of religious service.

He also said: "The social movement of to-day is but another channel through which the vital spirit of religion is flowing out to humanity. It is Christ becoming the yokefellow of man in a general uplift of the race."

Another has illustrated the coördination of social and religious forces in these words: "The churches are the power houses, where individuals are charged with divine electricity and communities are brought into touch with uplifting forces. The elements and institutions of society are distributing centers, where uplift and vitality are administered to needy multitudes, who cannot so readily avail themselves of the divine forces and provisions."

In this connection it may well be noted that a great majority of all who are eminent in matters of business, government, or philanthropy are religious men and women.

In social welfare organizations it is estimated that at least seventy-five per cent of all social workers are professors of religion, and as "live wires" are bearing spiritual messages along with physical assistance to the depressed personalities they serve.

And yet I plead for a greater coördination of social and religious forces for coming days. The Church has been friendly to social betterment, but seldom has definitely accepted community improvement as a part of its duty. I urge that the Church awake to the social side of its mission, and begin a definite campaign for clean community environment.

Will not this endanger our democratic relations? No, for I urge nothing for the direct aggrandizement of the organized church; but only for its employment as an altruistic force for human betterment.

In past ages, and in some lands at the present time, there was injurious union of Church and State. In it the State was and is exploited to increase the wealth and power of the Church. I need not remind you of nations which suffered for centuries under adverse conditions produced by this unhappy union. I could, if need be, point out present-day examples of convincing character.

But it is a very different thing when all of the spiritual and material forces of the Church are utilized for the benefit of all the people of the community. The power of religious forces is needed to stimulate and guide the social forces, and the spirit of religion must sweeten and clarify our social efforts. All social service in these times needs an increase in its religious elements to make it effective. The active use of religious forces now advocated is to make them the real dynamic behind all social movements, so that there shall be not only adequate power to propel them to success, but also an uplifting tendency that shall make all progress tend to human betterment.

There is a suggestive scene in the old German drama, "Nathan der Weise." The Mohammedan, the Jew, and the Christian had been explaining the tenets of their various faiths, and each had found in the essentials of the other

that which most reminded him of his own. Then said the astonished Christian to his Hebrew friend: "I had forgotten that our Saviour was himself a Jew." Too often we forget the fundamental unity of all true religion and the essential brotherhood of all mankind.

Not long ago I heard F. H. Tracy, the efficient sheriff of Washington County, Vermont, tell what led him into his present service, and what influenced him to originate the honor system for jail prisoners which has done something to make Montpelier famous. It was the example and teaching of his Christian mother, who all her life had been the friend of those "sick and in prison." Tracy himself is an example of Christian character, rugged as the hills of his native State and white-souled as the winter snows upon their summits.

The same spirit is in Warden Gilmour, of Toronto, Governor West, of Oregon, Harris R. Cooley, Cleveland's Director of Public Service, and scores more who are in the spot-light of to-day as leading examples of successful social service. They are not machine-like officials; they are men with faith in God and hearts that beat in sympathy with their fellows. As I heard one of them say, their type of work is based on the fact that we are all folks—some in jail and some out of jail.

Frances E. Willard, the nineteenth-century angel of the temperance reform, Miss Jane Addams, the gifted writer, executive, and social guardian of Chicago, and Miss Katherine Bement Davis, New York's Commissioner of Corrections, are eminent women who have coördinated the social and religious forces of the age for the betterment of untold thousands. They make visible to all eyes the truth of a statement recently printed: "Good social service is only another name for practical religion."

Someone may say I am too general in my statements. What can organized religion do to promote the general social welfare? Let me give a few definite suggestions:

1. The organized Church should study community problems and carefully consider the wisest methods to use in destroying the bad and building up the good.

2. It should coöperate with all intelligent and well-administered social agencies, public and private, both organically, when such formal action is advisable, and by its individual members at all times.

3. The organized Church should provide for its members, young and old, courses of study in civic, social, and national questions. The religious person should be definitely informed on all matters relating to his environment, and there is need of enlightenment from the standpoint of the church, if work is to be done to reconstruct adverse elements on the lines of social betterment.

4. On this matter of a religious viewpoint, it is important that colleges and theological seminaries shall give courses dealing with social questions, and train their students to think and act with the higher welfare of communities in view.

5. The general social subjects should be frequently treated in study classes and in pulpit talks. Such are the purity of personal life, the sacredness of the marriage relation, duty to children, and of children to their parents, the evils of divorce and desertion, the curse of drug habits and intemperance, the abolition of the open saloon, the suppression of gambling, the destruction of the white slave traffic, clean recreation for old and young, progressive educational systems, well managed and adequately supported philanthropies, the evils of graft in public service, honesty and the golden rule in business, and the right government in every department from the village poundmaster to the United States President.

6. And what is taught in the church it should be made the business of all members of the congregation to make real in everyday life. I know many of these things are taught, or at least mentioned, in Church circles at the present time. That is not enough. They must be taught as parts of the social mission of the Church, and carried out, not sporadically and in haphazard ways, but constantly and systematically. Let it be definitely understood that Christian service includes the coördination of social and religious forces always and everywhere, for the reconstruction

of society and the establishment of God's kingdom among men, and immense results for good will come as surely as day follows night.

7. I need scarcely say that such coördination also implies most cordial and complete coöperation among the denominations. The power of combination is necessary to the sure and speedy accomplishment of results. Already we see beginnings in the field of organized philanthropy. It should spread until all phases of social betterment are touched by the coördinated powers of all high-minded people.

Miss Virginia McMechen, of Seattle, says: "The crudest form of coöperative effort is represented by friendly intercourse. The second stage is where agencies begin to recognize difference in function and to refer to its proper agency work that falls within its legitimate province. The third stage is where all the agencies do things together."

The reference is to organized philanthropies, but the idea applies as well to every religious activity. The first stage, friendly intercourse, has been reached by a majority of churches and religious workers. The second stage has been attained by a small minority, but even among them is still unnecessary waste and competition. Almost everywhere the third stage is a dream of the future. Yet sometime all the churches, and all good people outside of the churches, will join hands to physically, intellectually, financially, morally, and religiously cleanse and beautify this old world of ours, and make it a happy and holy place of temporary residence for beings destined to immortality.

The philosophy of Christian and social service demands such coördination. The pressing needs of practical work require the largest possible measure of coöperative effort. Isolation and individualism in this age mean incapacitation. Neither social workers nor churches can stand alone. To attempt progress without definite coöperation is to invite failure, and to waste money and effort. Secretary Daniels said in a recent address that the operation of every warship required the constant service of skilled artisans representing twenty-nine trades. In pressing the campaign for

the betterment of humanity we need the coördinate efforts of ten times twenty-nine trades, and all of the religious organizations.

When a new minister was installed some years ago in a mid-Western city, Mr. O. C. McCulloch turned to him and said: "My brother, what are you going to do with it?" "With what?" said the astonished minister. "With this magnificent social force which you have at your command; these splendid men and women whom you are to lead and counsel. Against what great social evils are you going to hurl this force? Toward what splendid achievement of social and religious uplift are you going to lead it?" Of every church and social leader that hears these words, I ask the same question: "What are you going to do with the social and religious forces God has put at your command?"

THE NEW PROFESSION OF SOCIAL SERVICE

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WE have entered a new era in the development of our social work, and the time has come when our practice must be made to harmonize with our theory. We no longer believe in limiting ourselves to the task of healing the sick, of binding the wounds of the distressed, and of helping the lame and the halt. We no longer believe that we should serve as a body of nurses and physicians, following the army and ministering to the needs of the wounded and the fallen. Instead of that, we believe that it is time to push to the front to participate in the battle to win the victory if possible, and make further bloodshed unnecessary. As a consequence we would not be compelled to deal with the wounded or the injured. Most of our social work has been occupied with the relief of the men suffering from conditions that should be prevented. We have been so busy with relief that we have not given time to the prevention of distress.

To-day our slogan is "prevention, not cure," is "constructive effort, not remedial work." A new task, however, cannot depend on the work of novices; it cannot depend on those who have no vision of the possibilities of community effort and constructive work. Therefore, the task of social service is weighed down with tremendous responsibility, and the men and women who engage therein must feel the gravity of their duties. In the light of our increased knowledge, new principles as to fitness of the profession of social service are developing. Length of service is not a prime qualification for social work; in fact, it frequently disqualifies men for service to the community. It is nonsense to take a broken-down professor and give to him the duty of helping and improving social conditions. It is idle to use the superannuated preachers or teachers and charge them with the responsibility of promoting our public welfare. Social service is too important and too dignified a profession to allow the use of persons who are no longer able to serve the world in their chosen profession. What is needed is the red blood that flows in the veins of the enthusiastic, trained young men and women who work out problems of social welfare along the lines which mature judgment and experience have determined are the best. Social service is an opportunity for the accomplishment of results; but it is more: it represents a body of principles which if applied to our social life means better and happier living.

It is difficult to define social service. But as currently used the term applies both to methods of improving the individual and adapting him to the social conditions about him, and to the task of improving general social conditions so that the individual may be more capable of realizing his capacities and of taking his place in the world. We are beginning to learn that human beings are interrelated in their social life, that what affects the one affects the other, and that we cannot deal with individuals separately. We cannot restore one man without affecting others, and we cannot affect the group without touching the individual men. The art of social service, therefore, touches both in-

dividuals and the general conditions or environment in which those individuals are placed; to attempt the one without the other is unwise, irrational, and unscientific. To relate the two, and to work out these problems so that lasting good will come to the individual and to society, requires study, training, and experience.

By some, social service has been confused with religion, and been considered a branch of Church work. But social service is not coextensive with religion, it is not a branch of Church work; it deals with the wide expansive field of "the social and living conditions of our people." To be sure, the Church should engage in social service and the task of social service should form a most prominent part of the work of the Church in meeting the vital problems of the people, but that does not make social service subordinate to Church work. More properly one of the branches of Church work is social service, for no modern enlightened church can afford to refuse to face the questions that mean the physical and moral health of our people. If they do, they cannot hope to spiritualize the lives of men and women with whom they work.

Nor is social service a branch of the work of the school, or of the State, or of the home. Each of these agencies, however, must perform much work which is essentially social service in its nature. In other words, social service represents a method of work, and a field of work which is not coextensive with the work of any other institution or agency. And because the field of social service is distinguished from that of other professions it should itself be considered a profession. But it is not a side line of the work of the preacher, or of the doctor, or of the lawyer, or of the teacher. It is a profession which requires the time and the utmost capacity of the man who expects to enter it.

That which is a profession requires professional training, and the latest and newest profession can gain much from the older ones in regard to methods of entering. There was a time when the lawyer acquired his knowledge by reading a short time in the law office of another, and

by observing the work and following the experience of his informal teacher. He was, however, considered to be ready for practice after a comparatively short time in the office where he had been pondering over a few ancient and dusty law books. To-day the profession of law is not acquired in this way, for the student is compelled to spend several years in a law school where a carefully worked out curriculum is covered. When he has finished his course he has learned some of the fundamental principles of this profession, and he has covered innumerable court cases which have taught him some of these principles and points of view. Even then, he expects to spend a year as a journeyman or apprentice in the office of an established lawyer, and there he becomes still better acquainted with the art and the methods of this chosen profession. Then he is ready for a career of his own.

There was a time when the teacher taught from the textbook; it mattered little whether he was acquainted with the subject matter or not. If he was, the book served little purpose; if not, it was there for reference, nor had he learned the pedagogical or the psychological principles which underlie successful work in the classroom. In other words, teaching was not a real profession; it only appeared that here was the field for some profession. To-day the teacher is expected to have knowledge of the subject matter to be taught; but more important than this is the knowledge how to teach, how to lead out and to train the student or pupils placed in his care. He has acquired this proficiency in the normal school, or the college, or the university; and he has trained himself so that he may be able to train others. Teaching has become a profession.

Let us apply these illustrations to the profession of social service. Is it possible that in the face of the experience of the past we shall be compelled to force the profession of social service through the same historical steps that have marked the profession of the lawyer, the teacher, and others? We have seen that the self-taught and the self-made lawyer and teacher are no longer in vogue, but that professionally trained men have taken their places.

Why? Because a systematic training is the best way to secure adequate results. If the social worker must be scientific in his methods in order to obtain successful results, then he needs the training and the experience which will make him apply those methods. Are there any principles of action which can be applied to society, and which will work out in fair accord? Can the sociology and the psychology of human beings be reduced in part to definite principles? If so, the social worker is engaged in scientific forms of work. If social service is more than the giving of alms to the poor and the needy; if it is more than the giving of a free meal or a free bed; if it provides something more than temporary relief from sickness or distress; if in addition to these things it makes the giving of alms or of free meals unnecessary, and protects our people from sickness and distress—then it brings scientific principles into play. If social service means the organization of philanthropy, the correlation of effort, the harnessing of the community for its own upliftment and the progressive upbuilding of individual character and the advancement of our social welfare, then certain definite principles of action must be followed.

It is a commonplace that much good will is ignorantly expended to the detriment of humanity. There is need of good will; we can never have too much, but hearts without heads are like ships without rudders or trucks without roads. The social worker cannot be successful if he does not have an intense sympathy for humankind, but that sympathy must be controlled by good judgment, while behind his judgment must stand an appreciation of the relation of our social problems, and an adeptness in technique which makes his work successful. But as with the lawyer, the teacher, or the engineer they are best gotten through the training afforded in professional schools.

What then are the principal essentials of training for social work? In my judgment they are mainly two, as follows: First, a study of the social field and of its intricate and related problems; second, by the development of skill in the method and technique of social work. The relative importance of these essentials for the individual depends

on his capacity and former training. The man or woman whose education is limited and whose outlook is narrow must always remain in a subordinate position. He cannot lead or direct the forms of social progress; he must confine himself largely to the handling of details, and especially to the task of working with the individual rather than with the group. Such persons are mostly in need of understanding the technique of social work, so as to enable them to apply it in working out the individual problems they are compelled to handle from day to day. In this group I would place visitors for charitable societies, subordinates in settlements, in juvenile courts, and similar minor positions. Of course, if in addition to this they have a comprehensive grasp of the principles of applied sociology their work will be more successful. Be this as it may, the prime essential for the subordinate worker is an understanding of technique and the ability to apply it successfully.

The leaders of social work on the other hand can subordinate technique to an understanding of the social problems that are involved. The men and women who organize the community and promote general plans for the welfare of our people must have a wide grasp of the nature of the problems with which they are dealing; they must themselves be democratic and ready to coöperate with others for the promotion of our social welfare. They must have a knowledge of technique so they can successfully guide and direct their subordinates, but their greatest contribution will be their success in developing the efficiency of the community to solve its own problems. These broad relations with which they must deal require a vast amount of preliminary training and insight of our social problems.

The work of our professional training schools is, therefore, divided into two parts: courses of instruction, and practice in methods of social work. A training school to be successful must have a laboratory in which the field work can be done. Just as medical schools have their clinics, law schools their courts, so must the school for social work have its sociological laboratory where practice in the art of social work can be carried on. Courses of instruction must em-

phasize the practical, and be more technical in their nature than in our colleges and universities. With the principle of action must go the method of organization and effort, otherwise the student gains the abstract knowledge without the ability to put it into concrete form. Fundamental principles, however, both in economics and in sociology are necessary in order to ground our social workers properly for the development of their plans of community welfare. We have too many men to-day who resemble an inverted pyramid, and whose policies and efforts are likely to be destroyed by the slightest wind that blows. They have not built on a solid foundation, and therefore cannot hope to be permanently successful. Too many social workers are without adequate economic training, and are therefore unsafe guides. Courses in problems of poverty and in the method and technique of charity organizations are fundamental to our work. But the study of the economics of labor is quite as important, and lies at the basis of our living and social conditions. The city as a social agency and the use of the city government for community effort form a subject of extreme importance to the social worker, because of the possibilities that are involved. But it is not my purpose here to outline a full course of instruction; I merely want to say that the student must grasp the principle that our social movements are interrelated, and that the community and the individual react on each other.

The technique of social work is best developed in connection with the various charitable organization societies. It is here that methods of investigation, diagnosis, treatment, and family rehabilitation have achieved their greatest perfection. It is in connection with these and allied organizations that the worker begins to understand the principles of case work which are at the basis of all constructive efforts with the individual. It is successful case work that more clearly distinguishes the trained social worker from his untrained coworker. Differences in the character of other work are often slight. But as long as it is necessary to give much attention to the individual and to the broken-down family, so long will skill in the handling of case work

demand a large share of time in the training of men and women for social service.

The untrained worker frequently fills an investigation with opinions and not with facts, with snap judgment and not with maturely considered statements. Training is the best antidote for inferior work of this character. Without the broader training it is possible for the worker trained in technique to do successful work for the individual. But the task of relating this individual work to the welfare of all must depend upon the executive head.

Very few of the leaders in philanthropic work in the United States have had the advantage of professional training. Yet practically every one to-day is supporting the principle. It is because such men realize that it has required years of observation and experience to perfect them in their work that they are demanding that training for social service be systematized. Our self-made men are not wedded to the principle of the self-made man, but see clearly the need of professional training. The leader with a background for his work, and with a knowledge of the technique of philanthropy, can direct and improve the work of his subordinates and can greatly lessen their mistakes. My experience has taught me to feel that training in the art of investigation or of research adds much to the appreciation of the need for constructive work. A wealth of information is in the hands of every philanthropic organization, and the trained leader realizes that this information can be organized to throw light on the needs of his organization and can be used to develop plans for permanent work. On the other hand, the untrained leader frequently loses himself in a mass of detail without appreciating the social value of the information at his disposal. A little experience and investigation make men cautious and careful, slow to jump at conclusions, and conservative in the application of remedies. The man who has developed a general background for his work in the field of social service can more easily pass from one allied field to another because he can soon work out a background for his newly undertaken work. Furthermore, this kind of man has a capacity for apply-

ing to himself and his organization the efficiency tests that are necessary to-day to determine the value of any organization or society. High standards of work can be maintained only when men know what constitutes such standards; and without high standards it is not possible for us to make the progress that the present-day knowledge of social problems demands.

To sum up, we find that social service is a form of work that is differentiating itself from every other profession. It deals with the improving of social conditions from its own standpoint; it is not a part of some other profession, or subordinate to any profession, and is not the outward expression of the task of some particular institution. It is more than that, it is the task of promoting the public welfare. Men and women can be fitted for this task by observation and experience, but they can be best and most easily fitted by preparing themselves systematically for social service. They thereby gain the advantage of the experience and training of others, and do not compel the groups with which they work to suffer from the ignorance of the untaught social surgeon. Furthermore, we have seen that adequate training requires experience in method and technique, and the development of a background so that the work done may not only be properly interrelated, but may have permanent value for the promotion of social welfare. The gain is but slight if our philanthropy means nothing more than relieving distress here and helping a family there; the permanent gain comes only as we are able to work out policies that mean the permanent improvement of social conditions.

THE PREPARATION OF MINISTERS FOR SOCIAL SERVICE

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THE term "minister" means servant. The minister is a servant of God; but we are becoming keenly conscious that it is fatal to religion to disconnect the service of God from the service of men. When we declare, therefore, that the ministry is a form of social service, we are only defining more clearly the sphere of the minister's activity and responsibility. His ministry is a service of men. But the term "social" contributes an additional shade of meaning. The "social" life of a man means his life as it is connected with and conditioned by the lives of his fellows in a network of relations. It has reference to all phases of his life as a unity; for we must remember that a man does not realize a single one of his interests apart from his other interests, nor apart from his relations with his fellow men. The individual life is a more or less thoroughly unified system of interests which are realized in a system of social relationships which is more or less thoroughly unified, and every single factor in both the individual and the collective systems of interests reacts upon and modifies every other. The minister, then, is the servant of the community, whether the community be regarded distributively as an aggregation of individuals or collectively as an organized unity. This means that his particular function should be performed with the consciousness that it has an important bearing upon every individual and collective interest. I insist upon this. If by the minister's social service is meant a side line of activity which he takes up in addition to his regular and normal business, then his preparation for it will mean one thing; but if by it we are simply giving a definition of his characteristic work in social terms, his preparation for it will mean another thing. I am using the phrase in the latter sense. When "social service" is broadly interpreted and his function is broadly understood,

it will appear that social service *is* his normal function and not an addition to it. If, then, the minister's work is to bring his distinctively spiritual message to men in such a way as to make it a stimulus to all that is healthful and constructive in the community life—and this is without doubt the most effective social service he can possibly render—how shall he best be prepared for it?

It goes without saying that he should be led into a broad intellectual comprehension and emotional appreciation of the spiritual truth which constitutes his message. His message must be uttered out of a deep personal experience. It should be deeply rooted both in his heart and in his head. But it is of equal importance that he both see and feel the relation of the spiritual life, which he seeks to cultivate, to all the other interests and activities of the people. Otherwise the message will be lacking in vitality. It will not connect with life; it will not *grip*.

I should say, then, that along with his specifically theological studies his adequate preparation involves—

1. A thorough acquaintance with the theory of society. Let us not shy at the word "theory." A theory of anything is nothing but a clearly thought-out systematic correlation of human experience in a given field. It is true that a wrong theory in any sphere of interest will lead astray in practical endeavor; but that does not argue against theory, but only in favor of a correct theory, for this will always prove a guide to the most effective methods and the most satisfactory results. *Our ministers need training in social science.* If the physician needs to know the science of Biology and Physiology, just as much do the minister and every social worker need thorough instruction in Psychology and Sociology. The unscientific empiricist in medicine is discredited in all advanced communities. But we have many men and women of that stamp who are undertaking to doctor the sick social body—an organism of such vast complexity and of such a delicate adjustment of forces and functions that a proper understanding of it taxes the resources of the most richly endowed and highly cultivated intelligence. I venture to say that unintelligent empricism

is the bane of social reform. Every "clodhopper" you meet thinks he knows all about what is the matter with society and that he can prescribe an infallible remedy for its ills. He judges the whole social situation by some crude generalization from his narrow personal experience. But he is really far less able to interpret properly his own social experience than he would be to diagnose correctly his own case in a serious complication of diseases. The latter would by no means require the knowledge of such a multitude of subtle interacting forces. Yes, the social servant should come to his task equipped with all that social science can give him. Otherwise he must surely grope and fumble and stumble in the midst of problems of the most delicate and difficult kinds. Nothing but absolute genius could save him from hurtful mistakes.

I know that many people are not willing to admit that there is a science of Sociology. It is useless to consume time debating that question. Of course, there is not a completed science of society. It is the newest and most incomplete of the sciences. But there is no completed science of anything —not even Mathematics. Astronomy, after all these centuries, is incomplete; so are Geology, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Psychology. And if in the realm of social phenomena the results of investigation are just beginning to be correlated into a system of knowledge generally accepted, that does not argue that we should ignore what has been done, but only stresses the need for all social workers to avail themselves of it and contribute something toward its completion—in a word, to go about their work with the best possible scientific preparation and in the genuinely scientific spirit. But we should not underestimate what has been achieved in this field of study. Much has been accomplished; and it is extremely shortsighted not to insist that our ministers should acquaint themselves with the body of knowledge already worked out, and utilize it in the adaptation of their message.

But it is helpful not only in the adaptation of their message. I make bold to say that it is essential to the proper *comprehension* of their message. Time forbids me to go far

into this aspect of the matter. The proposition will probably be disputed. But surely we have come now to see that the Bible is a collection of books which were written at widely separated points of time; that each book embodies the presuppositions and points of view, the mental characteristics, of its particular period; and that these presuppositions and points of view, or mental atmospheres, can be adequately understood only as related to the various social conditions of these periods. This is not to deny the inspiration of this literature; but is only to affirm that this divine inspiration was intended to impart revelations to these several generations of men—which it could not have done if it had not given them messages in the terms of their own life. Revelation is necessarily conditioned by social experience, and the science which gives us a deeper insight into that experience also helps us to understand that revelation better.

Not only is the Revelation which it is the preacher's business to interpret conditioned by social experience, but so are theological systems and ecclesiastical polities. The minister, therefore, should not only be trained in Sociology, but all his theological instruction should be given from the sociological point of view. All his studies should have the sociological background. In this way he will form the habit of looking at religious truth always in its relation to the total life of man. His theology will be vitalized and his spirit as a preacher of the gospel will be socialized.

2. He should have the practical acquaintance with concrete social situations which comes from actual experience in dealing with them. If theory is needed to give a man breadth of view and enable him to see facts in their proper perspective and broader relations, practical acquaintance with specific conditions is necessary to keep theory in touch with reality. Your theory may have its head among the stars, for its outlook must have a world-scope; but its feet should always be flat upon the ground, for the people to be helped by it are not treading the Milky Way, but the common paths of the plain old earth. The theory should at once illuminate the facts and be tested and corrected by them.

The preacher whose vision has been at once lengthened and broadened by a comprehensive survey of the social development of man is prepared to give himself to the intensive study of specific social conditions with the best possible results. In this connection the wise advice of Graham Taylor is worthy of mention: "It is better to visit one family sixteen times than to visit sixteen families one time." Let the preacher, for instance, focus his attention upon a given family. He will study that family in its individuality, in the peculiarities of character and circumstance that differentiate it from all others; but if he has been given the scientific point of view he can never contemplate it as a separate and unrelated phenomenon; he will see in that family group a point in which converge many lines of influence from the past and the present environment. The sure presumption is that he will understand it more completely, and it is equally probable that new light will be thrown upon the general conditions which are here concretely exemplified. The net result will be that he will deal with the family more helpfully—that is, more constructively—and that when he has occasion to bring his influence to bear upon the general situation he will do it with a more practical and more statesmanlike grasp of all the factors involved. The same is true if he should concentrate his attention upon some specific moral problem in his community—as, for instance, the amusement question. Few practical concerns of life have in the past been more unintelligently or ineffectively handled by ministers. To the consideration of this matter it is important that he bring a comprehensive knowledge of the general conditions of life, and also a close practical acquaintance with the facts of the local situation. And so on throughout the range of the practical matters into relation with which he should bring his ministry. My observation is that preachers, as a rule, in their handling of such matters have been exposed to the adverse criticism of the scientifically trained men on the one hand, and the practical men of the world on the other. And while these criticisms are not always just nor always prompted by the best motives they are also often well founded, because preachers have so

often been wanting both in the scientific grasp and the practical knowledge of facts.

The minister, then, should be trained not only in social theory, but in social practice; and it is my judgment that both scientific and practical training should be conducted by our theological schools, unless the student has received ample discipline along both lines before his strictly professional education begins; and even then the theological seminary should take particular pains to correlate his sociological with his theological point of view.

But we should bear in mind that the minister's most effective social service will not be his immediate individual efforts in constructive social programs, but will be to teach those who sit under his ministry a new and larger conception of religious work and to inspire them to struggle for this new and finer ideal.

If we survey church life to-day, a curious and unfortunate situation strikes us. Thousands of church members —a majority of them, according to the testimony of pastors —are "idle"—*i. e.*, are not engaged in religious work. But what exactly is meant by "religious work"? Without trying to give a precise definition of this phrase, which is somewhat indefinite in significance, we can safely say that its customary use does not include the ordinary occupations of life—the sowing and reaping, the manufacturing and transporting, the buying and selling, etc. All these are "secular" activities; they lie outside the sphere of religion and are carried on under the impulsion of non-religious motives, although they consume and *must* consume nine-tenths of the time and energies of those who have, as the phrase goes, "given themselves wholly to God." Is this not an anomalous situation? I submit that there is something incongruous, if not absurd, in speaking of a life as "Christianized" so long as nine-tenths of its time and energy are expended in forms of work which are non-religious and under the control of self-seeking motives. According to the multiplication table, that life is one-tenth Christianized—if that means anything at all. The minister, then, ought to teach his pepole that all work should be religious. He ought to

stand with all his influence for such a recasting of our whole conception of life as will bring all the occupational activities under the sway of religious motives, so that in those activities a man will be consciously aiming at the highest ethical ends. A conception of life that is at once sociological and religious requires nothing short of this.

But leaving aside the larger problem of setting ethical ends for the so-called secular occupations, we confront the astonishing situation that ordinarily ministers and churches do not consider social uplift movements as religious work. The struggle to stop the wholesale industrial "slaughter of the innocents"— the darkest curse that rests upon our modern civilization—is not "religious" work. The effort to secure economic justice for the workingmen, to enthrone elementary morality over the processes of industrial civilization and thus open the way before millions of men for higher personal development—this is not "religious" work. The splendid enterprise of the social settlements—those lighthouses erected in the drear darkness of our tenement and slum districts—is not "religious." And so with multitudinous forms of social effort, preventive and redemptive, which certainly are glorious exhibitions of the self-transcending idealism of our age. Why do we not positively include them within our definition of religious work? Why do not our churches call their members to participation in such efforts as a duty devolving upon them in their character as church members? Why not put behind these movements the mighty dynamic of that motive which sent the early Christians with invincible courage and "tongues of fire" into every center of population in the Roman Empire —"the love of Christ constraineth me"? Would it not be possible to inspire many "idle" thousands in the churches to take up religious work, if the minister could make them see and feel that in doing these things they would be serving Christ and helping onward toward its realization the kingdom of God? We cannot blink the fact that many of these religious idlers are inactive and indifferent because those forms of work which are technically known as "religious" do not appeal to them as bearing effectively upon

the real needs of life. To inculcate this larger conception the minister himself must be taught to see in religious work something more than a narrow, non-social evangelism which has sole reference to a *post-mortem* salvation; and to make his evangelistic appeal a distinct call to service in building the kingdom of God in time. He would probably find that, in thus enlarging the meaning of the phrase "religious work," and broadening the social consciousness of his parishioners, he would put into his evangelistic appeal exactly that note which would catch and hold the attention of the irreligious multitude, who now are so strangely and disconcertingly indifferent to his call, and make the Church again what it was in olden time, the supreme agency through which the ethical enthusiasm of men may be organized and directed.

THE PREPARATION OF THE CHURCH FOR SOCIAL SERVICE

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THERE was something in the picture which attracted, fascinated, and yet baffled the imagination. Again and again, in visiting the beautiful city of Dresden, I found myself wending my way to the studio of the German artist to study his painting. I mean the picture so familiar to us all, by the hand of Hofmann, of Jesus and the Sinful Woman. One day the background of the picture was suddenly revealed and I understood the thought of the painter. The meaning of the picture is expressed in the attitude of the Master. While he seems also to be looking down at the woman, the artist has given to the countenance of Jesus an upward look. It is a look of severity for Pharisee and Scribe, mingled with patience; for the woman it is wondrously expressive of both sympathy and intercession. The

other element in the attitude of Jesus which gives the meaning of the picture, is the hand of the Master, which is stretched downward toward the sinful woman on her knees. And as I thus saw and felt the interpretation of the scene I turned to the gruff old German artist and said: "Mr. Hofmann, I should like to give a name to your picture and make it a parable of the Christian Church; and if I could name the picture, I should call it 'The Upward Look and the Downward Reach.'"

We have been discovering, in the world of science, the wide operation of the law known as the survival of the fittest. We are also discovering in the world of religion, or rather we are rediscovering, another law which was the law of Jesus, the survival of the fittest for the sake of the unfit and the unfittest.

One of the great beauties of nature is her mingling of things unlike each other, each serving the other's needs. The natural order is not like a scientific showcase or like a library of well-ordered books. This universal order, since the stars sang their morning song together, has been the blending of a multitude of things which, in our human knowledge of them, we have set apart. Nature consists thus of unity in diversity. Her divided and subdivided kingdoms exist only in the thought of man. She is not like our human life, marked off into its social and racial and political states with their boundaries and barriers. Her various systems pervade and penetrate each other. They live upon and by one another.

In our human order also, when we live its freest, fullest, and most natural life, we do not gather ourselves together so much upon the basis of similarity as that of unlikeness. The family is the highest type of our mutual human life and it is a bringing together of the unlike and opposite —the gentle woman and the strong man, the little child and the great father, the brother and the sister. There are striking likenesses of feature and of temperament, but these are no more marked than the elements of unlikeness.

When, however, we pass out from this natural social order of God into the realm of our artificial human associa-

tions, we find that this divine law is everywhere perverted and repressed. In God's order it is the unity of unlikeness. Man's disposition is to bring things together by similarities. The one completes the defect by some compensation and gives a real and final unity. The other takes one small portion, multiplies it by itself, and issues in a system of inharmonious exaggerations, so that to him that hath much more is given, and from him that hath not is taken away even that which he hath.

It is true of all of us. If we are going to give something to the rich, we must give a rich gift; to the poor we give the poorer gift. We praise those who are praised and we condemn those who are condemned. Thus it has been the tendency of our human blindness and error to unite the like and to separate the unlike. We have largely ordered the world, not in complementary groups, but by a cold analysis into classes, so that each man, instead of living in the world, lives with his own little class. Here he finds his own ways of doing things repeated, his particular tastes are met, the limited judgments of his little mind are conformed to, and his words stand for wisdom among those who speak like him.

Society has been largely formed after the classification of a schoolroom rather than like the organism of a family. Test this by the population of the city in which we live, by its rigid segregation of race and station. Witness it in our commercial life, with the barons of industry about the hotel table, while the sons of toil meet in their dingy hall. Apply it to the professions, to the calling of the ministry, and note how we classify men, and to our churches in which we often say: "Our church does not have *that class* of people." We are ever estimating men, not vertically, but horizontally.

It is true that this principle is not altogether bad. It would not be bad at all, if it were not carried too far. Our deep mutual sympathies uplift us in common and invigorate the will and purpose. The trouble is that, in proceeding along the lines of these classifications, we have depreciated the finer graces of human life and have impaired its af-

fections, so that everywhere upon the face of its sympathy is written the commercial title "limited." In it there is more of self-will than of pity, more of the law of the survival of the fittest than of Jesus's larger law by which the strong are to sustain the weak. We are the schoolroom with its childish method, which never should have been its method, of the boy at the head of the class and the other at the foot, when perhaps the first ought to have been last and the last first.

Our tendency has gone all too far to find our equals and to associate with them; the weak with the weak, the strong with the strong, rich with rich, poor with poor, the cultured with the cultured, the uncultured with the uncultured, the wise together with the wise and the ignorant with the ignorant. With a still lower aim and motive, we like to talk with those who think as we do and who applaud our knowledge. We read the books that meet our tastes or justify our opinions and confirm our ideas and conceptions. We go to hear the preachers who echo our own notions and the tenor of whose words is to confirm us in self-satisfaction.

We resent those who stand over in contrast to us and again and again we assume the contemptuous attitude of the Scribes, "These people that know not the law which I know are accursed." Thus we fall into a dwarfing egoism. We become in our self-satisfaction very near to the classic man who talked to himself, as he said, first because he liked to talk to a sensible man, and secondly because he liked to hear a sensible man talk. Our little narrow world reflects our little narrow self, or at best the class in which we have been disposed.

We have thus destroyed the family idea of nature and have substituted for it a well-ordered set of classes with the poor dullards to keep misery company, while the brilliant shine in their mutually reflected splendor and become, unknown to themselves, a society for a mutual admiration. The result is that life has fallen largely into the order of the survival of the fittest; to him that hath is given, from him that hath not is taken away; the weak become weaker

and the strong stronger. The great commotion in the social order of our day and generation is the effort to change this current into the splendid order of democracy.

Even the Christian Church has become selective. We call it the school of religion, and yet sometimes it is like a school into which no one can go without first gaining knowledge. We call it a hospital, and yet we create the impression among men that it is a hospital into which only well people are admitted.

Yet nothing opposes this classification but religion. Knowledge does not do it, because we classify ourselves upon the basis of its attainment. Morals do not do this work, because, as in our churches, we have sought to classify ourselves upon this basis. We permit our very personal integrity to dwarf and limit our human sympathy and even a falsely so-called religion has been thus misused.

The law which we are trying to discover was expressed very beautifully twenty centuries ago: "We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves, for even Christ pleased not himself." The one serene force that makes for the new order is the faith of Jesus, which has been put in this striking language by his apostle: "We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak." In these words we have what we might call the law of the attraction of the dissimilar. The two Greek words used might be translated "mighty" and "decrepit." The purpose of Jesus was to change the order of civilization into the similitude of the family. This was the meaning of the new word which he gave for God, the word "Father."

This, however, has not been the way in which discipleship to him, as revealed in the Church, has been carried out. His Church has followed too far the law of the survival of the fittest. He maintained that the experience of discipleship with him should mean the vanishing of the burning glow of self-reliance into the softer light of trust. He opens before us not one world, but two worlds, the world above us with its light shining upon the world beneath us. We are, as it were, suspended between them with a higher existence to attain and the lower existence to assist.

The first element, and the ever-abiding element in the preparation of the Church for social service, is this vision of discipleship. In Jesus aspiration and sympathy meet together. These are the two attitudes of Christian living, the attitudes of Jesus in Hofmann's famous picture, the upward look and the downward reach. We should have both. We must be strong in admiration of the lofty as well as full of piety for the lowly. Some great German philosopher is said to have defined religion as "reverence for inferior beings." It is certainly one of the results of true religion, and whether good philosophy or not, it is the very thought of Jesus.

Each attitude must be maintained and neither yielded to the other. The duty of Christians is both to visit the fatherless and widows and to keep themselves unspotted from the world. They must keep strong themselves, in order that they may become the strength of the weak. It is too bad to see culture without service, but it is just as sad to witness service without culture. Indeed we have to-day, in our great social movements, too many men who have the downward reach without the upward look, and they are thus blind leaders of the blind. To evade and despise the knowledge which is greater than our own, the vision that is larger, the aim that is higher, may be as bad as to lose our sympathy and tenderness. To stifle aspiration is as harmful as to repress compassion and to dwarf our faith as to lose our sympathetic touch. We cannot feed the fires of human life from its own fuel. The downward reach may mean the depression of hope, without the upward look. Sympathy with human needs is vain without communion with divine grace. He who would bring the light of the world to the darkness of man must possess the riches of God as well as witness the poverty of the race. There can be no nether springs of service without the upper springs of inspiration. None of us can uplift even himself, how much less can he uplift others. Thus every one of us stands between the appeal of the things above him and of those beneath him, between the human reality and the divine ideal, between the discipline of duty and the peace of faith. They

tell us that in the ministry for to-day we need "men of the world." That is true, but they must be spiritually minded men of the world.

The great Gentile apostle declared that every man in Christ was a "new creature." Most of us have gone only a little way. We are still followers of temperament; the slaves of taste and tendency, the victims of environment. If we have tried to do the one duty, we have left the other undone, have sought to gain the upward look, but have failed to witness the infinite vision, because our horizon is bounded by our own narrow sympathies and our grudging self-denial. Such men were the Pharisees of Jesus's day. They could not see his face because its light radiated over the expanse of too large a human world. Then, on the other hand, there was the opposite class, the Zealots, the Essenes, busy with their plans for the salvation of the chosen people, so lost in them that they did not witness the kingdom, though it stood in their very midst. It is sad to see men and women, in religion, trying to save themselves and forgetting all the rest of the world except perhaps their own charmed and chosen circle, or losing sight of the man himself in their search for his soul. It is just as sad to find men trying to save the world without any vision beyond their own horizon and with no strength stronger than their own.

Let us look again at the picture of the Master. His picture is always thus, with the upward look and the downward reach. Sometimes he communes with the best-beloved disciple, the saintly John, at other times with the multitude. He passes from the presence of God in Gethsemane to the companionship of Judas. He is always blending knowledge and love, aspiration and sympathy, truth and love, strength and duty, righteousness and pity, virtue and charity, culture and service. The very last moments on the Cross bear witness to it. "Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani." "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." There was the upward look. "Son, behold thy mother!" "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." There was the downward reach.

"And not to please ourselves." Ah, but that is what we do. We intend to please ourselves. God's law for us is that of an affectionate, sympathetic conformity to our human environment. We constantly transgress it and try to conform our human environment to meet our tastes, to suit our tempers, to minister to our own selfish desires. God meant that our environment should embrace humanity. We have narrowed it down to our own little group. "Even Christ pleased not himself." "We then that are strong should bear the infirmities of them that are weak." "They that are strong;" there is the upward look. "The infirmities of the weak;" there is the downward reach.

So people sometimes ask us, "What is the task of the Church?" "Is it spiritual culture or social service?" Watch Jesus. Where do you find him? Sometimes you catch a glimpse of him on the mountain side at midnight in prayer, but the next moment you see him down upon the dusty highway of our human life.

They tell us we must "preach the cross." We have magnified the cross, we have put it on top of our church spires, we have enshrined it in art for ages, we have put it in the center of our theologies, and have many times made it the subject of our bitterest quarrels and hatreds. And yet when I read the Bible I find that Jesus said nothing about putting the cross on the summits of our churches, nothing about enshrining it in art. I am sure he said nothing about making it the object of our philosophic controversy; but he said one thing about the cross, and that is the one thing we have not followed: he said something about carrying the cross.

Men ask, "Is the Church responsible for the wrongs, the injustices, the inhumanities of industry?" The only time, perhaps, when Jesus declared the moral determinance of human destiny was in the severe and searching utterance in the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew: "Inasmuch as ye did it"—or "as ye did it not"—"to one of these my brethren ye did it"—or "ye did it not"—"to me." We read the latest word from the Bureau of Labor: of thirty-five thousand men killed, of two million injured in one year in industry,

a large proportion by preventable disasters, and we say, as we read the chapter, two million and thirty-five thousand "of these." In the factory, with its five hundred little children with less glow upon their cheeks than that which flashes among the machinery of which they are but a part, five hundred "of these little ones." In one industry, in one little town, five thousand "of these my brethren" working twelve hours a day and sometimes more, seven days every week. The choice of the Christian Church and of her Christian laymen is becoming clearer and clearer. She must either make it or else say frankly, "The Sabbath was *not* made for men." "How much is a man better than a sheep?" No better. It is God or Mammon, the philosopy of Frederich Nietzsche or the Sermon on the Mount, Barabbas or Christ. It is the duty of the Church to throw the light of the gospel upon these human wrongs, or else she must revise her gospel. She must do it or else replace her Master for an industrial Herod who claims her little children. She must do it or else find some new higher critics to cut out much of her Master's gospel.

This, then, is the sovereign element in the task of preparation for social service—to make clear to our confused congregations the eternal relation between religious devotion and human impulse, the moral identity of spiritual life and social passion. The task of our leaders of social movements is to bring to expression the human heart within the Church. The task of the Church is to put a divine soul into our social movements.

It needs to be made clear to the Church that we are not confusing the kingdom of heaven with an economic state of equilibrium, that we are not resolving moral and spiritual life into an economic process. We are trying to make our economic order the expression of spiritual ideals; or, to put it conversely, we seek to make moral and spiritual realities the ideals and the ends of our economic order.

One of the great pictures of the world is that of the "Transfiguration," by Raphael, in the Vatican at Rome. I always love to look at it, and yet I always wish that I might place another beside it which I would entitle "The Next Hour

of the Day." The picture which I would place there in the Vatican beside Raphael's "Transfiguration" would be that of the Master, who has just come down from the mountain upon the plain of human life, touching the poor human lunatic and healing him of his disease. Most of us have seen only the one picture of Jesus in that story of the transfiguration. We have seen it in the upward look. In the other picture, we should have, side by side with it, the downward reach.

Two things then the Church must gain: the one is spiritual authority; the other is human sympathy. And be her human sympathy ever so warm and passionate, if she have not her spiritual authority, she can do little more than raise a dim signal of distress with a very limp and pallid hand. But if, on the other hand, she assumes a spiritual authority without an unmeasured human sympathy, she becomes what her Master would call "a whited sepulcher filled with dead men's bones."

May this Southern Congress spend many hours upon the mountain of Transfiguration with the Master! May it, the next hour of the same day, be found with him down upon the plain healing men of their diseases! For there can be no real and abiding social service without its commensurate spiritual vision, and the one will be as real and abiding as the other is deep and reverent.

Let us then determine to know nothing save Jesus Christ and him crucified. The cross of Christ is the symbol of our faith; let us lift it up as the solitary hope of mankind and of its social salvation. Let us go forth to carry the cross in a burdened world. And may we and all who have known its redeeming power lead men to bow before it, that its light may uncover and dispel the sin, the selfishness, the sordid greed, cold indifference, and heartless neglect of that world, that all men may lift it up, bear one another's burdens, and so fulfill the law of Christ. For, if any man would come after him, let him take up his cross and follow him.

I went into a hospital the other day. I witnessed a parable. A pale, weak, bloodless man was carried in. He was not strong enough to walk. He did not even come of his own volition. Following him came a great, strong, stal-

wart man, glowing with health. They brought them together. They bared an arm of each man. They brought them into fellowship by a conductor which carried the rich blood of the strong into the frail body of the weak. That should be, at least, the spirit of the Church, and this sense of her mission is the first and the last element in her preparation for the task of social service.

III. RACE RELATIONS

Lack of Proper Home Life among Negroes
Some Conditions among Negroes in Cities
The Colored Children as Future Workers
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LACK OF PROPER HOME LIFE AMONG NEGROES

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THE last available census bulletins reveal the fact that there are 330,000 negro families in their own homes, and for this fact every right-thinking person in the South is grateful. There are also 1,200,000 other families living in rented homes, and 114,000 additional families marked by census enumerators as "Unknown." A fact does not change its significance simply because it is discovered to be a fact bearing upon negro life, and for that reason it would be contrary to the truth to assert that negro home life in a rented house is of necessity incomplete, unsatisfactory, and unprogressive. Concerning these rented houses we must know something further than the bare fact that the ownership lies in some other than the occupant before we can arrive at a just estimate of the ideals ruling the home. We must know some of the things lacking in the negro homes which an advancing civilization declares are necessary to the attainment of the best home life. We must know also the inevitable reaction of intimate neighborhood upon the growing members of the family, and from these premises we must draw our inferences touching a greater social obligation.

For the present, therefore, we exclude from our view the two million or more negroes who are progressing in their family life in harmony with the ideals of an enlarging civilization and center our attention upon the unprogressive members of the population. In order to make this discussion clear, we confine our attention to that limited portion of negro families who have their living in the alleys, back yards, and in minor streets of Southern cities. Residences in back yards having their entrances through neighboring alleys and minor streets have little advantage over the alley in matters of sanitation, light, police protection, and general desirability. Hence we shall not be misunderstood if we employ the term "alley residence" to sig-

nify the average rented quarters of poor negroes in our cities.

THE THINGS THAT ARE LACKING

The houses which a million families of negroes occupy present one dominant physical character: they are not adapted to a twentieth-century civilization. All ideals of comfort, safety, and progress are excluded before the family enters. There are three types of these structures, all of them equally successful in the production of failure. The first type is the little separate house or shack built of cheapest material, chosen because of the negro's inability to live elsewhere. The second type is the old building formerly occupied by a different class of residents and now given over to negroes who demand little in the matter of repairs and improvements. The third type is the tenement house, accommodating from three to thirty families, providing one or two rooms for each family, and offering all the occupants one porch, one water supply, and one toilet for their common use. New buildings conform in general to these prevailing types; and, except in cases where improved housing ordinances are enforced, deterioration is rapid and the new is but little more desirable than the old.

In these houses there is uniform failure to provide adequate space for family living. It is not unusual to find five, six, or more persons in two rooms. The kitchen is also dining room, bedroom and workroom. Articles of furniture are beds, tables, stoves, and a few chairs. Very few are the wardrobes, clothes closets, washstands, and dressers. Boarders and lodgers often share some part of a two-room space with a family of four. These rooms have no running water, either hot or cold; and no sinks, water closets, bathtubs, and refrigerators. What is a home without brooms, towels, napkins, needles, thimbles, sewing machine, and implements to prepare, cook, and serve food? In hundreds of negro homes in Southern cities there are none of these things, and the accessories of civilization, such as books, pictures, rugs, window shades, bed sheets, pillowcases, and tablecloths, are not among the rewards of a day's

search. Children are crowded away from the table, and for their sustenance they eat at irregular hours anything they can find in the house or out of it. They are crowded out of the beds, and in order to accommodate strangers they sleep often on the floor without mattresses, covering, or change of clothing. The entire family is scarcely ever together during waking hours, and there is no counsel between parents and children, no reading around a table, no asking and answering questions, no story-telling or games, no singing, no cultivation of habits or manners, no prayers with the family, and no giving thanks at meals.

But what does the neighborhood offer better than the house itself provides? To escape from the repulsive interior the members of the household emerge into an alley or yard filled with garbage, ashes, stagnant water, and decaying animal carcasses. The narrow yards perform in some respects indeed a better function than the open court or air shaft of large tenement districts. They have more sunlight and fresh air than can be claimed by the tenement dweller, but little else of advantage can be said of them. In the yards are the vaults, water closets, wood and coal houses, pigsties, poultry pens, garbage cans, and water supply. The toilets are the most primitive, indecent, and unsanitary affairs that can be imagined. One such outdoor toilet, without water connection, is often the only provision for a tenement of thirty families, or for all the houses on an alley for the length of a city block. Screens, door locks, or concealed passageways are practically unknown; and although this pollution of our city life affects health, morals, intelligence, and family integrity, there is no city in the South that has adequately dealt with it. With monotonous regularly all the other outhouses on the premises present a condition of deterioration, bad repair, and sanitary neglect.

These conditions are matters belonging not to one family alone, but to an entire city block, an entire street, a district given over to the least prosperous of the population. If children of the neighborhood congregate to play, they have their games over garbage piles, around surface closets,

in and out of abandoned outhouses, through a rank growth of weeds, in the slimy filth of an open sewer, and over the carcasses of animals that the rain has not washed away. As a matter of simple fact, negro children in this station of life do no play in the full, free, joyous sense of the word. They express their instincts more satisfactorily by fighting than by playing. The boys huddle about some abandoned spot and spend hours in a stooping posture over a game of craps, or in the corner of an abandoned building they pass on the suggestions which their indecent surroundings have brought to their mind. The girls who do not enter early into domestic service have abundant leisure, but no play. Pitifully few dolls or playthings of any description are to be found among them. They have no room at home for games, parties, make-believe housekeeping, or childhood fancies. Their toys, if they have any, are rescued from garbage heaps, and their years are spent in idleness without constructive amusement. They hear the unprofitable conversation of their elders, and fill the vacant time with still more vacant wanderings from one unattractive spot to another. It is scarcely possible to imagine anything more pathetic than the complete absence of play in the lives of negro children who inhabit city alleys. For them there are no visits to parks, no story hour, theaters, museums, or libraries; no eager, bounding, self-directing sport; no sharing in the physical hilarity that makes American youth the wonder and delight of the nation.

For adults the house offers nothing more satisfactory than it gives to the children. The negro man or woman cannot sit on the porch, where there is one, nor walk in the yard, nor visit a neighbor's house, without gazing constantly at vaults, washtubs full of soapy water, pigsties, and refuse heaps. The contamination of sights, sounds, and odors is as pervasive as the atmosphere and there is no escape from it. The parks, boulevards, and shady streets, the conservatories, picture galleries, and libraries, the theaters, amusement halls, restaurants, and hotel lobbies are forbidden lands, guarded at every approach by flaming swords. The alley negro, having achieved nothing, is turned

back by his own helplessness to fester and decay in the rubbish from which he is impotent to rescue himself.

Neighborhood is largely a matter of spiritual geography. It is possible for the strong, dominant personalities to transcend the limits of the street and the restraints of physical location. But the number of dominant spirits who are not subject to immediate environment is exceedingly small, and our obligation, after all, is not to the strong alone, but to the weak and those who all their lives are under the charm of what they see and hear and touch in daily contact. It is an inspiration to the whole world to know that Shepherd, the negro missionary to Africa, Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and city mission pastor, came from a family of delinquents, and that Cave Hill, Louisville, has sent to Hampton Institute a young man who promises to be a leader in the intellectual and moral life of his people. Such examples, praiseworthy as they are and powerful in giving stimulus to other struggling lives, do not remove the obligation from the strong to bear the burdens of the weak. It is still true that the majority of the human family are molded by the things they see, guided by the things they hear, and dominated by the things they touch. To say that they are weak does not disprove the fact that the general tone of life may be improved and many individuals lifted into careers of great usefulness by the purification of neighborhood contact.

THE UNAVOIDABLE PRESSURE OF NEIGHBORHOOD

The reality pressing upon life gives form and direction to its ideals. Experience is the basis of dreams, the substratum upon which ambitions are erected. The past is projected into the future, and the possible is determined by the actual. The standard which even the best of men set for themselves is built up of material already possessed by the memory and conscience. For the majority of human beings ideals are sobered by actual attainment rather than brightened by hopes of the impossible. It is not easy to transplant a wholly new standard of conduct while the

facts of life and the testimony of the senses strike hard upon unchanging forces. Said a negro when a new mode of life was presented to him: "I never allow myself to want what I know I cannot get."

This dependence of ambition upon reality renders improvement of negro home life both difficult and encouraging. It is difficult because life for many has continued so long under depressing circumstances that desire is atrophied and imagination has no conquest to work upon. It is encouraging because a change of material facts, combined with patient guidance and living illustrations of success, does actually produce new results in motive and effort. The problem has begun to disappear when living examples of success are made common in every negro neighborhood.

It is not a peculiar race characteristic that makes negro home life a hard problem for society to solve. The call of race is imperative in such matters as family association, social groupings, and family integrity, and is evident among negroes just as it is among Jews, Anglo-Saxons, Asiatics, or any other division of humankind. Negroes will move into an alley and live among other negroes just for the same reason that Syrians will occupy one tenement and Italians another. It is perhaps true also that negroes will be forced into more complete segregation than the members of any other race because of the ever-present racial antipathy against their freedom of intermingling. But there is no evidence whatever that dirt, disorder, and indecency are the products of negro race selection. A negro lives in an unsanitary, dilapidated hut or overcrowded tenement in a malodorous alley, not because of race tendency moving in that realm of physical perversion, but because that shelter is the best that is expected of him or made possible for him. He has been taught that his wage earnings make no better home possible, and that his value as a citizen requires nothing higher of him. He moves in that realm because he accepts the common estimate upon his own manhood, and he confines his family to that limiting environment because he expects nothing more of his children than that they should follow in his footsteps.

When we consider how all the senses are assaulted by the material things that spring out of the alley, we cannot marvel that so large a number of negroes are backward in appropriating the better gifts of civilization. There is nothing to look upon to suggest beauty, order, or conformity to law. Everything is present to teach the law of confusion and the fact of failure. Dirt, trash, and filth have acquired the supremacy, and from earliest infancy the eyes gaze upon an arrangement of things that indicates indecency, incompetency, and the dependence of the spirit upon matter. The sounds that first awaken the mind are discordant, repellent, irritating, and produces the reaction of despair, discontent, and inability to master the forces that are displeasing. The odors are foul, insistent, adhesive, and corrupting; the touch is evasive and at the same time intimate; repellent but at the same time hypnotic. The taste is compounded of all the other senses that annoy the memory and stupefy the imagination. Residence in the alley or in neglected minor streets supplies all the elements that offend against every human sense.

The effects of this persistent invasion of the avenues of the soul are not doubtful or long delayed. The volition is weakened, the sentiment is perverted, and the moral standards are erected out of the only material at hand. It is impossible to say to what extent our idea of a moral life grows out of the facts which constantly confront us; but every father or mother with ambitions for their children's welfare shun, as they would contamination itself, the influences that work deterioration of the physical senses. The material world is the companion and prototype of the moral world. Disorder in the physical world has its counterpart in disobedience, trash passes over into license, discord has its answer in inattention; reeking filth has its reaction in careless and degenerate habits. Beauty is an aid to morality and ugliness is a stimulant of vice.

The alley as a place of residence is an evidence of a good thing gone wrong. It is a necessary part of the structure of a city, and has its justification in the convenience of family life in city blocks and in the demands of commercial

activity. To meet its true purpose the alley must be maintained as a part of our sanitary and police system, as a means of protection against fire and as a preventive of land overcrowding. But when we allow the alley to be diverted from its good uses and to become a place of residence, we destroy the good it may do and turn it into a culture tube of disease, ignorance, and immorality.

As a social influence the alley becomes through neglect the chief promoter of contagion and physical degeneracy. It claims its retribution in infant mortality and general debility throughout the home of the more cultured and the more highly privileged. It scatters its poison over the paved street and boulevard, and demonstrates the fact that there is no denying the truth of social unity. It teaches three important lessons in the realm of social ethics. First, the city has allowed an evil thing to exist, and individual life is therefore surrounded by permissible evil things. By so much as the city lowers its standards in the maintenance and use of the alleys, by so much also will life along its forgotten length be marked by lowered moral standards. Secondly, the city encourages the inhabitants of the alley in the evil habit of covering unsightly and disagreeable things, which they attempt to do by building fences around unsightly yards, training vines or piling fresh rubbish on top of decaying heaps. The ordinary "clean-up" day, of which so much boast is made in some cities, results in nothing more in negro alleys than covering up a few of the most hideous sights. All this is civic insincerity, and leads to the pernicious individual habit of concealing vices rather than removing them. Thirdly, along the alley many other evil things are shamelessly exposed, and no value whatever is placed upon a decent self-restraint and a regard for the welfare of others. This leads to a contempt for one's own best sentiments and a supreme disregard of them in others. Evil things permitted, evil things concealed, and a disregard for the rights of others become the ethical atmosphere of the alley house, and the home is pervaded by the same moral miasma.

Many negroes who are compelled to live in the alley seek to avoid its contamination by moving from house to house

and from one alley to another. Repeated experiences of failure to improve conditions lead to the conclusion that improvement is impossible, and out of failure comes the persuasion that the material world, not the spirit of man, is the master. It is one of the most pathetic facts in connection with negro life to discover family after family in a prolonged search after better homes through changes from house to house in the alley. Their hope of improvement lies in the geography of the home, not in the spirit of mastery, for that spirit never has been aroused through contact with better things that enter into the details of domestic comfort.

Many have supposed that the migratory habit of negroes is a race characteristic, and have condemned it as a cause of their failure in making better homes. It is, on the contrary, more nearly the truth to say that their failure to make a home that satisfies is the productive cause of their restlessness. The habit is almost entirely absent in the lives of those negroes who have built a home with some standards of culture possible in it. The failure of many so-called "plantation experiments" has resulted in no small degree from the unwillingness of plantation owners to encourage living on property which the negroes could buy and claim for their own and improve as their ability increased.

Life in the only house available for the negro has produced in him a degrading sense of his own personal power and worth. The alley has conquered those who live upon it, and out of many conflicts there has come an apathy that accepts life as a thing detached from success, mastery, and abiding pleasure. High moral conduct is for those who have succeeded in gaining some mastery over the forces of nature, but morality and conduct are forever divorced in those lives that have no basis in achievement. There is no guarantee that the negro will be a complete moral man simply because he lives in a clean, comfortable, separate house, for no one holds that economic independence is of itself a sufficient regenerating agency. But the moral appeal is stronger when hope is alive. There is little hope in the midst of filth, indecency, and overcrowding.

Upon organized society falls the first obligation to remove the stone from the sepulcher of buried human ambition and self-respect. The alley is a social product, and the alley's putrefying humanity is an indictment of society's trustworthiness.

In the discussion which has claimed our attention to this point we recognize clearly that only a limited number of families is involved and that they are confined to the cities, but their number is sufficiently large to justify a distinct appeal for community righteousness on their behalf. We recognize also that a remedy for the deplorable conditions lies within reach of a Christian social neighborhood, and that wherever the submerged members of our human society have the offer of a better family life under favorable circumstances, they respond to it in a way to rejoice the heart of every true friend of human respectability.

When applied even to the least progressive of our fellow human beings, the regeneration of family life is a victory won through the majesty of the forces of kindness, justice, and love.

SOME CONDITIONS AMONG NEGROES IN CITIES*

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AMONG the outstanding features of national life to-day is the migration to and concentration of negroes in cities, North and South. Following hard upon the settlement in the cities there is a segregation which cuts off points of friendly contact between white and colored people, especially the better elements, and shuts out the negro from many of the most desirable forces of the common life. As

*City is used as the shortest term for all urban centers of 2,500 inhabitants or more. It includes towns and cities.

a result, the industrial, housing, health, educational, and other problems of his city life are more crucial than those of his white brethren. The negro's heroic struggles to overcome his maladjustment have greater odds against their success.

In discussing this matter the time is past for the passionate avowal of opinions based merely upon feelings; the facts must be carefully studied and conclusions logically drawn.

I. THE INFLUENCE OF THE CITY UPON NEGRO LIFE

Our attention to the needs of the negro should include the influence that town and city are exerting. In the first place, the town and city are trading centers for the rural negroes, especially in the South. On Saturdays most farmers and farm laborers take a holiday to go to town. In some localities an additional day in midweek is added. On these visits the country folk not only get much of their merchandise and liquor, but they get the gossip, the ideas of dress, of homes, of business, of amusements, of gambling, and of other vices. More than twenty-five miles in the backwoods of Alabama I have seen the imitation of town ideas in cabins, in churches, and in drunken carousals. Eight or ten miles in the rural sections of Tennessee I have seen dress and firearms and picture-show apparatus which could be traced to no other source than the near-by town. And today, though it need not be so, the best educational opportunities and the best medical care are centered in the cities. We should also remind ourselves that the white and negro banks, and many of the business firms, which provide the financial and commercial facilities that serve the negro, are located in the towns and cities.

In the above statements I have tried simply by illustration to bring out the fact that the study of the negro in towns and cities and the relation of towns and cities to the entire negro population has a significance which we have hardly yet realized. It demands our attention and deserves our best thought, for it is pregnant with potency for negro welfare or the reverse, and not only for his help or harm,

but for that of our Southland, which we love so dearly, and for that of the entire nation.

II. THE MIGRATION TO THE CITIES

The first fact which strikes the observer is the migration to the cities. The past century has been marked by the urban migration of the entire population. This has been especially true during the last fifty years. In the United States in 1880 the total population was 29.5 per cent urban and 70.5 per cent rural. In 1910 it was 46.3 per cent urban and 53.7 per cent rural. Since 1860 the negro has been a part of this great population stream that is moving to the cities. In 1890 19.8 per cent of the total negro population resided in centers of 2,500 inhabitants or more. By 1900 this had increased to 22.7 per cent, and in 1910 it had risen to 27.4 per cent, or more than one-fourth of the total negro population. The negro's movement cityward has varied from the general population at times and in places when special influences have borne upon him. But where the influences affecting him have been similar to those affecting the white man, his movements have been similar.

From the economic point of view emancipation from slavery meant a release from the soil. With the breaking down of an old régime, thousands of the landless freedmen were possessed with the wanderlust which has seized the masses in all times of sudden social upheaval. The Union army posts which were located in towns and cities became early centers of concentration. The Ku-Klux disturbance and the prevalent notion that the Federal government would care for all added their power to the other forces operating just after the war to draw the negroes into the urban centers. Thus the divorce of the negro from the soil was begun, and it has not been entirely checked since.

It was almost inevitable, then, that between 1860 and 1870, while the white population in fourteen Southern cities increased 16.7 per cent, the negro population increased 90.7 per cent; and in eight Northern cities (counting New York City as now constituted as one) the negro population increased 51 per cent in the same decade.

This influx of negroes to these cities for that decade was exceptional because of the exceptional influences. In the entire Continental United States, for towns and cities of 2,500 inhabitants or more, from 1890 to 1900, the white population increased 35.7 per cent, the negro 35.2 per cent; while in the country districts the whites increased 12.4 per cent, the negroes 13.7 per cent. In the South Atlantic and South Central division of States, from 1890 to 1900, while the white urban population increased 36.7 per cent the negroes increased 31.8 per cent. In the country districts the whites increased 22.9 per cent and the negroes 14.6 per cent. This means, to quote from the Twelfth Census, that "in the country districts of the South negroes increased about *two-thirds* as fast as the whites; in the cities they increased *nearly seven-eighths* as fast."

A careful analysis of all these figures supports the conclusion that the migration of the two races has been similar or dissimilar respectively, as the influences affecting them were similar or dissimilar.

It is important, then, to notes the influences that have moved these populations to the cities. I have already noted the special cause in the breaking down of the slave régime as it operated to draw negroes to the centers between 1860 and 1870. Besides this, the negro has been affected by those fundamental economic, social, and individual causes which have moved the general population. Among the causes, the principal one has been the growth of the industrial and commercial life in the South. The industrial growth is indicated by the fact that between 1880 and 1900 Southern cities increased 143.3 per cent in the total value of products, and 60.9 per cent in the average number of wage-earners, exclusive of proprietors, salaried officers, and clerks. The city of Birmingham, with its great iron and steel industries, is an illustration. In 1880 the whole county of Jefferson, where the city is situated, contained less than 4,000 total population. In 1910 the city of Birmingham, not including all of the county, had a population of 132,685.

Indications of the growth of commercial life are best seen in the amount of railroad building, total railway tonnage,

and gross earnings. In thirteen Southern States from 1860 to 1900 total railway mileage increased 461.9 per cent, nearly fivefold. Total tonnage for most of this same territory increased 90.5 per cent, or nearly doubled between 1890 and 1900, while the total freight, passenger, express, and mail earnings increased 48.4 per cent during the same ten years. Besides statistics, general observation shows the rapid development of industrial and commercial enterprises in the South during the last thirty years. Atlanta, Ga., with its railway interests, is a type of the city built upon commercial development. In 1880 it had a population of 37,409. In 1910 this had increased to 154,839.

Now because the negro has been such a large factor in the labor of the South he has been greatly influenced by these industrial and commercial developments. Our general knowledge of this fact is corroborated by a comparison of the increase in the number of white and negro wage-earners in selected Southern cities. Between 1890 and 1900 in domestic and personal service the male whites increased 42.3 per cent, negroes 31.1 per cent; in trade and transportation occupations male whites increased 25.2 per cent, negroes 39.1 per cent; while in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits male whites increased 16.3 per cent, negroes 11.6 per cent.

The fundamental economic causes mentioned above have been supplemented by social and individual forces that in many sections have been very influential. Legislation, especially those laws which have borne hard upon the land tenant and farm laborer, making their uninviting lot worse than it otherwise would be, has been a factor. The city has offered better educational and amusement facilities.

The excitement of the city crowds, the paved and lighted streets, the other comforts and conveniences are wonderful attractions to the imagination of the ignorant rustic. He has no other thought than that he can easily secure them. They are viewed by him as a part of the great world which is so much better than the hard conditions he has known on plantation and farm. The easy means of transportation by rail and water and the activities of employment agents

and of black slave runners increased the pressure; while the return to the country home of relatives and friends creates restlessness among the younger element in the entire neighborhood by the display of smart clothes, of ready cash, and the conversation of the city street.

The above facts and figures warrant the conclusion that the negroes along with the whites, affected by causes which will undoubtedly operate for an indefinite time, will continue to come to towns and cities in large numbers, and that many will come to stay. We shall therefore have a large permanent city negro population.

The present urban population is of considerable size. In 1910 thirty-nine cities had 10,000 or more negroes, and the following twelve of these cities had more than 40,000 negroes each:

Atlanta, Ga.	51,902
Baltimore, Md.	84,749
Birmingham, Ala.	52,305
Chicago, Ill.	44,103
Louisville, Ky.	40,522
Memphis, Tenn.	52,441
New Orleans, La.	89,262
New York, N. Y.	91,709
Philadelphia, Pa.	84,459
Richmond, Va.	46,733
St. Louis, Mo.	43,960
Washington, D. C.	94,446

In the same year in twenty-seven principal cities (25,000 or more total population) negroes constituted one-fourth or more of the total population, and in Montgomery, Ala., Jacksonville, Fla., Savannah, Ga., Charleston, S. C., the negro population was one-half or more.

III. SEGREGATION WITHIN THE CITY

Following hard upon the concentration of negroes in cities is the segregation into districts and sections. In Northern cities the negro Ghetto is as distinct as the Jew-

ish or Italian. In Southern centers, while domestic servants usually continue to reside on or near the premises of their employers, the negro classes which find a livelihood outside of such service live separate and apart from the general community. The Harlem district of New York, State Street in Chicago, Chestnut Street and "Smoketown" in Louisville, West End and Auburn Avenue in Atlanta are typical conditions of cities, large and small, North and South.

This segregation is the result of social forces working both inside and outside of negro life. First, negroes, like other people, desire to be together. Racial, family, and friendly relationships produce a "consciousness of kind" which binds them closer together than brothers. But the desire to dwell together is not the desire to live amidst ignorance, to dwell in unsanitary houses, and to be content with inadequate public facilities and conveniences.

In order to secure better surroundings than those usually to be had in the sections where they have been accustomed to live, negroes of intelligence and of high standards of living have sought either to improve their community or to move out of the Ghetto. Like other people, they try to shuffle off the coil of their previous condition. But here a perplexing situation confronts us: The modern sanitary and other protective facilities for the negro neighborhood are not provided when the negro asks for them. And he meets a prejudiced opposition when he attempts to move to localities where these conveniences are to be had.

Let me make this point clear by a concrete statement which illustrates conditions in a dozen or more cities that could be named but for giving offense to local pride. The negro district is without sewers; the privies with surface vaults violate every regulation of sanitation and every principle of decency. Many of the rented houses are without even water connection. The streets are out of repair and in filth from lack of drainage and garbage collection. The street car service is far below the standard of other sections of the city, and results in loss of time, delay in getting to and from work, and in unnecessary crowding on the

few cars which do run. The less said about police protection the better.

The fire protection, if there is any, is inadequate and inferior. Within the past twelve months I have seen residences of negroes, which they had built by years of struggle and saving, burn to the ground with no means of city fire protection, although the neighborhood was well within the corporate limits of a large city and those negroes were bearing a heavy tax-rate.

The most serious curse in the neighborhood is the saloon, the questionable houses of both whites and blacks, and the difficulties which confront decent negroes who try to drive these agencies from among their homes. Respectable negroes often find it beyond their power to protect themselves against such resorts as well as to free themselves from disreputable and vicious characters of their own race, because eternal vigilance does not always bring to the colored community freedom from saloons, gambling dens, and from other degrading places.

It has happened more than once that the lives of respectacle colored men have been in jeopardy because they took evidence to the city authorities in futile attempts to protect themselves and their families from such influences. Is it any wonder, then, that many negroes seek to buy or build houses in other neighborhoods? The desire for and the effort to secure the conveniences and to get protection has resulted in the segregation conflict. Since the desired benefits will not come to the negro, he undertakes to go to the benefits.

This segregation is progressing farther than mere residences in separate neighborhoods. In both Northern and Southern cities negroes live almost a separate existence in their church life, in their business life, and in their community life. With separate street car and railway accommodations, separate places of amusement and recreation, separate hospitals, and even separate cemeteries, there is danger of a decided cleavage between the two races extending from the cradle to the grave. In the midst of this partially isolated life city negroes are called upon to make a

very difficult threefold adjustment. First, they must learn to live in town. Adjustment to changed conditions of employment, of housing, etc., must be made by all people who move from the country to the city. Secondly, we are making the adjustment from the status of chattel to that of freemen, from slavery to citizenship. We are struggling to rid ourselves of the inner feeling of servility; we are striving to stand upon our feet as men, to believe ourselves fit for the freedom of a democracy, and to realize in our own consciousness the self-confidence and self-control of free men and women. In the third place, at the same time that negroes are facing the demands of their surrounding conditions, at the same time that they are struggling with their inner consciousness, they must adapt themselves to the white population in the cities. And I hardly think any observer will deny that the attitude of the large majority of this white population is either indifferent or prejudiced or both indifferent and prejudiced. What, then, may we expect as the outcome of such a situation?

IV. THE OUTCOME OF SEGREGATION

As was indicated a few moments ago, in the matter of housing conditions, my people are at unusual disadvantages when they want respectable surroundings. As shown by reliable investigations, the outcome of segregation is that the "red light" districts of white people in several cities are either in the midst of or border upon negro districts. In many towns loose laws and lax administration permit landlords to build "gun barrel" shanties and "Noah's arks" of which the typical pigeon house would be a construction model, and to crowd these houses upon the same lot, some facing front street, some side street, and others facing one or two alleys. The lack of water and sewerage and other sanitary neglect make them indeed a "noisome pestilence."

A more serious outcome of segregation is the handicap of negroes in their efforts to earn a living. Four facts about the industrial life of the negroes need to be borne in mind. First, the masses that move to the city are unprepared to meet the exacting requirements of modern industry and to

face the keen competition of more efficient laborers. Second, educational facilities to train these aspiring, struggling searchers for better conditions are not provided in any negro neighborhood of any city, North or South, so far as I know. The first experiment in a vocational school is to be opened in Cincinnati this spring. Third, that mixed in with the ignorant and the inefficient are the lazy and the vicious. The hope of reward has been so often deferred that their hearts no longer respond to promises. The "won't-works" come to the city with the "can't-works."

Along with these three facts, does not the fourth arise? Are not the white employers of this negro labor complaining and blaming the negro instead of understanding the situation and providing him with ample opportunity to overcome his deficiencies?

The general result of these four factors is a limitation of the occupational field for the negro, and his being crowded into lower-paid, unskilled occupations. Large numbers pass from job to job with little satisfaction to themselves or their employers. They are thus debarred from a better standard of living through better income and the community is deprived of a valuable supply of latent labor.

The outcome of these conditions is a strain upon the health and morals of negroes perhaps greater than upon any other element of our city population. Badly housed, with poor income and a resulting low standard of living, the marvel is not that the negroes have a uniformly higher death rate than the whites in the same locality, but that the death rate is so low and is decreasing.

The moral condition cannot be figured out in numbers and set down in statistical tables. Criminal statistics are quite as much a condemnation of the community as an indictment of the accused negro. On the other hand, the surprise comes from impartial observers who uniformly testify to the integrity of large bodies of worthy negro citizens, to the purity of thousands of individuals and homes, and to the scores of law-abiding communities. All the available testimony and over fifteen years of observation during resi-

dence in six cities and repeated visits to more than a score of others leave a firm conclusion that there is slowly persistent, continued improvement. With these truths before us what may be suggested as a remedy?

V. WHAT MAY BE DONE

The recital of these unpleasant facts could be justified only upon the score that we are seeking a solution. There is a silver lining behind the cloud. The foregoing discussion shows a nation-wide negro migration to cities and a segregation within the cities which is far-reaching in its consequences. What can we do?

1. We should acquaint the negro with the advantage of his remaining in the rural districts and getting hold of the land unless by education and training he is prepared to grapple with the problems of city life. We should also make every effort to remove the disabilities of laws unfavorable to farm life, to minimize the activities of labor agents and runners, to develop amusements and recreation in country districts.

2. Realizing that there are scores of cities and towns which already have large negro populations, we should make a determined, organized effort to help these negroes adjust themselves to city life. The feeling between the white and colored people in each community must be made more cordial and we must overcome the effects of the increasing segregation by some form of community coöperation between blacks and whites. The greatest danger is the growing suspicion on the one hand and apprehension on the other between the best elements of the two races. They misunderstand each other because they have decreasing personal contact. Mutual sympathy, practical coöperation, and personal contact will work wonders with prejudices and preconceived notions.

3. In every locality the white people and the colored people should form some kind of a social service organization, should map out a community program for improving the neighborhood, housing, economic, educational and reli-

gious, and other conditions among negroes, and should take some immediate steps to put their plans into operation.

4. These local organizations should either join hands in making the movement national or connect themselves with some existing organization which will especially deal with the problems of the negroes in towns and cities. By the exchange of plans, methods, and experiences, general coöperation and necessary enthusiasm will be developed.

5. Negroes must have a better-trained leadership. The lesson of group psychology and common sense should be heeded. An intelligent Jew can best understand and lead Jews, an Italian can best influence Italians, and negro leaders are the best teachers and exemplars to their own. If the negro is to be lifted to the full stature of American manhood, he must have leaders trained in all the arts and ideals of American civilization. He should also have a chance to make the contributions which he undoubtedly has to offer to American life.

6. The final suggestion I would offer is that impartial community justice be accorded alike to white people and to black people in every locality. This is the best means of fostering mutual confidence and securing the full cooperation of the negro. This will also serve to dispel apprehension on the part of the white people. A "square deal" in the conveniences and facilities of community life and in the protection of negro homes and neighborhoods, a "square deal" in industry, in education, and in all the walks of life is the foundation stone of community peace and welfare; for the problem of the negro in the city is only a part of the great democratic problem of justice for the handicapped in America, "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

THE NEGRO CHILDREN AS FUTURE WORKERS

MRS. FLORENCE KELLEY, NEW YORK CITY

FROM year to year I am increasingly impressed with the inappropriateness of the education that we offer our children, the burden of this inappropriateness falling most heavily on the immigrant and colored children.

In the North we are suffering from a congestion of population in the cities unequaled anywhere in the world. This congestion I believe to be in great measure traceable to a half century of intensive education of boys and girls, native and foreign born, rural and city bred, white and colored, in precisely those branches which incline children to city life by turning their minds toward commercial activities and giving them habits of indoor, sedentary life.

The most exaggerated example is to be found in the City of New York. We spend more than thirty million dollars a year in current costs for our schools. We educate 803,000 children at an approximate average annual expense of thirty-three dollars per capita. We require the children to stay in school until they complete six years' work of the curriculum, or reach the sixteenth birthday.

The girls' curriculum varies from that of the boys only in a half dozen high schools at which attendance is optional. Throughout the first six grades where attendance is compulsory, the education of the boys and girls is identical. This means that a girl may leave school at the fourteenth birthday, having been taught reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and English grammar, with some petty manual work. After the girl has left, after the term of compulsory attendance is over, domestic science begins in the next year's work for those who can afford to stay on into the seventh year.

This postponement of the only instruction calculated to turn the girls' minds in the direction of home life is peculiarly hard upon the colored girls because, in the greatest industrial city in the Western Hemisphere, the three

occupations open to a colored girl are those of a wife, performing the ordinary household duties, or domestic service, or the care of the sick. Catering, as an offshoot of household service, hairdressing, and laundry work are almost the only employments, aside from the three above mentioned, to which colored girls are welcomed.

Throughout the United States the one employment for women in which at all times the demand far exceeds the supply is that of domestic service, and every woman—wife or servant, or whatever her other occupation—is happier for knowing the simple elements of domestic science. What cruelty it is, therefore, to prepare all girls indiscriminately in precisely those branches which incline their minds away from home life! Moreover, we carry the great mass of children forward so short a distance that, leaving school, they can at best mount only a very low rung of the industrial ladder.

This inappropriate training inflicts greater hardship upon the colored girls than upon any others. For while it fails to fit them for occupations which call aloud for them, it prepares them for other employments, only to find closed doors awaiting them—doors which can be pried open only by the most exceptional ability and persistence, and then in the rarest cases. A few exceptional girls graduating from technical high schools or business schools may force their way against grievous opposition into office work. Although I have lived fifteen years in New York, I have never seen a colored man or woman employed in any store, or in any office but one. A few find employment as teachers.

For colored boys the unvarying school curriculum of the first six years is not so grotesquely inappropriate as for the girls. Yet it also works out cruelly.

Continuing to use New York City as an example, the occupations conspicuously open to colored boys are those of porters, janitors, elevator men, furnace men, teamsters, barbers, shoeblacks, street cleaners, and laborers doing every kind of heavy work. Exceptional ones become caterers, chauffeurs, gardeners, and shopkeepers in a small

way. Gifted boys may hope to be in some small numbers successful teachers and preachers for their own race.

The sins of the Northern schools are sins of omission. They do not give the children those things which would open for them the mysteries of country life; would make it economically possible and socially attractive. Moreover, the high cost of land makes a return from the city excessively difficult for families who have been attracted cityward by the city schools.

Just as domestic service cries aloud for women, the farms are under-manned with labor skilled and unskilled. Yet the rural schools teach all the children the same things that the city schools teach, with poorer equipment and worse paid teachers.

As I travel about the South, as I do increasingly from year to year in the service of the National Consumers' League, I am impressed by the absence of school buildings for either white or colored children along the lines of the railroads. In the cities where I stop, schools for negro children seem ordinarily to be few compared with those for white children, though the negro children are many; and nowhere in any city, or village, or in the open country, have I seen a rural public school for little colored children with a school garden, suggesting a curriculum calculated for country life. Yet all thoughtful people, white and colored, dwellers in the Southern States and observers from the North, agree that it is a misfortune when colored people flock to town.

It can truthfully be claimed that in Southern rural communities children have not, as in Northern rural schools, been decoyed away from the soil by teaching them commercial branches, by filling the minds of rural little girls with ideas adapted to suggest to them the charms of work in great department stores. But why should not rural schools, both North and South, inculcate in the minds of the rural children, white and colored, such ideas as the Swiss children get? They raise vegetables and fruit around their school buildings and learn, as part of their lessons and in all their school experience, the theory and practice of co-

operation. It comes into every activity of their life, from the Sunday walking party under the teacher's care to some woods or waterfall or other point of interest, to the school choir forming a part of a great regional musical association. And coöperative railway journeys enable school children to learn the geography of their own land.

We hear much of corn clubs and tomato clubs, of the girls' classes in canning and fruit preserving. There is ground for rejoicing in all such tidings. But can we not go a step further and inculcate along with skill in these practices the ideas which the Danes and Swiss absorb in their early childhood, of coöperation in every rural activity, in buying the cans and glasses for canning and preserving, in selling the product, in spending coöperatively the money derived from the work of the clubs?

As we see colored men and women in the cities of the North, the two stimulating principles which they seem most to need are hope for the future of their children and cooperation among themselves. It is perhaps in some respects harder for intelligent negro parents to face the future animated by hope for their children in the North, than it is in the South. For bitter is the disillusionment of the colored mother who has slaved at the washtub a dozen years to give her boys and girls the advantages of the schools, only to find that those schools have led the children into a blind alley in relation to occupation, fitting them only for work to which colored boys and girls are not admitted!

For all young people, the country over, the quarter century on which we are entering is destined to see a new kind of instruction introduced into the schools. This has begun more successfully, perhaps, in Wisconsin than elsewhere, the rural community needs being studied by the school authorities and the teachers encouraged to try to meet those needs by the activities of the schools themselves. The simplest and hitherto most successful form of this new work has been testing seeds, the work being done, in a number of counties, in the ordinary village schools by children; and the advantage derived by their parents has been so conspicuous and convincing that there is now a sort of clamor

for similar effort in relation to improvement in dairying and cheese manufacture, the characteristic industries of that rural Northwestern State.

This is, of course, merely one local application of an idea susceptible of application throughout all rural America. The miracle is that so practical a nation as we should go on, decade after decade, teaching our children, at great cost of self-denial to their parents and great expense of money on the part of the community, subjects which neither give pleasure to the children while they are doing the work, nor make them happy or prosperous after they leave school, nor enrich the community which maintains the schools. In the matter of the colored children in the South there is less to undo, because less has been done and done wrongly, than in the case of white and colored children in the North. But there is an infinity yet to be begun!

According to the last census we are, in this country, not gaining in the struggle against illiteracy. Of the native white children of native white parents, ten to sixteen years old, three per cent, over half a million, are illiterate. Among the colored children the percentage is far heavier, the total number far more impressive. Yet we go on from decade to decade, leaving the education of this vast class of workers, as we have always done, to the conscience of the local authorities.

The best that can be said for the teaching offered colored children in the Northern schools is that it follows the one sound principle that in a democratic republic all the people, irrespective of their future occupations, must possess a certain minimum foundation of trained intelligence as the basis of future citizenship.

The Federal government creates vast universities in two dozen States by gifts of public land, to stimulate the States to cherish the higher education. Through the Agricultural Department money is spent to educate adults already on farms to cultivate those farms more intelligently. We spend this money, however, upon pupils whose plastic period is over, for whom the years in which learning is easiest have passed unfruitfully, when habits and prejudices are rooted,

and teaching new ideas, and habits, and practices is infinitely difficult.

The colored children as future workers concern the whole republic. The future product of their labor should contribute largely to the well-being of the nation. But the day has passed, if it ever existed, when illiterate, unskilled, unthinking men and women could contribute their full share to the commonwealth.

It is the concern of the whole people that illiteracy among the native born, white or colored, should be wiped out. For efficient living and working, in town or country, is unthinkable without the foundation of elementary education.

There is now at work a Federal Commission on Vocational Education, which is to report in June. It behooves all who are interested in the colored children as future workers to read with critical care and attention the whole of that report, and to take an active part in relation to the future of the Commission. Will the recommendations include provision for elementary education of *all* the children as a necessary preliminary step leading to vocational education? Or will it recommend some attempt at a short-cut substitute for the elementary schools? Will the Commission relate vocational education to the needs of the rural colored people?

Our democratic industrial republic cannot fulfill its destiny if one large portion of the population exist without the stimulus of hope. The most spontaneous, abiding, stimulating hope is that of owning a home in which to bring up children, whose future may be more prosperous than the present life of the parents. Any statesmanlike treatment of negro childern as future workers must aim at gratifying this hope in the fullest possible measure. This involves a land policy calculated to encourage parents to strive to own rural homes, and an educational policy embracing *all* the children. Is there any subject of greater importance confronting the Southern Sociological Congress?

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS WHICH HINDER NEGRO PROGRESS

JOHN D. HAMMOND, B.D., D.D., AUGUSTA, GA.

It is a significant fact that the present efforts of the white race, both North and South, in behalf of the negro are put forth more in the interest of his school than of his church; and that the type of education recommended to and pressed upon him, almost to the exclusion of any other, is industrial. The two leading institutions maintained by Northern money —Hampton and Tuskegee—stress the industrial features to the extent of entirely excluding college courses; and these may be said to type almost the whole system of negro education. Institutions of really high grade for training preachers, teachers, and other leaders are few and far between. There are some, of excellent character, maintained, for the most part, by churches, which are doing a much-needed work; but they are so few and so poorly endowed as to be but feebly felt in meeting the negro's great need for aid in the higher realm of his intellectual and spiritual life.

On the assumption that the negroes are a child race we have planned for them an education suited to our theory. But it is a one-sided education; and we may wake up in the future to find that we have made of them a one-sided race. Both by precept and example the white race says to them that progress consists in making money; that the true goal of human effort is "getting on" in the world. In all the large and representative race conferences which I have attended the dominant thought has been that of material prosperity. The leading topics of discussion have been: "What were your surroundings a few years ago? How have you managed to rid yourself of your former poverty, and to bring yourself to your present condition of prosperity?" Of course honesty, truthfulness, industry, sobriety, and cleanness of life have been emphasized as leading factors in these changes for material betterment.

And this is just the point: these high virtues are being stressed in their relation to man's material, rather than to

his spiritual, progress. We are unintentionally, and even unconsciously, urging upon the negro the old utilitarian ethics—a system which moral scientists long ago weighed in the balances and found wanting. The moral virtues which have been found to be of value in the sphere of man's material interests have also been found to lose their beauty and power when detached from their native element of his spiritual interests. As mere stimuli to his selfish ambition they take their place with all that is "of the earth, earthy;" but with the added taint of hypocrisy and with the handicap of misadjustment to the machinery of present-day business. As a consequence, they are soon discarded by those who seek merely their own welfare, and not "the things of another."

We must not be understood as disparaging industrial education for the negro any more than for the white man. We need even more of it, and of a better kind than we now have, for both races. But in the case of the white man the primary and industrial parts of his education are supplemented by the higher branches, supplied by the college and the university, as they are not in the case of the negro. A glance at the field of negro education will show that the higher element is sadly deficient. Theoretically the higher institutions of the North are open to him; but practically it is anything but easy for him to take advantage of his opportunities in this direction. The standards of admission are for the most part prohibitive; and the expense is greater than he is prepared to meet. His welcome, too, is not always as cordial as he has been led to expect.

Colleges and universities of his own, built, manned, and endowed by negroes, cannot, of course, be expected at this early stage of his development; and the princely gifts of white people to higher education, so numerous in recent years, have all gone to institutions for the more favored race; and there appears as yet no impulse, even among the few wealthy members of the colored race, to give any considerable amount to any institution for the higher education of their people. Such institutions of this character as may be found are for the most part dependent upon the charity of

the churches and of a few large-minded philanthropists for their meager support. While it is, therefore, perfectly safe and wise to stress industrial training for those who are so well provided for in the higher sphere, it may not be safe or wise to stress it to the same extent in the case of those who have so inadequate a counterbalancing advantage in the higher educational field.

That college and university education for negroes capable of leadership should, at the present stage of race advancement, receive as careful attention as is being given to their common-school and industrial training will be apparent on reflection to those who desire to advance the negro's best interests. And any scheme of improvement based on the self-interest of the projectors rather than on the true advancement of those for whom it is projected is foredoomed to failure, and to the disapproval of right-thinking people.

One of the surest and quickest influences in the uplift of an individual, a community, or a race, is to be found in their ideals. Ideals are the product of abstract thought and the higher intuitional process. They are not called out by the common-school and industrial branches unless the teacher of those branches has himself been quickened by a broader training, and is able to connect this elementary instruction with spiritual ideals. Ideals ripen when the mind has passed through certain phases of natural and induced development which are greatly aided by the atmosphere and work of the college and university, by the thoughtful and scholarly men who fill their chairs, and by the earnest lives of the students themselves. Institutions of this type cannot exist without high ideals. To be without them, or to foster those of a low and selfish character, would be to perish. To cut any race off from these influences by limiting their education to the common-school and industrial spheres is to insure their future destitution of those higher ideals by which all races live and grow.

We can only bring the one race under the influence of proper ideals as we bring the other under them. We do not attempt the impossible task of supplying college and uni-

versity training to the masses of any race. We confine our efforts to those exceptional members who give promise of future leadership. We look to the trained men and women who come out of these higher institutions to exert an uplifting influence on the thought and life of those among whom their lot may be cast. But the experience of the two races living side by side for the last half century convinces us that each race must have its own leaders of this high type; for no race can permanently supply a satisfactory leadership for any other distinct race.

During the period of slavery the white church supplied the colored race with preachers. Nowhere now do we find white ministers filling negro pulpits. White teachers, physicians, lawyers, and other professional men still minister largely to his needs; but this is because he has not yet had time to develop sufficiently for his own needs in these fields of skilled service. The time will come when he will meet his own needs in the professions and supply his own race leadership, just as the white man does for himself. And it is the highest duty and privilege of those who help him to hasten the coming of that time.

The lack of this training for leadership is one of the gravest obstacles to religious progress among the negroes; and the giving of such training is one of our most difficult problems. There are few negroes, comparatively, who are ready to profit by college training; and the lack of ideals in their elementary education has set the faces of many among this small group in the direction of personal ambition rather than of personal service. Their whole trend, as a race, has been toward industrialism and material things; there are no traditions of scholarship and culture to inspire them to such hard tasks as the higher learning imposes. The time required, the money, the self-denying toil, the sheer will power, all seem to them entirely out of proportion to the shadowy returns which they think of as the outcome. They have as yet, as a race, neither the means nor the ideals needed to create higher institutions. There is not a man of large wealth among them, according to our standards of measuring wealth. Their material progress

since the war has been marvelous; but they are still a poor people. But even if they had the money, they have not the history or personality needed for this work. A college or university cannot be made to order; it is a growth, and must come from a soil long and well prepared. It is the product of civilization. When the negro gets his own higher institutions, he must grow them out of his own race life. This he will do in time; but it will not be to-day nor to-morrow; and in the meantime his progress can be greatly accelerated by the white man's help.

The Church here finds her opportunity for service. She stands, first of all, for the ideal. She teaches otherworldliness, and sets her face as a flint against all materialistic views of human life and destiny. She teaches man that his only valuable possessions are those of the mind and heart, which moth and rust do not corrupt, and which thieves do not break through to steal. Because of her faithful witness for nearly twenty centuries the world is coming to see that "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth." This idealism has by degrees permeated the philosophy and institutions of mankind. Men do not live up to it, but they believe it; and they are being gradually transformed by it. Our higher education is especially indebted to and dependent on the Church for its high ideals of life and citizenship. It is not necessary that the Church should control this education in a physical sense in order to influence it. She did much in the early establishment and development of higher institutions; but she has done more in making it forever impossible for such institutions to be irreligious, whether controlled by the Church directly, by the State, or by private individuals.

In seeking to ascertain the nature and influence of the negro church in relation to negro progress we need a clearer conception of what that church is. We are apt to think of it as a reproduction of the white man's church; but we are mistaken. The negro has taken his church and his Bible from us; but he has at the same time, unconsciously and unavoidably, made them both over according to his own race ideals. Aristotle states a universal law when he says,

"All intellectual teaching is based on what is previously known to the person taught." Not all our own knowledge of the things of the Church is from revelation; very much of it is the result of man's thought and experience. Apostolic Christianity, in the Greek and Roman world, encountered a vast mass of material already given to men's intellects by Greek philosophy and art, and by Roman law and militarism. The fundamental experiences of Christianity, such as the new birth, are distinct from former knowledge or experience; but it had to build its intellectual teaching on these things with which men's minds were already filled. The great debatings of the early Church, beginning with the Nicene Council, were the efforts of devout minds to vitally connect the new truths taught by Christ with what the Greek and Roman world already knew. Out of these discussions came the creeds and government which characterized the Church for over a thousand years. Some of the teaching and forms evolved by this blending were good and some bad, as we who have fallen heir to them well know.

According to this same law Christianity came to the negro race. The negro has his religious beliefs and his racial characteristics; and to them he inevitably adjusted the Christianity given him by his white teachers. Investigations such as those of the Atlanta University into the negro's religious conditions go to show that the negro church is different from the white church, as the Church of England or the Greek Church is different from the Roman. The difference is not so much denominational as racial. It is just this racial modification which the white church, living side by side with the negro church, knows too little about. But we may be sure that whatever any race does it will do it, so to speak, in its own way, according to its own inherent characteristics and ideals. We may not suppose that the negro has gone about his religious task according to any other rule. He did not have, like the Greek, his art and philosophy to which to adapt his Christianity, or, like the Roman, his imperialism; but he had, like the old Britons, his heathenism; he brought his tribal ideas of government and his polygamous ideals of the family. Traces of old British

heathen beliefs are discernible among us even to-day; and we are not prepared by intimate knowledge of the negro church to say how far his former ideals have been eradicated, or how far they remain with him to influence his Christian life.

The white race should build up institutions of the most thorough methods, and in sufficient numbers, to train leaders for the colored race. As the church is the most potent influence for spiritual ideals, special attention should be given to meeting its needs among the negroes. The whites of the South should acquaint themselves with these needs, and provide for the training of ministers and Christian social workers capable of dealing with them. Training schools for such workers should be established in connection with colleges for negroes. It should be recognized that for the present a large per cent of the teachers in these institutions must be Southern whites, and must possess the qualifications necessary for the best work in educating either race.

Important as social work is, it is not the most important feature to be stressed in the equipment of these religious leaders. They must deal with the fundamentals of their church life, and should be prepared to do their work of reconstruction with discrimination and a broad comprehension of the interests involved. The religious leader of the negro race has before him a somewhat different task from the religious leader of the white race. Much that is commonplace in the white churches is seen "through a glass, darkly," in the church of the negro: it could not well be otherwise. His opportunities have been meager to know the results of generations of research by Christian scholars. There are some notable exceptions to this rule, but they are sadly in need of reënforcement. On the other hand, if rightly helped in these early stages of their religious development, who can say that the colored churches may not escape much which in our own religious development has made, not for righteousness, but for bigotry and church pride? We can help them to avoid many of the pitfalls which have retarded our own progress.

Certainly the last fifty years, more than the preceding five hundred, have shown that God's Church can no longer deliver his message to a restless, inquisitive world through unlettered lips. To claim inspiration and divine authority as sufficient sanctions for an uneducated ministry no longer wins the respect or obedience of men. He who would have his message accepted must give a reason for the faith that is in him. Such men must be provided for the negro church; only so will they be able to speak convincingly through the pulpit, the press, and the institutional agencies of that church.

And the indirect influence of the white church must not be overlooked. We are closely watched, and judged unsparingly. We cannot avoid our responsibility to the negro church. If that church sees in ours the spirit of self-seeking, pride of opinion, and love of applause—worse still, if it sees in us something of that race prejudice which separated Jews and Samaritans into hostile camps, so that they had no dealings, religious or other, one with another—we need not be surprised if we see these evils reproducing themselves in the church that looks to us as a pattern of religious life. We need first of all and most of all to cultivate and practice brotherly love to the brother of low degree. He will appreciate our personal friendship and Christian sympathy more than anything else we can give him: and when we give it, in Christ's own measure, one of the greatest hindrances to the progress of the negro church will have vanished.

RACE CO-OPERATION IN CHURCH WORK

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THE title of the address assigned to me implies both the desire for race coöperation and the possibility of it. The dual implication is true to a very large and important extent. Time is valuable at these conferences, so I shall speak as briefly as possible. A historical retrospect will perhaps best

introduce our theme. Racial relations have their ancient, mediæval, and modern periods of history.

The ancient period is of course that before the war, beginning with the first importation of slaves into the colonies in foreign and New England slave ships, the settlement of them on the plantations of all the colonies, the gradual massing of them in the cotton fields of the South, the industrial training after admirable fashion in fields and shops in all the industries known to the period. And along with this industrial training, developing the finest, healthiest, happiest, yeomanry in the world, there went also the moral oversight and religious training of the most superstitious race that history records. This training in morals and religion was done through the personal work of masters, mistresses, pastors, and teachers. It resulted in a relationship of confidence and affection unique in the annals of the history of slavery. What a tragic wrenching of the old ties resulted from the Civil War is still remembered by the comparatively few.

The mediæval period began the tragedy of these sundered relations, but with love and confidence unimpaired, and rather intensified by the unexampled loyalty and devotion of slaves who loved their masters as themselves, and proved it during four years of confounding turmoil and rapine and bloodshed. What the result would have been had the emancipated owners and slaves been permitted to cement new relations and work out in their own way their destiny under conditions of freedom, no one may declare with certainty. But one fancies that with the old relations as a foundation, the mutual devotion as a motive, the supreme debt of mutual gratitude as an incentive, race cooperation would have been made easy, and mediæval history would have been a far different story from that which the Reconstruction historian has recorded. I can well recall the results of the Reconstruction acts; the utter distrust of one another on the part of North and South; the impossibility of mutual understanding between sections which interpreted each other upon *a priori* theories of their own invention; the, at first, utter confusion of the negro race,

gradually settling into an unreasoned fear of the former master, which took refuge in the sympathy of strangers, a sympathy engendered by a fanaticism unequaled save by the Crusaders; the breaking of ties of friendship of races in the South, a tragedy akin to that of the Gethsemane of agony; the alliance of North and negro, resulting in a unique experiment as disastrous as it was unwise, as transitory as it was misguided.

I do not question the motives of any of the fathers who inaugurated this reign of anarchy. It seems necessary to record the facts of the past to understand the conditions of the present. When the period began, whites and blacks were worshiping, in very many instances, in the same churches, and often, where separate buildings were provided, were ministered to by the same pastors. When the period closed (say about 1895), separation had become the rule, the negro members of white churches had almost completely withdrawn and formed organizations of their own, committing themselves to the generally untutored pastors of their own race, who no longer looked to the counsel and guidance of more capable leadership than their own race afforded. Politically the negro had been practically annihilated, and religiously he had emancipated himself from his best guide. Meanwhile both North and South had been busy with the education of the race—the former through private and religious schools, the latter generally through the public school system and in small part through parochial schools—both together preparing for what I have called the modern period of racial history.

The modern period opens thus with these conditions in the main fairly well established: racial separation, which is now, I think, very generally accepted as the best condition of racial development; a well-developed, educated, and cultured class among the negroes, and a like industrial class overlapping the former, though not always identical with it. Whether racial separation be willingly accepted or not, it is the condition which must be assumed as permanent when the subject of racial relationship and coöperation is discussed.

It was inevitable that the time would arrive when the old slaveholders and their slaves would pass away and the old régime pass into history. Until then it was unnatural to expect that the races could even begin accurately to adjust their relations under conditions of freedom. The old personal ties, made by generations of increasingly closer sympathy through oneness of life's interest, and intensified by the advancing years of the survivors of the rapidly passing old régime, rendered it quite impossible for the older generations of whites and negroes to look upon one another merely as representatives of two distinct peoples. Now, however, the young people of the two races are face to face under new conditions, with nothing left of the past save traditions to color the relationship of the present. This relationship is going to be affected according as slavery is viewed on the one hand as a providential opportunity for both races, bearing appropriate responsibilities for each, or on the other hand as an unwarranted interference with Providence, in which the strong took advantage of the weak, and still claimed rights to the unrighteous spoils of their wickedness. Doubtless there was unrighteousness in the inception of it, but I cannot believe that any right-thinking representatives of either race will fail to see the hand of God in it all. There is no negro student of history and of God's guidance of his world but will know that, in spite of the changes and chances of its history in America, it was God's mercifully overruling providence that has brought the negro race out of darkness into a light that has shown, not only upon themselves here, but into the far darker recesses of their native Africa. There are few among their worthy leaders who do not realize that it was the love of the Master in the hearts of his Anglo-Saxon children, through their close relationship with their negro people, which set ablaze the torch of Christian devotion and missionary zeal which is busy both here and in Africa.

And so too there can be, I think, no right-thinking leader among the white race who does not look upon the presence of the negroes in our land as a responsibility which is an inheritance from the fathers just as natural as his love of

fatherland and just as binding upon his conscience. God grant that it may more and more become a duty just as congenial as his patriotism and as stimulating as his Christian obligations. There are none of us, I venture to believe, who know anything of the story of fifty years ago who will want to repudiate the debt of gratitude which this then untutored race laid upon us by their devotion and loyalty to mothers and sisters and wives and babies.

We began the modern period only a few years ago. We may more truly be said to be in process of beginning it now. The solemn sacred responsibility which rests upon the living generation of strong young men and women is that, not of settling and fixing the final relationship of races, but of contributing so clearly, so surely, so conscientiously to that which is the product of a living association, that the generations which are growing up under our own, and shall succeed it, will have clear rays of guidance for the solving of the problems which will inevitably face them.

I speak of race relationship as the product of a living association, and so it is. It cannot be made by *a priori* theories invented in the student's study; it is an experiment in the laboratory of life, and must be tested, as all scientific problems are, by experience.

I place first, before all living forces else, the power of coöperative religion to solve this problem of race relationship, as indeed all other moral problems. Where, then, shall we begin? First I should say let us begin here with ourselves. We of the white race must first of all recognize that we have a Christian faith beyond any possibility of cavil or controversy, founded upon an enduring Rock that cannot be shaken; that we have had full twelve centuries more of the edifying power of this faith in our racial life than our negro brother has had; that we recognize in these two facts a responsibility incalculably great; that we realize it the more as we face this very large and important Africa which has been brought by our own ancestors to our land and home; that we accept this as an opportunity unspeakably solemn. Here at our doors, handily within reach, is a

large segment of a great race, children like ourselves of God, the Father of all, to be builded up in morals, in spiritual knowledge, in character, through the same faith that has transformed our own primitive savage Anglo-Saxon people of sixteen hundred years ago into the modern nations of which our own America, so new as she is, is perhaps now the greatest development. Such a consciousness of a responsibility in ourselves and of opportunity for them is the starting point for coöperation with our negro brethren in the Lord in Church work.

Then next there is the contact, always welcomed by the negro race, which preachers and teachers may profitably have with them through the pulpits and Sunday schools of their churches, and through the many secular schools, some of them private or incorporated, throughout the land. I have yet to find one of them that does not welcome the white preacher or teacher or lay friend who is known to be really interested in the upward development of the race, and who comes with love in his heart and the desire to help.

The negro is the most religious race in the world, and it is a great mistake to assume that he is now, or will be in the future, satisfied with any form of religious emotion that will feed his superstition. This may be true of the very ignorant, though I do not believe that anybody has sufficiently tested the matter to assert such as a fact. But I do know that there is a large element rapidly increasing among the race who read and think, and who are satisfied with nothing short of the best that approves itself to their God-given reason and religious faculty. I know, too, that among the great army of preachers and teachers who minister to them there must be, there certainly are, many ignorant ones and some unworthy to bear the lamp of the Master's religion. I know that this fact is responsible for the increasing number of young men and women, in most of our communities, who are without church affiliations. One of the ablest and strongest of the commercial leaders of the race said to me: "Our young men and women are often not joining the churches around them." Asked why, he re-

plied: "Because, while the young people have been steadily advancing in education and culture, the churches of their fathers have advanced not at all in thirty years."

What is to happen if this religious race loses the guidance of religion at this stage of its development, and becomes irreligious to the extent that our Anglo-Saxon race has? How many books, good or bad, do you suppose may be found in the library of the average preacher of the race? How many in the homes of the average teacher? What are the minds with which they come in religious contact? Whence the sources of inspiration for preaching and teaching? If God, the blessed Paraclete, should shut out his mercies from them, how dark the picture! If they, through ignorance or sinfulness, should close up the avenues of divine inspiration, because thrown back upon self alone, without higher, wiser counsel than their own souls, so young to Christian precept, what indeed can be expected of instructions from such a source?

Here, then, is the opportunity for race coöperation, the golden opportunity at the beginning of this new era when race faces race, with racial prejudice stripped of the softening influences of the old sympathy, passing away, wellnigh gone, but which must be replaced by that which the religion of the Nazarene, and that alone, can create. Here is the opportunity for good people in the churches, preachers and teachers and others, to lend a helping hand, to mingle with preachers and teachers of the negro race, and to seek occasion for brotherly counsel, for guidance oftimes, for instruction just as often. How many of you who are preachers have ever sought opportunity to be of such assistance to your negro brother? How many of you who are Sunday school or secular teachers have sought such opportunity through avenues common to yourselves and them?

And, finally, there is that which must give grace and power to every effort at race coöperation. Let us, brother men, resolve to live the gospel of the Christ more fully and more truly in our relations with this struggling, developing negro race. Let us squarely face the paradoxes of our

social and moral relations with them. I state some of them quite at random. How flippantly is the race spoken of as ignorant and vicious by the white man who would deny him a school and herd his family in a one-room hut! How contemptuously is the educated negro condemned as spoiled for all practical purposes by the man who regards his education as an impertinence! How hard is the condemnation of the immorality of the negro by the man who if called upon in court to protect the daughter of his negro neighbor from the lust of a bestial white man acquits the white man upon the plea that negroes have no morals! How often is the filth of the race scornfully exploited by the man who would not raise one finger to remove it, yet who could not live peacefully for a day without a cook or a nurse! How cruel is the accusation that all negroes will steal, by the man who unhesitatingly stakes him as a cropper for a year, sure of repayment and profits at its close!

We are straining at gnats and swallowing camels as certain men of old did and deserve the condemnation of the righteous Master of our souls.

Let us try to live our Christian creed in every relation we bear to the race, and then do our utmost to influence our brethren to live it. If there are ignorance and vice, as certainly there are in this race so young in self-control, let us put scoffing aside and bend our spiritual energies to the task of helping to cure them. If there is growing culture in a class ready to receive and to profit by it and to become examples of it to less fortunate brethren, let us commend it and make the most and the best of it, gladly recognizing merit, and rejoicing in it as the appropriate fruit of the Master's regenerating grace. If there is immorality, let us remember the youth of the race with moral sinews to be developed and strengthened and moral sense to be awakened; and above all, let us not shut our eyes to the share which our own race contributes, and if condemnation be meted, as it must in justice and for ultimate mercy be meted, let us place the responsibility upon each race in the just measure of its guilt, with just regard for the responsibility which attaches to opportunity for devel-

opment and self-control and self-command. If there be controlled immorality, as certainly there is in an increasing number who earnestly strive to keep their families pure and undefiled, surely good men must rejoice in it. What a tragedy this effort for personal purity upon the part of the really good negro presents, is a spectacle which every close student of the race has beheld. The blessed Master, whose servants we are, came to lift up the fallen, to heal their diseases, to minister to the poor. He who made of one blood all the nations of the earth came to his own. What he did, we must do. "We must obey God rather than man." We must shut our ears to the vain protests of the worldly. We must decline to be influenced by the discouragements with which a superficial observation surrounds us. We must be perfectly sure that this regeneration of a great race of our fellow-men is God's task, committed to his loyal, faithful children of both races. We must realize that it is not the task of a day or of a few years; that the upward climb of a race is upon a long, weary, toilsome pathway through generations of tragedies. Thus it has been and still is with the races of man ahead of the negro. And while we rejoice at the wonderful progress which the negro has made during these few years of independent struggle, we dare not close our eyes to the steep and rugged pathway which his own weakness and newness and unrighteousness are the more clearly revealing. Meanwhile, let not the sin of the stronger magnify the pain and toil and anguish of the road. May God both inspire and empower the chivalry of our own race that its strength may bend to the other's weakness and its sympathy reach forth with divine compassion toward their need!

THE SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS AS A FACTOR FOR SOCIAL WELFARE

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, LL.D., TUSKEGEE, ALA.

ON behalf of the members of my race who are here and on behalf also of those who are not here, I wish to express the deep gratitude which we feel toward Mrs. Anna Russell Cole, the founder of this organization, for her generosity and foresight in making such a meeting as this possible.

I wish also to make known our gratitude to Governor Mann, Dr. McCulloch, and other leaders who are devoting themselves with such unflagging enthusiasm to the task of making this great organization practically useful to both races in the South.

In the brief space that has been allotted to me on this program, I want to speak of some special ways in which it seems to me this Congress can promote the welfare of the people of the South.

First of all, it can serve as a medium for direct and candid expression of opinion on the part of the members of both races in regard to matters of common interest. No one living in the South, or out of the South, should expect everything to be done in a day. When we consider all that the South has been called upon to do and to bear in connection with the readjustment of its economic and social program, the wonder is that so much has been accomplished within so brief a space of time. What we want to be sure of is that progress in the right direction is constant and steady. One direction in which meetings of this kind can help is in bringing about a better understanding between the races. In spite of difficulties that grow out of the situation in the South, the races have many fundamental interests in common and there is much that should be done for the welfare of each race which can only be done with the hearty coöperation of both.

How can the negro in the South do his part, through this organization, to bring about better conditions? The

leaders of our people, for example, can do much to spread the influence of this meeting to all parts of the South. They can let the masses of the people know that there is an organization made up of Southern white people who are interested in their welfare, to whom they can speak frankly about their desires and their needs. The influence of this meeting spread abroad among the masses of the colored people will lead them to feel that the South is their home, and that they have a share, no matter how humble, in all its weal and woe, in everything that concerns its welfare.

We should learn from this meeting, all of us, to manifest as much pride in whatever concerns our own community, our own city, or our own State as the white people do. We should feel as much humiliation on account of anything that hurts the reputation of the community in which we live as is true of the white race.

In the past, I fear that the white people and the black people have talked too much about each other and not enough to each other. We can use this Congress as a means of appealing directly to the white people. There are certain things we want them to do. The simplest and most practical way is to go frankly to the white people of the South and ask for what we want.

In every county of the South the colored people should get hold of the city, county, and State officials and make it possible for them to see the better life of our race. It is most important that we get hold of the Governor, sheriffs, judges, and other officials and bring them into direct contact with the needs and conditions of our people. Our leaders can use this organization for making it easier for the liberal-minded white people who are desirous of helping us to come into contact with us in a manner that will not embarrass them.

We have friends among the Southern white people. You will hardly find a colored man in the South, no matter how humble, and no matter, I was going to say, how worthless, who has not some white friend to whom he is accustomed to go when he is in trouble. It is these friendships between individual white people and individual black people which form the basis for coöperation between the races.

We can use this organization to create a sentiment among our people throughout the South which will serve to stop so much crime. In spite of all that may be said in palliation, there is too much crime committed by our people in all parts of the country. We should let the world understand that we are not going to hide crime simply because it is committed by black people.

We can use this Congress, too, in a way to impress upon the white people throughout the South that education does not unfit us for the common labors and duties of life; but in proportion as we get education we will be more useful in field and shop, in kitchen and laundry, as teachers, and in every walk of life.

We can use this Congress to let the world understand that in proportion as the negro is educated he does not wish to intermingle with the white people in a purely social way; but in proportion as the negro gets intelligence he finds happiness and satisfaction in social intercourse with members of his own race.

We can use this Congress to impress the world with the idea that we are proud of being negroes, and this pride should increase in proportion as the negro goes forward in all the useful lines of our civilization.

How can the white man use this Congress in promoting better conditions between the races in the South?

First, it can be used, as I have suggested, as a medium through which white people may get acquainted with the most useful and best type of black people in every community. The average white man, I sometimes fear, knows more about the criminal negro than he does about the law-abiding, self-respecting, and successful negro.

The white people can use this Congress to help advertise the better side rather than the worse side of negro life throughout the South. Too much space, I often fear, is given in newspapers to reports covering negro crime and not enough to reports covering the useful living and strivings of our race.

This Congress can be used to put in motion a public sentiment throughout the South that will insist that in the courts the negro may be sure of equal justice. The average

black man has a notion that the court is a place of punishment rather than a place of protection. The total amount of time the best white people of the South lose every year in dealing with petty negro crime through the courts, if it were reckoned up, would represent a sum so large as to be startling. This Congress, directly and indirectly, can do much to stop the practice of arresting so many of our people for petty and trivial offenses, all of which impose a tremendous burden upon black people and white people in every community throughout the South.

This Congress can be used as a means of letting the people throughout the country know that the educated negro seldom commits crime, and in proportion as we get more education and better education the cost of punishing criminals will disappear.

This Congress can be used in creating a sentiment in every county in favor of better schools for negro children. It is often said that education for the negro has been a failure. We cannot say that a policy has failed until it has been actually tried. Education for the negro, especially in the rural districts, has not been tried in any effective way or upon a comprehensive scale. I say this although I am fully aware that in many counties it is poverty which retards white education as well as negro education.

The negro is going to get some kind of education at the hands of somebody, somewhere and at some time; and I believe the time has come when the white officials in every county should become the leaders and guides in the matter of giving to every negro child an opportunity to get a common school education. The Sociological Congress can do much to encourage the colored people in what they are doing to educate themselves, and to guide and foster every effort that is being made, from whatever direction, to improve the colored people and make them valuable and useful citizens of the communities in which they live.

As no color line is drawn in the courts in the matter of punishing crime, neither should any color line be drawn in the opportunity to get education in the public schools. The schools can always be supported out of the return that they

bring to the State in the form of more efficient labor and better social order. The more money spent in educating the negro child, the less the State will have to pay for punishing crime. It should be the aim of this organization, in connection with those who are directing the schools, to prove to the South that education is one of the best investments that any country can make.

The white leaders in attendance on this Congress can use their influence in seeing to it that the negro gets fairer and more just treatment on the railroads throughout the South. In this connection I cannot forbear to commend to other portions of the South what has been done in the city of Memphis at the Union Station in providing adequate, comfortable, and even attractive accommodations for colored passengers. The time has come, too, when the strong white leaders of the South should no longer permit the negro to be used as a political "scarecrow." Too many selfish politicians have used the negro as a political "bogey man" in a way to deceive white people, and even to discourage some of the best black people in their communities. The negro is not seeking either social equality or political domination over the white man in any section of the South.

I want to see both races advance in the South. I have no racial prejudice. I want to see the negro lifted up for his own sake, but just as emphatically do I want to see the negro lifted up for the sake of the white man. I was born a slave here in the South. I love the South, and no white man can excel me in my devotion to the South. But I am aware of the fact that so long as the white man is surrounded by a race that is in a large measure ignorant, weak, and in poverty, so long will the white man be tempted to injure himself by unjust treatment of the weaker race by which he is surrounded. So long as there are hordes of ignorant colored women in any community, so long will they prove a temptation for some of the best white men of the South to degrade themselves.

There are millions of black people throughout the world. Everywhere, especially in Europe, people are looking to us here in the South, black and white, to show to the world

how it is possible for two races, different in color, to live together on the same soil, under the same laws, and each race work out its salvation in justice to the other.

I do not wish to be misunderstood. Tremendous progress in all these directions has been made within the last fifty years. I speak as I do with frankness, and yet with love, because I want to see still greater progress brought about.

The negro here in the South, supported and encouraged as he is by the best element of the white people, has made progress in getting property, education, and a high Christian character that is not approached by any similar group of black people in Christendom. We must go on, patiently but courageously, year by year, devoting our best energies to the great big things, the fundamental things that underlie the progress and civilization of white people and black people throughout the South.

And this Southern Sociological Congress, in my opinion, as one of the great mediums in God's providence, has been brought into existence for this purpose.

INTER-RACIAL INTERESTS IN INDUSTRY

MAJ. ROBERT RUSSA MOTON, HAMPTON, VA.

THE Census of 1910 shows that two out of every five persons engaged in gainful occupations in the sixteen Southern States are negroes. Of the entire negro population in these sixteen States, we find that 63 per cent are in some form of industrial occupations, while only 47 per cent of the white people are thus engaged. Of all the negroes who are engaged in industrial activities, 60 per cent are agricultural workers. It will be observed, then, that the large majority of industrial workers in the South are on the land, and this is especially hopeful so far as the negro is concerned. It is also significant that the number of negroes engaged as agricultural laborers is about the same as it was fifty years ago,

though the negro population has increased nearly 150 per cent during that period. Something like a million negroes have, therefore, developed from agricultural laborers to farmers, there being according to the Census of 1910 something like 890,000 in this class. After all of the efforts that have been made to induce foreign immigration to settle in the South, less than 5 per cent have so far availed themselves of the opportunities offered, and a large portion of that 5 per cent has settled in the cities of the South. The negro must be very largely depended upon to supply all the demands for labor in agricultural as well as domestic lines. According to reliable statistics, he has not only hitherto done this more or less acceptably, but he has also gone rapidly into the fields of skilled and semi-skilled laborers. He is, therefore, an indispensable factor in the present and future development of our Southern States.

Mr. Wright says:*

> During the past fifty years . . . there have been significant changes in unskilled labor among negroes, some of which are here enumerated:
>
> 1. The race, then largely unskilled, has developed more than a million semi-skilled workers, business and professional men and women.
>
> 2. The standard of the unskilled worker himself has been raised.
>
> 3. The unskilled worker has adapted himself to a system of wages, as against a system of slavery.
>
> 4. The average of intelligence of unskilled labor has been greatly increased.
>
> 5. Unskilled labor has become more reliable.
>
> 6. The negro labor has survived the competition of the immigrant.
>
> 7. Unskilled labor has to a large extent been the foundation on which negro businesses, the negro church, and the negro secret society have grown up.

One reasonably familiar with the situation does not doubt that the South within the next few decades, because of its splendid soil and climate, its abundant rainfall, its special adaptation to the raising of cotton, its new and growing spirit of enterprise which demands modern scientific methods of agriculture, will become one of the most important

*"Annals American Academy," page 21.

agricultural sections of the nation and the world. It is therefore important not only that labor and capital should work in harmony, but it is even more important that there should be inter-racial sympathy and coöperation along all lines of economic and civic endeavor.

Thoughtful negroes as well as thoughtful white men are agreed that the South offers the largest opportunity for the negro, economically, socially, and morally. It is also agreed by thoughtful people, black and white, that the rural districts in the South offer the greatest opportunity for the masses of colored people. It is fair to assume then—

1. That, for the present at least, the South cannot depend on foreign immigrants for its farm operatives, its domestic and personal *service,* and its unskilled and semi-skilled labor.

2. That it must depend on the negro for the present and the very distant future to recruit the ranks of this form of labor.

3. That, if the negro is to constitute the mass of industrial operatives of the South, it is imperative that for the common good there should be sympathetic coöperation with the white workers engaged in similar forms of industries.

4. That every effort should be exerted on the part of the South to make these laborers, black and white, more reliable, more skillful, and more efficient.

5. That the laborer can be kept efficient and skillful only as his environment is wholesome and strengthening, and not weakening and demoralizing.

6. That it is the duty of every patriotic Southerner to use every possible means for practical, sympathetic training of these workers and their children through a thorough, well-regulated school system.

It is frequently asserted by careless and thoughtless speakers and writers that all negroes are lazy, shiftless, and inefficient; but the people who say this are not only out of accord with the facts of the case, but they do not believe, often, what they themselves are saying. What they mean to say is that some negroes in every community are lazy, shiftless, and inefficient; but in practically every district

where negroes are employed, whether as farm laborers or as mechanical laborers, the verdict is that the large majority of negro workers are reliable, many of them skillful and very efficient, and not a few almost indispensable. There are very few places in the South where the employer would be willing to dispense with the service of his negro employees. Truly, the South has made marvelous strides in industries within the past forty years, but this would have been well-nigh impossible without its docile, cheerful, and generally willing negro population. Notwithstanding the much discouraging talk and the more discouraging, not to say unfair and unjust, legislation, there cannot be found, even where the ruling and the laboring class are both of the same race, as much real, helpful sympathy and coöperation as exist at the present time between the negro and the Southern white man. The relationship is one that is difficult to define, yet it is no less real. There are some individual white men who like individual negroes. Though they may think they hate the race, the same individual white men will do any reasonable thing to help individual negroes. Yet they may say any unreasonable thing against the negro race. There are negroes who are equally as inconsistent in their feelings and expressions regarding the white race.

The white South, for its own self-interest, if for no other, should strive to make the individual relationship which exists between the races a more general relationship, and make this large mass of negro workers happy and contented; it should encourage them to live on the farm and to buy up the waste and undeveloped lands of the South, and offer every possible inducement for the negro to remain in the South and on the land where he can rear his children amid physical and moral surroundings conducive to his highest development and greatest usefulness to himself and to the State.

I think the two races in the South truly deserve to be congratulated—the negro, because, notwithstanding all of the laws and all of the discussions regarding the various forms of circumscription and segregation, he has not be-

come embittered and has not grown to hate the white race; and the white people, because, in view of all that has been said and done, have not lost all confidence in and respect for and desire to help the negro. And this brings us to the question of segregation, about which I wish to state, as clearly and as definitely as possible, how the negro feels. Few white people know the negro's real feelings on the question, "What is in the back of our heads?" The negro rarely ever discusses this question frankly, for the reason that he does not think that because he is black he is therefore cursed, and that therefore the Creator has limited his possibilities so that he is unfit for association with other human beings. But as a matter of fact 99 per cent, I should say, of the negro race, if they should tell what they really feel, would say that they have no desire to be with white people because they are *white,* that so far as unforced segregation and separation are concerned he is entirely in accord with it, not because of unfitness, but because of racial compatibility. This one can observe in every Southern community and in most Northern communities where there are any considerable number of negroes. In Southern communities long before segregation was ever spoken of there were negro sections in almost all towns, where the negroes lived happily and there was practically no trouble nor feeling of unpleasantness because of it. The only persons who deigned to disregard the unwritten law were certain white men who opened grocery stores, dry goods stores, and barrooms which very frequently carried with them the lowest and most subtle sort of vices and degradation which would not be tolerated in white residential sections. What is true in urban communities is very much the same in rural communities. I know many counties in Virginia and in other States also where one could go for miles on land owned by colored people and this without any law forcing them to thus separate. The negro enjoys the companionship of his race and never loses a chance to get with them, everything else being equal. The negro, like every other human being, enjoys being with his friends, whether they be black or white. But because a few negroes here and there

in cities and in the country have bought property alongside of white people; because the negro traveling on the railroad wishes to ride in the Pullman car; because at the railroad station he applies at the only restaurant for a meal; because a few negroes here and there go to Northern white universities, and because he protests against the "jim crow" car, which almost invariably means inferior accommodations, and the separation on street cars, the feeling in the minds of the average white person, I suppose, is that the negro wants to be *white* and he wants to be *with* white people because they *are white.* There is absolutely no foundation in fact for this feeling.

The negro has long since learned that property alongside of white people in cities and in towns is more valuable, that his wife and children have more protection, that the streets are better and cleaner, that he gets better fire protection, greater police protection, and for such a section there are more adequate sanitary arrangements. The negro farmer has discovered that if his land adjoins a white man's land the county roads are better cared for. The roads in the negro sections, especially where the county roads are infrequently used by white people, as is often the case, are generally neglected and it is often difficult to get the roadmaster to pay any attention to that section of the public highway. In many cases it is never touched. The fence and stock laws will be much more rigidly enforced by county officials and more carefully observed by both black and white where white people's property is concerned.

The truth is, the white people are the ruling, controlling, dominating, directing element of this country, and they have the best of everything—best parts of the cities, best hotels and restaurants, best cars, and, as a rule, the best schools, colleges, and universities. When a negro shows any inclination to be with white people it is not because he wants to be with white people as such, but because he wants to get the best as to land, position, education, comforts, conveniences, and protection.

It is self-evident that the negro has practically no share in the making of or the execution of the laws, and when he

is segregated he knows that underneath it is the idea that he is inferior and unfit for association with decent people of every other race. He knows that in his section of the city the streets are not paved; that criminals of his own race, and often of other races, are allowed to run at large and prey on the ignorant and innocent; that in his section the health boards are not as particular regarding sanitary surroundings; that street sweepers, who are often white, give little or no attention to sections where negroes live; that negro sections, because they are negro sections, are almost invariably neglected by city as well as county officials.

Separation, as far as I have been able to observe, has never meant equal treatment or equal accommodations on railroads or steamboats, in restaurants or on street cars, or anywhere else. I think sometimes an effort has been made to make it equal; but those who have the supervision of it, because of lack of interest or lack of sympathy, or perhaps lack of appreciation of the necessity of careful supervision, have allowed the accommodations to degenerate into inferior and in most cases into places absolutely unfit for human beings of any race. In many cases these places are as menacing to the health and lives of the white race as they are demoralizing and degrading as well as menacing to the health and lives of the colored people.

It seems to me that the Southern conscience ought to be aroused to the point where the white South will demand absolutely equal accommodations for both races in all places where there is local segregation. In many places if they had negro constables, negro magistrates, negro policemen in negro sections, there would be far less criminality on the part of negroes, because these negro officials would ferret it out and locate the vicious criminal of his race, and would nine times out of ten see that he was brought to justice. Negro street cleaners would be more zealous in their duties. I believe that the criminality of the South as far as the negro is concerned would be reduced 50 per cent if the authorities would call into service colored men as constables and policemen, and they would get coöperation which they *now* little dream of.

No laborer, either black or white, can give skillful, efficient, conscientious service when he is surrounded day and night by all that tends to lower his health, to distort his mind, to weaken his morals, to embitter his spirit, to shake his faith in his fellow men. The South's growth can come only when its laboring class is well housed, well fed, and surrounded by all that tends to make it strong mentally, morally, and physically. Under this system of segregation which is at present being agitated and practiced in many quarters it is impossible for the negro to grow normally in either his physical, mental, or moral life. To that extent he is inefficient and unsatisfactory as a laborer, and I much fear will grow more so.

The next largest group of negro industrial workers, according to the Census of 1910, are the 1,324,150 negroes who are engaged in domestic and personal service. These come in little personal contact, and have almost nothing in common, so far as actual occupation is concerned, with a similar though very much smaller group of white people. Nevertheless, because of the very intimate relationship which they sustain toward the dominant and lawmaking element, they are in many ways a most important factor in inter-racial problems. These domestic and personal service workers have been for more than a generation very largely the "ministers extraordinary and plenipotentiaries of the negro race at the court of Southern white public opinion." Their indifference, their laziness, their shiftlessness, their carelessness, their inefficiency, their immorality and criminality have played no inconsiderable part in shaping the mental attitude of most Southern white people toward the negro. Their interpretation of the sermons, lectures, lawyers' briefs, physicians' prescriptions, the conduct, character, feelings, sentiments, and longings of all the negroes in the South, educated and otherwise, has been the infallible foundation upon which the reputation of the whole negro race to a very large extent has been based. All of this class are not inefficient, shiftless, or criminals; but the domestic class and the personal service element in any race, important as they are, and important as it is for this ele-

ment in my race to be efficient and satisfactory and to hold their jobs, are not, however, the best representatives of a race of people, and they are apt to misinterpret and misrepresent the intelligent, well-meaning, property-owning, and progressive class. It is, therefore, unfair to the white race that it should shape its opinion of the entire negro race by the negro cook or butler who may not be satisfactory. It is even more unfair to the negro that the decision as to his morality, his intelligence, his ability, and his industrial efficiency should be determined merely by this element.

A great difficulty that faces the negro girls who are engaged in domestic service is the lack of attention and care on the part of her employers. It has had more to do with the moral degradation of negro women than any other single phase of Southern life. Little or no interest has been taken in these girls so long as they attended to their duties while on duty—where they went, with whom they associated, the life they lived, the environments in which they have spent their off hours, whether morally or physically fitting, have had little or no consideration. This has been perhaps natural, but it is certainly unfair not only to the negro domestic servant, but to the white employer of the negro domestic servant; and what is more, it has made many a negro woman ashamed of her job. Many well-meaning white people take it for granted that the negro will be lazy, dishonest, and immoral; and that very attitude, benevolent as it is, perhaps, is in itself most unfortunate and dangerous. It is most unfortunate for the negro that the white race should set a lower standard either industrially, morally, or intellectually for it, and too easily offer a sort of half apology for its weakness and failures and inefficiencies.

And this leads me to emphasize the very great necessity of education for the negro. There have been much criticism and some fun and ridicule at the expense of the educated negroes by people perhaps well-meaning, but after all that is said and done, the most successful and the most reliable and the most influential element in my race, as in every race, are the educated negroes—the men and women who have done most to cement cordial, sympathetic, and

helpful relations between the races, who have had the greatest influence upon the reckless, radical element of the negro for caution and conservatism—the element that have been most patient and most persistent in their efforts to fit the negro for freedom and citizenship in its broadest and most perfect sense by practical Christian education and sane wholesome advice. Therefore, it seems to me that the best means of cementing a more cordial, sympathetic, helpful relationship between the two races is a thorough, systematic, sympathetic training and a practical education for both races, which means loyalty and efficiency, and especially so for the most backward of the two races—the negro. Our struggle, then, to bring all the laborers of the South to the point where they can make of this Southland, where cotton still remains the economic king, what it should eventually become must first be to feed, clothe, and house them properly. For this they must be trained intellectually, morally, and spiritually; and for this training the white people, the directing class, must see that all labor, black as well as white, has a full and complete opportunity to get the very best, broadest, deepest, and highest that the Creator has given to all mankind.

I honestly plead for the continued coöperation and backing of the South in the efforts and achievements of such secondary and higher educational institutions as Hampton, Tuskegee, Howard, Atlanta, Fisk, and Virginia Union University with a dozen other worthy institutions, not only for the training they give the negro, but for what this training has meant to the South and the nation. For it is only by broadening his horizon, enlarging his vision, increasing his ambition, deepening his pride in himself and in his race, and thereby increasing his respect for himself and other selves, that the negro will be made truly efficient—a permanent benefit to himself, to his race, and to his country. And this should be the Christian duty and patriotic obligation of every true American citizen, black and white alike.

THE INTER-RACIAL INTEREST OF HEALTH

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THIS paper assumes two things to be true and seeks to prove a third thing to be wise. It is true—

1. That the negroes and whites of the South are geographically one people, but ethnically two races.

2. That they are going to remain so.

It is wise that they respect each other and coöperate for the common good, marching in separate regiments, but solid phalanx, to the music of civilization.

A bright and inquiring colored lad of eight summers had a granduncle who, notwithstanding his innocence of "book larnin'," was in great repute for wisdom. That this distinction was not undeserved, the following conversation will show:

"Uncle, why do de sun give mo light dan de moon?"

"Law, chile, you ought not to ax questions lessen you knows what you is talkin' about. How do you know dat de sun do give mo light dan de moon? You must 'member dat de sun only has to tackle de day. You don't know what she could do wid de night."

It might be well to begin this subject by inquiring if we really have anything to talk about. Are there any health problems that are of interest to both races? Is it of any interest to a white man how, when, or of what a negro dies? What does it matter to a negro how many white folks die? or when? or where? or how?

We have it from authority that never fails to "recommend itself most highly" that this is a white man's country, and the white man is going to rule it.

From more ancient, if less partisan, authority we learn that the devil "is the prince of the power of the air." (Eph. ii. 2.) The white man rules the ground and the devil rules the air. Thus is the American negro classed with the lone Nazarene, "who had not where to lay his head."

Under such circumstances, what must the negro do? Trust God and do right—

> "There is a divinity that shapes our ends;
> Rough-hew them how we may."

"He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? he that formed the eye, shall he not see? He that chastiseth the heathen, shall not he correct? he that teacheth man knowledge, shall not he know?" (Ps. xciv. 9, 10.)

Over the registration area of this country the death rate among negroes is practically twice that among the whites. *Why?* Who cares?

Is it fair for the difficulties of making a living to increase with the pigment of the skin? In the United States a negro must work harder than a white man to live. The United States Census shows that the proportionate number of children between the ages of ten and sixteen years in gainful occupations is twice as great among colored as among white; and among female children it is four times as great.

There are proportionately three times as many colored women as white in gainful occupations. This shows an intensification of the struggle for existence. Does this tend to increase the mortality rate? *Who cares?*

With the white man ruling the ground and the devil ruling the air, the negro must indeed walk circumspectly, if he is to preserve his life, much less his health.

But Nature is the common mother of us all, and knows neither breed nor creed. Her rewards and punishments are inexorably bestowed according as we heed or hinder her processes. In her demand for obedience she conceded man "no preëminence above a beast." Physical life is a glorious privilege that man shares in common with the humblest flower that blooms and the meanest worm that crawls. The Lord is impartial in his goodness, and Satan is equally impartial in his meanness.

Health is the result of harmony with Nature, and longevity is Wisdom's reward to her devotees. Here, then, is

a solid platform for mutual coöperation without ethnic antagonism.

The health of the Southland can be improved permanently only by considering all the factors involved. *All of the population healthy and free is a much safer condition than part of the population diseased and isolated. There is a solidarity of interest that can be neither evaded nor abrogated. Prejudice may render her Dred Scott decisions, but fate repeals them at Gettysburg.*

I am firmly convinced that moral teaching is one of the most effective means of preserving health. A clear title to heaven will undoubtedly strengthen one's hold on earth. Knowledge does not always improve morals, but morals always tend to improve health; and health leads to longevity. I unhesitatingly place the Church among the agencies to maintain public health. Improved morals, and not earlier and more extended sex knowledge, is the true remedy for the fearful havoc of venereal disease. It may sound old-fashioned, but it is true that an upright, intelligent ministry contributes to the physical health of the nation.

We send missionaries to carry light to distant lands, but deny simple justice to the men and women at our doors. Unless we change our tactics, "it may some day be the epitaph of our modern civilization that we used civilized methods in dealing with savages and savage methods in dealing with the civilized." I say *we* because the equities are by no means *all* on one side. *It is as hard for a negro to be just to a white man as it is for a white man to be just to a negro.*

I am not ashamed of my *breed*, and am grateful for my *nurture*. I am an American, born on the Fourth of July, and am proud of my country and of my birthday. Moreover, I believe in myself, in my people, in my country, and in my God.

Notwithstanding the burdens and hardships of my life, I have "dwelt in cities I did not build, and eaten of vineyards I did not plant." My breed represents a civilization of but a few hundred years, yet my nurture represents the

culture of the ages. I feel myself the legitimate heritor of all the past glories of mankind. The ethics of Socrates, the philosophy of Goethe, and the eloquence of Shakespeare are but portions of my patrimony. The good and wise of every age and every clime are my ancestry. My inheritance is common to the sons and daughters of men. The moral and intellectual achievements of mankind are the just dower of every child that is born.

But the laws of inheritance are so arranged by nature that a man's patrimony is only what he can utilize. He may become a son of perdition or a son of light: "For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God." (Rom. viii. 14.) A man may have a million dollars in property and only a dime's worth of brains. Poverty does not always mean the absence of money. Money without brains is a danger to the individual, and privilege without patriotism is a danger to the State; but knowledge without sympathy is a danger to both. *All the people working for the welfare of all the people, is the ideal of civilization.*

I desire the permanent banishment of all preventable diseases from all sections of all our communities. I am as anxious to emancipate the white man from the hookworm as I am to free the negro from tuberculosis.

"The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds." (Abraham Lincoln.) The seed thought of civilization is coöperation—a subordination of individual interest to a common end.

In health matters this means contact without contagion. Civilization connotes fair play, equality of opportunity.

Unfair distribution of benefits is the canker that has destroyed the civilizations of the past. Unwillingness to let the other fellow have a show, injustice, immorality, and "man's inhumanity to man" are but different names for the hydra-headed monster that has ever stood in the pathway of human progress and is now seeking to bar out our glorious Southland from the most splendid career in the history of nations.

Health matters are equally important to all classes of people, regardless of race or position. Disease forced upon one class or section will react upon the whole. Injustice and unhappiness are inseparable companions. As long as a people are unfair they will be diseased. Quality Hill cannot long remain well when Poverty Lane is sick. Whether rich or poor, black or white, we are equally liable to disease and should be equally interested in matters of health. Sanitation, hygiene, the death rate, and good morals are important to all.

SANITATION

Self-interest, as well as humanity, says that you should make yourself safe by killing disease instead of killing men.

Sewage is a necessity of city life. The more congested the population, the greater the necessity for proper sewage. The same is true of the water supply. The more people there are using a supply of water, the greater the necessity of keeping it clean, and the greater the difficulty in so doing. The same is true of lighting. The necessity of keeping streets lighted increases with the number of people using them. Yet our city authorities usually proceed on the opposite principle. For the poorer and more congested the district, the less it gets of these prime necessities of urban health.

Do men live because they are white and die because they are black? The works of the Omnipotent manifest the spirit of their maker. "God is no respecter of persons," says Religion. "Nature is impartial as well as inexorable," says Science. Disease germs seem tolerably free from caste distinction and race prejudice.

THE REMEDY IS SANITATION, NOT SEGREGATION

I knew nothing about the people that rented the house next door to me when the widowed owner married and moved away. They were quiet people that minded their own business and I minded mine. We moved in different spheres that scarcely touched. I came home from Sunday school one beautiful winter's day and found a yellow flag on my neighbor's door. I was interested. When I found

that they had been washing for my wife and that the family wash was then over there, I had a new vision of the brotherhood of man, the solidarity of human interests, Christian duty, etc. I immediately felt it my duty to see that the health officers did their duty. Result? There was no spread of the disease which a transient boarder had brought into the neighborhood.

HYGIENE

My own health depends upon my neighbor's cleanliness and I am made happier by freeing my neighbor from disease. Individual cleanliness, however assiduously practiced, is only effectual when those with whom we come directly or indirectly in contact practice it also. Thus self-interest teaches altruism, and every man is made his "brother's keeper."

Americans lack discrimination in what the French call *nuance.* A French actress won great applause by appearing perfectly nude *in the play,* but was hissed when she responded to a curtain call in the same attire. The first was art; the second was vulgarity. But *we* can't distinguish between an intelligent interest in the personal welfare of our neighbors and having them as social guests. *We confuse the right of life with the privilege of place.*

DEATH RATE

The premature death of trained adults is economic disaster. The welfare of society demands that an educated and trained person shall live long enough to pay back with interest the expense of his nurture.

Physical vigor is an economic asset, and length of days is a positive blessing. Sickness is a burden to a community, and a high death rate is a barrier to progress. A high birth rate is not full compensation. There must be a period of fruitfulness between maturity and decay. What headway could a farmer make breaking new horses every day?

My race is suffering intensely just now from this economic hari-kari, and so is the nation at large. In this country the general death rate of middle life is rising.

GOOD MORALS

Good morals are better peace officers than policemen, and righteous men are worth more to a community than temperance laws. Physical health is man's greatest earthly blessing, and fair play is his surest means of obtaining it.

> "Kind hearts are more than coronets,
> And simple faith than Norman blood."

These propositions are truisms. Why, then, do we not apply them for the betterment of our country? Let us face the facts.

The curse of the age is the apotheosis of the dollar. The most insidious, powerful, and persistent foe to improvement is money. Men sell alcoholic liquors *because it pays.* Prostitution would be as negligible a quantity in city as in rural life were it not for the financial factor. The red light district is built upon greed for gold, not the worship of Venus. It is as true in America to-day as it was in the Roman Empire two thousand years ago. "They that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of all evil, which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows." (1 Tim. vi. 9, 10.)

The fight against alcohol is not so much a fight against appetite as against dollars. Venality, not Venus, is the bulwark of prostitution. The red light district is a monument to the triumph of money over morals. Money produces the turmoil in the race question. *It pays.* It is a source of revenue. *Prejudice produces profit.* It enables petty officials and certain types of money lenders, credit merchants, etc., to mulct the negro with impunity. If the negro resists, prejudice enables them to smother investigation by mob excitement. It is an open sesame to notoriety and public office; as the United States Senate, the American stage, and the history of the hookworm investigation fully illustrates.

The money element explains the most glaring inconsistencies in our attitude on this question and makes the real danger in the racial situation. What we need, especially in the South, is a *maximum of racial coöperation and a minimum of racial commingling.*

Any man, white or black, who will deny this proposition either does not understand conditions or is not a friend to either race. Under such conditions, why should negro doctors be shut out of purely negro communities, or white women be made to nurse negro men in our city hospitals? Why should we not have negro guards for negro prisoners? Why should not negro doctors and negro nurses have charge of the negro section of the city hospitals of the South? Why a white board of managers for a school for incorrigible negro girls? Why not negro sanitary inspectors in negro neighborhoods? Why do the most violent advocates of negro inferiority and racial separation seek only to block the way up, leaving the downward road unguarded? Why object to negro college officials handling for negroes the negro's share of governmental appropriations for agricultural purposes? Why do not the American people accept Abraham Lincoln's solution of the negro problem? "All I ask for the negro," said Lincoln, "is that, if you do not like him, you let him alone. If God gave him but little, that little let him enjoy." *Why?*

For the same reason that railroad companies do not carry out the law and give every passenger the same return for his money. Somebody is coining the welfare of his country into gold. *It pays.* We have made a god of money.

When all things are for barter, destruction is imminent. To arrest ruin, a change must come. Babylon fell because the souls of men could be bought in her market place.

"In Babylon, mad Babylon,
What get you for your pence?
A moiety of cinnamon,
Of flour and frankincense.
But let the shekels in your keep
Be multiplied by ten,
And you shall purchase slaves and sheep,
Yea, and the *souls of men.*"

(See Rev. xviii. 10-13.)

There are some things that must not be bartered if civilization is to endure. The price is immaterial. It matters not whether a man get a mess of pottage or a kingdom for his honor, the condemnation holds. Men shirk responsibility by doing collectively what they would hesitate to do individually. Yet the units make the mass, and division of guilt is not destruction of guilt. The number of defendants does not change the character of a crime, and racial misdeeds are as sure of a Nemesis as individual misconduct.

The great white race cannot escape the penalty if it barter its honor for the privilege of exploiting, suppressing, or even destroying the negro. In health matters we must do what is *right* rather than what is *profitable.* Prejudice must cease to bring grist to the mill of *greed,* and the physical welfare of all must take precedence over the financial profit of the few. We hear a great deal these days about the conservation of our national resources. What resource of the nation is of more value than the health of its citizens?

In the jungles of tropical Africa there is an insect, an ant, called the termite, that serves a useful purpose there. "They are insatiable devourers of wood and of similar substances, and keep the jungles cleared of much fallen timber and vegetable matter. But transferred to a civilized community, with their appetites brought to bear upon human habitations, they are capable of unbelievable damage—particularly as they work upon the interior of the wood, being careful never to emerge upon the surface. Often the timbers of a house may be eaten through in a single night, beams and girders, while apparently as substantial as before, remaining but a shell of paper-like thinness, filled with an impalpable powder. Cases are on record where the termite has so undermined the supports of a house that a dinner party given by the unsuspecting host was dropped unceremoniously into the cellar by the collapse of the floor beams; or where a soldier, slipping on the stairs and seizing an apparently substantial newel post for support, had it crumble in his hands. Tables have had their legs so hollowed out in the course of a few hours that they have col-

lapsed by their own weight; undermined chairs have dropped their occupants solidly to the floor."

So it is with the feelings and dispositions of men. There are certain qualities of heart and mind that make for safety and progress when men are isolated and barbarous, but spell destruction and ruin when in the light of civilization.

Excessive individualism is one of these traits. In savage or barbarous man, isolated and struggling against the forces of nature and the ferocity of wild beasts, excessive individuality is a virtue and justifies the extreme selfishness that makes the welfare of everything, even the lives of women and children, subservient to the interests of the individual man. But civilization rests upon the confidence of man in man and the willingness of man to coöperate with man—tentatively and limited at first, beginning with close blood kin, extending to immediate neighbors, then to the tribe, then to the nation, then to the race, and finally to all mankind. *Civilization must eventually become world-wide or extinct.* Justice is for all or for none. Confidence must be mutual or coöperation cannot be profitable.

Savagery rests on selfishness, but civilization depends upon altruism. There is an interdependence in health matters that prejudice cannot escape nor power annul. Every patriotic ear, whether white or black, can hear the voice of civilization asking, *"Where is thy brother?"*

RELIGION THE COMMON BASIS OF CO-OPERATION

W. D. WEATHERFORD, PH.D., NASHVILLE, TENN.

No man who studies the facts can for one moment doubt that there is a growing coöperation between the two races in the South. There is both a larger interest on the part of the Southern white men and a larger confidence on the part of the Southern negro. And the two elements are absolutely necessary complements. There can be no co-

operation without genuine trust and confidence on both sides; and he who breaks down this trust—for political reasons, for self-aggrandizement, or because of ignorance or malice—is the enemy of black and white alike.

In the older days, with however much of evil there was, one thing softened the relationship between the races. In most cases master and slave saw much of each other and their dealings were personal—not absentee. But since those days the growth of industry, the moving of landlords to the city, and numerous other causes have worked toward the dehumanizing of both classes. The negro does not deal directly with his employer, and *vice versa*. Neither knows the other personally, and through purely economic laws neither becomes really interested in the other. But there are other forces at work which *are* bringing the two races together in larger and larger fellowship.

There are at least three forms of coöperation which at this present hour show the spirit of Southern white men toward this problem—and each of these throw light on, and lend encouragement to, this whole subject.

The first is a determined effort on the part of the Southern white man to know in broadcast terms the life of the Southern negro. This is no morbid curiosity, neither is it a passing fad; but it is a deep-seated determination that by reading, observation, discussion, and actual service we shall come to know the fundamental aspirations and needs of the negro race. This, of course, is the first step toward helpful coöperation.

I am well aware that some have supposed that there is less interest now than there was a few years ago. There are fewer magazine articles and less agitation. Ambassador Walter Page, who was formerly editor of the *World's Work*, told me a few months ago that there was far less interest in the North and East at present than formerly. He said the East was surfeited on race articles. But that is certainly not true in the South. Miss Helm's book on the "Upward Path," written by a Southern woman and sold almost entirely here in the South, passed the twenty-thousand mark within eighteen months after its publica-

tion. That is a marvelous sale for any book dealing with a social problem. I make bold to assert that there have been more volumes on the negro read by Southern white people in the last five years than were read in all the fifty years preceding. There is a genuine eagerness and hunger for sane and accurate facts on these lines.

Recently I had a share in sending out two thousand volumes of one book on this problem to an equal number of individuals. Although these books went into the hands of some of the busiest people in this section, and although they have only been in the hands of these people a little more than two months, more than fifteen hundred have written that the book has been read with eagerness and interest. This could not have happened fifteen years ago. If the books had been sent, many of them would not have been read; and in many other cases the readers would have been unsympathetic instead of genuinely sympathetic, as most of these readers were.

The fact that fifteen thousand college students have read and studied a book on this question in the last three years is positive proof that interest in the proper solution of our race relations has not waned. The fact that the "Human Way," being the report of the Race Section of the Southern Sociological Congress of 1913, has been read and quoted by literally scores of editors all over the South, is proof positive that there is a deep and abiding interest in finding the latest and most scientific facts. All of this means not only that we have a deeper interest than ever before, but that our interest is destined to grow as we know more and more of the facts. It might well be said here, as it was said by Christ on an entirely different connection: "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

A second sign of growing interest is the determination on the part of the best element in the South to have a share in the religious and social uplift of the negro race. This race department of the Southern Sociological Congress is a testimony to this deep and abiding interest. I have recently sent letters to all of the United States farm demonstration agents in the South asking them if they were helping any

negroes to become better farmers through scientific training. In almost every case they replied that they were helping one, two, and on up to a dozen negro farmers. They indicated deep sympathy and interest, and said that these farmers were among their most willing and capable co-laborers. One man, a former college student who was active in the Young Men's Christian Association work in college, wrote that he found the negroes so willing and so apt in taking instruction that it was a genuine pleasure to co-operate with them. Nearly all of these men reported that negro farmers were buying land and improving their home conditions, and that with the most *cordial approval* of the white communities.

Just as I was preparing this statement for this conference there came to my table a report of the Associated Charities of Memphis, Tenn., accompanied with a supplementary report of the Colored Federated Charities. This Colored Federated Charities is a department of, and integrally related to, the Associated Charities of this city. It is very significant in two respects. First, that the white citizens of Memphis are in a systematic and thorough fashion taking care of the needs of the negro people of the city. Thirty-five hundred dollars is contributed by the white organizations and fifteen hundred is raised by the colored organization. The second significant thing is that this money is not doled out by the white people, but the colored people are taken in as copartners in the scheme, and given joint responsibility in the administration. They are not working *for* the colored people, but they are working *with* the colored people. This is one of the most hopeful signs of our time.

I am aware that happenings of the last few months have seemed to indicate that the South has not definitely settled its mind in favor of training its negroes. But such an assumption is a mistake. There are still some people in the South who can be worked into a fury over the indiscreet and senseless action of a few sentimentalists who either do not know enough or do not care enough to have a Christian spirit toward the deep convictions of the best people

of this section. And these indiscretions arouse the hot anger of some of our people who have little self-control. But neither the foolish indiscretions of the one class nor the hot impulsiveness of the other can shake the solid convictions of the intelligent element in the South, that we must, we ought, and we will give the negro people a fair chance at training. This was long ago settled, and Mr. Blease and Mr. Vardaman and all their tribes had just as well expect to stop the tides of the ocean by putting sand hills before the waves as expect to stay the tide of progress in negro training, to which the best people of the South have absolutely set themselves.

During the last six months I have had letters from literally scores of County Superintendents of Education throughout the South. In almost every case they are planning big things for the future uplift of the negro schools. They are holding county institutes for colored teachers with as much thoroughness and enthusiasm as they are holding institutes for white teachers. They are visiting the negro schools as they have never been visited before. They are helping to provide the funds for industrial supervising teachers, they are giving care and attention to the proper construction of new school buildings. In every way they are giving the negro school the most thorough coöperation. I was at Tuskegee some time ago when the Jeanes county supervising teachers met there. They were all colored teachers; and the enthusiasm with which those teachers told about the coöperation of their respective superintendents, each one claiming that her superintendent was more helpful and more interested than any other, was one of the finest commentaries I know on the splendid work of those white men.

The way in which many of our choicest Southern men are giving themselves to this work of coöperation is also significant. It means something when Dr. and Mrs. Hammond, from the Methodist Church, Dr. Snedecor and Dr. and Mrs. Little, from the Presbyterian Church, not to mention a host of others whose spirits are equally consecrated, have given themselves to this great task of lifting the

negro. It means something when Dr. James H. Dillard, Mr. Jackson Davis, Mr. J. L. Sibley, and a number of other splendid Southern men are giving their lives without reserve to the intellectual uplift of this people. The time has come when some of the very choicest spirits in our Southland are ready and glad to share, with our brother in black by our sides, whatever blessing education and Christianity have brought to us.

I want also to mention a third sign of growing coöperation. This one lies not in the realm of deeds. It goes deeper than deeds; it lies in the realm of attitude and motive. The people of the South have always had a kindly feeling toward the colored people, but it is only of recent years that it could be said that they have come to feel that the mass of colored people were actually going to make real progress. In other words, we are coming to have a broad and genuine confidence in the future of the race. I am not interested in a Chinese because he is a Chinese; I am not interested in a negro because he is a negro. I am interested in both because they are men. I am interested in colored people because they are human, because in them throb the same human heart, the same human aspirations, the same human passions as throb in my heart. I am interested in the race because it is a race of God's children, because I believe God has destined them to grow into his likeness just as he yearns to have all men grow into his likeness. And one of the most hopeful signs of our time lies in our growing confidence that this race, along with other races of humanity, is making genuine progress. All colored men are not making progress, neither are all white men. There are lazy colored men and lazy white men. There are criminal white men and criminal negroes. There are dishonest colored men and dishonest white men. But as a race we believe the negro is moving upward into respectability, into efficiency, into Christian character, and every Southern white man knows that many of them have built nobly and well. We believe they have inherent qualities of loyalty, faithfulness, nobility, and religious responsiveness. We believe that these qualities under the guidance of God and Christian

environment can be made to bloom into high and noble character. We believe that this generation of better trained colored people will have sanity and judgment enough to see that character and not clothes, manliness and not mannerisms will count. We believe that those sterling qualities which made the early slaves faithful, trustworthy, loyal, and devoted will, when the race has found time to adjust itself to the conditions of a larger race life, ripen into a more beautiful fruitage than slavery was ever able to show.

Some of you do not recognize what a tremendous thing I am saying. You forget that many people have felt—and it was only a natural inference—that those fine qualities of character displayed by the faithful slaves were the fruitage of hardship and careful training. There has been grave doubt on the part of many as to whether these qualities would spring again from a different soil. It is a stern fact that they have not always sprung from the new soil of liberty. Just as many people are opposed to college life for white boys, because its larger liberty often mars instead of makes manhood, so many have felt that the new conditions of life for the negro race would make it impossible to develop the sterling qualities of a former age. Now, I say the Southern white people are beginning to believe that this is a false assumption. They are beginning to see that the nobler qualities of the past are rebudding after the rude transplanting of the sixties, and that additional qualities of nobility begin to show themselves which could never have appeared under older conditions.

Now the basis of this conviction is distinctly religious. We are coming to have a greater confidence in the negro because we are coming to have a greater confidence in all humanity. We are coming to appreciate, as men never before in the history of the world appreciated, that personality is sacred, it is valuable, it is Godlike. We are coming to feel that in every human being there is the image of God. It may be distorted, the likeness may be blurred, but essentially the image is there. We are coming to feel about humanity as Jesus felt, that all are capable of becoming true sons and daughters of an eternal father. When this con-

ception once takes hold it is profound and far-reaching. It at once means that I cannot despise my neighbor, white or colored; it means that I must actively help all those who are my neighbors—and in Jesus' splendid teachings my neighbor is he who has the deepest need.

As Dr. Washington well reminded us, in social relations it is best for both races that we live distinct, but we may do it in the spirit of brotherhood and love. This conception of the kinship of all men to God at once pulls the fang of all race hatred—for how can I hate a man who is the child of my father, God, and hence my brother? He who comes to really believe in the sacredness of humanity must lose his antagonism to all men.

There is another phase of religious development in the South which is significant in relation to this race problem. We are fast getting away from religion as creed or as a mechanical system. We are coming to feel more and more that religion is life and life is relationship. To be religious is to be rightly related to all persons, God and men. Or to put it differently, to be religious is to be a friendly son of God and a brotherly friend of men. Life and religion are not therefore simply orthodoxy: some of the most deeply prejudiced people I have ever met were theologically so sound that they were all sound. No! life and religion are right relationship toward all persons. And when we say all persons we mean *all*. We mean a real democracy. Many people talk about democracy who cannot call the first letter in the alphabet of democratic life. They have scarcely seen the faintest far-off glimmerings of the ideal. Real democracy is treating *every man* as if he had value in himself. It is recognizing the essential sacredness of all persons. It is adjusting yourself into right relations with all men. This is real democracy, a more genuine democracy than Jefferson ever thought or dreamed. And that kind of democracy can be built on nothing else save a deep religious conviction that God dwells in every man. The religion which fails to base itself deep on personal relationship can avail nothing in bridging the chasm between diverged races.

Some two years ago I undertook a tour of investigation which brought me into seventeen different countries, in many of which racial problems were most acute. In Turkey, for illustration, we saw the bitter hatred between Jews, Mohammedans, Druses, Koords, and Armenians. These divisions are partly racial and partly creedal, but they are divisions and subdivisions as deep as the natures of men. The Moslems look down upon the non-Moslems, or "Raga" as they are called, consider that they have no rights which a Mohammedan need respect, and treat them with cruelty in the extreme. In Southeast Europe the conditions are no better. Differences in language, religion, political ideals, and social customs have broken life into segments, the members of each group hating the members of every other with all the virulence of their savage natures.

I have heard it said here in the South that we have not made as much progress in race coöperation as has been made in some other parts of the world. Now I am well aware that there are many difficulties and problems yet unsolved here, but my reading and my own personal observation lead me to say that in no other nation in the world where two widely separated racial types live side by side is there one-tenth as much mutual respect, mutual confidence, and genuine coöperation as that which we have here in the South. We are not only decades and even centuries ahead of other nations in our judgment of race problems, but I honestly believe that it has been given to us, by the power of almighty God, to show to the world what can be done under the spell of high ideals and religious consecration to bring men into vital brotherhood even though we may be as far apart in our racial instincts as are the white and the black—perhaps the two most distinctive races in the world.

My study of conditions in other lands led me to the deliberate conclusion that the chief underlying cause for our better understanding here may be found, not simply in the fact of our common langauge and our common religion, but in the peculiar spirit which dominates the religions of the Bible. No other religions in the world are so fitted to

stand the strain of race problems as are our religions of Judaism and Christianity. No other religions in the world lay such deep and vital stress on the sacredness of the individual man as do these religions of the Bible, and this valuation of the individual is the very foundation and corner stone of all inter-racial understanding and respect. To be sure, Mohammedanism admits all adherents into its rights, and seemingly puts all on a common social basis; but the deep cleavage between man and man which persists in Mohammedanism can never be bridged by any force inherent in that religion, simply because that religion has no inherent valuation of man. No religion which degrades womanhood and despises the deepest sanctities of life can possibly have within it the power to dignify life and make humanity sacred, for we cannot despise and degrade a part of humanity and still hope to keep true our personal values. The fact is that in most of these countries religion is one of the chief sources of irritation, rather than a power of amelioration.

It ought still further to be said that the religion of the Bible and this religion alone has the transforming power to take the ignorant, the degraded, the weak, and make them into intelligent, respectable, and aggressive characters. It is only through the transforming power of this religion that the potential sacredness in each human soul can be brought into concrete reality. This is the foundation of our new hope and our new coöperation in the South. We are seeing all about us men and women snatched from the very jaws of death—moral, social, intellectual death—men and women lifted out of the slums, the back alleys, the horrible tenement houses—and by this mysterious power made into new and vital souls, ready to bear their share in the work of the world. It is this that gives us hope.

I know not how much emphasis the remainder of the country may put on the bearing of religion in the bettering of social conditions, but this I do know: that here in the South, where our great social problem is a problem of attitude toward persons of a different race, a different color, and a different heritage, there is only one thing that is far-

reaching enough, only one thing profound enough, only one thing dynamic enough to make us all into a common humanity, and that is religion. No superficial humanitarianism or philanthropy will do this.

Our problem is a problem of attitude both for colored and white. The white man must come to believe in and trust the negro, and the negro must come to believe in and trust the white man. And this trust and confidence can alone rest on the fact of transformed lives—and religion alone transforms life. We will have confidence in each other only because our father, God, has had sufficient access to our hearts, that white and colored alike shall have been transformed into a society of brotherly men. This our religion is set to do, and, although the process is slow and painful, and not a few have become weary of waiting, I believe the process is surely going forward, and white and colored alike are being transformed into more God-like men and women.

It is therefore most fitting that in a conference on social conditions this religious basis of coöperation between the races should be given prominence. Here, and only here, can a deep note of optimism be struck; for it is this religion of the Bible alone which gives a motive big enough and true enough to float our lives out of the shallows of pessimism and prejudice into the great sea of mutual confidence, co-operation, and brotherhood.

It is my deep and abiding conviction that although our problems may be great and the strain at times hard to bear, nevertheless we are making real progress. And if our problems are ever solved, it will be because the spirit of Jesus so pervades us all that the white man will trust the colored man and the colored man sincerely believe in the white man, and both together unite with God in working out a truer and a grander destiny. Our motto is "Brotherhood." If you are with us, come on.

IV. ORGANIZATION

Constitution and By-Laws of the Congress
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Report of Committee on Social Program
Resolutions Adopted by the Congress
Membership
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CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE CONGRESS

PURPOSES AND MEMBERSHIP

THE purposes of the Southern Sociological Congress are to study and improve social, civic, and economic conditions in the South. Its membership shall be composed of all persons interested in its work who shall register their names and pay the annual fee. The members shall be of the following classes: Regular members, $2 per year; sustaining members, $10; life members, $100. Any person paying any of these fees shall receive a copy of the proceedings and of any other publications of the Congress. Delegates to the Congress may be appointed by the Governor of each State coöperating with it, by Mayors of cities in these States, and by organizations and institutions engaged in social service, and, upon payment of the membership fees, shall be entitled to all privileges.

MEETINGS

The Southern Sociological Congress shall meet once each year, at such time and place as may be designated by the Committee on Time and Place. During each meeting the President shall appoint a committee of five members whose duty it shall be to determine the time and place of the next meeting, the amount for local and general expenses to be raised by the local committee, and announce its conclusion within three months after its appointment. All invitations from cities shall be referred to this committee. There shall be a local committee in each city having a meeting of the Congress, and it shall be the duty of this committee to provide any necessary funds and make all local arrangements for the meeting satisfactory to the Executive Committee.

OFFICERS

The officers of the Southern Sociological Congress shall be a President, First and Second Vice Presidents, a General Secretary, a Treasurer, and a Corresponding Secretary for

each State. All of these officers shall be elected annually by the Congress upon nomination of the Committee on Organization.

COMMITTEES

The standing committees shall be an Executive Committee; a committee on each subject which it is proposed to discuss at the next meeting of the Congress, to be appointed by the Committee on Organization; and a committee, composed of the Chairmen of these standing committees, whose duty it shall be to report a social program before the close of the Congress, and to which committee all resolutions shall be referred without debate.

The Executive Commitee shall consist of the President, the Treasurer, one member from each Southern State, to be elected annually by the Congress, together with the ex-Presidents of the Congress. The members of the other standing committees shall likewise be elected annually.

The President shall at the opening session appoint a Committee on Organization, whose duty it shall be to select topics for discussion and nominate officers and committees for the following Congress.

The Executive Committee shall have power to transact all necessary business in the interim between the meetings. It may appoint sub-committees to attend to matters of detail. Meetings of the committee shall be called by the President, and five members shall constitute a quorum during the sessions of the Congress and three members in the interim between meetings.

DUTIES OF OFFICERS

The President shall be the chief executive officer and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Congress. He shall generally supervise the work of the committees, and shall have power to accept resignations and fill vacancies among the officers or committees. In the event of a vacancy in the office of President, it shall be filled by the First Vice President; and in the event of a vacancy in the office of First Vice President, it shall be filled by the Second Vice President.

The General Secretary shall be *ex officio* Secretary of the Executive Committee. He shall conduct the correspondence of the Congress with officers, committees, and others under the direction of the President. He shall distribute the announcements and programs and keep a correct roll of members. He shall receive all membership fees and proceeds of sales of the reports of the proceedings, and pay the same promptly to the Treasurer. He shall receive such compensation and allowance for expenses as may be fixed by the Executive Committee, and shall perform such other duties as shall be ordered by the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer shall receive and disburse all moneys of the Congress. All disbursements shall be made only upon the order of the General Secretary, approved by the President or by some member of the Executive Committee to be named by the President.

The retiring President of the Congress and the General Secretary shall have charge of the editing and publishing of the Proceedings.

The Corresponding Secretaries shall endeavor to stimulate interest in the Congress in their respective States, and shall render annual reports to the General Secretary as to social, civic, and economic progress within the said States.

PROGRAM AND PROCEDURE

The program for each annual meeting shall be arranged by the President in consultation with the Chairman of each standing committee, and it shall be submitted to the Executive Committee for its approval.

All papers shall first be presented to the Executive Committee before they are read to the Congress.

AMENDMENTS

These by-laws may be amended by a majority vote at any meeting of the Congress, provided that all amendments shall first be submitted to the Executive Committee.

AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

AT the regular session of the Southern Sociological Congress at the Orpheum Theatre in Memphis, May 8, 1914, the Executive Committee recommended that the by-law regarding the time and place of meeting be changed by striking out the words, "except that it shall meet with the National Conference of Charities and Correction when it meets in the South," and make it to read: "The Southern Sociological Congress shall meet once each year at such time and place as may be designated by the Committee on Time and Place."

The recommendation was adopted by the Congress by unanimous vote.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CONGRESS

OFFICERS

President.....Gov. William H. Mann, Richmond, Va.
First Vice President...Rev. John E. White. D.D., LL.D., Atlanta, Ga.
Second Vice President.....Miss Fannie E. S. Heck, Raleigh, N. C.
Treasurer.....Mr. M. E. Holderness, Nashville, Tenn.
General Secretary.....Mr. J. E. McCulloch, Nashville, Tenn.
Founder.....Mrs. Anna Russell Cole, Nashville, Tenn.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Gov. William H. Mann, Chairman.....Richmond, Va.
Gov. Ben W. Hooper.....Nashville, Tenn.
Mrs. W. L. Murdock.....Birmingham, Ala.
Prof. C. H. Brough.....Fayetteville, Ark.
Dr. J. H. Dillard.....Charlottesville, Va.
Dr. Wickliffe Rose.....Washington, D. C.
Dr. Arch C. Cree.....Atlanta, Ga.
Prof. L. L. Bernard.....Gainesville, Fla.
Dr. C. S. Gardner.....Louisville, Ky.
Prof. B. C. Caldwell.....Natchitoches, La.
Miss Elizabeth Gillman.....Baltimore, Md.
Dr. W. S. Leathers.....University, Miss.
Mr. Jacob Billikopf.....Kansas City, Mo.
Mr. Clarence Poe.....Raleigh, N. C.
Prof. Jerome Dowd.....Norman, Okla.
Judge J. A. McCullough.....Greenville, S. C.
Mr. W. R. Cole.....Nashville, Tenn.
Prof. C. S. Potts.....Austin, Tex.
Prof. E. H. Vickers.....Morgantown, W. Va.
Mr. M. E. Holderness.....Nashville, Tenn.
Mr. J. E. McCulloch, Secretary.....Nashville, Tenn.

STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES

Judge W. H. Thomas.....Montgomery, Ala.
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REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL PROGRAM

It was the sense of your Committee that for this year the Congress should reaffirm the program adopted at the Congress in Nashville in 1912, as follows:

To us it seems that this Congress must stand—

For the abolition of the convict lease and contract systems, and for the adoption of modern principles of prison reform.

For the extension and improvement of juvenile courts and juvenile reformatories.

For the proper care and treatment of defectives, the blind, the deaf, the insane, the epileptic, and the feeble-minded.

For the recognition of the relation of alcoholism to disease, to crime, to pauperism, and to vice, and for the adoption of appropriate preventive measures.

For the adoption of uniform laws of the highest standards concerning marriage and divorce.

For the adoption of the uniform law on vital statistics.

For the abolition of child labor by the enactment of the uniform child labor law.

For the enactment of school attendance laws, that the reproach of the greatest degree of illiteracy may be removed from our section.

For the suppression of prostitution.

For the solving of the race question in a spirit of helpfulness to the negro and of equal justice to both races.

For the closest coöperation between the Church and all social agencies for the securing of these results.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CONGRESS

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed from this Congress to bring to the attention of all the Churches, white and colored, and to the common councils of all the cities of the South, the living conditions of the people in their midst, to the end that the necessary steps may be taken to make such conditions comfortable and healthful.

Resolved, 1. That very cordial appreciation be and is hereby expressed for the hospitality and the help extended by this good city of Memphis and its citizens in the realization of the work of this Congress.

2. That we thank the railroad officials, the street railway management, their officers and employees, and the hotels for uniform and efficient courtesy and service.

3. That we especially recognize and value the laborious and indispensably useful work of the *Commercial-Appeal,* the *Scimitar,* and the *Press,* and the painstaking consideration and coöperation of the local committee.

4. That we express our especial gratitude to the management of the Orpheum Theatre, to the pastors and official members of the Central Baptist Church, and to the First Methodist Church.

These have been the living illustrations of what this Congress stands for—friendship, brotherhood, and coöperation.

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